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A WAY WITH WORDS.
THE ART OF NEGOTIATION AND COLLABORATION
IN THE AGE OF THE NEW WOMAN ON BROADWAY
AS SEEN THROUGH THE CAREERS OF
ANNE CALDWELL, DOROTHY DONNELLY AND
RIDA JOHNSON YOUNG
1906-1928.

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Abstract

"If you want to see the sign of the times, watch women. Their evolution is the most important thing in modern life." (Editorial, 1912b). This statement, delivered as part of a speech to the Drama League in Boston in 1912, was made by leading American playwright, Rachel Crothers. Crothers' statement is representative of a social phenomenon in late nineteenth century America wherein the economic transformation and flourishing industry of the Progressive Era opened the way to previously unattainable educational and professional opportunities for women.

The focus of this thesis is on gender equality, business negotiation and creative collaborative working practices on Broadway as viewed from the perspective of the business and writing partnerships of three lyricist/librettists: Anne Caldwell (1867-1936), Rida Johnson Young (1875-1926) and Dorothy Donnelly (1880-1928). They collectively wrote a total of more than forty musical productions, of which twenty were outstanding successes in the twenty-two-year period from 1906-28, for which (during their lifetimes) they received both critical acclaim and significant financial reward. The burgeoning industry in which all three writers were operating was also a fledgling environment with regards to contractual rights for writers, the collective support of Guilds and Unions gaining steady ground through the early years of the twentieth century, their goals often resisted by powerful producers who viewed regulation as a threat to profits.

This interdisciplinary research draws on primary source correspondence, interviews and Language Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC) analyses to build profiles of

male/female collaboration as part of a linguistic-hermeneutic paradigm for observing negotiation, networking and collaboration in business and creative partnerships. The findings contribute further to Caldwell, Johnson Young and Donnelly's respective profiles within the early musical theatre landscape on Broadway, creating new perspectives around creative collaboration and the importance of networking and highlights a model of non-gender biased commercial equality pertinent to the ongoing gender pay gap dialogue in the present day.

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Background to the Research

This thesis focuses on the business and creative writing partnerships developed by three leading Broadway lyricist/librettists: Anne Caldwell (1867-1936), Dorothy Donnelly (1880-1928) and Rida Johnson Young (1875-1926) who collectively wrote more than forty musical productions, of which twenty were outstanding successes in the twenty-two-year period from 1906-28.

The title of the thesis alludes to ‘the age of the new woman’, a social phenomenon associated with a period of time in America known as the Progressive Era, which ran from 1890-1920. The Progressive Era, as outlined by Thomas C. Leonard in his monograph, *Illiberal Reformers*, represents a period of economic transformation in America, emergent in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Aided by government loans and land grants, the expansion of railroad networks opened up a vast continental market and new production technologies transformed American business on ‘a revolutionary scale’ (2016, p. 3). Social historian Paul M. Kaplan writes that this period of time also ‘ushered in a wave of cultural, political and societal changes’ (Kaplan, 2021, p. 16). Professor Emerita of History, American Culture, and Women's Studies, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, has traced the origins of the ‘New Woman’ moniker to a literary phrase popularised by the author Henry James to refer to women of affluence and sensitivity which she expands to refer to ‘a specific sociological and educational cohort of [American] women born between the late 1850s and 1900’ (Smith-Rosenberg, 1985, p. 176). Smith-Rosenberg writes that successive generations of ‘New Women’ followed one another, notably attending the

new women's colleges, who flourished professionally, were politically outspoken and socially aware, the most visible amongst their number being those associated with 'the settlement-house movement, women educational reformers, physicians and public-health experts, women writers and artists' (1985, pp. 176–177).

In June 1911, *Strand Magazine* published an article entitled *Women Who Write Plays*, covering the success and sheer preponderance of professional female playwrights in America:

The woman writer of plays is practically an American institution. In no other country are there so many who have obtained recognition in a field where the compensation is the same for a good play, regardless of the sex of the writer. And the number of successful plays by woman during the past two seasons predicts that her work will soon establish her on an equal footing with the man playwright (Lonergan, 1911)

This article directly homes in on a key facet of this thesis centred on how women at the turn of the twentieth century were able to negotiate their equality in the workplace before they were granted the right to vote. Consequently, an underlying theme of the thesis is the importance of the feminist perspective and this will be explored throughout the following chapters, developing Smith-Rosenberg's observations of the 'New Woman' and how:

self-conscious feminism [has] strengthened the resolve of those who insisted upon restructuring the scholarly canon to make the study of women's roles and visions, power and oppressions central to historical analysis (1985, p. 11).

1.1.1 The research problem

The research problem at the heart of this thesis focuses on gender equality, business negotiation and creative collaborative working practices on Broadway as viewed from the perspective of the business and writing partnerships developed by

Caldwell, Donnelly and Johnson Young. They were employed predominantly by The Shubert Organization and the Dillingham Theatre Corporation, two leading production houses in New York during the early years of the twentieth century and the research will draw on primary source correspondence, interviews and computer assisted text analysis to build analytic profiles of collaboration.

In her overview of American women dramatists during the period 1890-1920, Sherry D. Engle posits that:

The majority if not all of the considerable number of women and men who grew wealthy from writing for Progressive Era theatre did so by playing a subservient role within the production process, tailoring dramatic work to fit star performers or making changes to appease theatre managers, who in turn sought to satisfy the paying public (Engle, 2001, p. 28, 2007, p. 9)¹

Contrary to the premise of successful yet subservient, this thesis contends that the featured writers negotiated not only their financial but their creative and collaborative terms as well. The research aims to demonstrate that whilst professional playwrighting was open to both sexes at this time, that fair financial compensation was by no means a given for either gender in an era of unregulated contracts and will highlight the ways in which each writer significantly contributed to the Dramatists' Bill of Rights in the present day.

1.1.2 The research question

In February 2022, the independent policy institute, Chatham House, published an article on creating gender equality in the workplace which states that:

¹ This statement was modified from 'The majority if not all' to 'Most' when published in 2007.

unequal workplaces were the norm even before COVID-19. While data on workplaces tends to be disaggregated by gender, this is usually done by looking at men and women. The experiences of non-binary people are not widely measured, which is a specific example of how existing data does not provide insight into LGBTQIA+ communities. [...] Gender inequality in the workplace can take on many different forms. The gender pay gap is perhaps the most universally cited example (Hart *et al.*, 2022).

This statement highlights the importance of establishing the binary gender perspective of this research inquiry, consciously positioning the current narrative specifically within biological themes of gender.

The fundamental research question of this interdisciplinary inquiry is twofold. Firstly, how was it possible for women in the arts to negotiate their dramatic rights and non-gender-biased earnings in the early twentieth century? Secondly, supported by the confidence of their contractual arrangements, how did it affect their position in the group to collaborate? Research to date has revealed that these writers were working at the heart of Broadway's theatrical establishment during the early years of the twentieth century; by homing in on these specific questions related to their professional lives, the research aims to further highlight their considerable contribution to the development of early musical theatre and further signpost the ways in which this seemingly unique situation can serve to enhance the ongoing gender pay gap dialogue in the twenty-first century.

1.2 Biographical context of the key players

Whereas the review of literature in Chapter Two will serve to illustrate the scope of research investigating the life and work of each of the featured dramatists (Coleman, 1993; McLean, 1999; Rothman, 2008; Peck, 2009a, 2020), an overview featuring

key aspects of their background serves here more to support the context of the research motives than to fully chart personal biographies.

1.2.1 Anne Caldwell

Anne Caldwell was born in Boston on 30th August, 1867 and although it has been written that little is known of her early years (Coleman, 1993), recollections of her early life are captured in magazine interviews, press reviews and advertisements from her time in vaudeville (Advertisement, 1900, 1901; Patterson, 1911, 1915; Editorial, 1936). Anne's mother, Marianna, was a musician and pianist (Editorial, 1936)², her father, David, was a Latin master at a school in Boston (Patterson, 1911)³ and Anne attended school in New Bedford and Fairhaven, Massachusetts



Figure 1. Image of Anne Caldwell

(Editorial, 1936). She started performing at the age of fourteen with a juvenile opera company which toured New England, later moving into musical comedy and vaudeville, earning the sobriquet 'one of the best known soubrets [sic] in vaudeville' (Editorial, 1914a). Newspaper advertisements and reviews reveal that Caldwell became part of a double-act (Wayne & Caldwell) with Chas Wayne, and together they performed sketches such as '*To Boston*

² "New York, New York City Marriage Records, 1829-1940," database, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:24SN-ZRS : 10 February 2018>), William Vinal and Anna Caldwell, 02 Aug 1885; citing Marriage, Manhattan, New York, New York, United States, New York City Municipal Archives, New York; FHL microfilm 1,570,465.

³ *ibid*

on *Business*' written by none other than fellow vaudevillian and aspiring writer, George M. Cohan (see Figure 2, below):

COOK OPERA HOUSE.
Only High-Class Vaudeville.

Thanksgiving Proclamation **WEEK, NOVEMBER 27**

A Plain Statement of Plain Facts HONEST AND CLEAN AMUSEMENT AT HONEST AND REASONABLE PRICES.

HERE IS THE SHOW—JUDGE FOR YOURSELF.

Gus Williams, "OUR GERMAN SENATOR,"
In Song, Story and Readings.

Wayne & Caldwell, Presenting that Comedy,
"TO BOSTON ON BUSINESS."

Bogert & O'Brien, ECCENTRIC MUSICAL
COMEDIANS.

Fields & Ward, UP-TO-DATE PARODISTS AND
ABSURD TALKERS.

Manjonita & Eugene, A SINGING AND
DANCING NOVELTY.

Clara Schlee, VOCAL SELECTIONS.

Gregory & Durrell, FEET BALANCING AND
JUGGLERS.

Bargain Prices **10c, 15c, 20c** Bicycles Stored Free

Figure 2. A newspaper advertisement notably displaying 'Wayne & Caldwell' second on the Bill. *Democrat and Chronicle* (Rochester, New York), Sunday 26th November, 1899. p 14.

The records show that Caldwell was married (and widowed) twice and that she had two children from her first marriage to William Vinal (Editorial, 1914c)⁴. According to Candice Marie Coleman, by 1901 she was gaining recognition as a magazine writer

⁴ *ibid.*

(Editorial, 1901; 1993, p. 69) and became a published author of a book of short stories '*Behind the Scenes*' in 1904 (Caldwell, 1904):

I went on the stage [...] and gained a good deal of practical experience. [...] I wrote short stories, but I was always thinking of getting my ideas on the stage (Bell, 1916)

Because Anne Caldwell started her life on the stage at such a young age, it would be easy to overlook the fact that by 1901 when she was transitioning to become a professional writer at the age of 34, she had worked in the theatre as a performer, absorbing the practicalities of stagecraft, for twenty years. More specifically, Anne had been working in vaudeville as an actress, singer and comedienne, learning precisely what made audiences laugh in a part of the industry directly linked to her future profession as an extraordinarily successful writer of musical comedy.

1.2.2 Caldwell and O'Dea

Anne Caldwell married Broadway lyricist James O'Dea (1870-1914) in Brooklyn on 15th August 1904⁵ and the following year they jointly contributed additional lyrics and music to the Broadway show, *Sergeant Brue*, which was produced by Charles Dillingham at the Knickerbocker Theatre. Up until *Sergeant Brue* in 1905, James O'Dea had proved himself a successful lyricist on Broadway, having contributed lyrics and music to several Broadway shows, including *The Wizard of Oz* at the Majestic Theatre in 1903 which notably introduced the comedy pair Montgomery and Stone in roles they would repeatedly revisit in later star vehicle productions with Anne Caldwell as their lyricist and librettist (Bordman, 1992, p. 189) .

⁵ "Anna Caldwell" Certificate No. 6075, Kings County, New York, August 15, 1904, Dix Hills, New York: Italian Genealogical Group, Inc. (italiangen.org)

1.2.3 The significance of Caldwell's formative choices

Charting the first half of Anne Caldwell's career serves to highlight not just her singular drive to work in the theatre but also the significance and resultant effect of her career choices. Having developed a love of music from her mother, her subsequent experiences in opera, musical comedy and vaudeville appear in retrospect to have been mere groundwork for a dramatist who would go on to specialise in musical comedy shows at the highest level. Of equal note here is that although James O'Dea's clear connections as a lyricist and composer on Broadway eased the way for Caldwell's transition from published writer and author to Broadway lyricist, librettist (and composer), her talent as a Broadway writer was clearly more than a match for any fortuitous professional introductions. In an interview with leading journalist, Ada Patterson, in 1911, and with her greater success still ahead of her, Caldwell declared:

One must know music. She must know dancing. She must know the musical comedy stage, and all the demands and limitations of it. The person best equipped for writing musical comedy is one who has sung and danced and performed comedy in it. [...] (Patterson, 1911, p. 90)

Finally, there are two further notable points for inclusion here: Caldwell was a mother of two children for whom she was the sole provider from 1914 onwards and of all the dramatists in this analysis, Anne Caldwell's career was arguably the longest, spanning fifty-five years.

1.2.4 Dorothy Donnelly

Dorothy Donnelly was born in New York City on 28th January, 1880. Her parents, Sara and Thomas, were both actors, although her mother retired from the stage on her marriage. Donnelly's biographer writes that '[A]n exhaustive list of his credits would fill several pages and only confirm that Dorothy's father was in constant



Figure 3. Image of Dorothy Donnelly

demand as an actor, first in Boston, then in New York City, beginning 1861' (McLean, 1999, p. 13). Close examination of Donnelly's immediate family reveals a theatrical family from her maternal grandparents to her uncle, Fred Williams, who, in 1890, succeeded David Belasco as stage manager and director for Daniel Frohman at the Lyceum Theatre on Broadway (Editorial, 1890). The Lyceum Theatre hosted a school for acting which was to become the American Academy of Dramatic Arts and Williams would go on to

become the first Dean of the Faculty (McLean, 1999, p. 11). On the importance of her uncle's influence on her life, Donnelly recalled:

The great value of my uncle to me was that he was a scholar as well as an actor [...] He knew the stage both historically and practically. He has prepared the 'prompt' copy for more productions than I can remember (McLean, 1999, p. 11).

Unlike her brothers, Donnelly was educated privately and schooled in German, French, Latin and a 'broad selection of literature, including American poetry, Greek and Roman classics, the poems of John Milton, Dante's *The Divine Comedy* and

Shakespeare's plays' and studied piano with William Mason, a protégé of Franz Liszt (Kobbé, 1905; 1999, p. 18).

Whereas an understanding of Donnelly's theatrical background is pertinent to the unfolding narrative of her career, there are other individuals in her family circle whose vocational choices played an important albeit less obvious role in Donnelly's life. The first was her brother, Judge Thomas F. Donnelly, who rose to prominence as a member of the State Assembly and who served in the Senate for three years before becoming a Supreme Court Judge in 1912 (Editorial, 1912a). Another family member who pursued law as a career was her sister's son, Ambrose Victor McCall. McCall would go on to become a prominent attorney and expert in estate and trust law and Dorothy would eventually assign him as the executor of her will (Editorial, 1942). The combination of two close relatives with first-hand knowledge of legal rights will be explored further in the examination of contracts and networking in Chapter Six.

With a family background so entrenched in theatrical life it is hardly surprising that Donnelly was drawn to a career in the theatre, particularly after her brother Henry leased the Murray Hill Theatre on East Forty Second Street in 1897 to form his own stock theatre company (Editorial, 1910c; McLean, 1999, p. 20). Dorothy served her apprenticeship as an actress in her brother's theatre company for three years, joining in 1898 when she was eighteen years old and went on to become one of Broadway's most notable leading ladies. Charting her career in 1928, *The New York Times* reported:

Leaving the Murray Hill Company she played first in "New England Folks," then in "Soldiers of Fortune," and fulfilled her promise by a fine performance

of “Candida”. Several productions intervened before her greatest triumph as an actress was scored in the title role of “Madame X” [sic] (Editorial, 1928a).

Alexandre Bisson’s play, *Madame X*, opened at the New Amsterdam Theatre on Broadway on 2nd February, 1910 (Editorial, 1910b) and ran for 125 performances before setting out on a national tour (McLean, 1999, p. 82).

1.2.5 Transition from stage to page

It is interesting to reflect on the direction Donnelly’s career was to take in the years following the success of *Madame X*. Even before her success in *Madame X*, there is evidence that she was developing her skill as a writer, with a short story (*Christmas Day in Montreal*) being published as early as 1908 (1999, p. 106). By 1914, and still in her thirties, global economic influences were impacting opportunity even on Broadway with the onset of the Great War when ‘box office business slumped dramatically’ (McLean, 1999, p. 89). Arnal McLean’s reporting of the reasons for Donnelly’s transition away from a career on the stage suggest a sequence of uniquely connected events: the scarcity of quality acting roles combined with global unrest brought about by World War I which, it could be argued, led to a logical transition from the stage to writing (1999). As will be discussed further in Chapter Six (Contracts and Networking) Dorothy Donnelly clearly believed in the beneficial power of professional (Equity), social (Stage Women’s War Relief) and politically motivated unions (Women’s Democratic Union; New York Women’s Suffrage Association). In an interview for Theatre Magazine in 1909 she asserted ‘[T]he independence of making your own money is something I wouldn’t miss for anything. [...] I couldn’t allow anyone to support me’ (Editorial, 1909a; McLean, 1999, p. 67). It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the combination of these three factors led Donnelly to test her ability in another theatrical arena and within two years she was

working as a play-doctor for the Shubert brothers and attracting the attention of noted critic Alexander Woolcott in *The New York Times*:

If you do not laugh often and loudly at *Johnny Get Your Gun*, you have a curious sense of humour [...] Doubtless she [Donnelly] is responsible for a good deal of its fun. She is a fine actress, but she knows a lot, and, if she does not watch out, they will make her into a playdoctor [sic] for life. Then we shall see +DD on half of the programs (1917, p. 1).

Thus, with the noted respect of one of New York's most revered critics to her credit, Donnelly's onward transformation from renowned Broadway actress to accomplished dramatist was set.

1.2.6 Rida Johnson Young

Rida Louise Johnson was born on 28th February, 1875 to William and Sarah Johnson in Baltimore, Maryland. William Johnson was the owner of a lighterage/coal



Figure 4. Image of Rida Johnson Young

business in the seaport city and the family lived at 104 Jackson Place in East Baltimore, an area which was prominent, but not especially wealthy (Engle, 2007, p. 150; Peck, 2009a, 2020)⁶. The records show that when she was fifteen years old, Rida was enrolled at Wilson College for Young Women in the school of Music for one year 'as a special student in piano (2007, p. 150)⁷ with her aspiration to be a

writer evident from an early age from the 'poems, articles and stories appearing in

⁶ As listed in the 1910 Census.(Engle, 2007, p. 224)

⁷ Engle cites this information as given by Wanda J. Finney, Archivist, Wilson College, via email, October 18, 2002 (2007, p. 224).

small magazines and local newspapers' (Bennett, 1920, p. 182). When she was eighteen she wrote a play entitled *Omar Khayyam* which 'contained almost one-hundred characters [and would have taken] about eight or ten hours to perform' (1920) and it is this play which, despite her parents' opposition, propelled her ambition to eventually travel to New York with a plan to work as an actress if the play didn't succeed (1920, p. 182). The drive that is evident later in Johnson's career is equally apparent from her early years and this is revealed in candid interviews recalling how she gained her first foothold on Broadway (Lonergan, 1911; Bennett, 1920). Unlike Caldwell and Donnelly, Rida Johnson Young's account of her arrival in New York reveals that she not only had no personal or professional connections, but also earned her living selling furniture polish for \$4 a week whilst renting an apartment in Harlem for half her monthly salary (1920, p. 184). Her first opportunity in the theatre was realised as a result of sending her play to E. H. Sothorn, a well-known actor-manager of the day who agreed to see her and, whilst he obviously saw no future in her play, offered her support and an introduction to the producer, Daniel Frohman. After meeting with Frohman, with no professional theatrical experience to her name and, after refusing to leave his office until he gave her a chance, Johnson left Frohman's office with a role playing a lady-in-waiting in *The Three Musketeers* for twenty-five dollars a week - and she remained with the company for two years (1920, p. 185).

1.2.7 Tin Pan Alley and the art of popular song-writing

Rida's transition from actress to lyricist will be developed further in Chapter Six (Contracts and Networking), when she was introduced to Isidore Witmark (Head of Witmark Music Publishing) by a mutual friend. Witmarks was a key publishing house

and notably the first company to move from Union Square to West 28th Street further up Broadway, to be closer to the burgeoning theatre district in the late 1800s.

Initially hired as ‘a member of staff, assisting Witmark in the press department’ (Witmark and Goldberg, 1939, p. 348), Rida was soon working at the heart of the business:

...I believed I could write, and after two years of the stage I decided to try songs. I went into a music publishing house, where we worked as a factory works, turning out songs at a rate that was bewildering. When someone singing in vaudeville made a hit, and an order came in for an encore verse, or two or three, or half a dozen, I sat down and wrote them. When a song was needed to fit a particular play or concert, or actor, or someone wrote the music, and I fitted words to them; or I wrote the words and someone fitted the music. I wrote songs continuously for two years and it was a valuable experience. But at the end of that time, I had a chance for a good part on the stage (1920, p. 185).

Aside from demonstrating further her drive to succeed in the theatre, this detail from Johnson Young in 1920 charts such specific detail of her learning process and signposts a significant aspect of her approach to collaboration in later years which will be examined further in Chapter Six. In terms of her career development, it is interesting here to reflect the ways in which she became accustomed to collaboration from the perspective of manufacturing her creative output to order and this facet of her working habit will be considered in more detail as we move through Johnson Young’s narrative. The reference in the interview (above) also serves to illustrate the next stage of Rida’s career as ‘the chance for a good part on the stage’ came from James Young, an up and coming actor whom she had met when he was on the staff of a daily Baltimore newspaper (Lonergan, 1911).

The working relationship between Rida and Young flourished and the couple were married after a long engagement (Peck, 2020, p. 17); from a professional

perspective, Johnson Young had found an environment where she could develop her understanding of stagecraft and she began writing plays full time which, by 1905 were attracting headlines and leading her towards her first Broadway production, *Brown of Harvard* at the Princess Theatre: 'James Young to be a Star. Will Appear Next Year in Comedy Written By Rida Louise Johnson.' (Editorial, 1905; Engle, 2007, p. 192; Peck, 2020, pp. 17–32).

Whereas the couple's marriage was destined not to withstand their individual ambitions, Rida Johnson Young's first Broadway play opened two days before her thirty-first birthday on 26th February 1906, ran for 101 performances and established her as an up-and-coming new dramatist.

1.2.8 The context of the theatrical establishment

Whereas the timeline of this thesis is specifically focused on the Broadway years of each dramatist's work, establishing the context of the theatrical hierarchy leading up to and during this period is integral to the developing narrative.

Until the mid-1870s, American theatre was structured around resident stock companies run by independent managers (often actors themselves) who were effectively responsible for all aspects of production from the lease of the theatres to hiring actors each season. The burgeoning railway system across the United States at this time also allowed for managers to book stars from New York for their shows, which opened up a tempting circuit for performers to pursue a lucrative, albeit strenuous, series of theatre contracts around the United States. In 1896, an enterprising syndicate was formed by a group of theatrical booking agents,

producers and theatre owners (Coleman, 1993, pp. 9–16). Key members of the syndicate were Marc Klaw, Abraham L. Erlanger, Al Hayman, Charles Frohman, Samuel Nixon and J.F. Zimmerman (Bernheim, 1928). The success of this initiative and their collective business interests as booking agents, producers and theatre owners meant that they were able to offer regional managers a complete season of outstanding attractions on the proviso that managers would book their entire season exclusively through them in exchange for a fee. The syndicate guaranteed that touring companies, in order to perform at the best houses (controlled exclusively by the syndicate) had to book through the group, thus creating an unhealthy monopoly, at once making handsome profits for the syndicate owners and stretching the resources of both theatre managers and touring companies by demanding a handling fee from both parties or face the consequences of no regular bookings. By 1903, the syndicate controlled seventy theatres in major cities across America and any actor who objected to the syndicate practices would be banned from performing in their theatres (1993, pp. 9–16).

In an article on the evolution of legitimate theatre in America published in *The New York Times* in 1928, Alfred L. Bernheim traced the restrictive practice of the syndicate and the rise to dominance of an equally powerful organisation:

Then from Syracuse, N.Y., came the Shuberts - Sam, Lee and J.J. Sam Shubert started the family on its theatrical career. This remarkable young man broke into the theatrical business at the age of 8 as a candy and program boy. By the time he was 11 years old he was already treasurer of Syracuse's leading theatre. At about 16 he acquired the road rights to Hoyt's "A Texas Steer" and personally conducted the play on tour with great success. Three years later he came into possession of his first theatre [...]. Early in his business life he took his brothers into partnership. At the time of his death in a railroad accident in 1905 he had reached a position of great prominence in the theatrical world (Bernheim, 1928).

In 1900, the Shubert brothers took over the lease of the Herald Square Theatre with the aim of producing quality shows which were unfettered by the stronghold of the syndicate. Over the next few years, they not only established themselves as successful producers but also as theatre owners and, crucially, theatre builders. The unique selling proposition of the Shuberts was that anyone who wanted to book into one of their theatres, could do so without having to book into all of them, and once the Shuberts had acquired enough theatres, they effectively quashed the reign of the competitive Klaw-Erlanger syndicate, simultaneously creating their own form of monopoly in the process (1993, pp. 9–16):

In their fight for a place in the sun the Shuberts advanced under the banner of theatrical independence. The “open door” [sic] was the slogan by which they rallied to their support all the malcontents, the rebels, the independent in spirit and the personally ambitious actors, managers and producers who chafed under Syndicate domination. Every theatre was to be open to every worthy attraction, without discrimination or favor. But once the Shuberts crossed the threshold, they more or less closed the open door behind them (Bernheim, 1928).

In short, the Shuberts were a force to be reckoned with and by 1916 they had become the nation’s most important and powerful theatre owners and managers (Shubert, 2022). Of equal importance here is to appreciate that whilst the Shuberts were powerful, they were not the only successful producers on Broadway during this time. In 1919, *The New York Times* reported that, following the break-up of the original syndicate, that Abraham Erlanger had formed an alliance with Charles Dillingham and Florenz Ziegfeld for the production ‘on a large scale of plays and musical comedies’:

In addition to producing many attractions, the new firm expects also to operate a chain of theatres all over the country. Included in these are the twelve theatres for New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, and Detroit, which Mr. Erlanger announced a few days ago [...] the three men will also continue to produce as individuals (Editorial, 1919a).

Charles Dillingham's connection with Erlanger was through another former member of the syndicate, Charles Frohman. Frohman had supported Dillingham early in his career and they were friends as well as associates until Frohman's death on the torpedoed RMS Lusitania in 1915. Dillingham's connection with Frohman, Erlanger and Ziegfeld is interesting for the way it reveals the network of professional loyalties on Broadway and the particular ways in which they conducted their business.

Articles in the press (Editorial, 1919b, 1927; Hutchens, 1930) highlight a contentious imbalance of power between producers and dramatists in contract negotiation which gathered momentum throughout the period particularly in relation to ownership, rights and royalty payments. In 1930, *The New York Times* reported on how Irish actor and dramatist Dion Boucicault originally devised and introduced Charles Frohman to the concept of a sliding scale of royalty percentages for dramatists (5% of the first \$5,000; 7.5% of the next \$2,000 and 10% of the weekly receipts in excess of \$7,000):

[i]n a moment of exasperation or brilliance or both he constructed the sliding scale of royalties [...] and Mr. Frohman introduced it, with variations, among American authors. Personally, that producer prided himself on never making contracts with his dramatists - the word was his bond, &c - but the principle was at least under way [sic] (Hutchens, 1930).

Although the article doesn't reveal the date of Boucicault's proposal, it would have been pre-1915, and the way in which it was received by Frohman appears indicative of general practice amongst the producing fraternity during the early years of the twentieth century prior to the formation of *The Dramatists' Guild*, a factor which will be further mined in Chapters Five (The Correspondence) and Six (Contracts & Networking). Of note here is that a writer's wealth was by no means guaranteed by a producer's handshake, that the newly formed *Dramatists' Guild* did not establish the rights of a Minimum Basic Agreement with producers until 1926 and that

producers such as the Shuberts notably resisted signing all the way to the Supreme Court (Editorial, 1927).

1.3 Methodology and research design

A key aspect of this thesis is its positionality *vis à vis* the more conventional musicological approaches to the historical narrative. To date, archival research has typically interpreted the record from a dramaturgical-biographical perspective, scrutinising subject matter and content in tandem with the career profile and personal narrative of the subject. This research presents a new perspective for analysis by means of a Linguistic-Hermeneutic Paradigm, the purpose of which is to examine the nature of professional communication and collaboration from a critical epistemological perspective which homes in on previously unconsidered aspects of power relations.

Whilst the construct of the Linguistic-Hermeneutic Paradigm will be demonstrated in detail in Chapter Three it essentially consists of three methods of analysis:

- 1a: analysis of correspondence
- 1b: analysis of contracts and networking behaviours
- 2: analysis of collaborated works

Method 2 highlights a further aspect of the research design not commonly associated with musicological analysis in its use of Language Inquiry and Word Count software (LIWC). LIWC's capacity to organise the written word into pre-set categories of analysis has already proven effective in gender difference in writing styles research (Newman *et al.*, 2008), the statistical outcomes of which are used as the blueprint for the Method 2 text analyses in Chapter Seven.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

This thesis will firstly establish the current academic landscape of the research problem (Chapter Two: Literature Review) and will proceed to demonstrate how the research question is represented through the detail of the overall research design (Chapter Three: Methodology). With the detail of the Methodology established, the Text Analysis software will be further explained as a separate Chapter (Chapter Four: Text Analysis) by way of preparation for both its employment as a key element of the Methodology and its utilisation in the codification process of the creative collaborations (Chapter Seven: The Collaborations). Chapter Five (The Correspondence) and Chapter Six (Contracts & Networking) represent the substantive chapters relating directly to business negotiation and networks, embodying the analysis of empowerment through collaboration. Chapter Seven (The Collaborations) represents the final stage of the analysis, utilising computer assisted text analysis software (Language Inquiry and Word Count/LIWC) to support the investigation into the balance of male/female writing styles in the creative collaborative partnerships of each writer.

1.4.1 Appendices

The thesis has a total of six appendices representing the detail of the primary source data, alphabetically labelled A-F as shown below in Table 1:

Appendix	Title/Content
A	Primary source correspondence between writers and their network. The document represents a total of 253 images of correspondence, contracts and business statements sourced from The Shubert Archive in New York.
B	ASCAP membership records, 1914-1934. These records are images as typed in 1935 by the Shubert office for their own records. As recorded on the first page, the list was published in <i>Variety Magazine</i> on 4 th December, 1935 and shows the elected date of each member from the Society's foundation through to the end of June, 1934.
C	Table illustrating Rida Johnson Young's fellow Council members of the 1919 Dramatists' Guild Council, illustrating their connection to either Alice Kauser or Elisabeth Marbury and the source of the connection reference.
D	LIWC analysis results for Rida Johnson Young.*
E	LIWC analysis results for Dorothy Donnelly.*
F	LIWC analysis results for Anne Caldwell.*
* Due to the volume of scripts in the analysis (33, with a combined total of 500,000+ words), the complete set of LIWC analysis charts (including controls) are presented as individual appendices relating to each writer.	

Table 1. Outline and description of thesis appendices.

1.5 Aims of the research

The aim of this qualitative, interdisciplinary research is to home in on an aspect of historical text-based inquiry which reaches beyond established musicological methods to combine a method of researcher-based/computer assisted text analysis. As a result of the unique epistemological perspective, the research aims to reveal new knowledge in relation to:

- business negotiative practices between female dramatists and producers, highlighting from a feminist theoretical perspective the ways in which they successfully managed their professional relationships (Chapters Five and Six).
- to explore creative collaboration and the balance of gender writing styles utilising computer assisted text analysis software (CATA) from a sample of in excess of 500,000 words (Chapter Seven).
- To present previously undiscovered elements of libretto development specific to the evolution of early musical theatre and pertinent to collaborative observations *vis à vis* producer/dramatist expectations prior to the establishment of The Dramatists' Guild and the Minimum Basic Agreement in 1927 (Chapter Five).
- to demonstrate how data-driven hermeneutics can serve as a complimentary layer of analysis to traditional historical inquiry to create new perspectives around creative collaboration and non-gender biased commercial viability in the twenty-first century.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter represents an overview of the literature focusing on each of the elements of the research question. As will be seen from the review of the supporting methodological literature later in this chapter (2.6), the literature which supports the theoretical framework of the design is fundamental in creating a platform from which to review the outcomes of the research question. As will be demonstrated in the Methodology chapter, the epistemological perspective of this deductive research is that of critical narrative inquiry, encompassing the sociological spheres of feminist theory, discourse analysis and text analysis and this chapter will focus the review of current literature accordingly with its relationship to the epistemological perspective of the research question.

Divided into five subject fields, this chapter will consider (i) research examining the surge of successful women dramatists during the Progressive Era in the United States, (ii) the historiography of the period (iii) the literature relating directly to Anne Caldwell, Dorothy Donnelly and Rida Johnson Young (iv) related sociological research pertinent to the current exploration of the subject and (v) supporting methodological literature.

2.2 Women in the Arts in the Progressive Era

A review of the literature written since the early 1990's regarding women in the Arts in the United States reveals an intriguing picture. As discussed in the Introduction,

the period of time between 1890-1920 came to be known as the Progressive Era and witnessed the dawn of an unprecedented age of opportunity for women, particularly in the theatre. According to Paul Fryer,

the arts had always offered women opportunities of influence that simply didn't exist in other industries, that 'she could and did have great success in the management of significant creative enterprises, many of which were to prove highly influential upon what was to follow as the 19th became the 20th century' (2012, pp.1-2).

Since the early 1990s, scholars have been interrogating the social phenomenon of the first half of the twentieth century which witnessed a surge of well-educated, sophisticated female playwrights entering the commercial theatre, achieving both critical acclaim and popularity on Broadway (Shafer, 1995). Scholars such as Yvonne Shafer believe that the reason most people today still believe that there were few or no women playwrights at the turn of the century is because they not only successfully wrote formulaic star vehicles (subsequently disregarded by historians as run of the mill, money-making entertainment) but they also focused on the issues of social injustice and the empowerment of women, such as *A Man's World* by Rachel Crothers and were subsequently dismissed by historians as being radical and thus unworthy of critical merit (Smith, 1950)⁸.

Research by scholars Candice Marie Coleman, Sherry Engle, Ellen Marie Peck, and Korey R. Rothman in particular reveals that women writers were earning a good living, but they were often compromised by the nature of newspaper articles and reviews of their work (Coleman, 1993; Engle, 2001; Peck, 2009a; Rothman, 2008). Sherry Engle has explored the fact that women dramatists at the turn of the

⁸ In *A Man's World* (1915), Crothers creates a story about a woman writer who chooses to be the single parent of an illegitimate child, who rejects marriage for a career.

twentieth-century, without a doubt, found themselves 'hampered by gender' with research to date tending to focus more on the inequality of the representation of female writers and how they were represented in the press, with lingering Victorian-style representations written by men, appraising them more for their femininity than any analysis of their ideas on crafting a piece of writing (Bell, 1911). As will be demonstrated later in this chapter (2.6.5), the analytical linguistic work of Robin Lakoff in the early 1970s homed in on what she describes as a 'hierarchy of language use' which had become accepted between the sexes, calling on social scientists to investigate the inequities inherent in the language to determine 'the weaknesses and strengths of a culture' and this is exemplified in the press interviews of the day alluded to by Coleman, Peck and Engle, where female achievement and success were systematically undermined by a journalistic style which had become part of the status quo (Lakoff, 1973, p. 78). Engle posits, however, that as the years passed, aided by the Progressive Era which fostered the arrival of the 'culturally-sanctioned' New Woman, the opportunities it opened up for educated women, were in her words, 'incalculable' (Engle, 2001). Whilst this is not to suggest by any means that women were suddenly liberated from their role as keeper of hearth and home, they had without doubt found their voice and it was most definitely heard in the theatre. Sherry Engle's article reveals astonishing facts regarding the number of women who were writing as dramatists between the years 1890-1920 (the period known as the Progressive Era). Of particular note here is that Engle also provides evidence that anyone, male or female, who was successfully engaged to write for the theatre would earn the same fees (2001, p.33). This point is however countered with the observation that whilst women were earning a good income, they nevertheless were faced with compromising advances from managers and producers and often

misrepresented and patronised in the press. Engle's views on why and how women were able to command equal wages at this time is in her view due to a flourishing theatre and economy which gave women the chance to take advantage of abundant opportunities in an environment where there was work for all. That professional women writers were paid on a par with men during this time as a direct result of a flourishing economy is a logical assumption. Similarly, that the gender pay divide which emerged in subsequent years was forged out of necessity by the opposite end of the economic spectrum caused by the deprivations of economic depression and two world wars is an equally logical hypothesis:

Very likely, there is no other period in the history of American theatre which holds as high a percentage of professionally produced plays written by women as the Progressive Era. Put into historical perspective, the tradition of America's woman playwright has appeared to fluctuate with changing currents of culture and society (Engle, 2001, p. 45).

This acknowledgment of women's impressive advance into the workforce during this time highlights a long-awaited moment in time where women were able to flourish in bona fide vocational career work which was paid equally and irrespective of gender. It does however raise the question of how, irrespective of economic prosperity and social circumstances, society grew to accept that women would be gradually demoted on the pay-scale. The very nature of a critical epistemological research perspective is that it challenges the status quo and what some scholars in this arena may have overlooked, its presence hidden in plain sight, is that 'people unconsciously accept the way things are, and in so doing, reinforce the status quo' (Merriam and Tisdell, 2016, p. 61). This viewpoint draws on the interdisciplinary nature of the research question in that, by examining academic assumptions regarding a period in history where professional opportunities for women were abundant, highlights a sociological axis point in history which appears to have been

diverted by an assumption that its apparent demise was caused by the misfortune of unstable global economic circumstance in the ensuing years.

Professional writing opportunities for well-educated women weren't limited to the arts either, as examination of press articles of the day reveal that there were women beginning to break the mould of established journalism even if they weren't able to turn the tide altogether. Ada Patterson and Helen Christine Bennett are two such journalists who were hired by magazines and periodicals such as *Theatre* and *American Magazine* to conduct interviews for their featured articles. The style of their journalism is noticeably free from the slants of male prejudice and they focus more clearly on the subject of their interview, quite clearly free from any ulterior motive to undermine or patronise (Patterson, 1915; Bennett, 1920). Ada Patterson was considered a ground-breaking journalist of her generation. By way of example and to further illustrate Engle's point of being 'hampered by gender', in 1895, a male colleague at the San Francisco Call described Patterson as:

Virile of intellect, alert, clear sighted, with all the varied qualities necessary to a successful business man [sic]. Miss Patterson is at the same time an attractive little woman, gentle, tender, sensitive and unassuming (Peko, 2017).

In 1897, she was the first female journalist to witness an execution, was a feature writer for the *New York Journal* for over twenty years and covered topics considered unsuitable for a female journalist such as inequality in female employment, women's working conditions and women's education. Her interview with Anne Caldwell entitled *The Only Woman Librettist in America* was published in 1915 in *Theatre Magazine* and she co-wrote a Broadway comedy drama with the actor Robert

Edeson entitled *Love's Lightning* about motherhood in 1918. At the time of her interview for *American Magazine* with Rida Johnson Young in 1920, Helen Christine Bennett was the recently published author of a book, *American Women in Civic Work*, focusing on 'the advance of women' and 'their entrance into public affairs' (Bennett, 1919). Rodney H. Jones writes that people are situated by discourse, 'whenever people speak or write, they are through their discourse, somehow demonstrating who they are and what their relationship is to other people' (Jones, 2019, p. 4); Ada Patterson and Helen Christine Bennett demonstrated just this aspect of discourse in their interviews with Anne Caldwell and Rida Johnson Young, each reflecting their position as independent women of the Progressive Era, emanating mutual interest and respect.

2.3 Historiography of musical theatre

Taking into consideration the context of the working world derived from the overview of Progressive Era literature, it would be fair to suggest that academic scrutiny of creative and financially rewarding professional opportunities for women on Broadway during this period has firmly established that these same women, irrespective of the acclaim afforded them during their lifetimes, were subsequently overlooked by historians as exemplified by Korey R. Rothman:

The years between *The Black Crook* (1866), with its fortuitous joining of melodrama and leggy chorines, and *Oklahoma!* (1943), with its integrated song, dance, and plot, marked a fertile era for the nascent American musical theatre. Unfortunately, though, historians of musical theatre often represent the period between these two musical milestones as a product of the creative efforts of a few outstanding men (Rothman, 2008, p. 9).

Academic inquiry since the early 1990's has therefore focused on unearthing and assessing the output of female writers, in terms of subject matter, context and

creativity to ascertain the validity of their exemption and to scrutinise the quality of their creative output (Coleman, 1993; McLean, 1999; Rothman, 2008; Peck, 2009a). In reviewing the literature to date relating to Anne Caldwell, Dorothy Donnelly and Rida Johnson Young, it is apparent that some texts veer towards a rather polemic tone, and, whilst it can be argued that this is justified, the evolution of qualitative research since the early 1990s has endeavoured to establish an approach more in line with scientific, quantitative analysis in order to develop more stringent checks for researcher bias. In his monograph on qualitative research methods, Michael Quinn Patton posits the importance of an alliance between reliability and credibility for the qualitative researcher who demonstrates rigorous methods overall:

Methods do not ensure rigor. A research design does not ensure rigor. Analytical techniques and procedures do not ensure rigor. Rigor resides in, depends on, and is manifest in *rigorous* [sic] thinking – about everything, including methods and analysis (Patton, 2015, p. 703).

Such measures for applying rigour to this research will be explored further in the Methodology chapter (3.6 Data Collection Methods and 3.8 Ethics) but establishing the need for awareness in respect of potential bias in assessing the literature at this stage in terms of assumptions drawn by others is key here, prior to considering prevailing literature regarding Caldwell, Donnelly and Johnson Young.

2.3.1 Identifying the historical trend

Writing in 1993, Alicia Kae Koger provides an insightful commentary regarding trends in musical theatre scholarship and the personalities and circumstances of the individuals who shaped early perceptions of musical theatre development from the mid-twentieth century. Koger cites three key historical monographs which were accountable for numerous inaccuracies in their historical accounts which were left

unchallenged for some thirty years: Cecil Smith's *Musical Comedy in America* (1950), David Ewen's *The Complete Book of the American Musical Theatre* (1970) and Stanley Green's *The Broadway Musical Show by Show* (1985). For many years considered a reference cornerstone regarding musical theatre development, Cecil Smith's view is subjective and lacking academic rigour and yet it was considered a landmark publication which was revised and updated three times. Smith's style of writing is given to a peremptory approach rather than one of scholarly inquiry wherein he pronounces on musical theatre that 'the medium itself does not suggest *Wissenschaft* and the devices of the doctor's dissertation' (Smith, 1950), establishing an assumptive attitude toward potential musical theatre scholarship that would, according to Koger, 'pervade the writing on the musical theatre for the next three decades... and set the standard for nearly all the histories of musical theatre published in the next two decades' (1993, pp. 70 - 71). Smith's assessment of turn of the century activity on Broadway was dismissed with epithets such as 'dreary', having 'no fresh impetus' and the era was dismissed forthwith:

The more formal comic operas, few in number, were uniformly poor in quality; and, moreover, it was becoming hard to tell a comic opera from a musical comedy, since most musical comedies were no more than vulgarizations of the comic-opera formula. Except for an occasional piece, once or twice a year, [...] the musical theatre was content to bide its time (1950).

The resultant effect of Smith's misconceptions clearly impacted the perception of the quality of work produced by both male and female writers and composers of the era but this was particularly the case for women:

"Not only has their work been "swept aside" but by and large most of the dramatists of the period have become marginalised, if not forgotten" (Engle, 2001, p.29).

Likewise, according to Koger, Stanley Green's account stands as the third major contribution to the history of the musical in this period and yet despite the high

esteem afforded his scholarship, the misconception regarding the individuals he was reporting on continued with broad statements such as:

The creators of musical comedy in America are a body of men (and some women) who have consistently refused to do less than the best that was in them (1985, p. viii).

Korey R. Rothman exemplifies this statement in the introduction to her essay on female lyricists of operetta and musical comedy as being, quite simply ‘negligent’ (2008, p. 9). Whilst Rothman’s statement is indisputable, it is also interesting to consider Green’s account here in relation to discourse analysis and the journalistic accounts from the period (2.2, pp. 5-6). Green effectively demonstrates Lakoff’s hierarchy of language by diminishing the female contribution in one sentence by adding parenthesis and, whilst not disagreeing with Rothman’s emotive claim of negligence, critical analysis facilitates a broader empirical perspective to investigate Lakoff’s ‘weaknesses and strengths of a culture’ (1973).

In their introduction to *Women in American Musical Theatre*, editors Bud Coleman and Judith A. Sebesta conclude that ‘most written histories of musical theatre discuss the work of female performers but make only a cursory nod to the work of its other female creators’ (Rothman *et al.*, 2008, p. 2). Writing in 2008, some sixty years after the first written histories on the subject were published, following a detailed assessment of the literature, the authors conclude that:

None of the major works on the history of the musical theatre include sections on the contributions of women; most include considerable information on men who engaged in much less prolific careers than many women who are left out (2008).

An additional point worth reflecting upon here is that Coleman and Sebesta’s conclusions are also based on the collective of work which had been published up to

2008, not just earlier publications from the mid-twentieth century. They also raise another cogent point that scholarly bias may have also contributed to the apparent dearth of information on the subject caused as a result of bias against musical theatre within musicology, citing their own particular experience of being discouraged in exploring the genre at dissertation level; an experience I can also vouch for at Masters level in 2018. Coleman and Sebesta's review of the imbalance of attention afforded female contributors to musical theatre underlines a chronology of inaccuracies and bias in the historical record, highlighting Koger's view of a replicated, unchallenged formula in the genre over many years. Moreover, the methodological rigour applied by Coleman and Sebesta in overseeing the collection of essays which makes up *Women in American Musical Theatre* provides a candid check of the literature regarding the historical record by methodically highlighting the extent to which women's contribution has been recognised in the genre from a representative sample of literature published between 1967 and 2003, a sample of which is summarised below at Table 2 (Rothman *et al.*, 2008, pp. 2–3):

Table 2. Sample of the representation of women in the musical theatre historical record 1950-2003 (Source: Rothman *et al.*, 2008, pp. 1–7)

No.	Author(s)	Title	Year	Subject	Inclusion of leading female contributors	Female contributor mentioned (omitting repeat mention)
1	Lehman Engel	<i>The American Musical Theatre. A Consideration by Lehman Engel</i>	1967	A highly regarded publication on the history of musical theatre from 1751 to 1967 with an Introduction by one of The New York Times leading and most respected theatre critics, Brooks Atkinson (years active 1925-1960).	Briefly explores the work of 6 women: lyricist/librettist Betty Comden (1944-2005); dancer/choreographer Agnes de Mille (1905-1993); lyricist/librettist Dorothy Fields (1904-1974); Actress Nancy Hamilton (1908-1995); writer Bella Spewak (1899-1999); composer of popular and classical music, Kay Swift (1897-1993/years active, from 1930).	6
2	Al Kasha, Joel Hirschhorn	<i>Notes on Broadway: Conversations with Great Songwriters</i>	1985	Conversations with 25 songwriters from Jule Styne in the 1930s to Tim Rice in the 1980s.	From the representative list which extends back to work of writers from the 1930s, the list of 25 only includes 6 women, Betty Comden, Gretchen Cryer. Micki Grant, Carol Hall. Mary Rodgers, Carole Bayer Sager .	5
3	Alan Jay Lerner	<i>The Musical Theatre: A Celebration</i>	1986	Described by The LA Times on its publication in 1986 ‘as a popular history of musical theater from the creation of operetta by Jacques Offenbach to the present day’ (Curcio, 1986).	Only Betty Comden, Agnes De Mille and Dorothy Fields are ‘celebrated’ (Rothman <i>et al.</i> , 2008, p. 2)	0 (repeated mentions)
4	Kurt Ganzl	<i>Song and Dance</i>	1995	The history of Musical Theatre from the nineteenth century to the present day.	Tracing the history of musical theatre over the period of a hundred years, Ganzl mentions only six female writers: Betty Comden, Dorothy Fields, Carolyn Leigh, Carole Bayer Sager, Bella Spewak and Rida Johnson Young (2008, p. 2).	2
5	David Walsh, Len Platt	<i>Musical Theater and American Culture</i>	2003	A review of the development of musical theatre from the mid-eighteenth century.	This contains only mention of choreographer Agnes de Mille with regards to female contributors.	0 (repeated mention)

Assessing the facts revealed by Coleman and Sebesta's overview of key literature in table form is particularly beneficial for the scholar who is guarding against bias, revealing facts and figures for clearer comparisons than presented in a written paragraph. Closer inspection of the table reveals that the literature counts just thirteen women considered worthy of a brief mention in the development of musical theatre from a period spanning approximately 250 years (see Table 2, final column).

Finally, the twenty-first century has witnessed a rise in musicological/new historicist and cultural studies from musical authorial and collaborative interrogation (McHugh, 2015), to diverse cultural approaches examining gender equality in the music industry (Lowes, 2021), the importance and relevance of queer culture in iconic musicals (Birkett and McHugh, 2018; Whitfield, 2020) and perspectives that seek to deconstruct male-female binary polemics (Werner, Gadir and De Boise, 2021). The growth of these diverse studies examining such a broad field in the past two decades underlines the positive development of researcher mindset in the genre, wherein dialogic interrogation is free to explore and correct historical bias across the board.

2.3.2 Conclusions of the historiography

The literature has shown that broad generalisations built up around the evolution of musical theatre as a result of inaccurate reporting, were largely accepted for a period of three decades which caused them to settle in the musical theatre community's psyche where they were left unchallenged and accepted as documented facts. The subsequent inaccuracies led to misconceptions and a general acceptance that men were better suited and more adept at the work of writing for the theatre and this view subsequently distilled itself into the social consciousness. Richard Taruskin observes

that 'it is incumbent on the historian—the teller of the tale—to explain the reasons for the glaring absence of female participants in the story that is told' (Taruskin, 2010) and the resultant damage to reputations of these inaccuracies, accepted over such a prolonged period, are illustrated by Christine Ammer in *Unsung: A History of Women in American Music*:

Several years of research showed that women indeed have been writing and performing music for as long as men have. But owing to the social climate of earlier times, their work went unnoticed, unpublished, unperformed, and was quickly forgotten (Ammer, 2001).

Further, and as recently as 2021, Werner et al note how 'the discursive gendering of 'musical genius in classical music' has served to obscure the contributions of women composers and musicians' and how the performative function of the prevailing canon serves to ensure 'the music of composers in the canon will be played and taught more often' (Werner, Gadir and De Boise, 2021). This research, by its very nature, is wholly cognizant not only of Taruskin's inducement to interrogate 'the glaring absence of female participants' in the story that is told but beyond that to elevate the importance and relevance of their role in the story itself. This point being contiguous with the current critical discourse of scholars such as Werner, Gadir and De Boise (2021) and their own rallying call for a recalibration of gender balance in the historical record.

It is a fact that musical theatre as a genre was not considered a serious subject worthy of academic scrutiny until the late twentieth century and Koger highlights a pertinent view that 'the accomplishments of the most prominent historians of the musical theatre must therefore be weighed against the limitations of their methodologies' (1993, p. 78). Reflection on the historiography of musical theatre

brings to mind that the original historians of the genre perhaps did not set out to overlook or misrepresent a vast swathe of talented individuals and hide their creative contributions forever from subsequent generations, but it highlights the pertinence of Patton's call for rigorous scrutiny (2015) and checks for bias in the development of twenty-first century musical theatre analysis.

2.4 Caldwell, Donnelly and Johnson Young

Since 1993 there have been four key monographs assessing the work and lives of Anne Caldwell, Dorothy Donnelly and Rida Johnson Young in the form of two theses and two biographies (Coleman, 1993; McLean, 1999; Peck, 2009a, 2020), with each of the studies bringing to light biographical information and detail about the content of the work by each writer. In their introduction to *Women in American Musical Theatre*, Coleman and Sebesta raise a cogent observation that:

Although a number of works have treated the subject of musical theatre from a fairly traditional, almost "positivist" historical perspective, few have approached it theoretically or using a less "traditional" historical methodology, such as feminism, Marxism, postmodernism, etc (2008, p. 3).

Therefore, whilst Coleman et al. have raised the profile of each of the writers, there remains ample scope for new and varied analytical perspectives on their place in the development of the genre.

Reviewing the literature surrounding the creative contribution made by women in the Progressive Era reveals an extraordinary number of individuals, male and female, who were regularly employed, earning a good living and contributing to a thriving theatrical landscape during the early years of the twentieth century. Of particular note is the fact that, despite much evidence that women were often undermined in

the press for their skill, the support of female journalists meant that an obvious phenomenon on Broadway wouldn't go unreported:

In song-writing, as in every other branch of business or profession, women are now pushing mere man very hard. They are said to be "putting over" [sic] the greater number of popular hits, many of them producing words, music, and orchestration (Anonymous, 1917, p. 87).

This quote, from *The Literary Digest*, entitled 'Successful Women Songwriters' in 1917, lists Clare Kummer, Mana Zucca, Blanche Merrill, Anne Caldwell ('has probably more song-hits to her credit than any other woman song-writer'), Elsa Maxwell ('she is the songster of feminism and of the suffrage. She has got away with ideas in her songs which is a rare achievement'), Cara Roma, Carrie Jacobs Bond 'and ever so many others' (1917, p.87). Ironically, the author of the article is unnamed, cleverly making reference to herself as 'the newspaper woman' throughout the article and yet, as an unidentified, uncredited writer of the article, is caught in the paradox of the very cause she is seeking to promote.

An overview of the analyses of Caldwell, Donnelly and Johnson Young aligns very much with Coleman and Sebesta's observation of a positivist/traditional approach to the research. Peck's thesis considers the work and careers of Anne Caldwell, Dorothy Donnelly and Rida Johnson Young from a perspective of their productions, how they were received in their day and how their contribution to musical theatre was subsequently overlooked by historians (2009); Peck's more recent biography of Rida Johnson Young positions her as a contributing pioneer of early musical theatre, assessing her output in terms of dramaturgical structure with commentary on the nature of her creative language from the perspective of musicological analysis. Similar to this research, Peck also undertakes consideration of the available archive

correspondence for her analysis of Johnson Young's professional relationships; however, it is important to stress that the analysis is considered only through the prism of the biographical narrative and context of the progression of Johnson Young's career. Candice Marie Coleman's thesis focuses on gender issues reflected in the work of each writer (her focus being Anne Caldwell, Clare Beecher Kummer and Rida Johnson Young) and considers the negotiative aspects of their professional life more biographically rather than from the viewpoint of any particular methodology or theoretical framework. Rida Johnson Young's correspondence is analysed, but again, this is couched in the form of a chronological narrative (1993). Lorraine Arnal Mclean's monograph on Dorothy Donnelly's life and career as an actress, playwright, play doctor and librettist represents an invaluable biographical resource alongside published articles and chapter contributions by Ellen Marie Peck on Rida Johnson Young based on her thesis.

It is now generally accepted by musical theatre musicologists that whilst recognised for their work during their lifetimes, the contribution made by Caldwell, Donnelly and Johnson Young to the development of the genre was largely overlooked by historians, their creative output muted in favour of a sharper focus on the work of their male peers since the publication of the first monographs on the subject which first appeared in the mid-twentieth century (Coleman, Peck, Estrin, Engle, Koger et al vs. Smith, Ewen, Green et al). As discussed earlier in this chapter (2.3.1. Identifying the historical trend), recent research concurs that this group of women, who worked regularly with leading male composers such as Jerome Kern, Victor Herbert and Sigmund Romberg, were largely overlooked for their collaborative efforts by the historical record in terms of their creative skill and contribution to well-

regarded works which came to be associated and identified by history with their male composers (*Naughty Marietta* – Victor Herbert; *The Student Prince* – Sigmund Romberg; *The Night Boat* – Jerome Kern). The historiography (2.3) earlier in this chapter also exemplifies how historians made only passing reference to many key female contributors and *Song by Song*, written by theatre critic Caryl Brahms and broadcaster Ned Sherrin is yet another example of this practice. In their monograph, Brahms and Sherrin present fourteen major lyric writers of the twentieth century from Irving Berlin to Stephen Sondheim. Whilst the chapters initially only acknowledge the existence of one female lyric writer, Dorothy Fields, they do allude positively to the works of Anne Caldwell, Dorothy Donnelly and Rida Johnson Young, although it is only in passing in the introduction to the Fields' chapter (Brahms and Sherrin, 1984). And this despite the fact that both Anne Caldwell and Rida Johnson Young had been inducted into the Songwriters Hall of Fame in 1970 for their contribution to the genre as songwriters. To illustrate this point further, the collective contributions to *The Cambridge Companion to the Musical* by respected musical theatre scholars from Katherine K. Preston, Orly Leah Krasner, William A. Everett and Geoffrey Block endeavour in Part 1 of the Companion to represent the most notable events and trends in musical theatre in the first forty years of the twentieth century (Preston *et al.*, 2002). Whilst they trace the story with accuracy, mentions of the main works by Sigmund Romberg, Victor Herbert and Jerome Kern are noticeably lacking in any credit to their female collaborators, without whom it could well be argued, their success in each production may not have been so lauded. Added to which, even when one takes into consideration the classical trend to place the composer's importance over the lyricist/librettist, in an instance during the same period when the writer is male, he is accorded mention and praise for his skill and collaboration with

the composer (Krasner, 2002; Preston *et al.*, 2002).⁹ To recall Coleman and Sebesta here, this again brings into sharp focus their point regarding the fact that none of the major works on the history of musical theatre include sections on the contributions of women, whilst chronicling the output of male writers with much less prolific careers (2008, p. 2).

In Peck's conclusion to her thesis in 2009 she alludes to the fact that she omitted Anne Caldwell and Rida Johnson Young's collaborative efforts in order to 'discover their individual voices' and asks 'how would examining their collaborations enhance understanding both of their works and the nature of collaboration in this era?' (2009, p. 194). Writing a year before Peck's summary of potential untapped avenues for research, Coleman and Sebesta concluded that:

Since in the past twenty years a number of analytical works have focused more generally on the place of women in theatre, one might be hopeful that here would lie a goldmine of information on these unsung contributors. Books that recoup, analyze, and/or celebrate women's contributions to theatre throughout history would seem to be a perfect source for women's specific contributions to musical theatre. But unfortunately this has not been the case (2008, pp. 2–3).

In 2020 Peck concluded in her biography of Rida Johnson Young that 'my major challenge with these collaborations lies in distinguishing Young's voice from those of her co-writers' (p. 79). Advances made in computer software technology in the last decade, coupled with the growing sophistication of qualitative theoretical methodology in the social sciences, is enabling qualitative researchers to bridge what Gregor Wiedemann describes as the epistemological gap between the object of their research and what computer algorithms can identify (Wiedemann, 2013, pp.

⁹ In this case, Henry Blossom (1866-1919). Blossom was the librettist with Victor Herbert on the operettas *Mlle Modiste* (1905) and *The Red Mill* (1906).

333–339). This will be expanded upon in the review of text analysis (2.6.6), Methodology (3.5.4 Linguistic Analysis) and further in Chapters Four (Text Analysis) and Seven (The Collaborations).

2.5 Pertinent sociological research

The socio-cultural breadth of this interdisciplinary inquiry also benefits from some context of the economic historiography of the period in which it is set. In 2016, research scholar Thomas C. Leonard's award-winning book *Illiberal Reformers: Race, Eugenics & American Economics in the Progressive Era* revealed an intriguing state of affairs in American economic history in his monograph which set out to re-examine:

‘the story of the progressive scholars and activists who led the Progressive Era crusade to dismantle laissez-faire, remaking American economic life with a newly created instrument of reform, the administrative state (Leonard, 2016, p. iv).

According to Leonard, in 1910 women accounted for 21 percent of the workforce in America and 45 percent of professional employment owing to their predominance in the teaching profession. Between 1909 and 1919, forty American states restricted working hours for women and fifteen imposed minimum wages and the case the progressives presented was that they were protecting women from the stresses of employment. In the context of this research, it is the aspect of labour reform which was designed to effectively protect employment from women by minimising their wages, restricting their working hours and advocating women's position as mother's of the race whose real work was to preserve society's health heredity and 'not risk the race's health by overwork and fatigue (at least not with *paid* work and fatigue)' (2016, p. 173):

The progressive case for protecting women began with female difference, and difference usually meant inferiority. The claim was that women, as the biologically weaker sex, needed (like children) special protection from the demands of employment, usually in the form of restrictions on hours or bans on night work. Richard T. Ely, like many progressives, argued that night work should be forbidden for women, as should any type of employment “injurious to the female organism” (2016, p. 170).

This restructuring of the welfare state also introduced the Family Wage which could only be earned by men (whether married or single) who were recognised as the ‘breadwinner’ and college-educated, Progressive Era women, who defied gender roles by going to work, were accused of abetting race suicide (2016, p. 179).

The publication of the book in 2016 provoked widespread opinion from academics and non-academics and, according to economics scholar Cléo Chassonnery-Zaigouche, it attracted balanced analyses, historiographical discussions, vitriolic criticisms and outstanding praise (2020, p. 333). Chassonnery-Zaigouche’s focus for her thesis was on the history of the economics of discrimination in the US and her essay on the reception given Leonard’s monograph focuses on the book’s reception within the community of historians of economics and highlights that Leonard’s view on gender within the book ‘was mainly ignored by reviewers except for a few brief mentions’ (2020). Chassonnery-Zaigouche’s long view on the reaction to Leonard’s work is that it ultimately calls for further research and ‘that historians disagree is, in my opinion, a good thing, especially in the history of economics, where issues such as “race” and gender are under-researched’ (2020). The vantage point of an interdisciplinary lens for this research affords it the broader viewpoint to consider previous assumptions regarding Engle’s ‘surge of female dramatists’ who were afforded the opportunity to earn and prosper as equals in the early part of the twentieth century on Broadway. Considering the socio-economic perspective

afforded by Leonard's research affords a new slant to Engle's assessment that 'the tradition of America's woman playwright has appeared to fluctuate with changing currents of culture and society' (2001) to something much more specific which was ultimately designed to restrict advance irrespective of the changing economic climate.

Whilst it is undeniable that the Progressive Era opened up many opportunities for women at the turn of the twentieth century, Thomas C. Leonard's monograph uncovers the intentionally limiting directives delivered by the American administration to slow women's advance in the workplace in the early 1900's and highlights the indisputable fact that their progress was delivered a huge blow with the introduction of restricted working hours and 'the family wage' which could only be earned by men. Leonard's research touches on a central theme linked to the critical epistemological perspective of this research which will be further developed in the Methodology chapter, but which is also beneficial to reflect upon at this stage. In the epilogue to his monograph, Leonard concurs it is a well-known fact that modern liberalism 'permanently demoted economic liberties' (2016, p. 191) but it is the detail beyond the surface which is not so well-known. According to Kincheloe, McLaren, & Steinberg, a basic assumption of critical research is that:

all thought is mediated by power relations that are historically and socially constructed.. inquiry that aspires to the name 'critical' must be connected to an attempt to confront the injustice of a particular society (2011, p. 164).

Leonard's research pinpoints a central point in present day debates regarding the gender pay gap around the world. By highlighting an economic turning point for women's pay which took place during the Progressive Era challenges the belief system of the status quo which has developed regarding women's uneven financial

progress in the present day. Ascribing the gender pay gap to the fluctuating fortunes of culture and society over the past century unwittingly adheres to the status quo. Leonard's findings provide a sobering and insightful balancing of the scales to the optimistic perception of the Progressive Era and age of the New Woman, highlighting current controversies in the present day and the ongoing debate of pay inequities on both sides of the Atlantic.

2.6 Supporting Methodological Literature

The establishment of a theoretical framework and design for research is fundamental in creating a platform to assess the research question. The literature which supports these decisions therefore facilitates the structure and direction of the research and constitutes a vital role in the overall decision-making upon which the thesis is modelled. An overview of the supporting methodological literature now follows.

2.6.1 Qualitative research design

Identifying a research design structure is key for successful comprehensive analysis of a research subject. In order to home in on key facets of the process, the literature signposts key components allied to structure from identifying the epistemological standpoint, through to data collection, ethics and methodological rigour (Merriam and Tisdell, 2016). Developing the inquiry has led to consideration of the typology of the various philosophical perspectives, focusing on the critical research typologies as posited by Carr and Kemmis (1995) and Lather (1992, 2006) who states that her interests lie in the 'development of a critical social science, the science to empower..' (Lather, 1992). As will be further developed in the Methodology chapter,

the chosen design for this research is critical narrative inquiry. The key point of this critical perspective is that it aligns itself within a circumstance wherein one reality is privileged, drawing together the critical typology of Carr and Kemmis with Lather's perspective of the 'science to empower' (1992), encompassing the three key areas underpinning the research question: feminist theory, hermeneutics and linguistic analysis.

2.6.2 Feminist Theory

In their introduction to *The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory*, Hawkesworth and Disch cite the early 1970s as being the moment in time when feminist theory first began to be institutionalised academically, with the founding of the first women's studies programmes in the United States and establishment of scholarly journals focusing on feminist theory (Disch and Hawkesworth, 2016, p.2). Feminist theory of the twenty-first century has come a long way to assert itself in academic inquiry, now not simply viewed as an institution borne out of activism, it has developed into a rather more directional and sophisticated arena of academic scrutiny, namely

a vibrant intellectual practice that raises new questions, brings new evidence, and poses significant challenges to academic disciplines spanning the humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences. [...] Even within the academy, feminist theory resists conceptualization as a field because it is resolutely interdisciplinary (2016, pp.1-2).

This research associates itself with feminist theory in precisely this vein, encompassed within an interdisciplinary outlook where feminism is one contributing aspect in the research design, namely the critical epistemological perspective.

An intriguing aspect of this research is that whilst the overview of current musicological inquiry into the socio-economic circumstances of female dramatists in the Progressive Era offers explanations as to why women effectively lost parity in the

economy at this time, it is from the assumption that it was driven firstly as a result of serendipitous economic prosperity which was subsequently denied them due to overriding societal forces beyond their control caused by two world wars and global economic recession. It is therefore the case that the literature, whilst successfully pinpointing a moment of opportunity in history for women dramatists, generally overlooks the case for positioning the narrative within a theoretical feminist perspective and highlights an untapped outlook for musicological analysis to consider scrutiny of the historical narrative by way of a critical prism encompassing feminist theory and power relations.

Mark Haugaard suggests that ‘the problem of social critique is always one of perspective’ (2020, p. 208) and it is by underpinning the historical analysis with theoretical perspective which enables interpretive rigour. Writing in 1999, Amy Allen examined specific ways of conceptualizing power in relation to feminist theory, stating that feminists:

need a conception of power that will illuminate the interplay between domination and empowerment; only such a conception will be conceptually complex enough to illuminate the multifarious relations of power that feminists seek both to critique and to transform (Allen, 1999, p26)

Selecting the most appropriate feminist theoretical perspective to position the analysis of the writers in this research is outlined further in the Methodology chapter but it is apposite at this stage to home in on theoretical viewpoints here to align them with the ways in which each writer navigated her professional expectations in relation to dominant power relations in the workplace. In her essay *The Power of Feminist Theory*, Amy Allen draws on what she describes as ‘the best conceptual insights’

from three influential theorists: Michel Foucault, Judith Butler and Hannah Arendt, stating:

the result of these definitional and methodological considerations is a conception that enables us to theorize domination, resistance, and solidarity, and, perhaps more important, illuminates the interrelatedness of these three modalities of power (1999, p. 4)

The amalgamation of insights from each influential theorist results in Allen's own power-paradigm demonstrating power as a positive asset driven by an opportunity for transformation and 'power-to' change (Allen, 1999, 2005) with an overriding aim to not only 'highlight the constitutive role that power relations play in the formation of subject-positions that are available for individuals to occupy' but also to 'provide a feminist conception of power that can illuminate the complex and multifarious relations of domination, resistance and solidarity with which feminism is concerned (1999, pp. 131–135).

In her chapter presenting the gender role case in the existential bases of power relationships, Jean Lipman-Blumen asserts that power is central to the human condition, that it sets a major parameter for human existence which radiates beyond the repression focus of Hegel, Freud and Reich to the heteromorphous strategies of power posited by Michel Foucault:

Power, for Foucault, exists in 'manifold relations ... which permeate, characterise, and constitute the social body... [which] cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation, and functioning of a discourse' (Lipman-Blumen, 1994, pp. 108–110).

Viewing power as transformational is explored further in Lipman-Blumen's strategies for connective leadership, whereby relational, instrumental and direct personality traits inform the ways in which power can be negotiated (1992, 2000).

Merriam and Tisdell state that 'critical perspectives generally assume that people unconsciously accept things the way they are, and in so doing, reinforce the status quo' (Merriam and Tisdell, 2016, p.61). It is this perception that aligns precisely with current musicological views of the era in that by focusing more specifically on the historical narrative without reference to a feminist viewpoint that it unwittingly reinforces the status quo. Reviewing literature on second wave feminism in the early 1980's Patricia Penn Hilden concluded that:

Other than appealing to the scholarly criterion of accuracy, or to an abstract sense of justice, one hardly knows how to convince historians of the importance of addressing the issues posed by groups of women in history. It is because of the uncertainty of such appeals that feminists must continue to commit themselves to the writing of the history of women. But just as non-feminist historians must utilize feminist work in order to preclude the hopeless distortion of the past, so feminist historians must strike a balance between present politics and a commitment to history (Hilden, 1982) .

Hilden's call for scholarly accuracy and the cross-fertilisation of historical record with feminist perspective resonates as precursor to the Hawkesworth and Disch definition of the multi-faceted interdisciplinary practice of feminist theory in the twenty-first century (2016, pp.1-2) and Hilden's definition homes in precisely on the importance of aligning this research within a theoretical feminist perspective.

2.6.3 Hermeneutics and Collaboration

A key facet of narrative inquiry is the way in which it draws on the philosophy of hermeneutics and the wider message beyond the written page:

[t]here is more to narrative than that it enacts processes of understanding; and hermeneutics is a field of inquiry that reaches beyond not only processes of narrative understanding but also beyond processes of understanding in general (acknowledging the border zones and limits of understanding). (Brockmeier and Meretoja, 2014, p. 1)

The philosophy of hermeneutics is complex and, as with the broad arena of feminist theory, it is essential within this review to establish how this particular research relates to an element of emerging hermeneutical analysis which links all communicative encounters, as opposed to the traditional philosophy of hermeneutics itself. By way of example, in their role as editors for *The Blackwell Companion to Hermeneutics*, Niall Keane and Chris Lawn not only set out the importance of the fundamentals of hermeneutical philosophy but, importantly for this review, they also recognise an aspect of hermeneutics which

can denote the philosophical theory and method with which we can fix or ascertain the nature, character, conditions and limits of every possible act of understanding, which is what is found in the works of Schleiermacher, for instance, and in diverse ways in the works of Wilhelm Dilthey, Martin Heidegger, Hans-Georg Gadamer, and Paul Ricoeur (Keane and Lawn, 2017, p.1).

It is doubtless this notion of ascertaining the 'limits of every possible understanding' which has led modern scholars to consider the wider possible boundary limits of hermeneutical analysis, a viewpoint posited by Samuel Boerboom in *The Sage Encyclopedia of Communication Research Methods* and which encompasses the pertinent narrative perspective for this research:

Hermeneutics anticipates all communicative encounters as (inter)cultural. A theory of hermeneutics addresses how individuals and collectives understand texts and communicative actions via their interpretive practices (Boerboom, 2017, p. 652).

Therefore, considered as it is within the narrower context of narrative inquiry, the hermeneutical lens as seen with regard to communicative actions between individuals and groups provides an ideal platform to include analysis of collaboration in all its guises. Analysis of collaboration and its positive impact on creativity and motivation has been the subject of research undertaken by Seana Moran and Vera

John-Steiner who have studied the impact of creative collaborativity in education and creative communities (McNeely and John-Steiner, 2004; Moran and John-Steiner, 2004) which has led to conclusive observations revealing the positive effect and interconnectedness of blending different temperaments together to achieve a shared goal and greater sense of achievement within a group. According to Heather Hirschfeld, a variety of literary and composition scholars have begun to

resuscitate, if not the author, then ideas of authorship and of its purposes and agencies; to clarify investments and stakes in the “author function”; and to attend to authorial activities of production and consumption in what Pierre Bourdieu calls “the field of cultural production”. (Hirschfeld, 2011, p.610)

As will be demonstrated further in the next chapter (Methodology), applying a present-day hermeneutical perspective creates an umbrella-like investigative sphere within which the various blends of author function relationships in the research can be considered, from correspondence, to press interviews and contracts to reveal the true cumulative process involved from negotiation, to the formation of work relationships, to producing the final combined collaborative creative work. Whilst hermeneutics in this sense builds on its roots centred on the interpretation of text, its expansion to all manner of communication lends itself naturally to include collaboration, revealing opportunities for new vistas in line with Schleiermacher’s original inquiry to ‘fix or ascertain the nature, character, conditions and limits of every possible act of understanding’ (2017).

2.6.4 Overview of linguistic Analysis

Developing an understanding of hermeneutics and its position within the context of narrative inquiry, leads to the evaluation of how best to review yet another broad field within its sphere, that of linguistic analysis. Pertinent to this research design is the

focus 'on narrative in terms of stories as data, including linguistic analysis (discourse analysis), analysis of written documents and first-person accounts' (2016, pp. 22-42). As the following chapter will elucidate, due to its interdisciplinary nature, this research involves a dual approach to the analysis of language in terms of assessing written forms of communication (correspondence, contracts, press interviews) and also jointly written creative work (librettos). Clandinin writes that narrative inquiry is 'a profoundly relational form of inquiry' (Clandinin, 2007, p. xv) and thus provides the perfect domain for the dual aspects of the language investigation, drawing specifically on discourse analysis vis a vis written forms of communication and hermeneutics from the interpretive perspective of collaboration through text analysis of the jointly written creative works, both of which will now be considered in turn.

2.6.5 Discourse analysis

Rodney H. Jones writes that one of the most important ways we understand what people mean when they communicate is by making reference to the social context within which they are speaking or writing and when we speak of discourse we are speaking of language that is in some way situated (Jones, 2019). Discourse analysis is therefore perfectly aligned with the aspects of the research question related to the examination of written correspondence in assessing business relationships and press interviews which are seen in themselves as communicative events, the intention, or social function behind each communication is called genre analysis which asks 'what the structures of these texts can tell us about the people who use them and what they are using them to do' (2019, p.8).

In reviewing the evolution of each of the constituent parts which make up the research design for this investigation, it is interesting to consider that elements such as discourse analysis and interdisciplinarity (reviewed in 2.6.5 and 2.6.9) are relative newcomers to establish themselves in social sciences and qualitative research. The term Discourse Analysis first entered general usage in a series of papers published in 1952 by the renowned American linguist, mathematical syntactician and methodologist of science, Zellig Harris. In the first of the papers, and, as the new linguistic method of its time, Harris acknowledged in his paper, *Discourse Analysis*, the contribution of three fellow collaborators of the new method, Fred Lukoff, Noam Chomsky and A. F. Brown, stating:

For even though we use formal procedures akin to those of descriptive linguistics, we can obtain new information about the particular text we are studying, information that goes beyond descriptive language (Harris, 1952, p.1).

Discourse analysis revolutionised linguistics beyond the structure of the sentence into the realm of social intentions and power relationships, in many ways a forerunner of modern hermeneutics; and although in 1952 Harris and his collaborators did not yet have sufficient empirical evidence, the theory for their supposition regarding discourse analysis as a research method in its own right was established:

Distributional analysis within one discourse at a time yields information about certain correlations of language with other behaviour. The reason is that each connected discourse occurs with a particular situation – whether of a person speaking, or of a conversation, or of someone sitting down occasionally over a period of months to write a particular kind of book [...]. The method presented here [...] can be applied directly to a text, without using any linguistic knowledge about the text except the morpheme boundaries (Harris, 1952, p.3)

The notion of context and intention at the root of language as opposed solely to the linguistic and grammatical structure of language within the confines of a sentence was therefore set from this point in time to expand the boundaries of academic disciplinary scrutiny. And with the natural expansion of the discipline over the seven decades since Harris and his colleagues established their theory, there have followed varying opinions over the intention and exact modelling of discourse analysis, summed up in part by *Dilemmas of Discourse (analysis)* by Ruth Wodak writing for the journal *Language in Society* in 2006 (pp.595-611). Wodak's review of monographs by Jan Blommaert (2005), James Paul Gee (2003), Sara Mills (2004) and Henry G. Widdowson (2004) points to relevant debates and innovations concerning this undoubted broad field of inquiry, highlighting how discourse analyses 'now belong to the mainstream of linguistic and interdisciplinary research' (2006, p. 609). Of note for this particular review however, is that Wodak's assessment highlights that whilst many approaches to discourse analysis exist in parallel, there remains no clear cut distinction of a formally agreed method, rather that it continues to inspire innovative approaches which continue to stimulate new avenues of research.

In summary, since the publication of Harris's first papers on the method in the early 1950s, the subsequent exploration of his theory appears to have stirred up a creative exploration in its practice which is surely an exciting foil to the rigorous tenets of traditional linguistic analysis. In aligning the flexibility of discourse analysis with this interdisciplinary research design, particularly when coupled with the adjunct of a twenty-first century hermeneutical lens, works to create interconnected aspects of inquiry, linking the genre analysis of 'information that goes beyond descriptive

language', ultimately serving to frame the critical narrative stance of this research (Harris, 1952).

2.6.6 Text analysis. General overview

A challenging aspect of this particular research design was to identify a software programme which would lend itself best to nuances relating to individual identity and gender as opposed to group behaviours and social topics. The computer assisted text analysis (CATA) software required for this research needed to be specialised in that the requirement was not related to inductive, large field research interviews where data has to be managed and organised into specific topics, but rather deductive, where data is analysed off the page to detect personality traits, and more specifically, gender. Even before the evolution of CATA software and sophisticated technical advances afforded by the internet, there had been significant interest in the subject of language and gender in relation to feminism and linguistic analysis and it is equally important to consider its relevance to this review in relation to the research design. Employing text analysis software to scrutinise the text for the particular stage of the research allied to gender identity within the collaborated scripts and librettos of Anne Caldwell, Dorothy Donnelly and Rida Johnson Young blends feminist theory, discourse analysis and hermeneutics, clearly requiring a CATA allied with deductive reasoning.

Now a leading proponent of language and gender, Robin Lakoff became part of the continuing conversation on discourse analysis and linguistics in the early 1970's, particularly with *Language and Woman's Place* (1973) identifying a hierarchy inherent in language use which had become accepted between the sexes, calling for

linguists to involve themselves directly with sociology in order to harness a deeper understanding inherent in the English language in order to disentangle every day linguistical inequities in order to 'isolate the data that the sociologist can use in determining the weaknesses and strengths of a culture' (1973, p.78). It could be said that Lakoff's theories led in part to post-structural feminism and the work of French feminist philosopher and rhetorician, Hélène Cixous, who explored the '*écriture féminine*' in her feminist essay *The Laugh of the Medusa*, wherein she advocates a mode of feminine writing style faithful to the rhythms and intuitiveness natural to women, liberated from pre-conceived notions of stylistic 'male' correctness (Cixous, Cohen and Cohen, 1976). The work of Lakoff and Cixous thus broadened the conversation taking place within academia regarding gender and language.

In 1977, Mary P. Hiatt extended the boundary yet further with her research into male and female writing styles in an attempt to identify the existence of specific gender characteristics in fiction and non-fiction from a sample of 500-word selections from 100 books by men and women, inputting data onto IBM cards which were scanned for aspects of style such as sentence-length and complexity, logical sequence of ideas, simile and rhetorical devices (Hiatt, 1977). Due to the relatively limited scale of Hiatt's research it was by no means definitive, but it nevertheless opened up to the concept of identifying gender traits in writing and to the possibilities of what could be achieved through the development of more sophisticated CATA systems in identifying differences between male and female writing styles.

In his assessment of qualitative data analysis in 2013, Gregor Wiedemann concluded that 'after 60 years of experience with computer-assisted automatic text

analysis and an amazing development in information technology, this is still not a common approach in social sciences' and posited the advantageous alliances afforded by CATA when allied with the qualitative researcher's intuition in verifying methodological rigour:

The epistemological gap between how qualitative researchers perceive their object of research compared to what computer algorithms are able to identify is constantly narrowing. The key factor hereby is the algorithmic extraction of "meaning" which is approached by the inclusion of "context" into the applied computational linguistic models of analysis (2013, pp. 333-339).

Considered from this perspective, the former reticence observed by Wiedemann of qualitative research to fully embrace CATA techniques is understandable, but when allied with algorithmic advances made in software since 2013, opens up possibilities of a broader approach vis a vis meaning and context and the closer alliance between the unavoidable subjectivity of the qualitative researcher and the systematic evaluation of computer software.

2.6.7 LIWC: Validation of the methodological tool

Language Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC) was first developed by Francis and Pennebaker in 1991, as part of an exploratory study of language and disclosure and is described as a transparent text analysis programme that counts words in psychologically meaningful categories (Tausczik and Pennebaker, 2010). LIWC's unique analytical perspective is that it can quickly calculate the degree to which various categories of words are used in a text and can process texts ranging from e-mails to speeches, poems and transcribed natural language.

In 2018, LIWC was one of four software systems (along with ATLAS.ti, NVivo and DICTION) used to compare and report on advancements in the use of CATA in

relation to organisational studies within an HR environment (Short, McKenny and Reid). The authors were examining advances made in aligning the relationship between text analysis and human subjectivity in an article for the Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behaviour, reporting on advancements in the use of CATA and 'the variance in possibilities of approaches when extracting meaning from languages' (Short, McKenny and Reid). The authors raise a particularly salient point regarding decisions made in choosing specific CATA for their research, in the difference between the two key approaches used by scholars when considering software in that a key aspect in any software choice is whether it is focused on an inductive approach as derived in ATLAS.ti and NVivo or the deductive approach of DICTION and LIWC (2018, p. 417).

According to Pennebaker, the method of analysis afforded by LIWC lends itself to a better sense of the social and psychological processes affecting all our behaviours (Pennebaker, 2013, p. 16) and in 2010 reported on empirical results using LIWC to demonstrate its ability to detect meaning in a wide variety of experimental settings, including to show attentional focus, emotionality, social relationships, thinking styles, and individual differences (2010). The object of the article, published in the *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, was to review several CATA methods and describe how LIWC was created and validated.

According to Tausczik and Pennebaker, since its inception in the early 1990's LIWC has been linked in hundreds of studies to 'interesting psychological processes' and, as a means of reviewing and validating the software's effectiveness as an analytical, methodological tool, they assessed empirical results gleaned from an example set of

related language categories to assess the system's validity which they divided into five groups which directly referenced successful results using LIWC (2010, pp. 30-50), of which selected examples from four of the groups are shown in the LIWC Validation Table below (Table 3):

Table 3. The LIWC Validation Table (as derived from *The Psychological Meaning of Words: LIWC and Computerized Text Analysis Methods*) (Tausczik and Pennebaker, 2010, pp. 30-50)

No.	Language category	Study	Result
1.	Attentional focus: pronouns and verb tense	Rude, S. S., Gortner, E. M. and Pennebaker, J. W. (2004) 'Language use of depressed and depression-vulnerable college students', <i>Cognition and Emotion</i> .	Individuals experiencing physical or emotional pain tend to have their attention drawn to themselves and subsequently use more first-person singular pronouns (Rude, Gortner and Pennebaker, 2004).
2a.	Emotionality: Positive and Negative Emotions	Kahn, J. H. <i>et al.</i> (2007) 'Measuring emotional expression with the Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count', <i>American Journal of Psychology</i> .	LIWC accurately identifies emotion in language use (Kahn <i>et al.</i> , 2007).
2b.	Emotionality: Positive and Negative Emotions	Alpers, G. W. <i>et al.</i> (2005) 'Evaluation of computerized text analysis in an Internet breast cancer support group', <i>Computers in Human Behavior [sic]</i>	LIWC ratings of positive and negative emotion words correspond with human ratings of the writing experts (Alpers <i>et al.</i> , 2005).
3a.	Social Relationships	Leshed, G. <i>et al.</i> (2007) 'Feedback for guiding reflection on teamwork practices', in <i>GROUP'07 - Proceedings of the 2007 International ACM Conference on Supporting Group Work</i>	Social Status, Dominance, and Social Hierarchy: Reported that members of small groups are rated as being more involved and task focused by their teammates if they use more words; supporting the assertion that total word count may also indicate status (Leshed <i>et al.</i> , 2007).
3b.	Social Relationships	Gonzales, A. L., Hancock, J. T. and Pennebaker, J. W. (2010) 'Language style matching as a predictor of social dynamics in small groups', <i>Communication Research</i> .	Social cohesion and Group processes: reported groups of 4 to 6 participants working on a joint task that used less first-person plural related their group as having more group cohesion, although first-person plural was unrelated to group performance (Gonzales, Hancock and Pennebaker, 2010).
4.	Individual Differences	Newman, M. L. <i>et al.</i> (2008) 'Gender differences in language use: An analysis of 14,000 text samples', <i>Discourse Processes</i> .	Sex differences in language use show that women use more social words and references to others, and men use more complex language. A meta-analysis of the texts from many studies shows that the largest language differences between males and females are in the complexity of language used and the degree of social references (Newman <i>et al.</i> , 2008).

In relation to the hundreds of studies that LIWC has been associated with since its release, Tausczik and Pennebaker signal that their review, in comparison, is 'brief and selective' (2010, p. 37) but, in relation to this particular assessment of its suitability as a text analysis programme, serves well to illustrate a representative validation of the capabilities of LIWC as a deductive methodological tool for the requirements of this research. As well as proving LIWC's efficacy, the Validation Table (Table 3) also positively highlights key research results relating to social relationships (3a, 3b) and individual differences (4) illustrating successful methods of identification in relation to teamwork and gender writing style differences afforded by LIWC.

Finally, in consideration of the fact that the Tausczik/Pennebaker validation of the LIWC software was undertaken in 2010, it is felt that an assessment of more recent studies is also prescient at this point. In 2014, a study entitled *Emotions under Discussion: Gender, Status and Communication in Online Collaboration* was conducted to establish the make-up of gender relations in online working communities such as Wikipedia. They combined their text analysis using LIWC and SentiStrength (a sentiment analysis/opinion mining programme) and found that female regular editors are the most relationship-oriented, whereas male administrators are the least relationship-focused and that editors tend to interact with other editors who have similar emotional styles (Iosub *et al.*, 2014). The conclusions drawn from this study therefore link the capability of LIWC to draw on specific aspects of relationship-building in teamwork particularly how women focus on the emotional aspect of team building, a notable feature which will be studied in the

relationships fostered by each of the writers in this research (Chapter Six: The Collaborations).

2.6.8 Reported limitations as markers for consideration

An essential part of this review is also to acknowledge reported limitations from previous studies. In 2019, LIWC was employed in conjunction with Coh-Metrix (a programme designed to analyse aspects of text cohesion and readability) and a researcher-specified rubric to explore creativity in writing. The aim of the study was to assess ‘whether something as elusive as creativity can be evaluated in a systematic way that goes beyond subjective judgments’ (Zedelius, Mills and Schooler, 2019). Interestingly, the researchers took the decision to limit the criteria indices offered by LIWC in an effort to streamline their search criteria and ‘reduce the risk of model overfitting’, to avoid Type 1 (false positive) errors ‘and to yield results which could be more readily interpreted’ (2019, p. 884). Although the overall results of the survey indicated that creative writing can be systematically evaluated in a reliable way, this was largely due to positive results matching up to the researchers’ rubric and the Coh-Metrix findings, the outcomes for the LIWC analysis however ‘yielded nonsignificant results for the overall models in both studies’ (2019, p. 888). On reflection of these results it could be argued that by using three methods of analysis, including two CATA and a rubric which was in itself subject to researcher subjectivity, that the researchers inadvertently limited the LIWC software’s capability which in turn resulted in ‘nonsignificant’ results. Further, the decision to select specific criteria based on limiting dictionary categories may have skewed the topic modelling capabilities afforded by LIWC and restricted analysis of important determinants such as function words, key elements for revealing additional

psychometric measures in LIWC analysed texts. Pennebaker and Tausczik report that 'some of the most striking cultural differences in language are inherent in function words rather than content words' (Tausczik and Pennebaker, 2010, p. 38), reinforced by Newman et al., (2008) with regard to their gender difference study (ref. LIWC Validation Table 3) wherein they assessed:

Many phrase-level, sentence-level, and message-level features are associated with particular word choices; and several of LIWC's word categories serve as effective proxies (2008, p. 230).

That LIWC's word categories have been assessed to effectively serve as linguistic proxies suggests that the 2019 research into creativity may well have by-passed an effective feature in LIWC's psychometric capabilities and highlights a significant analytical feature for consideration in building the linguistic text analysis framework for this research design.

2.6.9 Interdisciplinarity

As illustrated by Joe Moran in his introduction on the subject in 2009, the sphere of interdisciplinarity in academia had evolved from an area of study which was described by Alan Liu in 1989 as 'the most seriously underthought critical, pedagogical and institutional concept to the modern academy' (Liu, 1989, p.793) to a position where, even twenty years later, Moran assessed it to have 'become a buzzword across many different academic subjects in recent years, but it is rarely interrogated in any great detail' (Moran, 2010, p.2). In the decade since Moran's published monograph on the subject in 2010, it would be fair to say that whilst interdisciplinarity's interrogation has by now most definitely moved beyond the superficial (McNeely, Gillman and Hartman, 2018; Cohen Miller and Elizabeth Pate, 2019), it remains a steadily advancing work in progress. By way of example, in 2020

as authors of the fourth edition of *Interdisciplinary Research: Process and Theory*, Repko and Szostak reflect on the substantial research in all aspects of interdisciplinarity which have been published from Europe, Australia and North America since the third edition in 2017 (2021, p.xv), incorporating insights from dozens of recent publications:

interdisciplinarity is an emerging paradigm of knowledge formation whose spreading influence can no longer be denied, discounted or ignored. The reason is explicit: “Interdisciplinarity is associated with bold advances in knowledge, solutions to urgent societal problems, an edge in technological innovation, and a more integrative educational experience” (Klein, 2010, p.2; Repko and Szostak, 2021, p.xvii)

Writing in 2019 on the importance of developing interdisciplinary research theoretical frameworks, Cohen Miller and Pate set out how the implementation of a coherent research design enables concise identification of the disciplines and sub-disciplines under scrutiny, ultimately leading to the common ground of the new knowledge (Cohen Miller and Elizabeth Pate, 2019, p.1213). As will be demonstrated in the next chapter, these relatively recent advances in interdisciplinary process and theory have therefore facilitated the research question at the heart of this investigation and enabled the development of a structured interdisciplinary paradigm to serve as the common-ground platform for the ultimate outcomes of the research as a whole.

In reviewing academic discourse around interdisciplinarity, scholars (Rutting *et al.*, 2016; McNeely, Gillman and Hartman, 2018; Cohen Miller and Elizabeth Pate, 2019) are in agreement with the definition offered by the National Academies of Sciences, National Academy of Engineering and Institute of Health of the National Academies that:

Interdisciplinary research is a mode of research in which an individual scientist or a team of scientists integrates information, data, techniques, tools,

perspectives, concepts, and/or theories from two or more disciplines or bodies of specialized knowledge, with the objective to advance fundamental understanding or to solve problems whose solutions are beyond the scope of a single discipline or area of research practice (2005).

Clearly, the scope of interdisciplinary inquiry has ranged beyond the sciences to the realm of humanities and social sciences wherein the broadening of the lens beyond one strict academic discipline opens up diverse opportunities to increase the scope of specialised knowledge in a way in which was not possible within the stricter confines of traditional academic scrutiny in former years. Added to which is the evolution of musicology since its emergence as a scholarly discipline during the post-war era, with leading proponents in the field such as Carl Dahlhaus (1983) and Donald Jay Grout (Luper and Grout, 1960) who associated musicology more with the literal analysis and interpretation of chord structures and overall musical form as the sole method of interpreting meaning in music throughout the Western musical canon. Furthermore, taking into consideration the fact that musical theatre as a genre has only been recognised in its current form since the early years of the twentieth century, its turn under the academic spotlight has taken a little longer to come to the fore.

McNeely *et al* posit that interdisciplinarity 'produces new knowledge by synthesizing insights from old knowledge about specific complex systems and by freeing scholars to ask new questions about them' (2018). Within the arts in particular, interdisciplinarity has opened up a broad canvas in terms of academic scrutiny in recent years as demonstrated by the publication of monographs such as *Interdisciplinarity in the Performing Arts, Contemporary Perspectives*. Published in 2018 it serves to highlight the multivarious ways of blending research outlooks for

the modern musicologist from relating and assessing performance with philosophy and social studies, to cognitive behavioural and dramatherapy in relation to the act of performance (Aquilina and Sarco-Thomas, 2018).

As has been demonstrated earlier in this chapter (2.3. Caldwell, Donnelly and Johnson Young), the scrutiny afforded the three writers in this research to date has largely been a combination of biographical inquiry alongside analysis of the nature and style of the works created. Equally, it has also been seen that the contextual historical analysis of the working environment and opportunities afforded women during the Progressive Era provides an illuminating account of the socio-cultural environment in which women were able to work. McNeely *et al* state that:

Interdisciplinarity invites collaboration as a rule rather than an exception and offers a way forward as we grapple with challenges so grand that they cannot be solved through any single lens (2018, pp. 55-56).

The advantage afforded by evolving interdisciplinary approaches in the twenty-first century provides an exciting new lens within which to situate this particular research question, by means of an amalgamation of disciplines which, through their collaborative mix, reveal new insights and afford new knowledge to an evolving area of research. This research in particular, combines within the scope of its interdisciplinary lens the aspects of the performing arts with that of the professional field of business communication, two specific disciplines which, when combined, will create a broader field of inquiry and reveal a new musicological perspective previously unmined by more traditional methods.

In summary, it is clear from this present review that interdisciplinarity's place in research is no longer 'the most seriously underthought critical, pedagogical and

institutional concept to the modern academy' it was from thirty years ago (Liu, 1989), that it is now far more than Moran's so-called 'buzz word', and that it has earned its place alongside traditional disciplinary inquiry as a valid and valuable methodological tool for the twenty-first century. As Repko and Szostak assert, it is only through the process of building a thorough understanding of the construct of interdisciplinarity in the present day that will lead to an ongoing, comprehensive understanding of the paradigm so that 'interdisciplinary studies can rightfully stake its claim as a maturing academic field that deserves its place in the academy alongside the disciplines' (2021, p.391).

2.7 Conclusion

The purpose of the literature review is to provide an overview of the literature related to each of the elements in the research question, being fundamental in creating a platform from which to review the research question and develop findings, based on a working knowledge of current academic opinion and debates. By way of summary to this stage of the research, key observations are reviewed below:

2.7.1 Summary of historiographical literature

This review has considered the context of the working environment in which female writers achieved success during the Progressive Era and conclusions drawn by academics such as Sherry Engle, Candice Marie Coleman and Ellen Marie Peck. Korey R. Rothman, Bud Coleman, Judith A. Sebesta and Alicia K. Koger present the existence of a wholly inaccurate historiography of the era which stood as fact for a period of forty years which succeeded in perpetuating many misconceptions of the era. Analysis of research to date focusing specifically on the lives Anne Caldwell,

Dorothy Donnelly and Rida Johnson Young, whilst revealing biographical and factual insight regarding some of their major contributions and collaborations, is lacking in the specificities of theoretical direction.

Thomas C. Leonard's findings from his monograph of 2016 have attracted much interest from scholars in economics, but it appears that his conclusions regarding the economics of gender during this time have not, as yet, been connected to the issues being considered in this research, bearing germane evidence regarding the gender pay variance post 1920 and direct relevance to the debate in the present day.

2.7.2 Summary of Methodological Literature

The literature which supports the theoretical framework facilitates the structure and direction of the research and constitutes a vital role in the overall decision-making upon which the thesis is modelled.

This review has established the way in which the research associates itself with feminist theory from an interdisciplinary perspective as 'a vibrant intellectual practice that raises new questions, brings new evidence, and poses significant challenges to academic disciplines spanning the humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences, exemplifying the observation that 'no one problem exists in isolation from other areas of human behaviour' (Merriam and Tisdell, 2016, p. 90). This is further illustrated by Boerboom's standpoint on the connection of hermeneutics and discourse analysis, connecting the critical epistemological perspective of the research in terms of the broader narrative inquiry relating to Progressive Era journalism and the ill-conceived reporting on the historiography of the period. Repko and Szostak's reflection on the

substantial research in all aspects of interdisciplinarity in 2020 underlines the broader acceptance of interdisciplinary research in the social sciences to increase the scope of specialised knowledge which was not previously available to musicologists (Repko and Szostak, 2021). This, coupled with Tausczik and Pennebaker's validation of their CATA system Language Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC), proves the capabilities of LIWC as an effective, deductive methodological tool for the requirements of this research in terms of social relationships, individual differences and methods of identification in relation to teamwork and gender writing style differences (2010).

2.7.3 The new knowledge

A key function of the literature review in relation to any new research is to assimilate and assess the supporting research which has gone before it and to build upon previous scholarly discoveries and contribute anew to the knowledge base. This interdisciplinary thesis offers new knowledge to the genre of musical theatre history as viewed from a critical epistemological perspective. By situating the analysis in a specific theoretical framework of data analysis connecting socio-economic spheres with that of feminist theory, collaboration, hermeneutical discourse and text analysis, it will present new evidence regarding women's contribution to the development of musical theatre in the early twentieth century; male/female business and creative collaboration; differences in gender writing style; and connect pertinent economic historiographical findings to present day debates regarding equality in the workplace.

Chapter Three: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out the methodological choices underlying the research, including the philosophical perspective, theoretical framework, design, data collection and analysis, position of the researcher and ethical considerations. The nature of the research is aligned to a qualitative approach “exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem” (Creswell, 2013, p,4).

3.2 Methodological Approach

The review of methodological literature (2.6.1) established the importance of a concisely planned methodological approach in order to avoid perceived evolutionary-related inconsistencies highlighted by the academic community:

Some talk about traditions and theoretical underpinnings (Bogdan & Biklen, 2011), theoretical traditions and orientations (Patton, 2015); others, about paradigms and perspectives (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011), philosophical assumptions and interpretive frameworks (Creswell, 2013), or epistemology and theoretical perspectives (Crotty, 1998). (Merriam and Tisdell, 2016, p. 8)

This observation clarifies the necessity for defining the particular epistemological approaches to qualitative research and highlights the importance of developing a coherent methodological design to underpin the focus of the work. The methodological choices underlying this research are underlined and clarified by specific methodological perspectives pin-pointed by Merriam and Tisdell in the table below. The clarity afforded by the comparison of perspectives in the table

immediately homes in on the choice of critical narrative inquiry, thereby removing the potential for inconsistency in approach.

Epistemological Perspectives				
	Positivist/ Postpositivist	Interpretive/ Constructivist	Critical	Postmodern/ Poststructural
Purpose	Predict, control, generalize	Describe, understand, interpret	Change, emancipate, empower	Deconstruct, problematize, question, interrupt
Types	Experimental, survey, quasi-experimental	Phenomenology, ethnography, hermeneutic, grounded theory, naturalistic/qualitative	Neo-marxist, feminist, participatory action research (PAR), critical race theory, critical ethnography	Post-colonial, post-structural, post-modern, queer theory
Reality	Objective, external, out there	Multiple realities, context-bound	Multiple realities, situated in political, social, cultural contexts (one reality is privileged)	Questions assumption that there is a place where reality resides "Is there a there?"

Table 1. Epistemological Perspectives (Merriam and Tisdell, 2016, pp. 8-14)

One of the key aims of this research is to raise awareness of the indispensability of Anne Caldwell, Dorothy Donnelly and Rida Johnson Young as key players in the theatre, not just in relation to their creative contribution to the collaborative output of early musical theatre development but also to the independence with which they negotiated their contracts in the workplace at a time in history when, in spite of the flourishing financial advantages afforded women by the Progressive Era, society (reinforced by Victorian-style moralising in the press) often considered it inappropriate for women, no matter what their education, financial independence or social standing to pursue a lucrative career.¹⁰ Therefore, by employing the epistemological markers outlined in Table 1, it is clear that the perspective defined

¹⁰ As discussed by Thomas C. Leonard in *Illiberal Reformers*: "Men were providers, heads of household entitled to wages sufficient to support a family, and women were mothers whose place was in the home." (Leonard, 2016).

as 'critical' research serves as an ideal viewpoint to study the emergent themes, encompassing the *purpose* of critical research (to change, emancipate and empower); the *type* (feminist) and the context of *reality* (social and cultural) where one reality is privileged.

Those who engage in critical research frame their research questions in terms of power – who has it, how it's negotiated, what structures in society reinforce the current distribution of power, and so on (Merriam and Tisdell, 2016, p.10).

This identification of the epistemological perspective of the critical research lens provides an ideal platform for the interdisciplinary nature of the work wherein the focus of gender equality, business negotiation and creative collaborative working practices can be clearly developed.

3.3 Interdisciplinarity

As outlined in Chapter One, the nature of this research, with its investigative lens scrutinising both the skills of business negotiation and creative collaboration and the subsequent creative endeavours accomplished by the subjects as a direct result of both achievements, is interdisciplinary. The characteristic feature of interdisciplinary research (IDR) over that of traditional disciplinary methods as defined by Cohen Miller and Pate is that it 'focuses on the intentionality of integrating knowledge' (2019, p.1212). As previously stated at 2.6.9, the National Academies of Sciences, National Academy of Engineering and Institute of Health of the National Academies, report that IDR is 'driven by the need to address complex problems that cut across traditional disciplines, and the capacity of new technologies to both transform existing disciplines and generate new ones (2005). Aside from comparing the characteristics of IDR in relation to traditional disciplinary approaches, it is also important to understand its uniqueness from multidisciplinary research (MDR). As

stated by the Committee on Facilitating Interdisciplinary Research (2005), MDR involves more than a single discipline in which each discipline works separately on distinct aspects of a problem, whereas IDR is:

...a mode of research by teams or individuals that integrates information, data, techniques, tools, perspectives, concepts and/or theories from two or more disciplines or bodies of specialized [sic] knowledge to advance fundamental understanding or to solve problems whose solutions are beyond the scope of a single discipline or area of research practice. (2005, p.2).

An illustration of the distinct differences between the two disciplines is further enhanced by Cohen Miller and Pate (2019, p.1212) in their diagrams of disciplinary intentionality as seen in Figure 5:

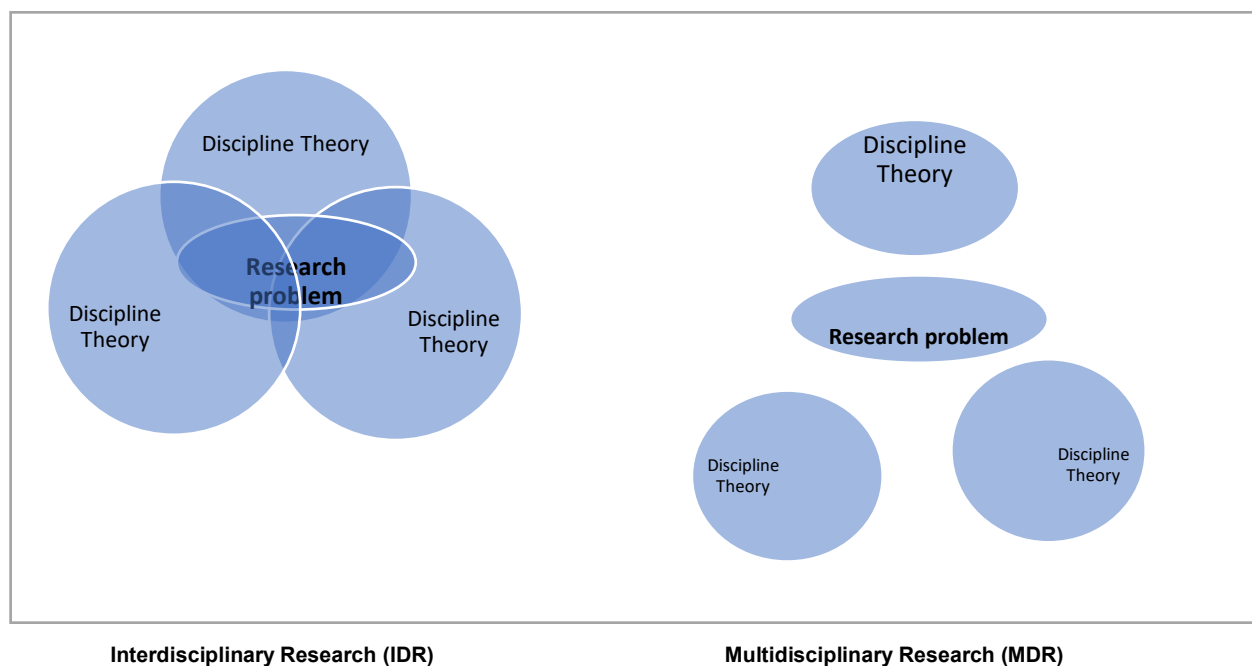


Figure 5. Intentionality of Interdisciplinary Research in Contrast to Multidisciplinary Research (2019, p.1212)

3.4 Theoretical Framework

A key factor in the methodological process is to establish a theoretical framework to underline the orientation of the research narrative. The framework acts effectively as a central foundation stone in guiding the research, drawing upon concepts, terms, definitions, models and theories which in turn logically lead to the identification and

formation of the problem statement, and thus to the new knowledge. The original point of interest in the research needs to be effectively elucidated, as highlighted by Brent Kilbourn:

Statements such as “I want to explore...” and “This will examine...” do not tell a reader what the problem of the study is; rather, they say what the study will do, and although what the study will do is equally critical, a reader first wants to know the problem that will be the focus of the research (Kilbourn, 2006, p. 568).

Therefore, it is necessary firstly to identify and state the orientation of the theoretical framework of the research which will in turn lead to the logical identification of the central point of the research problem as follows:

3.4.1 The basis of the theoretical framework

The concept of this interdisciplinary research draws on feminist theory within a critical qualitative approach by means of narrative inquiry. By definition, the epistemological concept of *critical* research encompasses the terms by which the research lens illumines a key feature of the inquiry, that of feminist theory, whereby the purpose of the inquiry may serve to change and empower the knowledge base as a result of the findings. Critical research also draws on hermeneutics, enabling the analysis not just of archival data (letters, contracts, royalty statements) but also of the lyrics and librettos (creative non-fiction) on which Anne Caldwell, Dorothy Donnelly and Rida Johnson Young collaborated with male peers.

3.4.2 The research problem

John Dewey (1933) posits the definition of a research problem as anything that “perplexes and challenges the mind so that it makes belief... uncertain” (p.13). The uncertainty at the heart of this research draws its focus on early twentieth-century

professional working practice on Broadway and proposes to challenge historical workplace gender inequality perceptions ingrained in the contemporary mind-set and provide further evidence of each writer's historical right to a place in the musical theatre canon. As discussed in Chapter Two (Literature Review), Sherry Engle's research has highlighted the exceptional thirty year period (1890-1920) where women's financial independence was on the ascendant, her perspective drawing the conclusion that this period was largely made possible as a result of a flourishing economy, notwithstanding evidence that women's alleged independence was still compromised by misrepresentation in the press and inappropriate expectations from producers and managers (Engle, 2001). The literature review has revealed that the first musical theatre historians overlooked the output of work produced by women during this period, condemning it creatively as second-rate (Morehouse, 1949; Smith, 1950). Merriam and Tisdell state that 'critical perspectives generally assume that people unconsciously accept things the way they are, and in so doing, reinforce the status quo' (2016, p.61). This research questions the patriarchal ideology surrounding this supposition, formed over the course of the last century, whereupon society appears to have developed a level of conformed acceptance regarding the status quo found in the working world, any protests against which have been largely categorised as ardent feminism and thus set to one side for their un-feminine and combative nature. That is to say, that as a result of governmental legislature in the early 1900's (backed up by bogus scientific reports) which subsequently limited a woman's pay, working hours and opportunity in the workplace to specifically reinforce the message of 'a woman's place' being in the home (Leonard, 2016, pp.169-185) that it became an accepted societal norm that men were deemed more suitable candidates physically to work a full working week and earn a 'family wage',

whilst a woman's role was dictated biologically to that of being a mother and home-maker. This research, rather than dismissing the financial and creative evidence of this group of women as merely circumstantial due to opportunities arising from a prosperous economic climate, will aim to illumine the nature of their professional achievements further through analysis of the creative, collaborative and negotiational skills of Caldwell, Donnelly and Johnson Young, singled out here for being three of the most successful lyricist/librettists of their time.

3.4.3 The research question

As stated in Chapter One, the research question at the heart of this inquiry is twofold, aiming to address not only how women were able to independently negotiate their dramatic rights and earnings in competition with their male peers but also how they established their collaborative status within the group. Primary source data in the form of correspondence, contracts and financial statements will serve to build the analysis of negotiation and the underlying structure of power relations in successful collaborative relationships. The results of the inquiry into the research question will thereby illumine the purpose of the study, reveal the gap in the knowledge base and ultimately serve to demonstrate to women in the twenty-first century how we might use this knowledge as leverage for professional equality in the present day. The issue of women's economic inequality in the workplace is more prevalent today than ever, with annual conference forums and summits across all industries investigating the ways in which women can achieve economic and gender parity in the workforce. In April 2018, *The Independent* newspaper published a report focusing on gender equality in publishing in which Grace McCrum (Rights Manager for Hodder & Stoughton and Co-Chair of the Gender Balance Network at Hachette) stated:

[A]s a creative industry that is predominantly women, we should be pioneering new ideas. It is our responsibility to lead the way in gender equality in the workplace, and people should be looking to us as innovators. At the moment, it feels a lot more like the industry is playing catch-up, and we have a lot to do if we want to change this (Marsden, 2018).

Of note here is that this statement was made in 2018, a century after the female writers in this research were working with publishers and producers. The dual purpose of the research question here is therefore to further serve to highlight the clear misrepresentation of women inherent in musical theatre historiography and signpost the ingrained perception of women's professional worth in the status quo. I believe that by raising awareness of the business model operating on Broadway in the early twentieth century will add valuable leverage to the economic and gender pay gap debate for groups such as the Gender Balance Network at Hachette in the present day.

3.5 Research Design

By way of demonstrating how the particular design for this research has been arrived at and why it is deemed the most appropriate over others is revealed by a brief overview of the six most commonly used types of qualitative research as demonstrated in Table 4:

Table 4. Most commonly used types of Qualitative Research (Merriam and Tisdell, 2016)		
	Type	Definition
1	Basic Qualitative Research	With its focus on meaning, understanding, process and rich description (including data collection via interviews, observations and documents) it is clear that all types of qualitative research have their roots in what is known as basic qualitative research. However, as the field of inquiry in social sciences is so broad, further dimensions have been added to help identify areas more specifically, the most commonly used being phenomenology, ethnography, grounded theory, qualitative case studies and narrative inquiry.
2	Phenomenology	Recognised as both a twentieth century school of philosophy (Husserl, 1970) and a form of qualitative research, phenomenology focuses on our "lived experience" (Van Manen, 2014, p.26) and the essence of

		the experience. Within this process, the researcher examines their stance, which is known as <i>epoche</i> (a Greek word, meaning to refrain from judgement) and, whilst this is a common thread within the research process, in phenomenological qualitative research, the researcher returns to the isolated phenomenon in order to interpret the essence of the object under investigation.
3	Ethnography	Originating in anthropology, ethnography generally follows a process of observation in the field which dates back to the work of late nineteenth century anthropologists and its evolution through to the present day, its unifying premise being the focus on human society and culture.
4	Grounded Theory	In its most simple terms 'what differentiates grounded theory from other types of qualitative research is its focus on building theory'(Corbin and Strauss, 2015). Grounded theory is a method whereby the research focuses specifically on the evidence revealed distinctly in the data, building categories and theory from the comparative study of patterns emerging from the work as the research develops.
5	Qualitative Case Studies	With its antecedents in anthropology, this form of qualitative research is identified as an in-depth analysis of a bounded system, signifying that there is a marked boundary line in the research subject, as defined by Creswell: A qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a bounded system (a <i>case</i>) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving <i>multiple sources of information</i> (e.g. observations interviews, audio visual material, and documents and reports), and reports a case <i>description</i> and case-based themes." (Creswell, 2013, p. 97; emphasis in original).
6	Narrative Inquiry	This form of analysis focuses on narrative in terms of stories as data, including linguistic analysis (discourse analysis), analysis of written documents and first-person accounts. The text of the story forms the data set for what is analysed and draws on the philosophy of hermeneutics (the study of written texts). Patton (2002), asserts that "narrative analysis extends the idea of text to include in-depth interview transcripts, life history narratives, historical memoirs, and creative non-fiction" (p.115).

The examination of the most commonly used types of qualitative research and the specificities particular to each lens narrows down the focus to reveal the most appropriate design for this research. This process of elimination highlights narrative inquiry to be the most suitable design platform by virtue of its inclusion of text analysis encompassing hermeneutics and linguistics (discourse analysis) for the analysis of all documents (including letters, contracts, statements, lyrics and libretti);

interviews (in the form of published first person accounts); collaborative activity in the workplace (life history narratives) and the analysis of written work (creative non-fiction).

The design of this research therefore draws on critical narrative inquiry, encompassing feminist theory (as a feature of critical research) and linguistic (discourse) analysis, which draws on the philosophy of hermeneutics (interpretation of text) and is a key feature of narrative inquiry, each of which will now be examined in more detail.

3.5.1 Feminist theory

In their introduction to *The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory*, Hawkesworth and Disch assert that:

Feminist theories arise in conjunction with feminist activism and academic practices, seeking to illuminate the barriers and constraints that circumscribe women's lives, explain their dynamics and persistence, and identify mechanisms for change (2016, p. 2)

This statement outlines the need to situate feminist theory as a constituent part of the research design and how its implementation will serve to illuminate the perspective of the critical narrative. The overview of feminist theory in the literature review (2.6.2) has set out the particular methodological perspectives of Amy Allen and Jean Lipman-Blumen whose theoretical models of feminist inquiry have been chosen to be best aligned with the inquiry at hand.

As outlined in her monograph, *The Power of Feminist Theory*, Allen sets out her model formed from 'the best conceptual insights' of Foucault, Butler and Arendt by

defining what she describes as three desiderata for a general definition of power (1999):

- power-over
- power-with
- power-to

Viewed from a methodological outlook, Allen asserts that the ‘conceptual interrelatedness’ of her account of power is not best understood as types or forms of power but rather each one represents ‘analytically distinguishable features of a situation’ (1999, p. 129). It is this aspect in particular which aligns so particularly with the narrative of this thesis. That is, by situating the analysis of each writer’s primary source correspondence within the prism of negotiative and collaborative power relations it is then possible to view the complex interplay of communication more clearly from an evolving critical perspective. A further noteworthy perspective of Allen’s theory is that:

although power-over, power-to, and power-with are analytically distinguishable features of a situation, they may all be present in one interaction. For instance, an action that is made possible by collective power-with necessarily presupposes the power-to of individual members of the collectivity and may also be used as a means to achieving power over others. (1999, p. 129)

Again, this observation of power relations presents itself as a perfect lens with which to observe what Allen describes as ‘foreground’ and ‘background’ perspectives of interactions which focus on the ‘complex social relations that ground every particular power relation’ (1999, p. 131) It is by situating observations in this perspective that we can assess evolving power-plays in the record and thus build observational profiles from the evolving narrative of analysis.

From Allen's specific alignment of power perspectives, it is then possible to understand how Lipman-Blumen's Foucaultian interpretation of the 'manifold relations ... which permeate, characterise, and constitute the social body' (Lipman-Blumen, 1994, p. 110) lead on to her model for connective leadership which recognises three specific leadership styles, described by Lipman-Blumen as achieving styles:

- Direct
- Relational
- Instrumental

Lipman-Blumen's model for connective leadership will be outlined further as we navigate the narrative of this thesis, employing the blueprint of the model itself as a foundational support to Allen's triad of power. This will be demonstrated through the analysis of correspondence, contracts, interviews and collaborations, the dual application of Lipman-Blumen's characteristic achieving style markers and Allen's model for power relations combining as a key dyadic tool within the Linguistic-Hermeneutic Paradigm of this research design.

3.5.2 Hermeneutics

With its origins in the study and interpretation of biblical texts, the philosophy of hermeneutics is sometimes referred to as interpretive theory or cultural theory. Hermeneutics is a philosophical perspective and critical method associated with philosophers such as Friedrich Schleiermacher, Wilhelm Dilthey, Martin Heidegger, Hans-Georg Gadamer and Paul Ricoeur. In recent times hermeneutic analysis has evolved in relation to communication research methods, no longer adhering strictly to

the interpretation of the written word alone, but rather encompassing the semiotics of communication more broadly, a view endorsed by Samuel Boerboom who writes that

It is a method of taking into account the phenomenon of meaning-making and its resultant impact on individual and group identity formation. For this reason, hermeneutics anticipates all communicative encounters as (inter)cultural. A theory of hermeneutics addresses how individuals and collectives understand texts and communicative actions via their interpretive practices (Boerboom, 2017, p. 652).

Drawing on this aspect of hermeneutical analysis provides the ideal lens through which to consider the communicative encounters of Caldwell, Donnelly and Johnson Young. Firstly, their written communications and contracts directly established their standing within the group hierarchy, with the written terms of their employment impacting directly on the interpretation of their professional standing within the group. Secondly, once fully enhanced by their business agreements, the subsequent impact of their creative (interpretive) and collaborative input on the group identity secured them a position in the hierarchy in which they were subsequently respected as a valued member of the team.

The interpretation of communicative encounters in terms of the alliance of a group identity and the age-old adage that ‘two heads are better than one’ has led to analysis of collaboration and its positive impact on creativity and motivation in academic circles in recent years:

...collaboration involves an intricate blending of skills, temperaments, effort and sometimes personalities to realize a shared vision of something new and useful (Moran and John-Steiner, 2004).

According to McNeely et al (2004) and pertinent to this study, ‘women’s interdependent ways of working contribute to a collaborative process in which both connectedness and achievement sustain their motivation.’ In recent years, female interdependence and persuasive skill in group activities has been further analysed in

sociological circles, highlighting yet further the interpretive and cultural dimension of hermeneutical analysis in the twenty-first century. By way of example, speaking at the *Festival of the Mind* in Sarzana in 2015, Professor of Developmental Psychopathology, Massimo Ammaniti, effectively illustrated the difference in the working of the male and female mind by way of a real life example of boys and girls playing and how the girls successfully persuaded the boys away from playing Pirates to playing Families (of Pirates). His conclusion being that the female mind works differently, even at an early age and that “women have more empathic (collaborative) skills”. (Ammaniti, 2015). This is further explored in a filmed lecture given by the philosopher Umberto Galimberti in 2015 about *Love and Psyche* wherein he posits that men think generally in terms of possession and of themselves, whereas women (not only because they are physically different and are perceived to care more because they bear children) have an innate capacity to think of others and to empathise in a way that is not obvious to men, enabling their skilful negotiations both in society and the workplace (Galimberti, 2015).

3.5.3 Suitability of the Hermeneutical Lens

Applying a hermeneutical lens with its twenty-first century outlook in this way will enable interpretation of research observations to be clarified within the wider social arena of collaborative encounters and ultimately underpin the qualitative design of the critical narrative inquiry and support the theoretical framework of the research.

3.5.4 Linguistic Analysis

This research will apply linguistic analysis on three levels as follows:

Method 1a.

It will focus on the use of language in relation to collaborative communication (correspondence) between individuals and in group activities (negotiation) to ascertain working patterns and creative partnerships. This will be achieved by means of analysis of business correspondence between the writers and their network of professional relationships (producers, composers, managers, artists) and extant press interviews. Key resources for the analysis of correspondence, contracts and royalty statements are held at The Shubert Archive in New York. Access to digitally reproduced press interviews is also now available online at the internetarchive.org

Method 1b.

This stage will analyse further primary and secondary source data in the form of business contracts, royalty statements, professional memberships, press interviews and artefacts. The results of this text analysis will align itself with collaboration and the broader arena of networking and the communicative group engagement of twenty-first century hermeneutics.

Method 2.

In order to achieve an efficient and reliable analysis for Method 2, it was key to align the investigation with linguistic analysis software which was sufficiently sophisticated to recognise creative language. As evidenced in the Literature Review, the field of social sciences has been aligning itself more closely with CAQDAS based (Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software) and CATA (Computer Assisted Text Analysis) software in recent

years, recognising the merits to be gained by aligning the qualitative questioning of the researcher with the scientific analysis enabled by computer-based inquiry (Newman *et al.*, 2008). Using the computer software programme LIWC (Language Inquiry and Word Count) the investigation will examine the collaborated librettos/scripts of Anne Caldwell, Dorothy Donnelly and Rida Johnson Young to ascertain key stylistic features proven by twenty-first century research to be more commonly associated with men or women (2008). The intended purpose of this particular stage of the analysis is to fully acknowledge that the presence of the female writers in the workplace was not only valid but vital in the overall collaborative outcome to the final production of the work. Moreover, bringing to light the presence of teamwork over the concept of a sole genius at the root of a work has been gaining ground in recent years as noted by Heather Hirschfield as far back as 2011:

One of the shapes now receiving explicit scholarly attention is that of collaboration, or the efforts of multiple contributors to the writing or publication of a given text. [...] Such efforts depended not only on a notion of authorship and literary activity as a solitary and autonomous endeavour but also on a commitment to, or a faith in the value of, the procedure of dividing, labelling, and identifying contributors as a good in and of itself (Hirschfield, 2011, p.610).

Unlike other CAQDAS programmes, LIWC software can be programmed to recognise creative writing and its utilisation will enable analysis of commonly used speech patterns in the way men and women write. The psychometric behavioural measures unique to LIWC (as outlined further in 3.5.5) will further develop the 'procedure of dividing, labelling, and identifying contributors as a good in and of itself' (2011).

3.5.5 Linguistic Tool: LIWC (Language Inquiry and Word Count)

First developed by Francis and Pennebaker in 1991, the first LIWC application was developed as part of an exploratory study of language and disclosure, with the development of the software leading to a further study to establish gender differences in language use by way of analysing a database of 14,000 text files from 70 different studies (Newman *et al.*, 2008). The search for a linguistic analysis tool to reveal gender differences in writing has been in progress since Robin Lakoff's pioneering work in the early 1970's (Lakoff, 1973). One of the unique features of LIWC as a text analysis programme is that it calculates the degree to which various categories of words are used in a text and can process texts ranging from e-mails to speeches, poems and transcribed natural language. The two main facets of LIWC are a software package and a dictionary, utilising two broad categories of language. The first method is what is referred to as a top-down (dictionary-based) approach "to understanding how word use reflects all manner of social and psychological processes" (Boyd and Pennebaker, 2015, p. 3); the second is a bottom-up (vocabulary-driven) approach which, although similar, enables recognition of what the developers identify as 'topic modelling', aimed at determining how different words can appear together to form a larger shared meaning, thus broadening the scope of empirical enquiry (2015, p.3). The software is programmed to read text files and counts up dictionary-specified words and then tallies them into predefined categories. As stated by Boyd and Pennebaker (Boyd and Pennebaker, 2015):

the open-ended nature of LIWC allows researchers to create their own dictionaries for specific enquiries – any topic of study can employ the software to convert language into psychologically meaningful metrics (p.7).

In 2008, the team developing the LIWC analysis system assessed that language analysis would measure language far more effectively if it could access a database

of much larger samples of text than had previously been possible pre-internet/pre-sophisticated computer software. They discovered that many previous studies had fewer than 50 participants per cell; that the need to hand code each sample was time consuming and limited the ultimate number of samples and there was a resultant, inevitable inconsistency with coding across studies due to differing researcher mindsets.

By enabling the analysis of a larger text sample from such a broad number of studies meant that the LIWC technology was able to outstrip previous hand-coded analysis and lessen coding mindset differences. And, most importantly for this research, in relation to the LIWC gender differences study, the results of the developers' 2008 analysis revealed that women were more likely to include pronouns, present and past tense verbs and use more words related to psychological processes, whereas men were more likely to use words of more than six letters, more prepositions, numbers and articles and referred more to object properties and impersonal topics.

In considering a method for linguistic analysis for this research, a key consideration has been to find the most appropriate linguistic tool with the capacity to identify creativity and gender-based markers in the jointly written librettos and adapted works (Method 2) as a means of reinforcing evidence of both business/negotiative and creative collaborative work found in correspondence and press interviews (Methods 1a and 1b). The combined results of this dual linguistic analysis can then be assessed and drawn together within the Linguistic-Hermeneutic Paradigm of this research design as shown in Figure 6:



Figure 6. The Linguistic-Hermeneutic Paradigm

The establishment of the theoretical framework and design for the research led to a decision to structure the linguistic analysis into three specific methods of inquiry, which when combined, create a linguistic-hermeneutic paradigm from which to draw together the interdisciplinary strands of the research into a final cohesive outcome.

3.5.6 Research Design Summary

In summary, by aligning itself to critical narrative inquiry and its associated key tenets of feminist theory, hermeneutics and linguistics, provides the study with a

clearly delineated research design to serve the ultimate conclusions of the research problem.

3.6 Data Collection Methods

Key data collection methods associated with qualitative research are by means of interviews (in this case, press interviews) observation and analysis of documents and artefacts associated with the research setting (Merriam and Tisdell, 2016, p. 162). The nature of this particular research involves analysis of a range of primary and secondary source archival documents, aligning the investigation with narrative inquiry to pursue ‘the systematic collection and objective evaluation of data related to past occurrences in order to test hypotheses concerning causes, effects or trends of these events that may help to explain present events and anticipate future events’ (Gay, 1996). The key archives in possession of material pertinent to the research are The Shubert Archive and The New York Public Library in New York and The Institute of the American Musical in Los Angeles.

3.6.1 Definition of Data

The data in respect of this research is in the form of documents held in archives, libraries and online archival resources, ranging from primary source scans of correspondence, scripts and photographic images. It is pertinent to note here how a visual image can form an invaluable link where written documentation is lacking but photographic evidence provides a nexus of time, location, social connection and achievements.

3.6.2 Position of the Researcher

It is a given that the position of the researcher, with a vested interest in the outcome of the investigation, needs to be aware of any bias they may bring to a research project. May observes:

Social sciences are dynamic disciplines within which, depending upon the disposition and position of the researcher within an academic field, other paradigms can be considered. This enables an understanding and explanation of empirical inquiries, while also adding to the challenging of assumptions about social life as an important part of research practice. It is this 'openness' to engage in reflection upon which the idea of a 'discipline' depends [...] Therefore, to be constructively reflective with an actively neutral stance and above all to be aware of one's natural bias is of great importance (May, 2011, p. 29).

Reflection on my position within the research is that I am a classically trained female singer, musician and composer/writer with an active interest in the history and evolution of musical theatre. My goal as the researcher, however, is to present findings as objectively as possible and to align the results precisely with the objective fact-finding evidenced by the investigation.

By way of example with regards to this research, documents and artefacts mined from The Shubert Archive in New York have an exclusive provenance in that the archive comprises more than a century's worth of production designs, scripts, sheet music, publicity materials, photographs, correspondence and business records relating to the day to day business of Jacob (known as J.J.) and Lee Shubert. Business correspondence, particularly inter-office memos and incoming and outgoing correspondence have been preserved meticulously (often with carbon copies), allowing for a clear analysis of personal opinions, biases, business agreements/disagreements and decisions made on all levels of the business over the course of many decades.

3.7 Data Collection Analysis

Determining the authenticity of collected data is of prime importance to a qualitative research study, therefore the established provenance demonstrated by archives such as The Shubert guarantees a security in provenance which is second to none. However, the data will be mined from other sources (The New York Public Library; The Institute of the American Musical; online archives) which do not have the luxury of streamlined documentation to such a degree as The Shubert Archive. Over time, qualitative researchers in social sciences (Clark, 1967; Guba and Lincoln, 1981) have developed specific check lists to ascertain the authenticity of their process, as noted by Guba and Lincoln:

- What is the history of the document?
- How did it come into my hands?
- What guarantee is there that it is what it pretends to be?
- Is the document complete, as originally constructed?
- Has it been tampered with or edited?
- If the document is genuine, under what circumstances and for what purposes was it produced?
- Who was/is the author?
- What was he trying to accomplish? For whom was the document intended?
- What were the maker's sources of information? Does the document represent an eyewitness account, a secondhand account, a reconstruction of an event long prior to the writing, an interpretation?
- What was or is the maker's bias?
- To what extent was the writer likely to want to tell the truth?
- Do other documents exist that might shed additional light on the same story, event, project, program, context? If so, are they available, accessible? Who holds them? (pp. 238-239)

By abiding to the criteria of such a list guarantees to as great an extent as is possible, that both the objectivity of the researcher and the authenticity of the mined data have been responsibly checked and balanced.

3.7.1 Organisation of Data

This section is for the analysis of documents post-data collection and the exploration of research sub-questions which will shape the ultimate direction of the research question and resolution of the problem. By demonstrating the organisation of data collection techniques to elucidate the research question, the subsequent evaluation of documents and artefacts will serve to reflect a cohesive outcome from the data. There are five topic key areas for analytical scrutiny which present themselves as gender equality vs. inequality, negotiation, evidence of relationship, collaboration and linguistic analysis with their related sub-questions organised as demonstrated in Table 5:

Table 5. Key topics for data collection and sub-question organisation		
	Key topic area	Sub-questions
1.	Gender equality vs. inequality	Evidence of male vs female working conditions; comparison of male/female contracts and agreements from same employers/producers and publishers; evidence of working relationships established by Caldwell, Donnelly and Johnson Young.
2.	Negotiation	Evidence of negotiation – analysis of how each writer negotiated their business terms (directly with producers/publishers or via lawyer); how marital status affected negotiation.
3.	Evidence of relationship	How was it established (through professional reputation or by means of networking via a professional group, previous employer or friend).
4.	Collaboration	Evidence of collaboration – is the evidence of an autobiographical nature? Is it in the form of correspondence? Is it recorded in a press interview? Is it published in a critical review?
5.	Linguistic analysis	Linguistic analysis – how was the analysis conducted? Have the analytical measures proven successful? What are the strengths and weaknesses of the analysis?

The importance of establishing sub-questions within key data collection topic areas helps to streamline the objective assessment of primary and secondary sources and

allow for the cross-checking of data to compare findings and build methodological rigour (see 3.8.1). As illustrated in Table 5, points 1-2 (gender equality vs. inequality; negotiation) are built on data mined from letters, correspondence and contracts which specifically point to individual opinions and agreements/ disagreements which reveal a distinct picture of a relationship between individuals (formal/professional; informal/professional; informal). Points 3-4 (evidence of relationship; collaboration) are based on data mined from primary and secondary source historical records, which can in turn be objectively compared back to and alongside findings from points 1-2. The dual nature of the linguistic analysis (point 5), designed specifically to identify creativity, gender-based markers and collaborativity, directly links each of the key topic areas by means of the Linguistic-Hermeneutic Paradigm developed explicitly to assess emergent and linking themes within the research.

3.7.2 Summary of Data Collection Analysis

The practice and presence of a methodical data collection process and identification of the research sub-questions is therefore key to proving the authenticity of the investigation in as much as it generates further analysis and helps to illumine emergent themes which link the research problem and clarification of the new knowledge as illustrated in Figure 7:



Figure 7. Connection and importance of the research sub-questions

3.8 Ethics

All research, whether qualitative, quantitative or mixed methods has to demonstrate its validity, reliability and trustworthiness. Whereas rigorous measures regarding ethical conduct for quantitative research have been in existence since the late 1940's, qualitative research by contrast has only attracted attention in the last few decades (2016, pp. 237-239). Therefore, whilst the development of more stringent ethical measures for qualitative research are a relatively recent paradigm, the additional clarity delivered to a project by aligning markers for validity and trustworthiness into a qualitative study, mirror that of tried and tested methods in scientific inquiry. Taking into consideration the evolving nature of the field of qualitative research, coupled with the recognition that rigorous analysis be applied to all outcomes and assumptions, highlights the importance of the nexus from the researcher's epistemological perspective through to the theoretical framework,

research design, and ethical rigour underpinning the work, thus adding a valued layer of objectivity and authenticity to the investigation as a whole (see Figure 8):

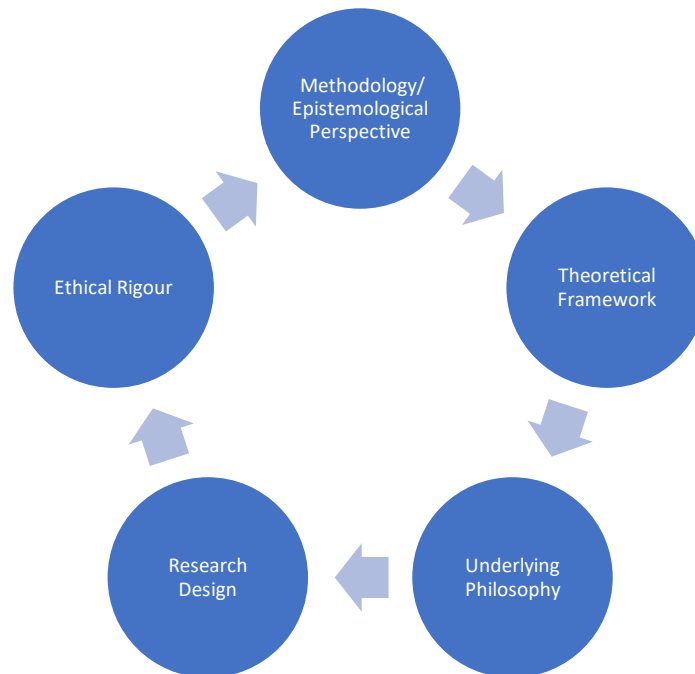


Figure 8. The Nexus of Qualitative Research

3.8.1 Methodological Rigour

A key methodological approach to guard against potential unfounded assumptions or subjective judgements is the practice of research triangulation. Generally associated with navigation and land surveying, qualitative research triangulation allows the researcher (particularly when using multiple sources of data or collection methods) to build a strategy of reliable cross-checking to increase the validity and quality of the research findings. This strategy, a form of 'belt and braces' approach to a qualitative project is encouraged further by Michael Patton:

...triangulation, in whatever form, increases credibility and quality by countering the concern (or accusation) that a study's findings are an artifact of a single method, a single source, or a single investigator's blinders (Patton, 2002, p.674).

One of the key features of this research is the study of how the intelligent and creative use of language enabled creative, collaborative, partnerships which subsequently led to the creation of successful joint musical productions. The dual nature of the linguistic analysis employed in this research, allied by the computer science-led technology of LIWC will provide a reliable foil to the so-called subjective hunches associated with the lone researcher and underline the validity and reliability of the ultimate findings.

3.8.2 Approval for this Research

This research has been Approved (Final) as Minimal Risk by both the School/College Research Ethics Panel (SCREP) and the central University Research Ethics Committee (UREC) boards of London College of Music and the University of West London in October 2019.

Chapter Four: Text Analysis

4.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the processes by which the male/female text analysis of the co-written librettos is formulated using the computer software Language Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC). As demonstrated in the Methodology chapter (3.4.3), the research question at the heart of this interdisciplinary inquiry aims to analyse both early twentieth century working practice between dramatists and producers on Broadway and the balance of power at the heart of male/female creative collaborations. The utilisation of LIWC software for this stage of the investigation will serve to establish key stylistic writing characteristics associated with men and women, employing research results from a comprehensive 2008 study analysing gender differences in language use as the blueprint for the new inquiry.

LIWC was first developed by social psychologists Martha E. Francis and James W. Pennebaker in 1991. Francis and Pennebaker's research interests lie in social, clinical health and cognitive psychology, and the LIWC programme, described as a transparent text analysis programme that counts words in psychologically meaningful categories, was developed as part of an exploratory study of language and disclosure. The LIWC numbers are calculated by the frequency of words (in percentage) of each category based on a total word count and LIWC Dictionary-identified words.

As outlined in Chapter Three (Methodology), the purpose of the text analysis in relation to the collaborated libretti is to study individual writing styles for evidence of creative collaboration between the male and female writers. By utilising previously identified LIWC categories from the research project, *Gender Differences in Language Use: An Analysis of 14,000 Text Samples* (Newman *et al.*, 2008) which used the LIWC software programme to explore the question of gender differences in writing styles, we will first outline the foundation of the existing research upon which the current analysis is based, demonstrate the chosen search criteria and present conclusions as to the suitability of LIWC as the ideal computer software programme to demonstrate and support the application of the research design and methodology.

4.2 The premise for the 2008 research

The team behind the 2008 research comprised Matthew L. Newman, Carla J. Groom, Lori D Handelman and James W. Pennebaker whose collective specialist subject areas span social and behavioural sciences and psychology. A premise of the research was that:

despite extensive theorizing, actual empirical investigations have yet to converge on a coherent picture of gender differences in language. A significant reason is the lack of agreement over the best way to analyze [sic] language (2008).

One possible reason cited for the lack of agreement prior to the 2008 project was a 'lack of a commonly accepted metric of analysis among empirical studies of language' caused in part as a result of multiple studies which 'analysed a small number of text samples and then made broad generalizations about the differences between women and men (2008).' As will be demonstrated in 4.3 (Creating the Text Analysis Model), by utilising the findings of the 2008 LIWC analysis as a basis for the current research, this aspect of the design alleviates concerns surrounding potential

insufficient volume of text samples and contributes further to the accumulation of knowledge procured by the original study. In relation to situating the specific definition of gender in the analysis, the 2008 team stressed in their conclusion that:

it is important to note that our analyses merely identify *how* [sic] men and women communicate differently, without addressing the issue of *why* [sic] these differences exist. Gender differences in language use likely reflect a complex combination of social goals, situational demands and socialization --- just to name a few --- but these data do not identify these origins. Rather, our goal was to provide a clear map of the differences in men's and women's language, and to offer a starting point for future research into the nature and origin of gender differences (2008, p. 233).

The text corpus employed for the 2008 gender research was chosen from an extremely broad base and represents work from:

- 70 studies from 22 laboratories including 14 universities in the United States (63 studies)
- 1 university in New Zealand (4 studies)
- 3 universities in England (3 studies)
- 44 of the studies were conducted by at least one of the authors.
- The studies were conducted over a 22-year period (1980-2002) and included samples going back as far as the 17th century.
- All the files contained primary data from individual participants, either written (93%) or transcribed from speech (7%).

After excluding files for which no gender information was available, and studies including only men or women, there remained text samples from 11,609 participants, consisting of approximately 45,700,000 words (Newman *et al.*, 2008, pp. 220–221). Part of the success associated with the 2008 gender differences research is the sheer volume of text involved in the analysis and the developers stress that:

a text of 10,000 words yields far more reliable results than one of 100 words. Any text with fewer than 50 words should be looked at with a certain degree of scepticism. (<https://liwc.wpengine.com/how-it-works/>)

Of note here, in relation to the current research, is that the body of work represented in this study are theatrical texts for performance, guaranteeing the word count in each exemplar libretto to be representative of a sufficient word count sample.

4.2.1 Overview of Findings from the Gender Differences Research

Prior to examining the results of the gender differences study in closer detail, highlights of the findings are shown here in Table 6:

Table 6. Highlights of 2008 Gender Differences Research Results (Newman <i>et al.</i>, 2008)		
1.	FEMALE Text more likely to include:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Pronouns (particularly 1st person, but not limited to). b. Social words c. Wide variety of other psychological process references (doubts, thoughts, emotions, senses, other peoples). d. Verbs (present and past tense) e. Negations f. References to the home
2.	MALE Men exceeded women:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. word length b. numbers c. articles d. prepositions e. current concerns f. swear more often g. External events, objects and process. Discussion of occupation, money and sports.
3.	Stereotypical expectation	Contrary to popular stereotypes, men and women were indistinguishable in their references to sexuality, anger, time, use of first-person plural, the number of words and question marks and the insertion of qualifiers in the form of exclusion words e.g. but, although.
4.	Summary	<p>Women are more prolific users of first-person pronouns (i.e. I, me, my); psychological processes; social processes; verbs.</p> <p>Men show a higher usage of long words; articles; prepositions; swearing; numbers; current concerns.</p>

Table 6 reveals an interesting linguistic landscape wherein stereotypical expectations are undermined (3) and a much more subtle pattern emerges relating

to words we would normally associate with grammatical constructions (1a; 2a; 2b; 2c; 2d). A particularly striking discovery revealed that women, not men, were the more prolific users of first-person singular pronouns (e.g. I, me, my). Function words, such as pronouns, were found to be used at much higher rates in conversation, especially by women. Women's greater use of pronouns mirrored previous work, and the finding that women used more certainty words parallels earlier discoveries that women used more intensive adverbs (McMillan *et al.*, 1977; Precht *et al.*, 1998; Mulac, Seibold and Farris, 2000; Mehl and Pennebaker, 2003). The results also reveal that women use more affect words, but this was not restricted to positive emotions as has been suggested by previous research (Danner, Snowdon and Friesen, 2001). On the contrary, women were more likely to refer both to positive feelings and to negative emotions – specifically, sadness and anxiety (Mulac, Studley and Blau, 1990; Thomson and Murachver, 2001).

When given the freedom to talk on any topic, men elected to talk about concrete objects such as occupation, money and sports (which require nouns and articles together). This reflects other research on men's language which has also concluded evidence of male usage of a substantially greater use of numbers, articles, long words, and swearing (Gleser, Gottschalk and John, 1959; Mulac and Lundell, 1986; Mehl and Pennebaker, 2003). Men's speech was also characterised by more negative emotion and more references to the past relative to men's writing.

4.2.2 Utilising the findings based on a broad database

An important consideration in reflecting on these results is not just the sheer volume of data employed in the 2008 analysis, but also the nature and content of the broad

span of text files, which included language samples based on written and transcribed spoken language and samples of books, poems, song lyrics, and other art forms, many of which, according to Newman et al, had never before been subjected to linguistic coding (p. 217). The inclusion of poems, song lyrics and other art forms within the fabric of the 2008 research criteria further demonstrates the compatibility for the current study to align itself with the focused text categories of the 2008 gender differences findings. As noted in the overview to this chapter (4.2.1), the results demonstrate not simply an intriguing insight into the potential to accurately identify gender characteristics in writing styles, but they also home in on the particular grammatical linguistic elements which reveal it, as noted by Newman et al:

This approach has proved particularly fruitful with respect to “function words” which include pronouns, articles, prepositions, conjunctions, and auxiliary verbs. These words are distinct from content words (nouns, verbs, and adjectives), and are used to “glue” other words together. In the English language, there are fewer than 200 commonly used function words, yet they account for over one half of the words we use (2008, p. 216).

Newman et al highlight that whilst a degree of academic scrutiny has been paid to the use of personal pronouns in gender difference research (Brewer and Gardner, 1996; Pennebaker and Lay, 2002; Newman *et al.*, 2003; Pennebaker, Mehl and Niederhoffer, 2003), function words have been relatively neglected, except for a study in 2002 which discriminated between male and female authors in a sample of fiction and non-fiction from the British National Corpus. With a goal to ‘predict author gender without regard to the psychological meaning of words’ (Koppel, Argamon and Shimoni, 2002) the authors used a set of training documents to create a prediction equation which was used to classify writing by gender, at an accuracy rate of nearly 80% and the words that best discriminated between men and women were function words (2002).

4.2.3 Limitations considered by the 2008 research

Newman et al stress that

‘the effect sizes on all language dimensions were in the range generally considered small. In fact, only five dimensions met Cohen’s (1992) criterion for a small effect when we collapsed across communication context – long words, articles, swear words, and pronouns (2008, p. 229).

However, Newman et al state that the importance of context and the difference between using, for example, 14% pronouns and using 12% pronouns, may be subtle but still stand as a reliable marker when taken in the correct context ‘thus gender differences in written spoken language appear to be subtle but reliable’ (2008).

4.2.4 Consensus of overall findings from 2008 research

Newman et al conclude that their analyses demonstrate small but systematic differences in the way that men and women use language, both in terms of what they say and how they choose to say it, stating ‘the results are consistent with the idea that men and women employ language for different reasons’. Further, by utilising a very large and diverse data corpus combined with a computerised text analysis programme, their consensus is that they were able to put the controversial topic of language-based gender differences on firmer empirical ground. Rather than contradicting, the data produced by the study supported and clarified previous research ‘suggesting that word-count strategies are a viable, highly efficient alternative to linguistic analysis based on human coders’ (2008, pp. 223-233).

4.3 Creating the Text Analysis Model

The impressive volume of data utilised in the gender differences research combined with the statistical clarity exemplified in the results, affords further research into the subject a ready platform from which to pursue further LIWC analysis based on the published statistical outcomes, as demonstrated below in Table 7:

Table 7. Main Effects of Gender on Language Use as demonstrated in 2008 Findings						
LIWC Dimension	Examples	Female		Male		Effect size (d)
		M	SD	M	SD	
<i>Linguistic dimensions</i>						
Words ≥ six letters		13.99	4.42	15.25	5.91	-0.24
Numbers		1.37	1.31	1.59	1.55	-0.15
Negations	no, never, not	1.85	1.10	1.72	1.17	0.11
Articles	A, an, the	6.00	2.73	6.70	2.94	-0.24
Prepositions	on, to, from	12.46	2.44	12.88	2.64	-0.17
<i>Psychological Processes</i>						
Emotions/Affect		4.57	1.99	4.35	2.07	0.11
Positive emotions ('posemo')	happy, pretty, good	2.49	1.34	2.41	1.40	Ns
Negative emotions ('negemo')		2.05	1.65	1.89	1.56	0.10
Social words		9.54	4.92	8.51	4.72	0.21
Pronouns		14.24	4.06	12.69	4.63	0.36
First-person singular	I, me, my	7.15	4.66	6.37	4.66	0.17
<i>Time/Time and space</i>						
Past-tense verb	walked, were, had	4.36	2.97	4.02	2.84	0.12
Present-tense verb	walk, is, be	11.71	4.00	10.98	4.10	0.18
<i>Current concerns</i>						
Occupation/work	work, class, boss	2.34	1.88	2.59	2.10	-0.12
Money	cash, taxes, income	0.25	0.39	0.29	0.49	-0.10
Metaphysical/religion	death, god	0.41	0.88	0.47	0.97	-0.06
Home	house, kitchen, lawn	0.80	0.76	0.68	0.79	0.15

Note: Means refer to percentages of the total words in a sample. Effect size (Cohen's *d*) was calculated by dividing the mean difference by the pooled standard deviation. Positive effect sizes mean women used the category more; negative effect sizes mean men used it more. All mean differences except those labelled "ns" were significant at $p < .001$, based on univariate statistics from a multivariate analysis of variance (Newman *et al.*, 2008, pp. 219–220).

As can be seen in Table 7, language use is presented as the average/mean with standard deviation variables for both male and female categories and these figures have been utilised as the basis to calculate the variables for the current analysis. Further, as can be seen from the examples below (Table 8 and Figure 9) by applying the 2008 male/female mean and standard deviation variables to the current LIWC results, provides an ideal methodological tool to present the LIWC analyses of the libretti utilising the extant calculations and tolerance thresholds (ie. standard deviation):

Filename	Sixltr	pronoun	i	article	prep	negate	number	Past-tense	Present-tense	affect	posemo	negemo	social	work	home	money	relig
THELADYC	15.68	15.84	4.54	5.89	11.01	1.95	1.68	1.69	9.33	5.34	3.28	2.06	13.72	0.82	0.90	0.74	0.15
GDF MEAN	13.99	14.24	7.15	6	12.46	1.85	1.37	4.36	11.71	4.57	2.49	2.05	9.54	2.34	0.8	0.25	0.41
GDM MEAN	15.25	12.69	6.37	6.7	12.88	1.72	1.59	4.02	10.98	4.35	2.41	1.89	8.51	2.59	0.68	0.29	0.47
FSTDEV	4.42	4.06	4.66	2.73	2.44	1.1	1.31	2.97	4	1.99	1.34	1.65	4.92	1.88	0.76	0.39	0.88
MSTDEV	5.91	4.63	4.66	2.94	2.64	1.17	1.55	2.84	4.1	2.07	1.4	1.56	4.72	2.1	0.79	0.49	0.97

Table 8. Showing LIWC analysis results for *The Lady of the Slipper* with comparative 2008 male (GDM) and female (GDF) gender difference mean and standard deviation (FSTDEV; MSTDEV)

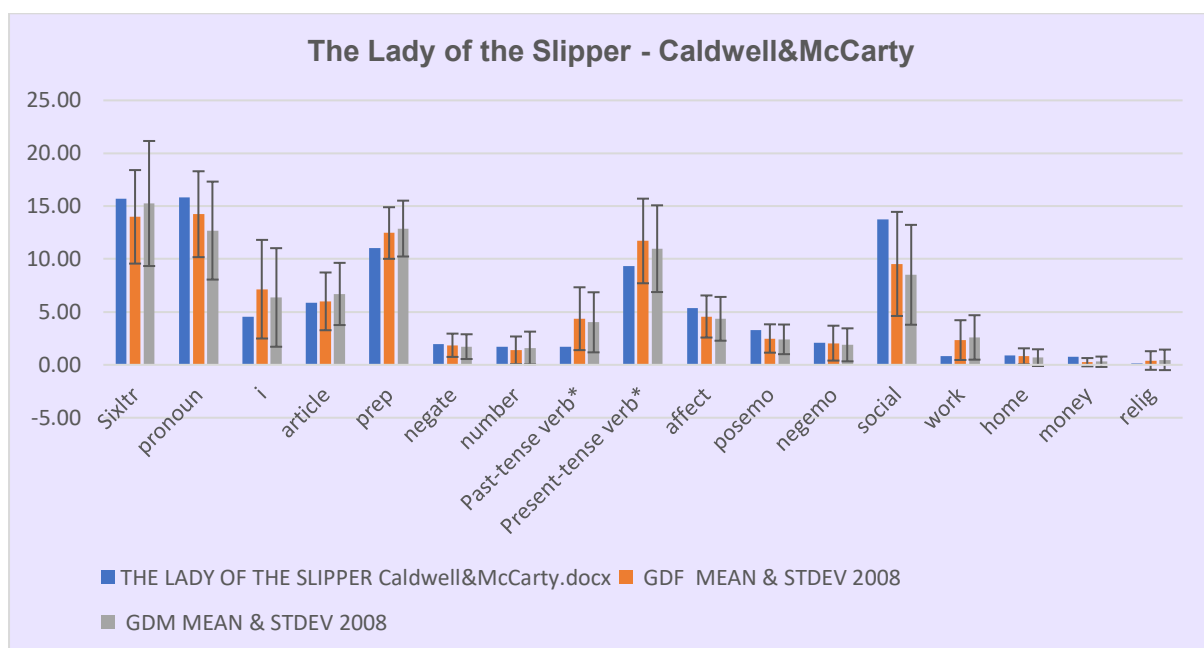


Figure 9. Exemplar table for current libretti/script analyses. Key: Blue Column 1= LIWC analysis result; Orange Column 2 = 2008 LIWC female mean with stdev error bar; Grey Column 3 = 2008 LIWC male mean with stdev error bar.

The above examples (Table 8; Figure 9) show the LIWC analysis results for the Anne Caldwell/Laurence McCarty co-written libretto of *The Lady of the Slipper*, a Charles Dillingham production which opened on 28th October, 1912 and ran for 232 performances. Initial observations reveal positive comparisons with the 2008 results as shown here in Table 9:

Table 9. Positive comparative LIWC analysis results reflecting male/female writing characteristics in <i>The Lady of the Slipper</i> libretto based on 2008 Gender Difference mean and standard deviation calculations.			
LIWC category	Gender specific	LIWC %	Comment
Words longer than six letters	Male	15.68	Higher than the male mean; situated approximately in the middle of the StDev tolerance range.
Pronouns (particularly first person, but not limited to)	Female	15.84	Higher than the female mean; situated well within the StDev tolerance range.
Articles	Male	5.89	Slightly lower than the male mean; well within the STDev tolerance range
Prepositions	Male	11.01	Lower than the male mean, but within the StDev tolerance range.
Numbers	Male	1.68	Higher than the male mean; situated at the mid-point of the StDev tolerance range.
Verbs (past & present)	Female	1.69 (past) 9.33 (present)	Lower than the female mean; within the StDev tolerance range.
Psychological processes (positive/negative emotion)	Female	5.34	Higher than the female mean; within the StDev tolerance range.
Social words	Female	13.72	Considerably higher than the female mean,

			but still consistently within the StDev tolerance range.
References to the home	Female	0.90	Lower than the female mean, but still within the StDev tolerance range.
Current Concerns: work	Male	0.82	Lower than the male mean, but within the StDev tolerance range.
Current Concerns: money	Male	0.74	Higher than the male mean, at the top end of the StDev tolerance range.
Current Concerns: religion	Male	0.15	Lower than the male mean but well within the StDev tolerance range.

Table 9 reveals the importance of the application of the 2008 standard deviation range in respect of the overall interpretation of the current results. This variable provides a key marker for interpreting the results, particularly when a figure emerges higher/lower than the predicted mean. The standard deviation tolerance range therefore represents an important contributing element to the text analysis model and interpretation of the collaborative texts.

4.3.1 The importance of establishing 'control' libretti/scripts

It became apparent early on in the development of the text analysis model that, in order to analyse and interpret the LIWC results coherently, it would be essential to establish a control group in the same manner of a scientific experiment, defined simply as 'the standard to which comparisons are made' (Godby, 2020). For example, whilst analysis of Figure 9 demonstrates a clear presence of words longer than six letters (male characteristic), high pronoun use (female characteristic), a distinction can only best be made if the co-written script can be compared alongside

control examples of solo work written by each party. Therefore, where extant, for each co-written script in this analysis, control solo libretti/writing samples from both parties will be utilised in order to build an effective standard for comparison, with an overall total of 18 collaborated libretti and 15 controls (comprising libretti where extant or comparative writing samples such as song lyrics) as presented here in Table 10:

Table 10. Showing overview of the 33 text analysis works, comprising 18 collaborated libretti and 15 controls.					
No.	Who	Collaborated Title details	Lyricist	Librettists	Control libretti/extant writing sample
1.	RJY	Title: <i>The Red Petticoat</i> Composer: Jerome Kern Produced by: Messrs Shubert Venue: Daly's Theatre Opened: 13 th November, 1912; Performances: 61	RJY and Paul West	RJY and Paul West	RJY: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Naughty Marietta</i> • <i>The Girl and the Pennant</i> • <i>Brown of Harvard</i> Paul West: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>song lyric samples from extant collection</i>
2.	RJY	Title: <i>His Little Widows</i> Composer: William Shroeder Produced by: G. M Anderson and L Lawrence Webber Venue: Astor Theatre Opened: 30 th April, 1917 Performances: 72	RJY and William Cary Duncan	RJY and William Cary Duncan	RJY: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Naughty Marietta</i> • <i>The Girl and the Pennant</i> • <i>Brown of Harvard</i> William Cary Duncan <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Golden Hoofs (book sample)</i>
3. & 4	RJY	Title: <i>The Dream Girl</i> Composer: Victor Herbert Produced by: Messrs Shubert Venue: The Ambassador Opened: 20 th August, 1924 Performances: 118 Note: there are 2 different versions which will be examined in this analysis	RJY and Harold Atteridge	RJY and Harold Atteridge	RJY: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Naughty Marietta</i> • <i>The Girl and the Pennant</i> • <i>Brown of Harvard</i> Harold Atteridge <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>The Passing Show of 1914</i> • <i>Sample of part of The Passing Show of 1915 and typed scenarios for The Passing Show of 1914.</i>
5	AC	Title: <i>The Lady of the Slipper</i> Composer: Victor Herbert Produced by: Charles Dillingham Venue: The Globe Theatre Opened: 28 th October 1912 Performances: 232	James O'Dea	AC & Laurence McCarty	AC: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>The Night Boat</i> Laurence McCarty <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>solo work not extant as McCarty appears to have only collaborated.</i>

6.	AC	Title: Chin-Chin Composer: Ivan Caryll Produced by: Charles Dillingham Venue: The Globe Theatre Opened: 20 October 1914 Performances: 295	AC and James O'Dea	AC and Robert Huberthorne (R.H.) Burnside	AC: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>The Night Boat</i> R. H. Burnside: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Sporting Days</i>
7.	AC	Title: Jack O'Lantern Composer: Ivan Caryll Produced by: Charles Dillingham Venue: The Globe Theatre Opened: 16 th October 1916 Performances: 265	AC & R. H. Burnside	AC & R. H. Burnside	AC: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>The Night Boat</i> R. H. Burnside: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Sporting Days</i>
8 & 9	AC	Title: Tip Top Composer: Ivan Caryll Produced by: Charles Dillingham Venue: The Globe Theatre Opened: 5 th October, 1920 Performances: 241	AC and R. H. Burnside Note: inc 2 different versions.	AC and R H Burnside	AC: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>The Night Boat</i> R. H. Burnside: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Sporting Days</i>
10.	AC	Title: The Bunch & Judy Composer: Jerome Kern Produced by: Charles Dillingham Venue: The Globe Theatre Opened: 18 th November, 1922 Performances: 65	AC	AC & Hugh Ford	AC: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>The Night Boat</i> Hugh Ford <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>not extant; primarily known as a director.</i>
11.	AC	Title: Stepping Stones Composer: Jerome Kern Produced by: Charles Dillingham Venue: The Globe Theatre Opened: 6 th November, 1923 Performances: 241	AC	AC and R H Burnside	AC: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>The Night Boat</i> R. H. Burnside: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Sporting Days</i>
12.	AC	Title: Criss Cross Composer: Jerome Kern Produced by: Charles Dillingham Venue: The Globe Theatre Opened: 12 th October 1926 Performances: 210	AC and Otto Harbach	AC and Otto Harbach	AC: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>The Night Boat</i> Otto Harbach <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Katinka</i>
13.	AC	Title: Oh, Please! Composer: Vincent Youmans Produced by: Charles Dillingham Venue: The Fulton Theatre Opened: 21 st December 1926 Performances: 79	AC and Otto Harbach	AC and Otto Harbach	AC: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>The Night Boat</i> Otto Harbach <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Katinka</i>
14.		Title: Take the Air Composer: Dave Stamper Produced by: Gene Buck Venue: The Waldorf Theatre Opened: 22 nd November, 1927 Performances: 208	AC and Gene Buck	AC and Gene Buck	AC: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>The Night Boat</i> Gene Buck <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lyrics for Ziegfeld Follies of 1919/

15.	AC	Title: Three Cheers Composer: Ramond Hubbell Produced by: Charles Dillingham Venue: The Globe Theatre Opened: 15 th October, 1928 Performances: 209	AC	AC and R H Burnside	AC: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>The Night Boat</i> R. H. Burnside: <i>Sporting Days</i>
16.	AC	Title: Once Upon a Time (1921) Composer: no composer/ unproduced. Venue: n/a Opened: n/a Performances: n/a	James O'Dea	AC & Laurence McCarty	AC: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>The Night Boat</i> Laurence McCarty <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>solo work not extant as McCarty appears to have only collaborated.</i>
17.	DD	Title: Flora Bella (1916) Composer: Charles Cuvilier; Milton Schwarzwald Produced by: John Cort Venue: Casino Theatre Opened: 11 th September, 1916 Performances: 112	Felix Dörmann	DD; Cosmo Hamilton; Milton Schwarzwald	DD: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Poppy</i> <i>The Student Prince</i> Cosmo Hamilton: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>The Sins of the Children</i>
18.	DD	Title: Fancy Free Composer: Augustus Barratt Produced by: Messrs Shubert Venue: Astor Theatre Opened: 11 th April, 1918 Performances: 116	Augustus Barratt	DD; Edgar Smith	DD: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Poppy</i> <i>The Student Prince</i> Edgar Smith: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Dream City</i>

4.3.2 Amalgamating LIWC analysis with primary and secondary source data

As outlined in the Methodology chapter (Chapter Three) the development of the LIWC text analysis model is a key element of the linguistic-hermeneutic paradigm at the heart of the research design. According to Merriam and Tisdell, an essential contributing factor in demonstrating methodological rigour successfully is the presence of triangulation. When using multiple sources of data or collection methods, triangulation is a means by which a reliable strategic method of cross-checking is employed to increase the validity and quality of the research findings (Merriam and Tisdell, 2016, p. 244). By introducing the control group libretti to the model, it became apparent that, along with the standard comparison aspect afforded by each available control libretto, the LIWC findings could act as an added value contributor alongside primary and secondary source evidence, effectively creating a

3D perspective within the analysis. For example, knowledge gleaned from correspondence, press interviews and contracts can be aligned with the LIWC language analysis to cross-check any potential anomalies which may arise in the findings and vice versa, thus creating a viable method of triangulation via varied collection methods which simultaneously contribute to the methodological rigour of the design. It should be noted here that whilst the category for words of six letters or more has been paid most attention in the following examples, there are more comparisons to be made from other categories which will be exemplified in Chapter Seven (The Collaborations).

By way of example, two potential anomalies were found early on in the LIWC analysis, which, when cross-checked and considered along with, in the first instance, the standard deviation variable and in the second, additional knowledge gained from primary and secondary source data, highlighted rather than contradicted a particular character trait, a comparison ultimately enabled through the process of triangulation. The first example (Table 11; Figure 10) illustrates the results of the control libretto analysis of *Naughty Marietta*, written by Rida Johnson Young in 1910:

Filename	Sixltr	pronoun	i	article	prep	negate	number	past tense	present tense	affect	posemo	negemo	social	work	home	money	relig
NaughtyM	16.92	16.22	5.37	4.90	10.47	2.66	1.12	1.64	9.13	5.35	3.78	1.55	14.16	1.57	0.87	0.74	0.36
GDF MEAN	13.99	14.24	7.15	6	12.46	1.85	1.37	4.36	11.71	4.57	2.49	2.05	9.54	2.34	0.8	0.25	0.41
GDM MEAN	15.25	12.69	6.37	6.7	12.88	1.72	1.59	4.02	10.98	4.35	2.41	1.89	8.51	2.59	0.68	0.29	0.47
FSTDEV	4.42	4.06	4.66	2.73	2.44	1.1	1.31	2.97	4	1.99	1.34	1.65	4.92	1.88	0.76	0.39	0.88
MSTDEV	5.91	4.63	4.66	2.94	2.64	1.17	1.55	2.84	4.1	2.07	1.4	1.56	4.72	2.1	0.79	0.49	0.97

Table 11. Showing LIWC analysis results for *Naughty Marietta* by Rida Johnson Young with comparative 2008 male (GDM) and female (GDF) gender difference mean and standard deviation (FSTDEV; MSTDEV).

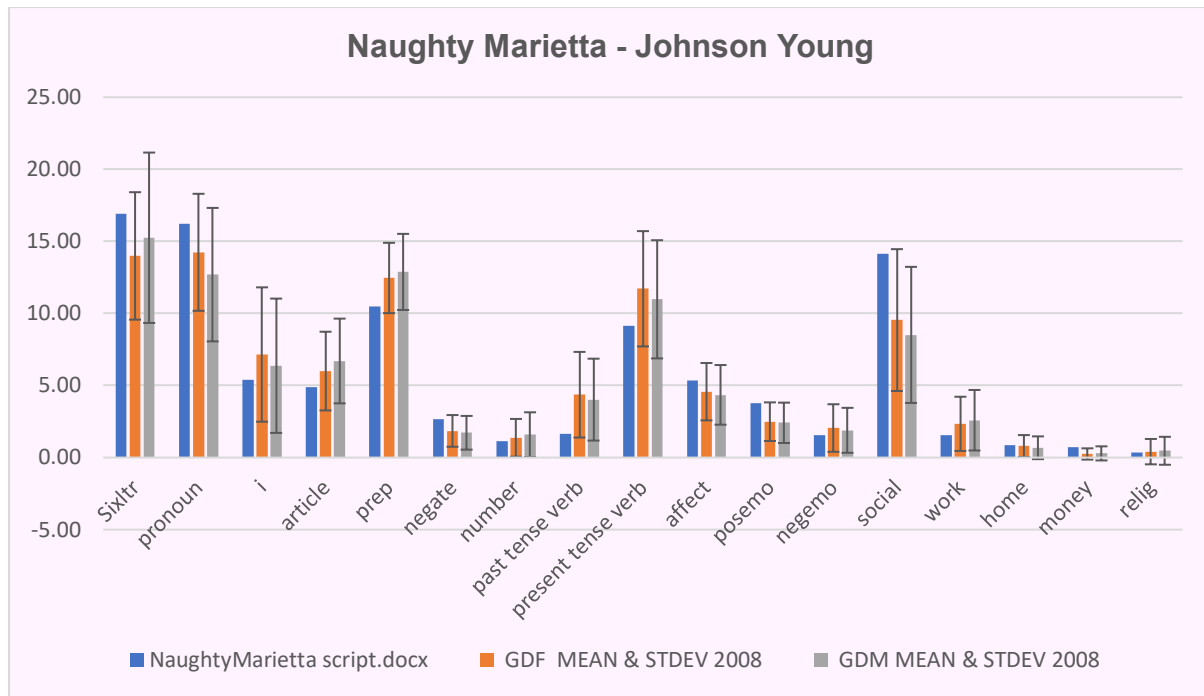


Figure 10. Showing LIWC results for *Naughty Marietta* by Rida Johnson Young. Key: Blue Column 1= LIWC analysis result; Orange Column 2 = 2008 LIWC female mean with stdev error bar; Grey Column 3 = 2008 LIWC male mean with stdev error bar.

The potential anomaly in this example can be seen in the 'sixltr' column. Firstly, if the male/female mean columns did not incorporate the standard deviation variables, it would seem at first glance that Johnson Young exceeded both male and female averages for the usage of words of more than six letters; whereas the presence of the error bar reassuringly reveals this usage to be within the female standard deviation, although at the higher end. Additionally, when compared with other control/solo written scripts (*Brown of Harvard; The Girl and the Pennant*), it becomes apparent that Johnson Young's usage is generally much lower as can be seen from Figures 11 & 12:

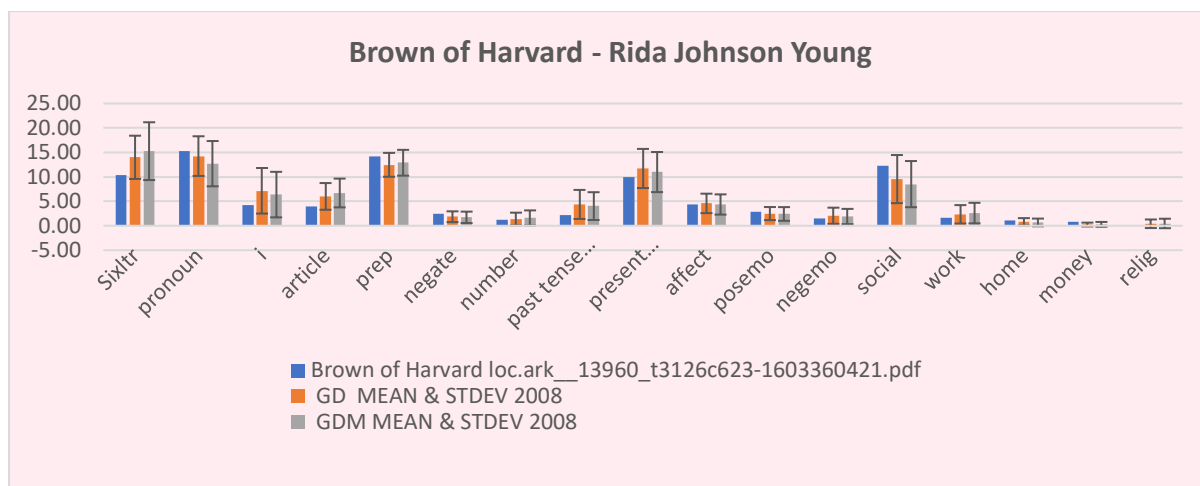


Figure 11. Showing LIWC results for the control script of *Brown of Harvard* by Rida Johnson Young, 1906.

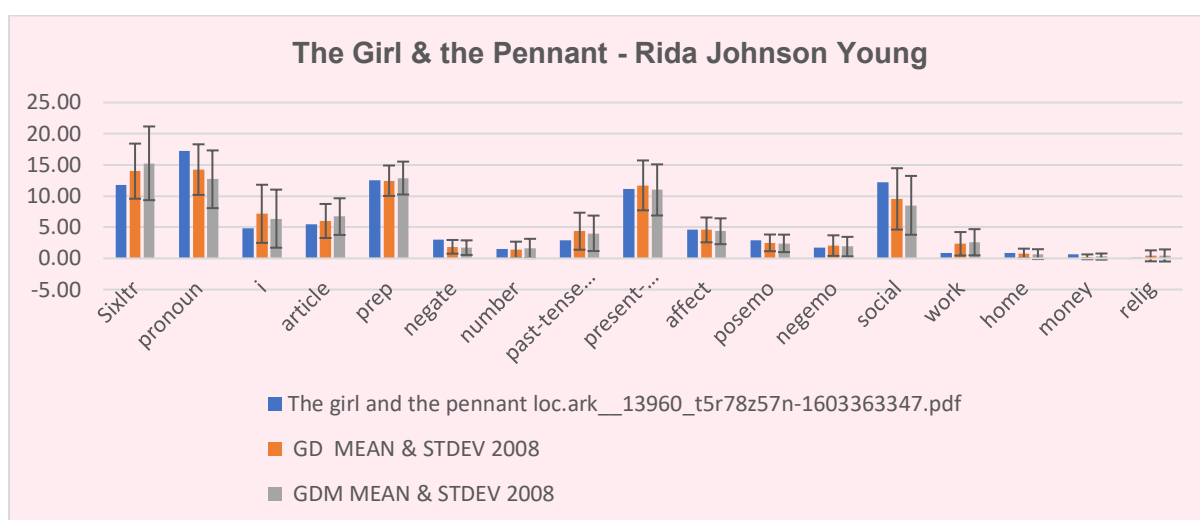


Figure 12. Showing LIWC results for the control script of *The Girl & The Pennant* by Rida Johnson Young, 1917.

Closer inspection of the libretto for *Naughty Marietta* reveals repetitive usage of elaborate words such as ‘casquette’ and ‘Lieutenant Governor’; therefore, whilst the subject matter of the narrative has increased the higher usage of words of more than six letters, the application of the standard deviation variable confirms the nature of the writing to fall within the expected parameter. Additionally, as will be demonstrated in Chapter Five (The Correspondence), Johnson Young’s business correspondence reveals a direct and forthright approach not commonly associated with female writing style which provides an additional explanation for the higher

usage of words of more than six letters (*Naughty Marietta*) and prepositions (*Brown of Harvard; The Girl and the Pennant*) which are more commonly associated with male writing characteristics.

The second intriguing anomaly in the analyses exemplifies another example of triangulation in action. In 1926, lyricist Otto Harbach collaborated with Anne Caldwell on the libretti for two shows: *Criss Cross* and *Oh, Please!* Whilst the 'sixltr' (words comprising more than six letters) category for *Criss Cross* showed reassuringly high usage (16.55), *Oh, Please!* and its corresponding control libretto, *Katinka*, both recorded similarly low percentage numbers (11.70 and 11.14 respectively) as shown here in Figures 13-15:

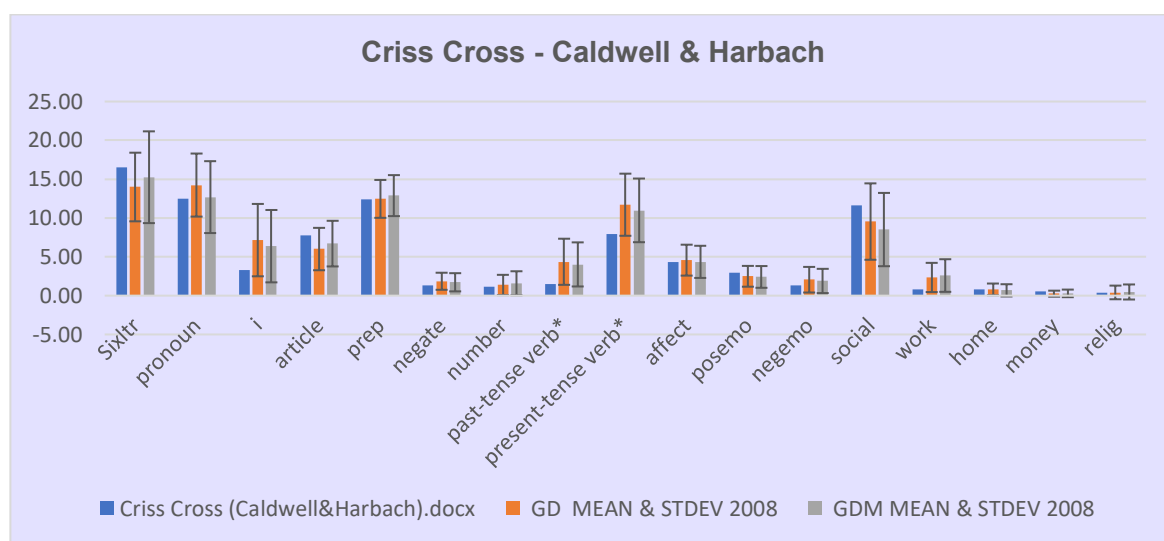


Figure 13. Showing LIWC results for the collaborated libretto of *Criss Cross* by Anne Caldwell and Otto Harbach, 1926

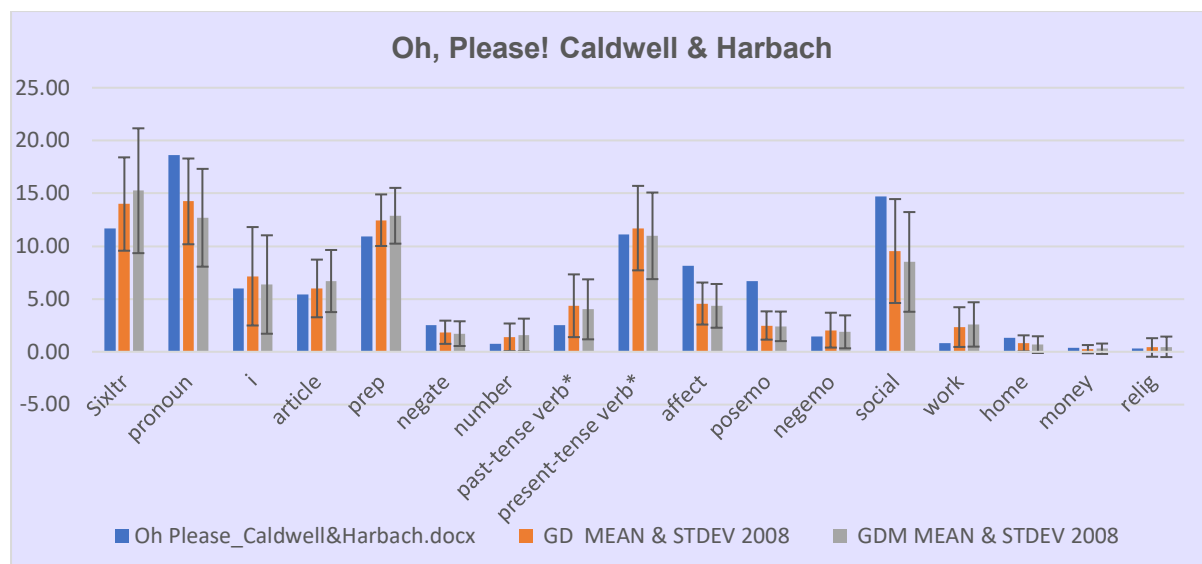


Figure 14. Showing LIWC results for the collaborated libretto of *Oh, Please!* by Anne Caldwell and Otto Harbach, 1926

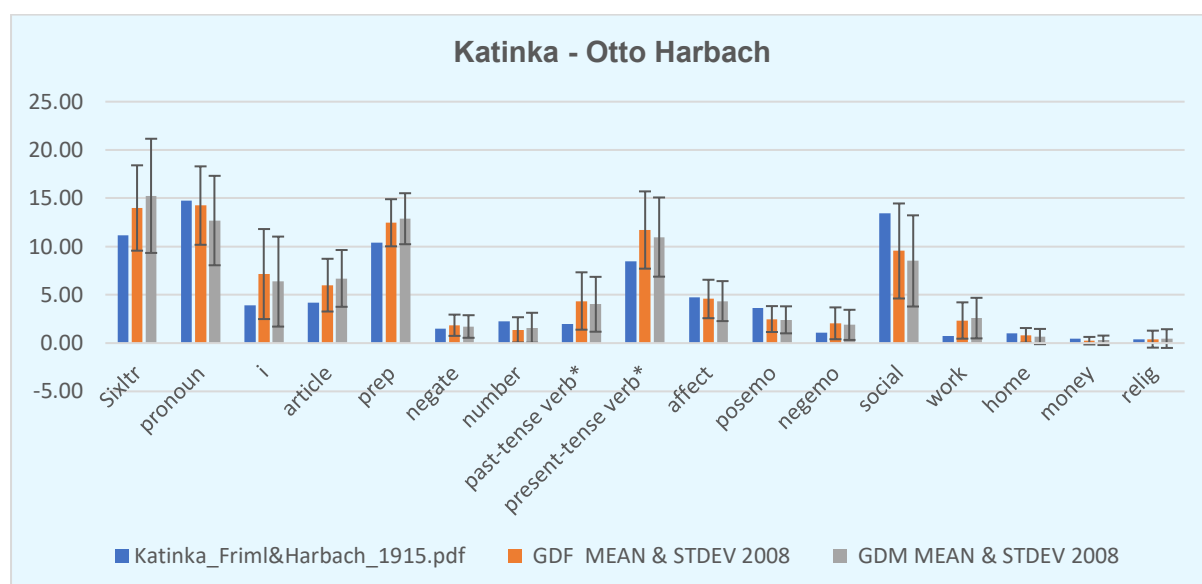


Figure 15. Showing LIWC results for the control libretto of *Katinka* by Otto Harbach, 1915.

Although Harbach's usage of words of more than six letters still falls within the standard deviation variable for male usage, the fact that two out of three libretti in the sample revealed this outcome led to researcher speculation about the writer's heritage and whether English was his first language which might account for the perceived anomaly in the result. Whilst initial investigation of Harbach's background confirmed his Danish descent, his parents having migrated to the US in 1863 (he changed the spelling of his surname from Hauerbach to Harbach in 1917, two years

after the control libretto *Katinka* was produced on Broadway), a further search into Harbach's biographical information on the New York Public Library website however, immediately dispelled any such speculation:

Encouraged by his family, Harbach headed east to Knox College in Galesburg, Illinois. There he distinguished himself, becoming first the oratorical champion of the college, and then winning the state championship in 1895 in a contest for which William Jennings Bryan was one of the judges. After graduation Harbach accepted a professorship in English at Whitman College in Walla Walla, Washington. In 1901 he arrived in New York to work on a Ph.D. at Columbia, but a lack of funds soon led him to work as a journalist and later as an advertising copywriter (Snyder, 2019).

Here is an instance whereby secondary source data works as a balance to the LIWC text analysis. The 'sixltr' result average may have been lower than was expected, but it was still within the standard deviation measure and therefore still within the expected parameter for male usage. Rather than Harbach's lower than average usage of longer words pointing to a lack of familiarity with English as a first language, it instead points to his skill as a writer and his own perception of the requisite style for the narrative.

In summary, by building the current text analysis on the metrics produced by the broad database results of the 2008 gender differences research, particularly by virtue of the standard deviation variable, creates a guard against the aforementioned 'broad generalizations about the differences between men and women' made by existing empirical studies of language and the limiting effect produced by a small number of text samples alluded to by Newman et al (p. 212).

4.4 LIWC Compatibility Conclusions

As the Methodology chapter (Chapter Three) demonstrates, the Linguistic-Hermeneutic model devised for the analysis of data in this research allows for a broader interpretation beyond the statistical realms of word count software, and the configuration of the combined statistical analysis afforded by LIWC with primary and secondary source data analysis creates an ideal methodological tool in demonstrating triangulation and contributing to overall qualitative reliability.

The combination of studies conducted over a 22-year period which were included in the original gender differences investigation, in tandem with the broad spectrum of analysed literature going back as far as the 17th century represents an enviable foundation-stone from which to conduct, in comparison, the relatively narrow and focused text analysis study proposed here. That said, by amalgamating the findings of the former research with the newly focused lens of the current research, opens up new opportunities for further discoveries as predicted by Newman et al in 2008:

An examination of gender differences in function word use might shed new light on the psychology of men and women (p. 216).

and further:

the pattern of variation suggests that gender differences are larger on tasks that place fewer constraints on language use (pp. 211–212).

By narrowing the lens formerly employed by the 2008 study enables the current research to highlight features such as function words and identify the definitive characteristics associated with gender difference to thereby demonstrate collaboration through language by means of grammatical link words rather than vocabulary associated with character and description (content words) while the introduction of the control libretti serve as a comparative standard throughout the

analysis. The combination of the LIWC findings with primary and secondary source analyses will ultimately work towards revealing a more in-depth portrait of the psychology of collaboration and contribute further to the ongoing conversation of gender identity in writing.

Chapter Five. The Correspondence

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will focus on extant correspondence between Rida Johnson Young and Dorothy Donnelly with the Broadway producers Lee and J.J. Shubert and their related business associates.

As demonstrated in Chapter Three (Methodology) one aspect of the research design (Method 1a) is by means of analysis of extant correspondence between the writers and their business associates to illustrate autonomy or otherwise in developing professional relationships during a period in which politically-minded Progressives, whilst calling for change in working hours and rights, were also attempting to rein in ambitious, career-minded women by calling them out on the grounds of morality (Leonard, 2016, pp. 177–178).

Female interdependence and persuasive skills in the workplace is an acknowledged phenomenon in social sciences in the 21st century, with models such as Jean Lipman-Blumen's *Achieving Styles Model* for recognising 'connective leadership' outlining a model of behaviour in the workplace for the late twentieth/early twenty-first century, asserting that 'contrary to traditional beliefs, female leadership is no longer an oxymoron' (Lipman-Blumen, 1992). This chapter aims to demonstrate further that, contrary to contemporary opinion, this autonomy was at work much earlier than previously acknowledged, and that it existed in spite of progressive legislation designed to eliminate women from positions of influence and is illustrated in the first instance in this particular chapter through the primary source business

correspondence of Rida Johnson Young and Dorothy Donnelly. In studying the nature of the correspondence, it is also beneficial to bear in mind the critical epistemological perspective of the design, focused on the central axis-point wherein one reality is privileged. In an interview for *The American Magazine* in 1913, Lee Shubert reported that The Shubert Organization controlled

..fifteen theatres in New York City, with three more to be added to the list before summer: [that they] furnish attractions for one thousand theatres throughout the United States: own theatres in the leading cities from coast to coast:[they are] the employer of seven thousand folk of the stage: [with] plans drawn for New York hippodromes in London and Berlin, and [...] receive a gross income of more than one million dollars per week (Johnson, 1913).

Of equal note in relation to the critical perspective viewpoint here is that by the early 1920's the Shuberts were the most significant producers and theatre owners not just on Broadway but across America, controlling about 75% of tickets sold and producing an estimated 25% of all plays in the United States (Coleman, 1993, p. 14). It will be seen from this chapter that the timeline of the correspondence under analysis spans the period 1909-1923 when the Shuberts' influence and power was at its height, signalling their power to prospective business associates at every level, not least the women with whom they were interested in striking competitive business contracts.

This particular stage of the research demonstrates the true sense of the linguistic-hermeneutic lens so key to the research design, enabling interpretation of observations within the correspondence to be clarified within the wider social arena of collaborative encounters and ultimately underpin the qualitative design of the critical narrative inquiry and support the theoretical framework of the research. Analysis of the correspondence will firstly illustrate a wider sense of the carefully honed relationship crafted by both Rida Johnson Young and Dorothy Donnelly with

The Shubert Organization and the broader perspective of their day-to-day business affairs. Secondly, it will reveal each writer's distinctive approach to their professional dealings and assess their subsequent standing within the hierarchy within which they operated, with the written terms of their employment impacting directly on the interpretation of their professional standing within the group.

5.1.1 Aligning Correspondence within the Linguistic-Hermeneutic Paradigm

The primary source correspondence represents a key element of the Linguistic-Hermeneutic Paradigm at the centre of this research design by demonstrating not only the successful development of business relationships fostered over a significant period of time, but also skilful negotiation of terms of business and subsequent equality in areas of key decision-making such as casting, production team, libretto development and choice of theatre. This part of the model is identified within the research model as Method 1a, specifically focusing on the use of language in relation to collaborative communication between individuals and in group activities to ascertain working patterns and creative alliances as demonstrated in Figure 16 (below):



Figure 16. Method 1a, Creative Alliances through verbal and written correspondence

Of note here is that each writer in this research study offers substantive primary source evidence at different stages of the investigation and, in relation to correspondence, the records relating to Rida Johnson Young's dealings with The Shubert Organization between 1909-1923 are the most significant, and although there is also comparative paperwork related to Dorothy Donnelly, it is weighted far more in this research in relation to her contractual negotiations than general correspondence. Additionally, as will be demonstrated further in 5.2, there is also evidence to suggest that over the course of the decade she worked with the Shuberts, Donnelly made use of channels other than Johnson Young's consistently favoured method of direct written correspondence, sometimes via her agent, others via telephone calls to relevant members of the Shubert offices team. Further, in relation to Anne Caldwell, her collaborative relationships will be assessed in relation to primary source evidence in script development and secondary source interviews in Chapters Six (Contracts & Networking) and Seven (The Collaborations).

5.1.2 The Context of the Correspondence

Whilst both Rida Johnson Young and Dorothy Donnelly worked as playwrights and with producers other than Lee and J.J. Shubert, more than half of their creative output for musical comedy and operetta was produced by the Shubert brothers, who were the only producers with whom they both worked on musical productions more than once, as illustrated in Table 12:

Table 12. Proportion of Rida Johnson Young and Dorothy Donnelly operettas and musical comedies produced on Broadway by the Shuberts 1910-1927. Source: (Peck, 2009b; BroadwayWorld.com, 2021).

No.	Date	Writer	Title (no. of perfs)	Theatre	Composer	Producer
1	7.11.10	RJY	<i>Naughty Marietta</i> (136)	New York Theatre	Victor Herbert	Oscar Hammerstein I
2	5.2.12	RJY	<i>Macushla</i> (24)	Grand Opera House	Ernest R Ball (lyricist: J Keirn Brennan)	Augustus Pitou, Sr
3	13.11.12	RJY	<i>The Red Petticoat</i> (61)	Daly's Theatre; Broadway Theatre	Jerome Kern (co-librettist: Paul West)	Shubert
4	27.1.13	RJY	<i>The Isle O' Dreams</i> (32)	Grand Opera House	Ernest Ball	Henry Miller
5	25.12.14	RJY	<i>Lady Luxury</i> (35)	Casino Theatre; Comedy Theatre	William Shroeder	Shubert
6	11.9.16	DD	<i>Flora Bella</i> (112)	Casino Theatre; 44 th Street Theatre	Charles Cuvillier, Milton Schwarzwald	John Cort
7	6.12.16	RJY	<i>Her Soldier Boy</i> (198)	Astor Theatre; Lyric Theatre; Sam S Shubert Theatre	Sigmund Romberg, Emmerich Kálmán	Shubert
8	30.4.17	RJY	<i>His Little Widows</i> (72)	Astor Theatre	William Shroeder (co-librettist: William Cary Duncan)	Gilbert M Anderson; L Lawrence Weber
9	16.8.17	RJY	<i>Maytime</i> (492)	S Shubert/ 44 th Street Theatre; Broadhurst Theatre; Lyric Theatre	Sigmund Romberg	Shubert
10	11.4.18	DD	<i>Fancy Free</i> (116)	Astor Theatre; Casino Theatre; Bijou Theatre	Augustus Barratt	Shubert
11	14.10.18	RJY	<i>Sometime</i> (283)	Sam S Shubert Theatre; Casino Theatre	Rudolf Friml	Arthur Hammerstein
12	4.11.18	RJY	<i>Little Simplicity</i> (112)	Astor Theatre; 44 th Street Theatre	Augustus Barratt	Shubert
13	29.9.21	DD	<i>Blossom Time</i> (516)	Ambassador Theatre; Jolson's 59 th Street Theatre; Century Theatre	Sigmund Romberg	Shubert
14	3.9.23	DD	<i>Poppy</i> (346)	Apollo Theatre	Stephen Jones, Arthur Samuels	Phillip Goodman (Directed by DD & Julian Alfred)

No.	Date	Writer	Title (no. of perfs)	Theatre	Composer	Producer
15	20.8.24	RJY	<i>The Dream Girl</i> (117)	Ambassador Theatre	Victor Herbert (co-librettist: Harold Atteridge)	Shubert
16	2.12.24	DD	<i>The Student Prince</i> (608)	Jolson's Theatre; Ambassador Theatre; Century Theatre	Sigmund Romberg	Shubert
17	12.1.26	DD	<i>Hello Lola!</i> (47)	Eltine Theatre; Maxine Elliotts Theatre	William B Kernell	Shubert
18	12.9.27	DD	<i>My Maryland</i> (312)	Jolson's Theatre; Casino Theatre	Sigmund Romberg	Shubert
19	6.10.27	DD	<i>My Princess</i> (20)	Sam S Shubert Theatre	Sigmund Romberg	Alfred E Aarons

Of note here is that Table 12 illustrates how, in libretto development alone (other than playwriting) each writer worked with the Shuberts on a comparable amount of productions (Johnson Young: 7; Donnelly: 5) and yet their correspondence reveals each had a distinctly different manner of communication with the brothers, as will be demonstrated in 5.2.

5.2 The writer/producer relationship

The primary source correspondence relating to Rida Johnson Young in this chapter is represented by in excess of 170 letters and office memos (See Appendix A) charting the working relationship between Rida Johnson Young and the Shubert office in the fifteen-year period from 1909, when the Shuberts produced Johnson Young's comedy *The Lottery Man* at the Bijou Theatre, to 1924 when the musical comedy *The Dream Girl* (with the composer, Victor Herbert) was produced at The Ambassador Theatre with whom she collaborated with Harold Atteridge. Dorothy Donnelly's association with the Shuberts was in the eleven-year period from 1917 to

her death in 1928 at the age of 47 when her writing career was at its height, having honed her craft as play-doctor, director, occasional producer and renowned librettist.

In assessing the professional relationship between both writers and producers, the application of the critical epistemological lens highlights key discoveries revealed within the correspondence, which align perfectly with Merriam and Tisdell's definition that it encompasses change, empowerment and emancipation and feminist theory within a social and cultural context where one reality is privileged (Merriam and Tisdell, 2016, pp. 10–12). Of equal note is that each writer, whilst demonstrating her own professional autonomy, both successfully negotiated their terms in distinctly different but effective ways. Rida Johnson Young's approach to written business correspondence is evident from relatively early on in her working relationship with the production house, as seen below in this letter to 'My Dear Mr Shubert' from 7th March 1910:

I notice that the printing for "The Lottery Man" which you said you would have stripped with my name, is still guarding the dark secret of the author's identity. Also in all the papers yesterday, while every other authors [sic] name was mentioned mine was carefully forgotten. I cannot understand why. It is in my contract, as you know that my name should be on all the printing and advertisements. This is simply a matter of business with me, as you know it is important to have one's name appear as often as possible. Will you kindly have some one [sic] attend to this? (Source: Shubert Archive. Rida Johnson Young; Early General Correspondence, 1908-10; Box 470. Appendix A,188)

Here is a prime example of the writer working to negotiate her rights within a social and cultural context wherein one reality (that of her business partners) is privileged by virtue of their dominance in her working environment. This letter illustrates Johnson Young's direct communication with her producer, dealing overtly with serious issues concerning copyright and breaches of contract, simultaneously maintaining a pleasant tone whilst signalling to the recipient that a continued breach

of contract would not be deemed acceptable. In contrast, Dorothy Donnelly appears to have maintained a more discreet professional distance from the Shuberts. Although this chapter examines evidence that she would correspond directly, Lorraine Arnal McLean writes that Donnelly was represented by leading literary agents, Brandt & Kirkpatrick Inc. of Park Avenue whose roster of clients, according to the US Directory of Literary Agents, ‘included the bestselling authors of the time’ (McLean, 1999, p. 115; Malatesta, 2019) and although hers was a different approach to that of Johnson Young, it was a position which nonetheless bore equally fruitful professional and financial results. As outlined in Chapter One, the distinctive approach of both writers to their business affairs is also doubtless borne of their individual career paths, with Rida Johnson Young’s direct connection working for the publishing house M. Witmark & Sons (particularly with Isidore Witmark) and Dorothy Donnelly as a renowned Classical actress of the Broadway stage; the former accustomed to direct dealings with producers, the latter via the more conventional route of negotiation by means of an agent or manager, as illustrated in the following internal Shubert Office memo from March 1920 (Figure 17):

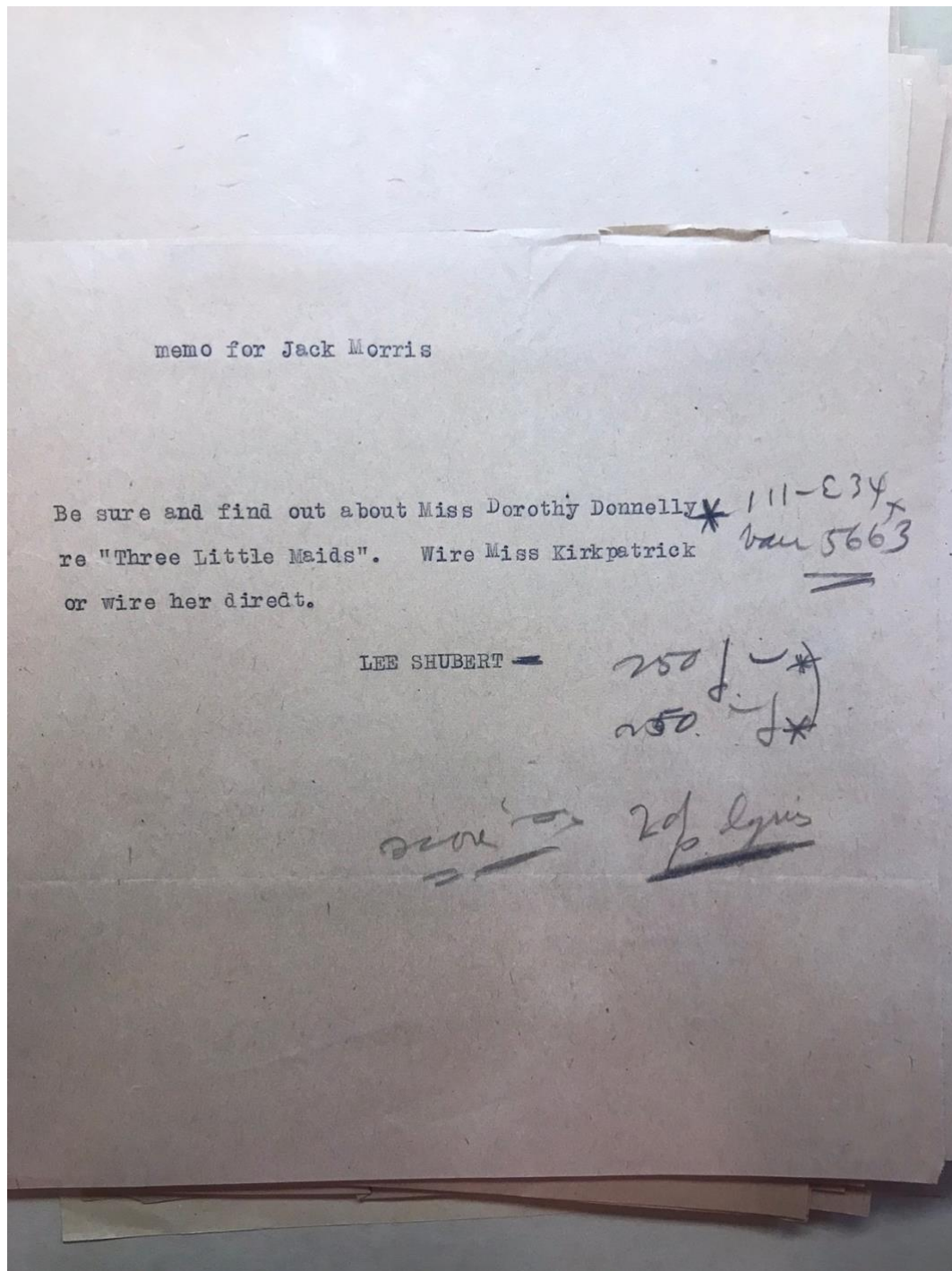


Figure 17. Internal Shubert office memo from Lee Shubert to Jack Morris, March 1920. (Source: The Shubert Archive; Blossom Time correspondence; Box 3030; Appendix A, 189)

This memo, from Lee Shubert to Jack Morris (his personal executive secretary), demonstrates two interesting points: firstly, a sense of urgency on Shubert's part in his instruction to 'wire Miss Kirkpatrick, or wire her direct' rather than writing a letter to either party; secondly, that it suggests a previously established hierarchical

precedent here to contact Donnelly's representative, Mary Kirkpatrick, in the first instance even though Donnelly has at this point been working as play-doctor/producer and now as a librettist for the Shubert brothers for three years. Morris's shorthand notes depict an outline of the offer which was then discussed with Donnelly in a telephone call between Morris and Donnelly on 24th March, 1920:

With reference to our 'phone conversation of this morning, will you please start working immediately on "DREIMAEDELHAUS." I am sending the score under separate cover to-day. Mr Shubert will agree to give you \$250 now and \$250 upon delivery of the completed manuscript. The matter of the royalties, he will take up with you later. (Source: The Shubert Archive; Blossom Time correspondence; Box 3030; Appendix A, 190)

Whilst evidence of Dorothy Donnelly's direct correspondence with the Shubert brothers will be illustrated further in libretto development (5.4), extant paperwork appears to suggest a preference for connecting with satellite members of the Shubert team, such as Jack Morris, Lee Shubert's personal executive secretary and their accountant, Ira Helstein, including a preference for the telephone as a means of communication when addressing general outstanding issues, as shown again in a memo from Helstein to a colleague on 31st December, 1925:

On Nov. 20th I asked you for a statement of Dorothy Donnelly's share of the music royalties on STUDENT PRINCE CO. since the last payment to her which was made on Oct. 3, 1925. Will you please have a statement made up at once as she is asking for it everyday [sic]. She is also asking for a check [sic] for her share of the BLOSSOM TIME CO. music royalties. (Source: The Shubert Archive; Blossom Time correspondence; Box 3030; Appendix A, 191)

In this clear demonstration of female interdependence, Dorothy Donnelly exhibits here that she is not averse to bypassing her own agent in some business matters when she sees fit, this memo at once revealing Helstein's obvious agitation at Donnelly's direct and unabashed pursuit of outstanding financial matters, to the extent that her forthright persuasion in this negotiation will result in the requested statements and forthcoming due payment. To reflect on the socio-economic

environment in which Dorothy Donnelly was part of at the time these exchanges took place provides a useful epistemological viewpoint in respect of the critical lens in relation to the aspect of feminist theory and empowerment. As seen in Chapter One, Dorothy Donnelly was an independent-minded career woman with a true sense of her right to pursue a successful career, at a time when as, Thomas C. Leonard writes 'with few exceptions, progressives in labor reform chose protection over equality' (Leonard, 2016, p. 185).

In terms of skilful negotiation of their individual relationships with the Shuberts, both Dorothy Donnelly and Rida Johnson Young demonstrate in their correspondence the ability not only to be direct, but to construct their business writing in such a way that the recipient is left clear in no uncertain terms with regard to underlying messages conveyed by means of the, at times, apparently innocent requests with which they are presented. This can be seen in the first instance with regards to Dorothy Donnelly in a letter to Jack Morris shortly before the Broadway opening of *Blossom Time* in September 1921, writing 'Will you please reserve the following list of seats for the opening of Blossom Time.' The list, and request for a total of 19 tickets includes seats for her brother, Judge Thomas F. Donnelly and Hart O'Berg, who famously managed The Wright Brothers' business in Europe, and finishes the list requesting two Balcony seats for herself, continuing:

I must sit upstairs as I get so fidgety at an opening. Please reserve good ones, especially for the Judge. I have told all of these people to send you cheques for the amount and self addressed [sic] envelopes as soon as the seats go on sale. (Source: The Shubert Archive; Blossom Time correspondence; Box 3030; Appendix A, 192)

At the time of writing, Dorothy Donnelly had been successfully associated as a writer with the Shuberts for four years and *Blossom Time*, written in collaboration with

composer Sigmund Romberg and adapted from *Das Dreimäderlhaus*, was set to be her greatest success to date. Aside from being a straight-forward request for tickets to an opening night, the underlying message of this handwritten note conveys that (i) she expects no special favours in terms of complimentary tickets, even though she has written the libretto; and (ii) she expects each of her guests, no matter how influential, to pay for their own tickets, including return postage for same. Overall, however, the additional and rather more subtle and empowering message of the note signals that whilst the author never expects complimentary favours or perceived perks, when something is owed, she has the independent right to pursue it directly without fear or favour, as previously demonstrated in the Helstein memo of 1925 (Appendix A, 191).

In terms of the primary source material mined in this research, Rida Johnson Young presents a most fascinating case with regards to her correspondence by virtue of the sheer volume of recorded files which enables a particularly close inspection of the writer/producer relationship of Method 1a. Rida Johnson Young corresponded directly with both Lee, J.J. Shubert and their associates on a regular basis, demonstrating an equally high level of independence and persuasive skills to that demonstrated by Dorothy Donnelly. To exemplify a parallel to Donnelly's business approach, and by way of a second example of skilfully crafted correspondence with underlying intent, Johnson Young wrote to Lee Shubert on 4th December 1912, suggesting he move *The Red Petticoat* from Daly's Theatre on 30th Street where it had opened on 13th November to The Broadway Theatre on 53rd Street, which was at that time engaged with another Shubert production (see Appendix A, 50):

I understand that "The Sun Dodgers" will not remain long at The Broadway. Of course, I can't tell you what to do with your attractions, but I do wish you

would give us this chance. I am sure that the play would make good up there. (Correspondence; Box 470; The Shubert Archive: Appendix A, 50).

Although brief, these three rather perfunctory sentences directly convey the confidence of inside knowledge as to the state of play of a current production, an attempt to tell Shubert exactly what she thinks he should do with his current production and concludes by presuming that if such a change were made it would be for their collective good, thereby aligning the Shuberts' best interests with her plan to improve the prospects for her new work. As can be seen from Table 1, Johnson Young's power of persuasion was such that the production of *The Red Petticoat* duly transferred from Daly's Theatre to the Broadway Theatre, and although this sadly didn't improve the prospects for the show, which closed in early January 1913 after 61 performances, it clearly demonstrates Johnson Young's confidence as a skilled negotiator in dealing with a powerful, privileged business associate and employer.

The writer/producer alliance between Rida Johnson Young and the Shubert Office is exemplified further in matters of royalty payments whereby Johnson Young would query statements, chase contracts and outstanding payments with Lee Shubert generally acquiescing and responding by return of post (e.g. Appendix 1, nos. 3-4). The nature of Johnson Young's correspondence reveals that she clearly felt her position was by no means one of subservience, rather that she associated with her producers as an equal player, accustomed to negotiating, particularly around the subject of publishing rights, wherein she consistently expected a fair deal, as can be seen in the images below from a letter sent to 'My Dear Mr Shubert' on 27th December, 1909 (Figures 18-19):

Hotel Webster, 40 West 45th Street,
New York, December 27th, 1909.

My dear Mr. Shubert:-

I left the contract for "One of the Boys" in your office at least three weeks ago to have the dates on it fixed up and to have incorporated in it the publishing contract.

You will notice that I have been willing to take out the clause that was in the original contract regarding my privilege to place it with any publisher I desired.

Although "One of the Boys" is practically a new play, retaining only the idea of "Sweet Sixteen", as I told you, I am willing to let the two hundred and fifty dollars which you gave me on that manuscript go on the advance royalties but there is two hundred and fifty dollars owing me still on delivery of the manuscript. You will kindly oblige me by having this attended to at once.

I asked Mr. Duncan, who wrote the four additional lyrics, to see you regarding them. It seems he wants me to pay him and still own the lyrics himself. Isn't it usual, if I pay him outright for the lyrics, ^{that} they become my property? I will be obliged to you if you will let me know the usual price that is paid for additional lyrics.

I wish you could arrange to give me some evening later on in the week to read to you the Southern rural play of which I spoke to you. On account of the dialect, I think

Figure 18. Rida Johnson Young to Shubert Office (page 1 of 2), 27.12.09 (Source: Shubert Archive. Rida Johnson Young; Early General Correspondence, 1908-10; box 470. Appendix A, 9).

(2)

you would get more from it by hearing it than by reading it.

I cannot tell you how much I enjoyed "The City"
the other night. I think it is the greatest play I ever saw.

Most truly,

Rida Johnson Young

Figure 19. Rida Johnson Young to Shubert Office (page 2 of 2), 27.12.09 (Source: Shubert Archive. Rida Johnson Young; Early General Correspondence, 1908-10; box 470. Appendix A, 9)

This letter clearly demonstrates Rida Johnson Young's confidence with contractual and publishing rights, reflecting experience gained working for M. Witmark & Sons earlier in her career and provides a clear example of the hermeneutical alliance of female self-determination and persuasive skills in action through the written word. Johnson Young's letter to Shubert here alludes to the contract for one of her plays (*One of the Boys*; 1910) and her expectation that the terms should be incorporated into her publishing contract. She officially signals the fact that she has clearly acquiesced to one of Shubert's requests that she remove a clause regarding her choice of publisher, but in return for same she follows up on her demand for payment due regarding the delivery of the manuscript. This letter is also revealing in that, with direct financial negotiation attended to, Johnson Young follows on with other matters for which she requires resolution in respect of a lyricist's request for payment on lyrics and rights that she would clearly like Shubert to take responsibility for, a new play she would like to read in person to Shubert at his office and her complimentary feedback on a recently opened Shubert production. This letter at once conveys skilful manipulation of what appears to have been a potentially difficult negotiation, whereby Johnson Young has demonstrated to Shubert in writing that she has acquiesced to one aspect of Shubert's contract by agreeing to let go of her right to choose her own publisher in exchange for due payment on the finished script (which, from the wording of the letter, clearly appears to have been in question). Her request to read her new play to Shubert "some evening later on in the week" so he understand the context better, suggests in the context of this correspondence that she is signalling to Shubert that she remains confident in both her position as an associate of Shubert's and that their business relationship, despite a potential confrontation over a contract, remains on a mutually firm footing to the extent that it

allows for her to impose upon him for a meeting one evening during the week, implying an equally less formal relationship which forms an important part of their collaborative partnership. Additionally, she moves to flatter Shubert by appealing to his experience as a Broadway producer in asking for his advice concerning the contributing lyricist (knowledge of which she is clearly already in possession by virtue of her own experience working for a renowned publishing house) and concludes by praising his most recent Broadway production.

Rida Johnson Young's correspondence also exhibits working practice wherein she boldly gives no ground over contractual matters, which, in November 1919 appears to sail precipitously close to ending her decade-long relationship with the Shuberts. However, the benefit of hindsight suggests that, rather than misjudging a situation with a renowned and powerful employer, Johnson Young's overall intention was perhaps better planned than it at first appears on paper. The letter which sparked the confrontation was sent to 'My dear Mr Shubert' on 14th November 1919:

I am sorry about "The Dancing Fool". I supposed that you were not willing to sign my contract, so I took other work which will prevent my doing that play for this year at least. Will you kindly have your financial department look into the following matters, on which I have second instalments. (Rida Johnson Young to Shubert, 14.11.19 (Source: Shubert Archive. Rida Johnson Young Correspondence; box 470. Appendix A, 153)

The handwritten letter continues by detailing a list of four shows on which royalties are due (two are interestingly related to shows running in England (Her *Soldier Boy*) and Australia (*Maytime*)), revealing the broader success of Johnson Young's shows beyond Broadway and her close eye on royalty payments and the regular business of due instalments accrued with successful shows. Whether the recipient is Lee or J.J. Shubert is not clear from the file, although Ellen Marie Peck writes that 'J.J. in particular was prone to fits of ego that could render him hostile' and that she believes

he was the recipient of this particular missive which sparked the subsequent exchange (Peck, 2020, pp. 10–11). Ultimately, the Shubert brothers shared various aspects of the business, and whichever brother was the recipient here, analysis of the letter suggests Johnson Young's priority is in confirming the detail of monies owed, rather than any awkwardness related to action she has taken as a result of Shubert's apparent delay in signing an agreement for a new show he had assigned her to write; a delay she is now informing him in two short sentences has subsequently impacted her availability to work for him for "this year at least" as a direct result of his delayed response to the negotiation. Whilst Shubert had been taking his time to deal with the contract under discussion, his prompt and terse reply to Johnson Young appears to have been made by return of post on November 17th, 1919:

Your letter of the 14th inst., to hand. It must give you quite a bit of satisfaction to feel as independent as you do, but do not forget that we had a lot to do towards making you so. However, I will not bother you any more about writing any plays for us. (Source: Shubert Archive. Rida Johnson Young Correspondence; box 470. Appendix A, 152)

The remainder of Shubert's letter deals with the matter of the outstanding royalties in a tone which suggests tidying up the outstanding business matters rather than a sense of regret that he is drawing a line under a successful alliance of ten years. Shubert's response is revealing on many levels, but most strikingly that he is reasserting his power as Johnson Young's employer by terminating their relationship in two carefully constructed sentences, designed to remind the recipient in no uncertain terms not only of his position as one of the most powerful theatre producers in the country, but that he has the power both to give and take away opportunity at a moment's notice.

In considering the cause and effect of these two letters, it is also worth reflecting a little further on the social context of the period in which this battle of wills took place.

In May 1925, Guion Griffis Johnson, a PhD student of the University of North Carolina, wrote an article for *The Journal of Social Forces* entitled *Feminism and the Economic Independence of Woman* in which she records:

The national census for 1920 shows more than eight and a half million women employed in gainful occupations [...] The Bureau of the Census shows further that almost a half of this number, or 4,115, 278 are engaged in domestic service and mechanical industries, labor which is listed lowest on the wage scale and yet requires the greatest physical and nervous strain. Only one million, or less than one-eighth of all women gainfully employed, are engaged in professional work.. (Griffis Johnson, 1925, p. 614).

Therefore, to be female and gainfully employed in professional work other than domestic service or manual labour was clearly a rare position of privilege. It is also important not to overlook the fact that Guion Griffis Johnson herself was in a privileged position to be studying for a PhD in 1925, although it seems the position was only made possible as a result of her husband's research work and, according to Sarah Caroline Thuesen, on her graduation day in 1927, her adviser followed his wishes of congratulation with "Now that you have your PhD, go home and learn to bake a chocolate cake." (Thuesen, 2002).

Of particular note in relation to Griffis Johnson's article is that it was written in 1925, six years after the confrontation between Rida Johnson Young and Shubert, underlining the fact that well-paid professional positions for women were an ongoing rare commodity still beyond the reach of most women, as exemplified by her concluding paragraph:

Since the ideal of a salaried job for every woman seems impossible of realization [sic] and the dream of intellectual labor [sic] as a means to economic independence is even further removed, it would appear that the

feminists have not followed to a logical conclusion some of the theories they advocate. (1925, p. 616)

It is within this broader social context that it is perhaps best to consider Shubert's response which appears, even by twenty-first century standards, to be angry and threatening. In just one sentence, Shubert makes reference to Johnson Young's position of independence born out of success largely as a result of their employment of her and then unceremoniously moves to cancel their professional working arrangement of ten years standing. This action embodies the feminist lens of the critical epistemological perspective at the heart of this analysis, with Shubert epitomising the privileged reality, ensuring he establishes his power over a woman who, in his eyes and within the realms of his hierarchy, has overstepped the mark. However, rather than being cowed in any way, Johnson Young's response was swift and skilful as illustrated below (Figure 20):

470
november 19th 1919

My Dear Mr Shubert;-

I was so sorry when I received your letter this morning to feel that I had seemed to act as though I felt independent of you. I don't feel that way at all. I heartily wish that you had the plays which are under contract now and for which the managers cannot get theatres. You always have theatres and you always stick to plays loyally and I am more than grateful for the success I have had under your management. You must not blame me if I want to get a more satisfactory contract than I have had before. I think that is only natural when one has served his apprenticeship in any profession.

The reason I cannot do "The Dancing Fool" now is because I am working on two plays--not musical-- which I have promised to have ready for try-outs in the Spring. Also doing some re-writing on a play which Sam Harris is going to do in the Spring.

I should be very sorry to feel that you think me ungrateful and I hope you will let me prove that I am not, by letting me do something for you later on.

With all good wishes

Most truly

Rida Johnson Young

Southfield Point

Stamford Conn.

Figure 20. Source: Shubert Archive. Rida Johnson Young Correspondence; box 470. Appendix A: no.153

Johnson Young's carefully constructed response to her apparent dismissal exemplifies her talent as a writer. In contrast to Shubert's letter, dictated in the heat

of the moment, here is a carefully crafted piece of writing which, whilst appearing contrite on the surface, retains a clear confidence in the business matter at hand and, after the appearance of what appears at first glance to be an apology in the opening sentence, then rationally approaches each contentious point in a business-like manner:

I was so sorry when I received your letter this morning to feel that I had seemed to act as though I felt independent of you. I don't feel that way at all. (Appendix A. no.153)

Merriam and Tisdell state that a key premise of narrative inquiry is that 'the text is analyzed for the meaning it has for its author' (2016, p. 34) and the opening statement of Johnson Young's reply is powerful on two levels. Firstly, it contains the word 'sorry', and secondly it addresses Shubert's accusation of independence. Ostensibly, here is a statement which addresses an expected apology and defends Shubert's belief in his superiority. Whether intended or not, reflection on this statement suggests an ambiguity, wherein Johnson Young could effectively appear contrite, yet simultaneously retain her self-esteem.

The remainder of Johnson Young's letter (typed in this instance, as opposed to the original, handwritten and more personal first letter which sparked the confrontation), is redolent of her previous approach in style (Figures 18-19, Appendix A, no. 9) in that the letter proceeds to acknowledge the Shubert empire's abundance of available theatres, loyalty to their productions and her gratitude for the success they have afforded her. The central point of this main paragraph, however, is delivered rather unexpectedly at the end and succinctly delivers her defence:

You must not blame me if I want to get a more satisfactory contract than I had before. I think that is only natural when one has served his apprenticeship in any profession. (Appendix A, 153)

Placed at the end of the paragraph, following an acknowledgement of her employer's powerful position in her industry, Johnson Young deftly asserts her own position and belief in her independent right to negotiate business on an equal footing.

Having established her point, Johnson Young elaborates on the validity of her reasons to turn the work down, including naming producer Sam Harris who, at this point in time had successfully collaborated on 15 musicals with George M. Cohan at the Cohan and Harris Theatre, and produced Johnson Young's hit play *Captain Kidd Junior* three years previously in 1916. Whilst the Shubert brothers were enormously influential on Broadway, they were by no means the only successful producers in town and Sam Harris, according to Thomas Hischak, was:

One of the most respected and beloved theatre producers of his day, [presenting] shows by the greatest songwriters of the first half of the twentieth century from George M. Cohan and Irving Berlin to Cole Porter and Kurt Weill (Hlschak, 2008, pp. 326–327).

It could be argued that Johnson Young merely makes mention of her current commitment with an equally successful producer at this point by way of a broad explanation for her indisposition, but the underlying hermeneutical subtext suggests that this was a way of clarifying with Shubert that his privileged position had its boundaries.

Finally, and with all outstanding business attended to, Johnson Young signs off with another apparent apology:

I should be very sorry to feel that you think me ungrateful and I hope you will let me prove that I am not, by letting me do something for you later on. (Appendix A, 153).

Scholar Richard E. Palmer observes that ‘it is important to know what the author wanted to communicate, to understand intended meanings’ (Palmer, Richard, 1969, pp. 136–137) and analysis of the final part of this sequence of correspondence appears to neatly exemplify the skill of the written word when supported by a subtle and yet powerful subtext. It should also be noted here that Rida Johnson Young continued to work with the Shuberts until 1924 (two years before she died) and, as further analysis of her correspondence will show, her enthusiasm for the work and commitment for a fair deal remained unmarred.

5.3 Casting and the Right to be Present

Academic interest in the specifics of musical theatre development during the early part of the twentieth century has inevitably led to analysis beyond biographical, dramaturgical and musicological investigations to the machinations of the system itself. Writing in 2016, Thomas J. Walsh asserted that ‘[t]he conditions, dynamics, and history of playwriting in the United States is a territory waiting to be surveyed’ (Walsh, 2016, p. 11). Whilst the notion of casting a theatrical production presents itself to modern sensibilities as a fairly straight-forward process in the twenty-first century, the historical record reveals a working environment where boundary lines of responsibility were blurred between librettist and producer, with the scales weighed very much in favour of the producer in the early years of the twentieth century (Middleton, 1947; Walsh, 2001, 2016). The result of this imbalance created an environment where the writer had to assert their right to voice casting preferences and negotiate their way into the rehearsal space in an effort to see their work as accurately represented as possible, quite literally, from page to stage (pp. 77–83). Merriam and Tisdell assert that critical research seeks ‘to not just understand what is

going on, but also to critique the way things are in the hopes of bringing about a more just society' (2016, p. 60) and affirmation of the fundamentals of the critical perspective in research of this nature rightly confirms not only its suitability to interrogate the actions of the past but to consider subsequent advances reflected in the present day. The following section will provide evidence of negotiative correspondence regarding casting and the presence of the writer in the rehearsal space and consider how these actions eventually impacted the role and rights of the librettist over the course of the twentieth century.

The burgeoning industry in which Rida Johnson Young, Dorothy Donnelly and Anne Caldwell were operating, was therefore a fledgling environment with regards to the rights and expectations of a writer in terms of mutual support from Guilds and Unions. Thomas J. Walsh has traced the beginnings of a guild to formally protect dramatists' rights in the US to as early as 1891 when leading American dramatist, Bronson Howard, formed the American Dramatists Club (Walsh, 2016, pp. 54–55) although Authors' societies and leagues in America had been founded as early as 1845 (Dramatic Authors of America). However, The Authors' League, an organisation set up to protect writers' copyright and contractual expectations, wasn't established until late 1911 with The Dramatists' Guild evolving from that League during the 1920s (2012, pp. 14–15). In terms of why this context is of note at this stage of analysis examining casting decisions and presence in the rehearsal process, is that this exact period of time runs parallel with the most productive period of Rida Johnson Young, Dorothy Donnelly and Anne Caldwell's careers and reflection on how they negotiated this territory will help to exemplify the collaborative expectations of the writer/producer alliance leading up to the dramatic charters which were agreed and signed up to by the majority of producers (eventually including the

Shuberts) by the late 1920s. The evidence presented here of this particular element of the librettists' involvement in casting in the production of each show and participation in the rehearsal process, reveals an important contributory perspective of each writer's pioneering efforts in collaborating with producers which eventually led to the founding principles of The Dramatists' Guild of America Bill of Rights outlining the right to artistic approval, as illustrated in the excerpt below (Figure 21):

8. **APPROVAL OF PRODUCTION ELEMENTS** - You have the right to mutually approve (with the producer) the cast, director, and designers (and, for a musical, the choreographer, orchestrator, arranger, and musical director), including their replacements. This is called "artistic approval."

9. **RIGHT TO BE PRESENT**- You always have the right to attend casting, rehearsals, previews, and performances.

Figure 21. Excerpt from the present-day Dramatists Guild of America Bill of Rights, points 8-9 (The Dramatists' Guild, 2022)

5.3.1 From page to stage

Considering aspects of the librettist's involvement in the creative process beyond the typewriter into the wider arena of the practicalities of casting and the rehearsal room provides an illuminating prism through which to demonstrate the application of the Linguistic-Hermeneutic Paradigm. Kincheloe and McLaren assert that:

In its critical theory-driven context, the purpose of hermeneutical analysis is to develop a form of cultural criticism revealing power dynamics within social and cultural contexts (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2000).

The intention of the following section is to demonstrate that the power dynamics at the centre of this analysis, whilst illuminated by a critical epistemological perspective, are heightened by the linguistic-hermeneutic frame of reference revealed by (i) the

means of the method of communication (correspondence), (ii) the language in which it is couched and (iii) the very presentation of the stationery upon which it is written.

Lorraine Arnal Mclean writes that, in her early days as a librettist and during the time Dorothy Donnelly was working as play-doctor for the organisation, J.J. Shubert 'periodically authorized her to carry out some of the producer's typical obligations such as calling and supervising rehearsals and exercising her opinions at tryouts' (McLean, 1999, p. 110). As will be discussed further in Chapter Six (Contracts), rather than producer's obligations, this is rather more likely an 'in the field' example of the working librettist's creative investment beyond scriptwriting to the transitional process of realising the script in the rehearsal room, particularly if the script had been attended to for dramaturgical improvement, and most notably for its eventual inclusion as point no. 9 of The Dramatist's Bill of Rights (Figure 21). On 13th April, 1918, Dorothy Donnelly was sent a letter from the Shuberts regarding the casting of the musical *The Melting of Molly* which she worked on in collaboration with Maria Thompson Davies and the lyricist Cyrus Wood:

Mr Ralph Herz will accept the part (McTapp) in the "Melting of Molly" [sic] providing you write it up for him. (Source: The Shubert Archive; Blossom Time correspondence; Box 3030; (McLean, 1999, p. 112))

As this production is a collaborated work, it is interesting to note here that Herz is specifying Dorothy Donnelly writes the part. Considering Donnelly's considerable success as a classical actress before turning her hand to writing, it is more than likely that Paris born, Eton and Cambridge-educated Herz and Donnelly knew each other professionally and interesting to note that Herz would later be cast as one of the leads in Donnelly's greatest productions, *Blossom Time*, in 1921. In a similar vein, a brief note from Lee Shubert to Rida Johnson Young on December 8th, 1909,

demonstrates the collaboration and involvement of the librettist with the cast beyond the typewriter:

I am calling the principals for Miss Glaser's show for 12:15 at the Herald Square Art House. Miss Glaser would like to have you present at that time. (Source: Shubert Archive. Rida Johnson Young Correspondence; box 470. Appendix A, 7)

The rehearsal in question was for the show, *Just One of the Boys*, which opened at the Van Curler Opera House, Schenectady, NY on 28th January 1910. Ellen Marie Peck highlights an interesting point regarding the casting of the show in that the Shuberts had originally chosen Blanche Ring rather than Lulu Glaser to play the lead and that *Just One of the Boys* was a re-working of another play, *Sweet Sixteen*, from 1906. Peck writes that 'the Shuberts optioned it and first offered the lead role to Blanche Ring, who requested changes to the script' (2020, p. 33). Whilst extant correspondence in this research is not forthcoming on whose choice it was to cast Miss Ring, the files do reveal the efforts Johnson Young went to in order to make the role work for Lulu Glaser, from a letter to Shubert on 22nd October, 1909:

I am sending you, with this, my idea of how "Sweet Sixteen" could be worked over for Miss Glaser. Will you let me know whether you like the idea. I have a number of the lyrics written and I think I could get the whole thing ready in a short time. However, I don't want to work on it unless you are sure you want it (Source: Shubert Archive. Rida Johnson Young Correspondence; box 470. Appendix A, 3).

The Shubert correspondence files bear witness to the fact that Rida Johnson Young believed in her right to collaborate with her producers in the matter of casting (Appendix A: 13; 17; 21) and, as will be shown in more detail, she was not averse to strongly voicing her disapproval of casting decisions when she felt the success of a play depended on it. Whether or not the choice of Lulu Glaser as leading lady was actually Rida Johnson Young's first preference over that of the Shuberts, the fact

remains that 'Miss Glaser would like to have you present' during the rehearsal process suggests Glaser's confidence in the writer and her desire to collaborate with the librettist in the rehearsal room. To sum up this process in the context of the day, this apparently straight-forward detail regarding choice of artist and presence in the rehearsal room was a point of issue fought for by The Dramatists Guild in their Minimum Basic Agreement (MBA) which was not finalised until 1926, seventeen years after these exchanges took place, and outlined by T. J. Walsh:

The control issue was also part of the MBA. A manager had to agree to produce and present plays *without altering any part* unless the author agreed. A manager had to produce and present a play with a cast and production *approved by the author* [italics author's own] (Walsh, 2001, p. 66).

The fact that Lulu Glaser replaced Blanche Ring after her 'suggested script changes' is interesting in light of the points developed by the MBA and shines a light of uncertainty as to whether Rida Johnson Young was as keen as the Shuberts on their casting preference and whether she indeed withheld her creativity regarding script changes in order to proffer her views on a more appropriate choice of artist and gain leverage for her presence in the rehearsal space.

From Rida Johnson Young's earliest association with the Shuberts, there is evidence of her interest and involvement not just with the process of casting, but in protecting and understanding the temperaments of all the individuals involved, writing to Shubert in 1909:

Please do not let Hoffman take charge while Mrs Furness is with the company. She is really a very conscientious and clever woman and I would hate to see her humiliated in that way, after the weeks of work she has put in on the play. (Source: Shubert Archive. Rida Johnson Young. Correspondence; box 470. Appendix A, 4)

The individual Johnson Young is keen to protect in this instance is in fact Edith Ellis Furness, the director of *The Lottery Man* who, as well as being an actress herself, also wrote, directed, produced plays and successfully operated several theatres and touring companies over the course of her lifetime, and it is clear that Johnson Young would not want the chosen director for her play to be humiliated by a less enlightened member of the production team. This letter, in and of itself, is a clear exemplar of the level of independence already acquired by Johnson Young in terms of her position as writer and collaborator as early as 1909.

To further elaborate on the extraordinary autonomy exerted by Rida Johnson Young, a letter sent to Shubert on 22nd October 1909 directly informs him of an artist's salary negotiation and terms she appears not only to have conducted, but also to have agreed on the spot:

I went up to Stamford last night and had a talk with Miss Lowell. She has agreed to play the part for a hundred dollars, because she sees a chance of making a hit in it. She asked me to tell you that she would like to remain in Mr Cherry's company while rehearsing with us, and I told her I thought you would be perfectly willing to have her do that. (Source: Shubert Archive. Rida Johnson Young Correspondence; box 470. Appendix A, 3)

To add a little more historical context at this stage will be helpful in highlighting the particularly unique nature of this correspondence. In *Playwrights and Power*, T J Walsh quotes playwright Howard Teichmann on the common practice of producers toward playwrights before The Dramatists Guild was fully established in that the writer commonly had neither appropriate contractual and copyright rights 'Nor did he have even a word to say about who directed his play or who the actors would be who delivered his lines (Teichmann, 1972a; Walsh, 2001, pp. 53–54).' Rida Johnson Young's correspondence with the Shubert office reveals that, aside from written communication, she was also not averse to visiting the offices (Appendix A: 5, 10,

81) suggesting she was able to establish connections with the wider staff and thereby build a network of business relationships with key members of the Shubert team, one of whom was Howard Jacott, who, according to the New York Times:

was a well-known theatrical man, who for several years has been in charge of the play reading department of the various Shubert interests, and who assisted in selecting the casts for the plays produced by that firm... He began work for the Shuberts ten years ago as a manager of one of their road companies. Later he was taken into the New York office and for several years has read and passed judgment upon most of the plays submitted for production. (Editorial, 1914b, p. 10)

Johnson Young's tone when corresponding with Jacott is warm and informal, addressing him in a letter dated June 22nd 1911 as 'My Dear Howard' and contains playful phrases such as 'if I am your favourite playwright..' as she pursues essential matters regarding her views on casting:

Another thing, I am most anxious to have Fred Burton play that part of the "grouch" next season. Do see him and don't let him get away from us. He gave a wonderful performance and I don't believe we would duplicate it with any one [sic] else. Also want that man who played the part of stage driver. His name was Burton too. About the only ones I am anxious to retain, unless it is the man who played "Swat". Why don't you motor out to see your country friends some time? You'll find the latch string out all summer. (Source: Shubert Archive. Rida Johnson Young Correspondence; box 470. Appendix A, 17).

The charming tone of this letter indicates a business relationship borne out of Johnson Young's standing within the Shubert hierarchy as an established lyricist/librettist who understands the importance of cultivating positive connections within the power structure of the company. Notwithstanding the fact that the tenor of this letter evinces a pleasant, informal relationship, it also suggests it is borne purely out of the professional roles played out by each individual and focuses the critical, hermeneutic lens on the power dynamics at play revealing an important aspect of Johnson Young's skill at collaborative negotiation. The application of the critical,

hermeneutical lens here enables the broader aspect of the social and cultural context to be considered, adding to Johnson Young's profile as a skilful negotiator. Jacott is a person of influence within the company who has the ear of his employers and whose opinion, having worked for the Shuberts for a number of years, is clearly respected. Johnson Young's approach here not only resonates with Kincheloe and McLaren's observation regarding 'power dynamics within social and cultural contexts' (2000), but also Amy Allen's feminist paradigm charting three delineations of empowerment, namely, "power over", "power with" and "power to" wherein:

Feminists are interested in empowerment because we are interested in how members of subordinated groups retain the power to act despite their subordination --- more particularly, in our ability to attain certain ends in spite of the subordination of women. This is an interest in power understood as power-to (Allen, 1999, p. 126).

Rida Johnson Young's apparent 'power to' network within the Shubert hierarchy for her desired cast exemplifies Allen's observation of empowerment in action.

Moreover, the excerpts of correspondence shown here and in Appendix A (3, 4, 6, 17) appear either to contradict Teichmann's analysis of the generally-accepted fraught relationship between writer and producer or, as will be revealed in further detail in subsequent chapters, it is rather that Johnson Young, Donnelly and Caldwell had each established a unique relationship with their producing partners, each proving herself the exception to the rule, negotiating professional connections and terms of business which foreshadowed the developing template for The Dramatists' Guild Bill of Rights.

Although the campaign for fair contracts waged between writers and producers (and also actors and stagehands) was never far from the newspaper headlines during the early 1900s, the correspondence in this analysis reveals that deals were indeed

struck with producers which foreshadowed the agreements being fought for creative talent across the board, including the matter of involvement in casting and choice of director, which were key issues close to the heart of working librettists on Broadway. Further, the record provides ample evidence that Rida Johnson Young was most definitely one such individual who successfully negotiated her role as an active and viable librettist in the field whose correspondence, aside from any influence she was able to assert with key members of the team (Jacott), demonstrates her unflagging determination to generally deal direct with her producer, as demonstrated in a letter to 'Dear Mr Shubert' in April 1916 (Figure 22):

AUTHOR OF:-

BROWN OF HARVARD" HENRY WOODRUFF
GLORIOUS BETSY" MARY MANNERING
THE BOYS OF COMPANY B." ARNOLD DALY
THE LOTTERY MAN" CYRIL SCOTT
NEXT" HELEN LOWELL
THE GIRL AND THE PENNANT" WM. COURTNEY
NAUGHTY MARIETTA" EMMA TRENTINI
LADY LUXURY" INA CLAIRE
THE RED PETTICOAT"
ONE OF THE BOYS" LULU GLASER
WHEN LOVE IS YOUNG" HYAMS AND MCINTYRE
RAGGED ROBIN"
BARRY OF BALLYMORE" }
MACHUSHLA" } CHAUNCEY OLCOTT
SHAMEEN DHU"
THE ISLE O'DREAMS"

Friday

Dear Mr Shubert:-

Do you know George Baldwin? Just closed with Princess Tra-la-la. Very tall fine looking fellow and a splendid actor. He is a high lyric baritone and can sing that role, which you know is not a particularly high one.

Craig Campbell would be another fatal mistake Mike Albro. I had him rehearse once and we had to let him go because he could not act. Miss Romaine would look dreadful with him as he is short and slight. He looks like an old man made-up from the front.

Please think this over. The whole play depends on the man ~~you choose~~ you choose for this part.

Most truly

Rida J. Young

Figure 22. Source: Shubert Archive. Rida Johnson Young Correspondence; box 470. Appendix A, 97.

The manner and style of Johnson Young's approach to her producer is direct, suggesting an alternative actor to someone Shubert has either already cast or is seriously considering, immediately assessing one actor's worth and value against another and the reasons why her choice would be favourable over his. The letter not only concludes with an underlined word of appeal to Shubert, 'please' but also, and most importantly here, and true to Johnson Young's style of negotiation, she concludes that the success of the show is ultimately on his shoulders should he make an unwise decision with the casting, 'the whole play depends on the man you choose for the part'. The level of writing skill here in relation to hermeneutics and Palmer's 'intended meanings' in communication comes to the fore yet again (1969, pp. 136–137); on the surface, Johnson Young is appealing to Shubert to cast an actor she prefers for a part she has written and the letter is framed in such a way that, on first reading, it is a one-sided plea for a change of heart. The final sentence, however, lays an enormous responsibility on the shoulders of the recipient, with its intended meaning ringing loud and clear and Shubert's subsequent reaction and response on 14th April, 1916 reveals the impressive outcome (Figure 23):

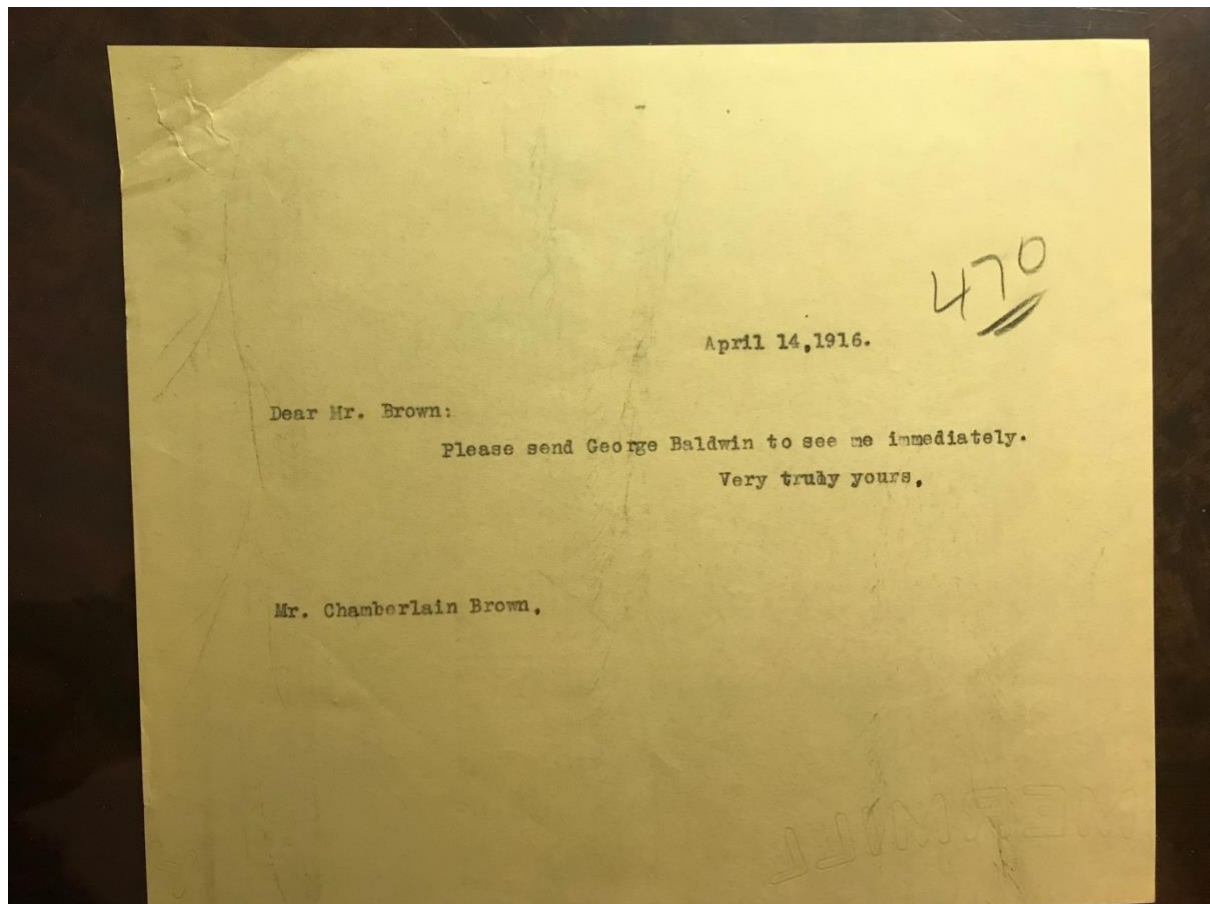


Figure 23. Source: Shubert Archive. Rida Johnson Young Correspondence; Box 470. Appendix A, 99.

The powerful impact of Johnson Young's letter, exhibited here by Shubert's immediate response, forms an important layer of the overall research design relating to the dynamics of female empowerment and the skilful use of language, both underlying aspects of the Linguistic-Hermeneutic Paradigm. In particular, it is worth taking stock and considering the context of the era in which this exchange of letters took place in terms of its feminist perspective. Ann Towns writes that:

the story that emerges from the scholarship on gender and civilization in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is not a simple one, as these discourses and how they came together are far from uniform. This was an era in which the women's movements --- domestic and international --- were emerging with force in Europe and in Anglo settler states, demanding suffrage, a right to nationality, mother's pensions, and a number of other reforms that entailed fundamental changes in the relations of the sexes (Towns, 2018, p. 92)

Two points in particular stand out when considering Rida Johnson Young's position in this correspondence. The first is that she is writing the letter and making a stand for her choice of casting in 1916, four years before Congress ratified the 19th Amendment allowing women the right to vote. Secondly, her actions here are representative of the power dynamics alluded to by Merriam and Tisdell at the heart of critical research in relation to 'who has power, how it's negotiated' (p. 61) and this exchange of letters adeptly demonstrates subtle and effective manoeuvres which foreshadow Towns' fundamental changes in the relations of the sexes' (p. 92).

Consideration of the two letters from the direct perspective of the methodology therefore elevates their significance by highlighting not only the critical lens of female empowerment but also that of hermeneutics. Rida Johnson Young's linguistic dexterity has caused a reaction such that her opinion is considered over and above one already taken by her producer, but it is not only the manner and style of her letter-writing here that is successful, but the way in which she has physically presented her opinion which should also be considered. In Chapter Three (Methodology, 3.5.2) Boerboom's contemporary definition of hermeneutics is posited as a means of presenting the ways in which hermeneutics 'addresses how individuals and collectives understand texts and communicative actions via their interpretive practices' (2017, p. 652). Closer inspection of Johnson Young's stationery in this instance presents an interesting communicative action on her part which perhaps serves as early twentieth century subliminal advertising. The stationery is embossed in red and lists no less than sixteen of Johnson Young's successful productions and associated stars. Whilst this practice was by no means peculiar to Rida Johnson Young, it readily serves as an effective calling card of

accomplishments, instantly underlining the confidence of the writer, who, without even alluding to why her opinion should be taken into account, readily showcases her effectiveness as a librettist before a word has been written and highlights to the recipient why her opinion in the casting of one actor over another is valid.

5.3.2 The writer's right to choice

In 1993, more than seventy years following the correspondence exemplified here, The Dramatists' Guild published their recommendations 'that any production involving a dramatist incorporate a written agreement in which both theatres/producers and writers acknowledge certain key rights with each other' including the right to approve the cast and to attend casting, rehearsals, previews and performances (Walsh, 2016, p. 209). When viewed alongside the developing narrative of the evolving theatrical unions, including America's League of Authors and The Dramatists Guild, the exchanges highlighted in this part of the analysis in respect to casting and the right to be present in the rehearsal room are elevated in importance in their representation of the librettists' stand for rights over their creativity, the way it should be presented, quite literally, from page to stage and highlights the success of the power dynamics exercised by both Rida Johnson Young and Dorothy Donnelly for the right of the librettist to choose, be present and have a voice.

5.4 Writer/Composer/Publisher Alliances

Whereas the correspondence files will show that Rida Johnson Young's 'power-to' network within the Shubert hierarchy ventured beyond casting, being demonstrated by her direct written dialogue with the Shuberts regarding composers and publishers

(Appendix A: 43; 44; 88; 119;140;143), evidence of Dorothy Donnelly's views are more subtly intimated, firstly by her successful collaborative relationship with the composer Sigmund Romberg (Table 1) and secondly by her attention to detail in respect of her contractual affairs, as reflected in the Shubert Archive correspondence from her legal representative and executor, Ambrose Victor McCall, following her untimely death on 4th January, 1928 at the age of 47. As a result, this analysis will focus further on Donnelly's contractual relationship with publishers in Chapter Six (Contracts & Networking), although for the purposes of illustrating the development of the creative alliances described in Table 1, it is important to acknowledge her evident contribution which, rather than being represented directly in correspondence, is demonstrated firstly by her repeated successes with Sigmund Romberg and secondly by means of her less obvious contractual arrangements, clearly negotiated by an expert well-versed in publishing and contract law. The evidence for both writers nonetheless further underlines their belief in their independent right to negotiate fair terms across the board at a moment in time when the patriarchal system was an all-encompassing way of life. Judith Grant writes that even during the second wave of feminism in the 1970's:

Patriarchy was conceptualized as an invisible but all pervasive, political and socially constructed system of male and masculine domination. Because the power of patriarchy was everywhere, it was not located in the kinds of tangible political institutions that had formed the basis for political action in the first half of the twentieth century. No socialist movements or rights claims could thwart patriarchy because it was produced on a level of the mind and ideology, as well as in the everyday actions and rituals of men and women (Grant, 2016, p. 229)

I argue here that, patriarchy 'on a level of the mind and ideology' was equally in existence at the beginning of the twentieth century and not only did each writer (including Caldwell) negotiate her terms confidently in the face of her subordinated

social status, she also achieved this in spite of an industry where negotiation, as illustrated by the founding of associations such as The Dramatists' Guild, was fraught with injustice across the board, the scales permanently positioned in favour of the producer wherein everyday gender rituals were a way of life.

5.4.1 Writer/Composer

Rida Johnson Young's extant correspondence relating to the composers she worked with exhibits a detachment not usually associated with successful creative partnerships until one considers that her early career background was as a successful staff lyricist for the publishing house M. Witmark & Sons, whereby she learnt to fit appropriate lyrics to any given music as part of her job rather than collaborating creatively with a chosen partner (Engle, 2007, p. 151). This work pattern was repeated as her career developed and is demonstrated by a letter sent to Shubert on 3rd January, 1918 when she was working on the libretto for "Miss I Don't Know" which was to become *Little Simplicity* (1918):

Will you kindly have Romberg or whomever you wish to do this music call me up and make an appointment to see me about the numbers. (Source: The Shubert Archive, Box 470, Appendix: 88)

Contrary to being detached or disinterested in her collaborators as this at first suggests, Johnson Young demonstrates in this one sentence that her focus was purely on the writing itself and the choice of composer was clearly invariably left as a matter of course or convenience and at the producer's discretion. That said, she also clearly maintained contact with the leading composers and managers with whom she did collaborate, as revealed here in a letter sent to Shubert in August 1915 (Figure 24):

RIDA JOHNSON YOUNG

AUTHOR OF:-

"BROWN OF HARVARD" HENRY WOODRUFF
"GLORIOUS BETSY" MARY MANNERING
"THE BOYS OF COMPANY B." ARNOLD DALY
"THE LOTTERY MAN" CYRIL SCOTT
"NEXT" HELEN LOWELL
"THE GIRL AND THE PENNANT" WM. COURTNEY
"NAUGHTY MARIETTA" EMMA TRENTINI
"LADY LUXURY" INA CLAIRE
"THE RED PETTICOAT"
"ONE OF THE BOYS" LULU GLASER
"WHEN LOVE IS YOUNG" HYAMS AND MCINTYRE
"RAGGED ROBIN"
"BARRY OF BALLYMORE"
"MACHUSHLA"
"SHAMEEN DHU"
"THE ISLE O'DREAMS"

} CHAUNCEY OLCOTT

August 28th 1915

My Dear Mr Shubert:-

Have you read my story for a musical play
which Mr Comstock gave you? I have at last gotten Mr
Herbert's consent to write it without his music. So if
you wish me to do it with Jerry Kern, or any one else, I
am quite ready to do so.

Do let me hear from you shortly on this.

Most truly

Rida J. Young

Peekskill Road

Greenwich

Conn.

Figure 24. Source: Shubert Archive. Rida Johnson Young Correspondence.
Box 470, Appendix A: 88.

Hermeneutical consideration of this letter shows that in four concise sentences Rida Johnson Young has demonstrated her working practice to deal directly with not just Shubert, but additionally with leading theatre producer and theatre operator Ray Comstock and Victor Herbert with whom she had collaborated on *Naughty Marietta* in 1910. Added to which her confidence to suggest Jerry (Jerome) Kern with whom she had worked on *The Red Petticoat* in 1912 is testament to her confidence in her creative equality alongside leading composers of the day.

5.4.2 Writer/Publisher/Producer

This chapter has by now established that Rida Johnson Young generally chose to deal directly with her business and creative collaborators, often demonstrating impressive shrewdness in pursuit of her correct dues; as revealed in a letter to J.J. Shubert in July 1918 following a conversation she had had in May (Appendix A: 143), with ‘Mr Schirmer’, the owner of the renowned publishing house of the same name:

The enclosed check [sic] was sent me in settlement of music royalties on “Maytime”[sic]: by some mistake, I am sure, in your financial department. Mr Schirmer told me some months ago that he had sent you over five thousand dollars on “Maytime” royalties, and he must have sent more since. The Victor people sold 189000 records of “Sweetheart” [sic] during the first quarter. Will you kindly look into the matter and have Mr Schirmer’s statements sent me, together with a check for 25 percent of all amounts received. (The Shubert Archive. Box 470. Appendix A: 44).

Whether J.J. Shubert’s defensive response (see below) to Johnson Young’s request four days later is entirely correct is a matter for much closer scrutiny, but it immediately suggests the recipient did not appreciate being brought to task over his company’s accounting and, rather than simply forwarding a copy of Schirmer’s statements, bluntly instructs his secretary to ‘Rtn check’[sic] (Figure 25):

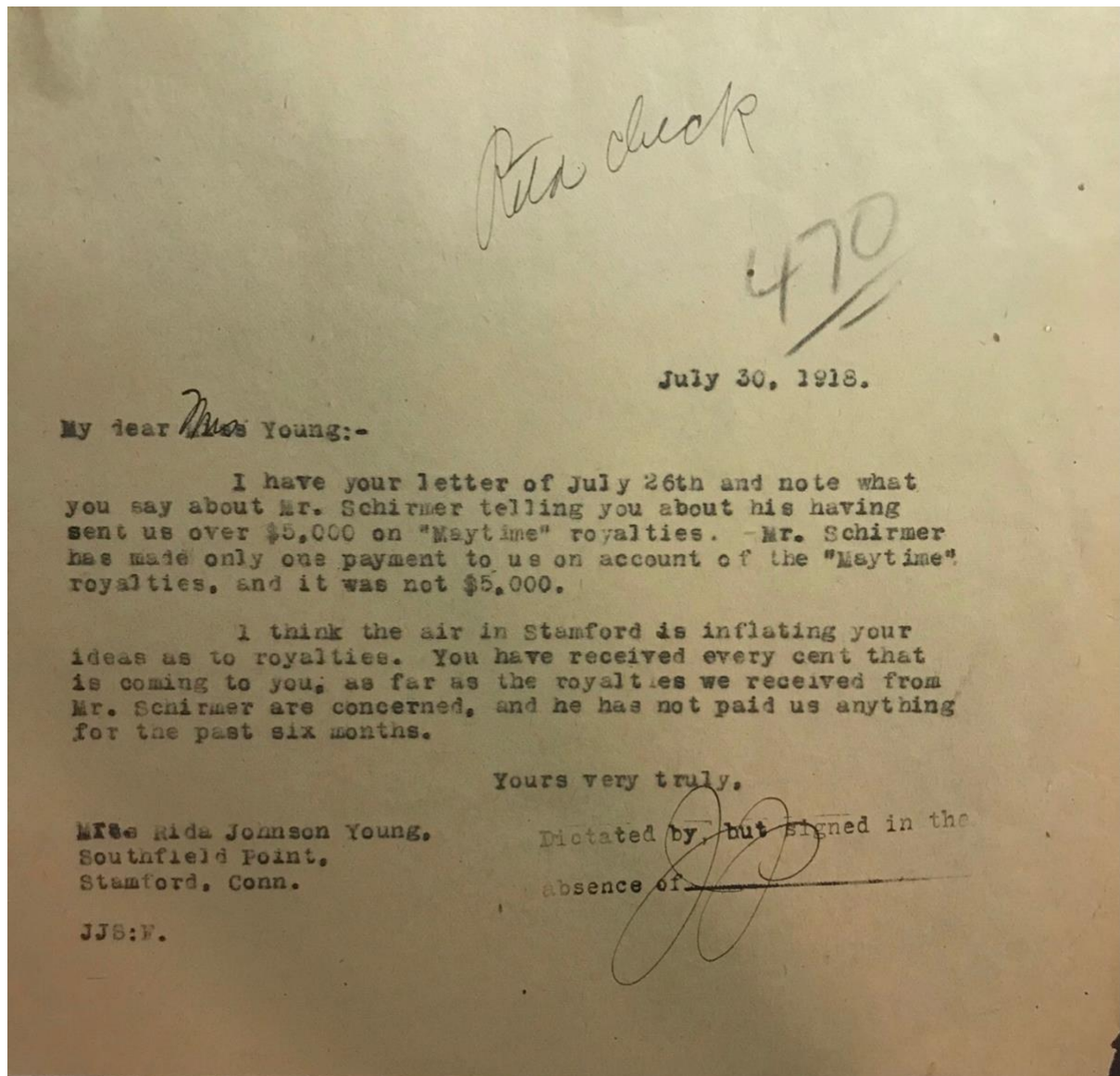


Figure 25. Source: Shubert Archive. Rida Johnson Young Correspondence. Box 470. Appendix A: 43.

That Rida Johnson Young had access to the Head of Schirmer Publishing and was aware of the Victor Record sales figures for the month suggests that one or both of the figures in question was likely correct and, aside from delaying a potential payout relating to more visible, accurate accounting, Shubert's language displays his defence of his position of power. Kincheloe and McLaren write that critical social theory is concerned in particular with issues of power and justice and the ways that

social institutions and cultural dynamics interact to construct a social system and, in relation to linguistic/discursive power:

..criticalists begin to study the way language in the form of discourses serves as a form of regulation and domination. Discursive practices are defined as a set of tacit rules that regulate what can and cannot be said, who can speak with the blessings of authority and who must listen, whose social constructions are valid and whose are erroneous and unimportant (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2011, p. 291)

This letter is truly representative of the invisible but all-pervasive concept of patriarchy produced on a level of the mind and ideology alluded to by Grant (2011, p. 291) where, by virtue of his everyday routine actions, J.J. Shubert attempted to exercise his power over Rida Johnson Young. By employing demeaning language ‘I think the air in Stamford is inflating your ideas as to royalties’, Shubert refutes her claim in an effort to close down the discourse, assert his authority and effectively make Johnson Young’s request appear ‘erroneous and unimportant’.

5.5 Libretto Development

The analysis of correspondence in this chapter has thus far revealed fairly unexpected insights into the ways in which both Dorothy Donnelly and Rida Johnson Young managed both their business affairs and the practicalities of communicating their creative preferences in regard to casting and overseeing their work in the rehearsal room. When viewed vis à vis the socio-cultural (women’s suffrage and Progressive political reforms) and professional climate (formation of Dramatists Guild to defend basic rights with Managers) their skilful manipulation of the maintenance of their relationship with their employers appears to have delivered them a subtle autonomy borne largely out of their gift with the written word.

As a precursor to the LIWC text analysis of the collaborated scripts and direct analysis of male/female writing styles in Chapter Seven (The Collaborations), the intention of this section is to investigate evidence of collaboration from the earlier stages of libretto development ventured between the somewhat precarious territory of the producer's vision and the writer's desire for creative freedom, particularly in a pre-Minimum Basic Agreement era described by playwright and biographer Howard Teichmann as an arena where:

the dramatist had absolutely no control over what he had written. Management could rewrite the entire play, change its meaning and message; the dramatist had no recourse (1972, p. 76).

The following section will therefore consider Rida Johnson Young and Dorothy Donnelly's extant correspondence related to libretto development with the Shubert production office, with an ongoing alignment to the linguistic-hermeneutic prism, the context of their professional progress in relation to their peers, and the continued critical narrative perspective of female empowerment.

5.5.1 Getting the producer's 'ear'

Analysis of Rida Johnson Young's correspondence reveals a determination to read a libretto through in person to her producer whenever possible in the early stages of its development and further reading of accounts from the era reveal that this was fairly common practice with writers who were keen for their scripts to get the best possible first hearing of their creative endeavours (Middleton, 1947, pp. 60–61). Playwright, director and producer, George Middleton (1880-1967), who was an influential player in the drive for the Minimum Basic Agreement and President of The Dramatists Guild from 1927-29 recalled that:

Listening to a play, however, is not easy: [...] Dion Boucicault, Willard Mack, Clyde Fitch, among others, read so magnetically that it was difficult to refuse them a contract, and all accounts agree Bernard Shaw is a wonder.[...] Lee Shubert started to sleep peacefully on the sixth page of one opus. I mumbled on a few minutes, skipped to the last page, and banged the table. Lee woke and said: "Very good, Middleton; but it lacks feminine interest." (p. 60).

Middleton goes on to describe script-reading opportunities with various producers as 'catch-as-catch-can with no holds barred' and Rida Johnson Young's correspondence reveals a similar mind-set in that it was not uncommon for her to read a script through to one of the Shuberts at their offices after work hours (Appendix A: 6) and, when she saw fit, would clearly go to even greater efforts to get her work heard as demonstrated in this letter from 'Wednesday' in May 1913 (Figure 26):

Wednesday

My Dear Mr Shubert:-

Have you read "My Lady Luxury" yet?

If not, wont you make an appointment and let me read it to you soon?

I am moving up to the country on Friday but will come in at any time you appoint.

If it is not convenient for you to hear it at the office, I wish you would motor out to my place some Sunday soon and let us read the book and play the music for you there. In that way we would have no interruption, and I should be so delighted to have you come.

With best wishes

Most truly

Rida Johnson Young

37 Madison Avenue

After Friday--

Belle Haven

Greenwich

Conn.

1916 7 6

Figure 26. Source: Shubert Archive. Rida Johnson Young Correspondence; Box 470. Appendix A, 25.

At the time of writing, Johnson Young was a successful writer with a proven track record with the Shuberts but she still had to push for decisions on the viability of plays in their early stages. The letter opens without preamble, going straight to the business at hand 'Have you read "My Lady Luxury" yet?'. By opening the correspondence with two direct questions and following up with a warm invitation to visit her at her house in the country 'and let us read the book and play the music for you there' suggests she would also have her composer on hand to play the music and help read the script too. As is often the case with Johnson Young's correspondence, her final line delivers the true hermeneutic context at the root of her warm invitation in that 'we would have no interruption', signalling an issue raised by Middleton that 'a play should be taken in at a sitting, not eye-nibbled at odd times amid telephone calls and cat-naps' (p. 60). J.J. Shubert's relatively swift and brief response acknowledges the letter but side-steps any commitment with 'I will endeavour to read the play some day this week' (Appendix A: 26), presumably in an effort to buy time and stave off further concerted efforts of persuasion from his writer. The record does show, however, that the musical in question, *Lady Luxury*, went on to open at the Casino Theatre in December 1914 and was produced by Lee and J.J. Shubert.

An intriguing aspect of the negotiative arrangements highlighted here by the writers' script-reading dilemma vis à vis producers, is that the issue is not driven by gender, rather it appears more an everyday circumstance of the writer-producer alliance across the board, where all writers, irrespective of sex, make their best endeavours to have their work heard and considered for further development. Moreover, it is interesting to consider how successful any producer would be taking a nap whilst being read a script by Rida Johnson Young and that behavioural, social and cultural

precedents might, in this circumstance, weigh the scales in favour of a woman.

Whilst Johnson Young undoubtedly considered she was merely doing her job, her overall drive was undoubtedly to present her work in its best possible light, her display of self-belief echoing Amy Allen's interpretation of Hélène Cixous's 'les pouvoir de la femme',

that women's experience of power is not one of domination or control but of ability, capacity, and individual empowerment. In other words, according to this conception, power is a capacity or creative ability that individuals have to *do* something, rather than a dominance that is wielded over others. First and foremost, then, the conception of power derived from women's experience is a positive one. Instead of equating power with domination or control, this conception sees power as the capacity or ability to pursue certain life projects (1999, pp. 20–21).

The evolving profile of Rida Johnson Young's correspondence therefore portrays her independent capacity to negotiate on behalf of her creativity, her unabashed persistence taken as a matter of business, driving the positive end result which, in this instance, determined the success of the onward development of the *Lady Luxury* script into a Broadway production.

5.5.2 Conflict or Collaboration?

In 1922, Dorothy Donnelly was contracted by the Shuberts to work as lyricist/librettist on adapting Wilhelm Meyer-Förster's successful 1901 play, *Alt Heidelberg*, into an operetta which would become better known as *The Student Prince*. The play itself was based on Meyer-Förster's original 1898 novel *Karl Heinrich* and it had since been successfully adapted into an opera, *Eidelberga Mia*, with music by Ubaldo Pacchierotti and librettist Alberto Colantuoni, premiering at the Teatro Carlo Felice in Genoa on 27th February, 1908 (Collantuoni, 1908). At the time of the commission,

Donnelly was already the successful librettist for three productions, *Flora Bella* (1916), *Fancy Free* (1918) and *Blossom Time* (1921), the latter being a huge success for the Shuberts, running to 516 performances on Broadway in its first run and marking the beginning of a successful collaborative partnership between Dorothy Donnelly and the composer Sigmund Romberg.

Extant literature regarding the operetta (Stagg, 1968; Ewen, 1970; McLean, 1999; Hirsch, 2000; Peck, 2009) alludes to creative differences between the producers, Donnelly and Romberg regarding the overall development of both the storyline and the music; that the Shuberts were particularly against Donnelly's poignant finale (although this follows the original Meyer-Förster storyline) and Romberg's insistence on writing for a large male chorus to reflect university life (*Drinking Song; Come Boys, Let's All Be Gay, Boys; Serenade; Guadeamus Igitur*). However, William A. Everett asserts that 'these claims are likely overstated' (Everett, 2007, p. 127) and analysis of extant literature suggests the evidence regarding the trials and tribulations associated with this production is largely from anecdotal, unsubstantiated accounts published between 1968-2000 (Stagg, 1968; Ewen, 1970; Hirsch, 2000), including a series of interviews conducted between playwright and biographer, Howard Teichmann, and J.J.'s son, John Shubert, from 1959-1960 (Hirsch, 2000, p. 293). To put these interviews in context, John Shubert would have been approximately 15 years old when *The Student Prince* opened in 1924, serving to reinforce Everett's conclusion that the claims were likely overstated especially when one considers Hirsch's biographical narrative that 'J.J. did not properly train his son to take over the business; John succeeded to the throne only by default, after J.J. had become senile' (p. 6).

Having considered the wider implications of the development of the production, this analysis will focus on its context from the perspective of an extant letter from J.J. Shubert to Dorothy Donnelly on August 21st, 1922 which homes in on the development of the libretto itself (Figure 27):

3030

August 21, 1922.

Dear Miss Donnelly:

I have read the Prologue and the first and second act of "Alt Heidelberg". While I think it is charming, I think a great many improvements can be made in the way of the prologue. I think the Princess whom Carl Franz is to be betrothed to should see him at Carlsburg before he leaves for Heidelberg. He should be very stiff and pompous, and she should be very cold. I think that would inject a little femininity into the play to show the difference between Katie and this girl. Bringing the Princess back in the second act is a very good idea also.

I should also have liked to have made Franz a sejourner in Heidelberg for about eight months to give him a chance to become entirely different, and also time for the Princess to have changed a little. In fact, it would help all the characters to have a little more time elapse between the prologue and the second act.

Another idea which I had in mind was to make the prologue sort of a story between Carl Franz and his son and enact the entire play of Alt Heidelberg. He could tell him what happened to him and his grandfather, the same as they did in Romance. Of course, that is merely a suggestion.

I am sorry you did not consult me before going so far, as we could have gotten together on a great many things which might have improved it a whole lot. However, I am waiting for the third act, and it might change my entire idea of the play. I am only giving you my first criticism on the reading of same.

I want this play to take the place of Blossom Time, and I am sure you are on the right track. It is very well written and I know you are very enthusiastic, otherwise you could not have put so much in the play.

Yours very truly,

JJS:EL
Miss Dorothy Donnelly,
111 East 44th Street,
N.Y.C.

Figure 27. Source: Shubert Archive. Dorothy Donnelly Correspondence; Box 3030.
Appendix A, 193

In 1999, Lorraine Arnal McLean asserted in her biography of Dorothy Donnelly that ‘this letter was but the first of many objections’ (p. 134), but comparison of the letter now with the original novel, play, Italian adaptation and final script synopsis outlined by Peck in 2009 (pp. 35–36) and Everett in his biographical monograph of Sigmund Romberg in 2007 (pp. 124–154) suggests that rather than a negative relationship between producer and librettist, it in fact illuminates important collaborative detail regarding J.J. Shubert's working relationship with Dorothy Donnelly which is more positive than musicologists have to date given credit, as illustrated in Table 13 (below):

Analysis of Old Heidelberg/The Student Prince

Table 13: J.J. Shubert's original suggested changes to *The Student Prince* libretto in 1922 with the final produced version of 1924 compared to the original 1903 English translation of the Meyer-Förster novel, the 1901 German edition of the play and Pacchierotti/Colantuoni opera adaptation, 1908.

No.	Changes to Prologue, First and Second Act as suggested by J.J. Shubert letter to Dorothy Donnelly, August 1922.	Evidence of change revealed in Dorothy Donnelly's final libretto produced in December 1924 as outlined by Peck, (2009, pp. 35–36)	Old Heidelberg - novel - Max Chapelle English translation of Meyer-Förster novel, Alt-Heidelberg (Karl Heinrich, 1898) Pub'd Dodge & Metcalf, New York, 1903	Alt-Heidelberg - original Meyer-Förster play - : German edition 1901	Eidelberga Mia - opera - 1908 libretto Alberto Colantuoni Composer Ubaldo Pacchierotti
1.	'I think the Princess whom Carl Franz is to be betrothed to should see him at Carlsburg before he leaves for Heidleberg [sic]. He should be very stiff and pompous, and she should be very cold. I think that would inject a little femininity into the play to show the difference between Katie and this girl.'	This idea is not in Dorothy Donnelly's final libretto.	This idea is not in the English translation of the original novel.	This idea is not in the original German edition of the play.	This idea is not in the Pacchierotti/Colantuoni opera.
2.	'Bringing the Princess back in the second act is a very good idea also.'	Act Two: 'Their bacchanal is interrupted when the Duchess of Karlsberg arrives with Princess Margaret, the Prince's future bride.' (p. 36)	This idea is not in the original novel, the Princess is not a featured character, and is only mentioned as part of the Prince's destiny: 'On the Prince's writing desk stood, in a gold frame, the picture of the young Saxon Princess, his cousin, whose engagement to Karl Heinrich had been one of the last wishes of the dying Prince.' (Meyer-Förster and Chapelle, 1903, p. 131)	This idea is not in the original version of the play. In line with the original novel, the Princess is only mentioned in passing and as the part of the Prince's destiny: 'Lutz: See here. (Takes a picture in the frame of the desk.) The picture has come today. The latest shot. Schölermann: Ah, the princess! The Bride.' (Meyer-Förster, 1901, p. 59).	This idea is not in the Pacchierotti/Colantuoni opera. In line with the original novel, the Princess is only mentioned in passing and as part of the Prince's destiny. The Prince takes the card, but does not take it in, does not see it. From Coblenz he sends his Grand-Ducal betrothed a portrait - an exquisite frieze - and a staff, written in his own hand with devoted wishes to your Majesty. Carlo E: Thank you (Colantuoni, 1908, pp. 80–81)

No.	J.J. suggested changes to Prologue, First and Second Act - August 1922.	Dorothy Donnelly's 1924 libretto	Old Heidelberg - novel -	Alt-Heidelberg - original Meyer-Förster play -	Eidelberga Mia - opera - 1908
3.	'I should also have liked to have made Franz a sojourner in Heidelberg for about eight months to give him a chance to become entirely different, and also time for the Princess to have changed a little.'	'His grandfather, the King of Karlsberg [sic], enlists his beloved tutor, Dr. Engel (<i>Dr. Jüttner</i> in the original novel/play), to accompany the Prince and watch over him for his year of university education before Karl Franz (<i>Karl Heinrich</i> in original novel/play) assumes the throne of Karlsberg.' (p. 35)	'Chapter 1. On May 1 st , His Highness the Prince will enter the University of Heidelberg for one year.' (Meyer-Förster and Chapelle, 1903, pp. 1–2). 'It was remarkable how the Prince had changed during the past few months, even in his appearance. His way of carrying himself had become firmer and more vigorous, his face looked more energetic and the scars on his cheek gave him a marshal air.' (pp. 97–98).	Karl Heinrich: (nods). Minister of State:.. Government Council, Dr. Jüttner will have the task – Karl Heinrich: Government Council? - Minister of State: Dr. Jüttner will have the task, your Highness. In this new life, he is a serious leader (stands up). I hope, your Highness, that it may be granted to me to welcome you back on your return in a year's time. (p. 14)	Von Haugk: (steps up to the desk). Majesty, the wedding day is set. The fourth of April. In days, the year is now turning to mourning [...] hands a card to the Prince.(Collantuoni, 1908, p. 80)
4.	'In fact, it would help all the characters to have a little more time elapse between the Prologue and the second act.'	'Act Two begins four months later. The Prince arrives in his rooms early in the morning after partying all night with his fellow students' (p. 36).	'Everywhere ashes, cigar ends, brandy bottles, cups, glasses, in great disorder. A chair was broken, and the air was so full of tobacco smoke that it made Lutz sick.[...] This Prince was becoming a "roue" --- Herr Lutz was the valet of a "roue." (p. 93)	Elapse of time: 'There is a period of a few months between the 2nd and 3rd acts, between the 3rd and 4th acts for approximately 2 years.' (p. 5) Social life: Lutz (alone, sits in an armchair, sleeps. [...] A clock tower strikes 5 o'clock..What, how? (looks at the clock). 5 o'clock. God in heaven, 5 o'clock again! Yet another making a night of it! [...]You are broken. I woke up at 1am, Your Highness not at home, of course. Woke up at 2, at 3, at 4 --- it's been like this for months, two or three times a week.(Meyer-Förster, 1901, p. 41) Karl Heinrich: That was quite a night, Katie! Danced in Jugenheim until three in the morning. Then on the coach, – stopped in every village, the hosts drummed out. You should have been with us. (p. 44)	'Voices coming from under the balcony: Lutz, who's there? Wake up! The key! Lutz (waking up in shock) What! Is there a fire?!! No, no... (looking at the time) The Devil! Five in the morning? Another wasted night! (banging on the front door). (Colantuoni, 1908, pp. 50–51)

No.	J.J. suggested changes to Prologue, First and Second Act - August 1922.	Dorothy Donnelly's 1924 libretto	Old Heidelberg - novel -	Alt-Heidelberg - original Meyer-Förster play -	Eidelberga Mia - opera - 1908
5.	'Another idea I had in mind was to make the prologue sort of a story between Carl Franz and his son and enact the entire play of Alt Heidelberg.'	This idea is not in Dorothy Donnelly's final libretto.	This idea is not in the original novel.	This idea is not in the original German edition of the play.	This idea is not in the Pacchierotti/Colantuoni opera.

By aligning Schubert's initial requests for story development alongside the final libretto, original novel, play and opera libretto, Table 13 demonstrates the influence of the original letter on the work that was to follow and, contrary to previous assumptions of conflict (McLean, 1999, p. 134; Peck, 2009, p. 34), this analysis illustrates clear signs of early collaboration on the script between producer and librettist which will be elaborated upon further in 5.5.4.

5.5.3 Consideration of previous conclusions regarding the libretto development of *The Student Prince*

Both Ellen Marie Peck and Donnelly's biographer, Lorraine Arnal McLean, assert that 'Dorothy chose an unusual form for the libretto: four acts preceded by a prologue'. Whilst this format strays from the more conventional two or three acts for an operetta, it follows Meyer-Förster's original five act format of the play, suggesting Donnelly's choice to have been one of practicality as opposed to anything more experimental (McLean, 1999, p. 134; Peck, 2009, p. 34).

Peck states that 'Donnelly's adaptation retains much of the source play's plot and characters' (Peck, 2009, p. 35) and, whilst this is definitely the case, it is not withstanding notable additions to the plot such as the Princess actually becoming involved as a real character in the operetta (Table 13, point 2), as well as a romance between Lutz, the Prince's valet, and Gretchen, the barmaid (Everett, 2007, p. 129). In his analysis of the development of the operetta from Sigmund Romberg's perspective, William A. Everett states that 'Donnelly's final libretto followed the original play very closely, the notable changes being the names of the prince and the

tutor' (Everett, 2007, p. 127); whereas closer analysis of the original novel and play reveal that Donnelly's libretto develops additional characters (Princess Margaret, Captain Tarnitz and Gretchen the barmaid) which in fact elaborates on the original work, the initial addition of Princess Margaret as a contributing character being proposed by Shubert in his letter of 21st August, 1922:

I think the Princess whom Carl Franz [sic] is to be betrothed to should see him at Carlsberg before he leaves for Heidleberg [sic] (Figure 27).

and

Bringing the Princess back in the second act is a very good idea also. (Figure 27).

Table 13 clearly shows that, whilst Dorothy Donnelly did not introduce the Princess as listed in Point 1, Shubert's suggestion to bring her into the story at the beginning of Act Two (Point 2) illustrates how Shubert's suggestions influenced the development of the libretto at this very early stage. Of particular note to this analysis is that further study of Peck's libretto outline shows that:

[Act Two] Their bacchanal is interrupted when the Duchess of Karlsberg arrives with Princess Margaret, the Prince's future bride. They are escorted by Captain Tarnitz, who is obviously in love with the Princess (p. 36).

[Act Three] opens two years later in Karlsberg. Karl Franz is now the King of Karlsberg and has put off his wedding to Princess Margaret long enough. His nuptials are to be announced at that evening's ball, at which Margaret flirts with Tarnitz and Karl Franz all but ignores her (p. 37).

[Act Four] A mysterious woman approaches her [Käthie] and asks if she once had an affair with Karl Franz. It is Princess Margaret, whose love for Karl Franz has led her to find the woman for whom the Prince has postponed his marriage (p. 37).

The inclusion of the Princess as an involved character therefore highlights aspects of both collaboration and structural development which will be discussed further in the

next section (5.5.4) but is important to acknowledge at this stage in order to illustrate that the notable changes are more extensive than previously suggested.

As will be considered in the next section (5.5.4), it is hardly surprising that the condescending tone of Shubert's letter to Dorothy Donnelly might have led to McLean's assertion that it represented 'the first of many objections' (p. 134), but when considered alongside the original novel, play and final version of the libretto (Table 13), it suggests an altogether different dynamic, where, condescending or not, Donnelly was able to work with the feedback and negotiate her control over the arc of her storyline. As with Rida Johnson Young's negotiative style, Donnelly's position here echoes Amy Allen's definition of 'power-to' and 'the ability of an individual actor to attain an end or series of ends' and will be explored more thoroughly in the next section where we will consider the implications of Shubert's letter in more detail (Allen, 1999, p. 126). McLean also alludes to a controversy reported by Stagg between Donnelly, Romberg and both the Shuberts over the conclusion to the story:

When Lee Shubert discovered that Dorothy had added a bittersweet conclusion to *Alt Heidelberg*, he complained. "People don't like sad endings", came the protest. "People pay money for tickets so they can walk out of the theatre satisfied" (McLean, 1999, p. 134).

Stagg's quoted representation of a conversation which had reportedly taken place some forty years earlier throws a critical light on anecdotal sources which have found their way into academic analysis, written in hindsight and quoted from reported conversations. Therefore, Everett's assertion that claims of conflict were potentially over-stated is more than plausible considering both the novel and play have the same bittersweet ending. Moreover, Stagg's claims that both Lee and J.J. Shubert were against the ending are brought into question when one considers that their

brother, Sam, had produced the original play twice on Broadway; whilst both runs, at approximately one month each, were relatively short, the second production, planned as a limited run (see image below, 'week beginning Monday, October 19th 1903 and for four weeks only, the engagement terminating Saturday, November 7') starred British actor, Richard Mansfield, was considered a success and reportedly became a touring vehicle for the actor in repertory (Ganzl, 2001):

LYRIC THEATRE,
SAM S. AND LEE SHUBERT, Lessees

WEEK BEGINNING MONDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1903.
And for Four Weeks Only, the engagement terminating Saturday, November 7.
Every Evening at 8.20. Saturday Matinee at 2.

MR. RICHARD MANSFIELD
— IN —
"OLD HEIDELBERG"
BY WILHELM MEYER-FÖRSTER.
"He may act, as universal passions do,
Carve for himself (for on his choice depends
The safety and the health of the whole State."
—Hamlet, Act I, Scene 3.

KARL HEINRICH (<i>Hereditary Prince of Sachsen-Karlsruhe</i>)	Mr. MANSFIELD
STAATSMINISTER VON HAUGK	Mr. A. E. GREENAWAY
HOFMARSHALL FREIHERR VON PASSARGE	Mr. HENRY WENMAN
KAMMERHERR VON BREITENBERG	Mr. WM. J. SORELL
KAMMERHERR BARON VON METZING	Mr. ERNEST C. WARDE
DOCTOR JUTNER (<i>Tutor to Karl Heinrich</i>)	Mr. A. G. ANDREWS
CHAPLAIN OF THE COURT	Mr. H. S. HADFIELD
LUTZ (<i>Palat to Karl Heinrich</i>)	Mr. LESLIE KENVON
GRAF VON ASTERBERG (<i>Student of the Corps "Saxonia"</i>)	Mr. FRANCIS MCGINN
VON WEDELL (<i>Student of the Corps "Saxo-Borussia"</i>)	Mr. H. COLEMAN
KELLERMANN (<i>Steward of the Corps "Saxonia"</i>)	Mr. EDWARD FITZGERALD
RUDER (<i>Townkeeper at Heidelberg</i>)	Mr. W. J. CONSTANTINE
FRAU RUDER (<i>his wife</i>)	Miss ANNIE WOOD
FRAU DORFFEL (<i>Actress</i>)	Miss VIVIAN BERNARD
KATHIE	Miss GRACE ELLISTON
KARL BILZ (<i>Student of the Corps "Saxonia"</i>)	Mr. H. NEUMAN
KURT ENGELBRECHT (<i>Student of the Corps "Saxonia"</i>)	Mr. CLEMENT TOOLE
VON HAUZIN (<i>Student of the Corps "Saxonia"</i>)	Mr. F. W. THOMPSON
VON REINECKE (<i>Student of the Corps "Saxonia"</i>)	Mr. WENDELL THOMPSON
STEINER (<i>Student of the Corps "Saxonia"</i>)	Mr. CHARLES QUINN
NAUMANN (<i>Student of the Corps "Vandalia"</i>)	Mr. J. HAFEY
ECKARDT (<i>Student of the Corps "Rhenania"</i>)	Mr. P. A. G. MCCARTHY
SCHOLERMANN	Mr. HENRI LAURENT
GLANZ	Mr. A. McHUGH
REUTER	Mr. M. C. TILDEN
CONDUCTOR OF THE BAND	Mr. CHAS. CAROLY

OFFICERS AT THE COURT OF KARLSBURG — Messrs. Heria, Brunswick, Sachs, Faust, Newton, Paton and Pindar.

STUDENTS OF THE CORPS "SAXONIA" — Messrs. Derry, Delmar, Walter, O'Brien, Lyman, Remscheid, Gross, Osborn, Serace, Osborn, Harmon, Lieblee, Silverman and Conway.

STUDENTS OF THE CORPS "SAXONIA" — Messrs. Foster, Berkess, Hadfield, MacDonald, Parry, Miller, Bradford, Diamond, Foster, O'Brien, Berke and Le Voisier.

STUDENTS OF THE CORPS "SAXO-BORUSSIA" — Messrs. Waterbury, Clinton, Paterson, Stevens, MacCallam, Primrose, Hope, Jones, Gordon, Taylor and Chase.

STUDENTS OF THE CORPS "VANDALIA" — Messrs. Whitehouse, Wagner, Bordley, Prescott, Marsile, Thacker, Vest, Cartol, Brosseau and Myers.

STUDENTS OF THE CORPS "RHENANIA" — Messrs. Casey, Stinner, Neumann, Koch, Harvey, Taylor, Eckelhardt and Foster.

Students of other Corps, Officers, Guards, Lackeys, etc.

Programme Continued on Second Page Following.

GIANT STRIDES. 83,700 CASES OF
MOËT & CHANDON Champagne
Imported up to October 1, 1903, making the greatest number of cases of any brand of Champagne imported. VERIFIED BY CUSTOM HOUSE STATISTICS.
THE NEW VINTAGE OF "WHITE SEAL" IS PERFECTION IN CHAMPAGNE

Figure 28. Programme for Mr Richard Mansell appearing in *Old Heidelberg* at the Lyric Theatre, week beginning October 12th, 1903. Source: Internetarchive.org, accessed 29.3.21)

Further, Lee Shubert's unpublished memoirs in The Shubert Archive recall the second production in 1903 with pride and without intimation of any difficulties:

The opening night was a fourfold triumph: for the distinguished actor, for the play, for the new theatre (which was the handsomest in New York at the time), and for my brother whose judgment and zeal had made the occasion possible.[...] *Old Heidelberg* was destined to play a big part in our fortunes again in later years when the musical version *The Student Prince* set a new style in operetta and became the most popular and successful play of its kind in American theatrical history (Chach and Shubert, 1990, pp. 15–16).

In summary, consideration of previous conclusions drawn by musicologists regarding the libretto development of *The Student Prince* has revealed two intriguing inconsistencies which were overshadowed firstly by anecdotal accounts (Stagg, 1968; Ewen, 1970, p. 513; Hirsch, 2000) which appear to have influenced academic opinion (McLean, 1999, p. 134; Peck, 2009, p. 34) and secondly by means of oversight in direct comparisons with the original texts (Everett, 2007, p. 127; p. 129). Additionally, taking into account the fact that a writer might often alter the storyline from a play or a book to adapt it for a musical production (Oscar Hammerstein II, *Show Boat*, 1927; *Carousel*, 1945), it is perhaps easy to overlook the introduction of relatively minor characters in the overall development of the final libretto. However, when examined from the perspective of this analysis in direct relation to J.J. Shubert's original letter and the final version of the libretto, it brings to light hitherto unconsidered aspects of collaboration in libretto development between the producer and writer in what was to become a highly successful creative endeavour for both the Shuberts and Dorothy Donnelly which will be considered in further detail in the next section.

5.5.4 Producer dramaturgy versus creative freedom

Analysis of the development of *The Student Prince* libretto has thus far considered current assumptions regarding reported creative confrontations and comparisons with the original source material. The hermeneutical analysis of the various source texts subsequently revealed previously undetected anomalies, ultimately altering the significance of Shubert's letter to Dorothy Donnelly. Hermeneutic analysis of the letter's text reveals two principal messages signifying that Shubert is both in command of the production and his dramaturgical advice should be considered. Further consideration of the nature of the discourse reveals underlying signifiers in the text which suggest a less confrontational and more productive message. In recent years semiotic analysis has broadened from the literal interpretation of visual signs to the interpretation of perceived signifiers in text:

Social semiotics is concerned with meaning makers and meaning making. It studies the meaning of dissemination and the modes of communication that people use and develop to represent their understanding of the world and to shape power relations with others. It draws on qualitative, fine-grained analysis of records of meaning making, such as 'artifacts', 'texts', and 'transcripts', to examine the production and dissemination of discourse across the variety of social and cultural contexts within which meaning is made. (Beemer and Jewitt, 2009, p. 1).

By interpreting the underlying semiotics of the August 1922 letter and by homing in on the suggestions made for libretto development by J.J. Shubert and comparing it with the final version of Dorothy Donnelly's libretto in 1924, highlights a previously overlooked collaborative liaison between producer and librettist. Closer inspection of the letter reveals that, contrary to previous assumptions, Dorothy Donnelly went on to develop three out of the five suggestions originally made by Shubert (Table 13, points 2, 3 & 4). In the context of the letter, whilst the developed points are not game changers in themselves, Donnelly appears to have engineered a scenario wherein

she has deftly maintained control over the development of the main points of the libretto by not following through on the rather more intricate suggestions at points 1 & 5, but rather agreed to emphasise the timeline and introduce Princess Margaret as a contributory character. Donnelly's position here continues to exemplify Allen's definition of 'power-to' and 'the ability of an individual actor to attain an end or series of ends' (1999, p. 126), negotiating the autonomy of Shubert's 'power over' her as the employee and her own 'power to' collaborate positively in response to potentially disruptive feedback:

...in the same way that domination represents a particular way of exercising power-over, resistance seems to represent a particular way of exercising power-to or empowerment. We can define resistance as the ability of an individual actor to attain an end or series of ends that serve to challenge and/or subvert domination (Allen, 1999, p. 126)

To add further context here, Shubert's patronising, condescending writing style appears to date to have overshadowed the thrust of the letter somewhat in that it reveals the moment in time in which J.J. Shubert and Dorothy Donnelly began to exchange ideas in the development of the libretto. Shubert's initial suggestion that the Princess appear as a character would lead to the introduction of Captain Tarnitz as a love interest and equally, the addition of the relationship between Gretchen and Lutz are clearly developed as a result of the introduction of the Princess as a character, in line with the *opera buffa* tradition of main and secondary couples to develop interest in a storyline. In his own analysis of the libretto, Everett notes that Karl Franz and Käthie are not the only couple in *The Student Prince* (2007, p. 129) but his own analysis overlooks the fact that these additional relationships do not feature in the original novel or play (2007, p. 127). As a successful producer of light opera, revues and musical comedies, J.J. Shubert would have been conscious of the most popular formula for operettas and would have had a keen sense of developing

the original storyline (with just one featured couple) to fit the expectation of Broadway's audiences and his letter to Dorothy Donnelly, rather than necessarily being controversial or combative, is in fact representative of an important stage in the libretto's early development. The key here is that the underlying semiotics of Shubert's letter reveal a demonstration of collaboration; this is not to suggest that it was an easy partnership, but as a producer with a vested financial interest and experience of what worked in his business, he was keen to exercise his dramaturgical eye to create a successful formula in parallel with the creative flair of his librettist. Moran and John-Steiner write that:

Collaboration creates an environment where the partners can push the boundaries of themselves and integrate their differing personal characteristics. Interactions between partners create new properties that build on each other toward creative outcomes, identities, and relational possibilities. Identity and motivation - both what the collaborators come into the collaboration with and what develops from the collaboration itself - keep the work process flexible, which can lead both to personal transformation and to domain transformation (Moran and John-Steiner, 2004, p. 21)

Therefore, whilst the semiotics of Shubert's domineering personality may at first overshadow his attempts to reach out and collaborate with his librettist, they are balanced out by the final outcome of Donnelly's produced libretto and point to a flexible working process which was conceivably developed following this first feedback. Of equal note here is that although the letter situates the domain of the working relationship within Allen's power paradigm of power-over/power-to, the final outcome of the work reveals that the journey taken and boundaries crossed have led to a successful creative endeavour, illustrating Moran and Steiner's notion of domain transformation as demonstrated here in Figure 29:

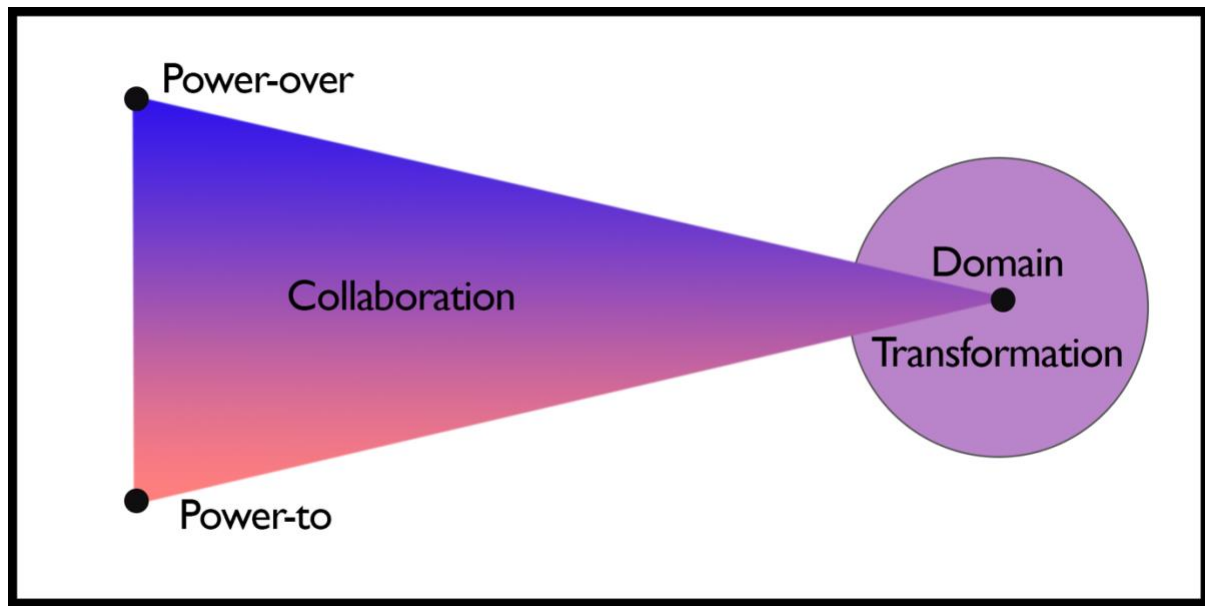


Figure 29. Illustration of domain transformation through collaboration combined with Allen's Power-Over/Power-To perspective of power and empowerment.

McLean writes that 'most historians of the theatre consider *The Student Prince* Romberg's finest achievement' (1999, p. 138) with Everett concurring that it 'is undoubtedly one of Romberg's finest musical creations, and one of the most impressive operetta scores ever created (2007, p. 132). Additionally, Everett highlights that 'Romberg and Donnelly employ music to substantially enhance and even drive the dramatic plot' (p. 132) illustrating yet another dimension of the transformational nature of the composer/lyricist collaboration at work. Of equal note to the analysis at hand is that whilst Romberg is said to have been interested in working on the score in 1922, the earliest holograph vocal score of the work held at the Library of Congress dates from February 1923 (Everett, 2007, p. 322), six months after Donnelly had sent the Prologue, First and Second Act to Shubert. Whilst in line with Romberg's assertion that 'If I do not get a real thrill from the book, I cannot write the score' (Editorial, 1928b) it pays testament to the importance of an equally well-crafted libretto as the foundation stone to 'one of the most impressive operetta scores ever created' (p.132) and bears witness to the hitherto

unacknowledged successful dramaturgical/creative alliance between J.J. Shubert, and Dorothy Donnelly.

5.6 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to demonstrate the ways in which both Rida Johnson Young and Dorothy Donnelly were able to achieve the optimum outcome for their writing projects by means of hermeneutic analysis of the correspondence with their business associates. From the perspective of the context of the correspondence, the linguistic-hermeneutical lens has provided an ideal platform to consider the social and cultural criticism posited by Kincheloe and McLaren (2000), homing in throughout on aspects of feminist theory and the unexpected stance taken by both writers in relation to their subordinated status in society and their 'power-to' maintain control of both their affairs and their creativity in the face of considerable power dynamics in the workplace which were by no means balanced in their favour. Of note here is that the analysis has thus far revealed significant evidence to suggest that the empowered stance maintained by both Johnson Young and Donnelly epitomises Ann Towns' emergent 'fundamental changes in the relations of the sexes' at play in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (2018, p. 92).

5.6.1 Enhanced perspective and new knowledge

Considered in tandem with the social and cultural context of the early twentieth century, the analysis has enhanced a broad perspective of the day-to-day business affairs of the Shubert brothers with their creative talent and subsequently revealed each writer's unique method of negotiation from business arrangements to creative collaborativity. The primary source correspondence has exemplified each of the key

subject areas highlighted in Method 1a (Figure 16), from the producer/composer/publisher alliances through to creative expectations and dramaturgical demands of casting and libretto development, the analysis of which has been supported throughout by the underlying methodological prism, which in turn has delivered enhanced subject perspective and highlighted areas of new knowledge, as described below in Figure 30:

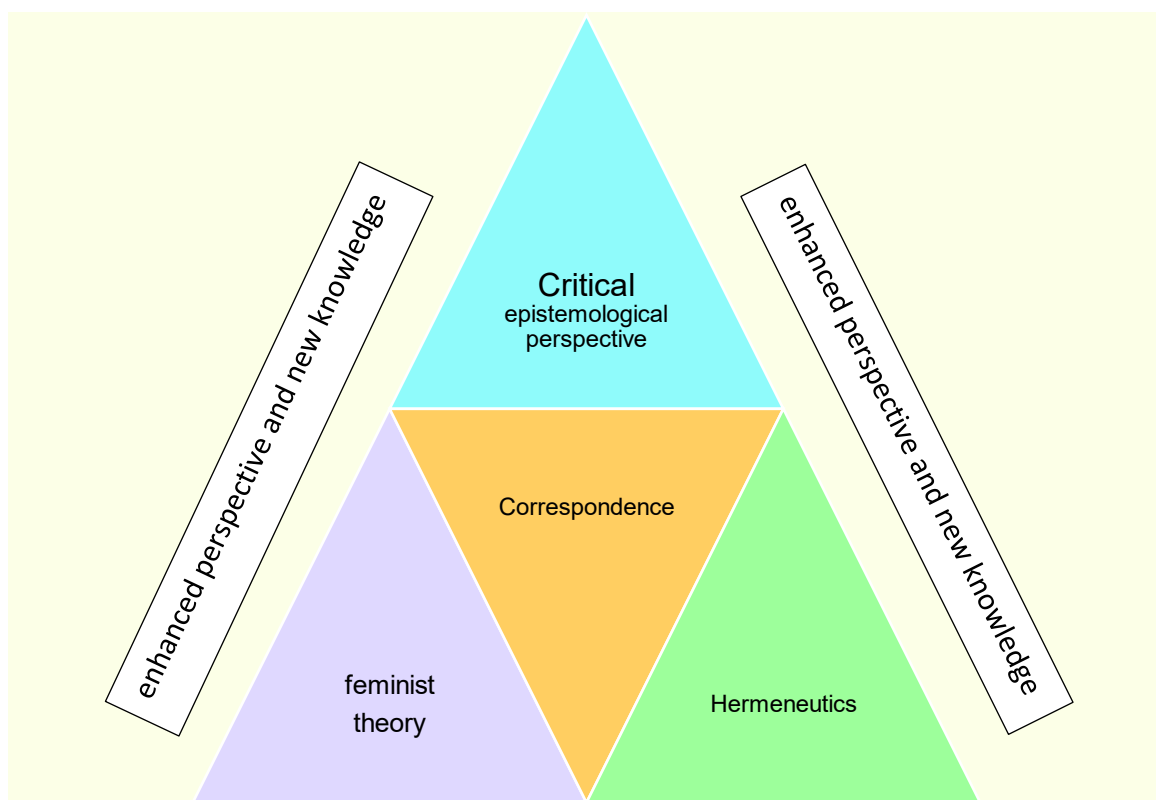


Figure 30: Illustration of the effect of the methodological prism on the correspondence analysis.

The advantages afforded by the methodological prism allow the correspondence to be scrutinized more thoroughly in ways not previously considered, the resultant effect being to enhance the perspective of the source material in relation to its social and cultural context. The effect of this enhanced perspective is revealed by instances such as Rida Johnson Young's habitual directness, by-passing expected

societal norms of behaviour and Dorothy Donnelly's exactitude in paying for tickets for her own production's premiere and pursuing payment of monies owed in as direct a manner as that of Johnson Young. Kincheloe and McLaren assert that:

critical theory analyses competing power interests between groups and individuals within a society -- identifying who gains and who loses in specific situations. Privileged groups, criticalists argue, often have an interest in supporting the status quo to protect their advantages; (2011, p. 288)

The evidence presented in the correspondence demonstrates the Shubert brothers to be representative of a privileged group keen to preserve their authority and maintain the status quo, whilst the enhanced perspective of the analysis highlights unexpected negotiations reflecting Allen's 'power-to' paradigm of empowerment which repeatedly unsettles the unspoken rules of the status quo.

Adherence to the methodology as an investigative tool has also brought to light aspects of new knowledge, these notably being the issues associated with play-reading to producers which, contrary to expectation, have been found not to be gender-biased; additionally, the results of the in-depth analysis of *The Student Prince* letter and subsequent investigation of the original texts reveal important new finds in relation to the operetta's development which signpost significant implications regarding dramaturgical development of operetta (and in turn early musical theatre) during the 1920's on Broadway.

The review of feminist theoretical literature in Chapter Two (2.6.2) focused in on Jean Lipman-Blumen's hypothesis of transformational power and strategies for connective leadership 'connecting individuals not only to their own tasks and ego drives, but also to those of the group and community' targeting mutual goals, rather

than navigating mutual enemies (Lipman-Blumen, 1992). The correspondence in this analysis has shown that whilst both Rida Johnson Young and Dorothy Donnelly's contact with the Shuberts was, by necessity, forthright and exacting, they developed their own form of connective leadership (e.g. theatre and casting suggestions; libretto development) and, by keeping their communication direct, they were able to develop effective collaborative relationships with their producers which resulted in successful mutual goals.

In choosing to position the subject of this chapter at the centre of the methodological prism has helped develop the key themes within the realm of the critical epistemological perspective and this formula will be carried forward as the central focus in the following chapters where we will be considering the negotiation of contracts, the benefits of networking and balance of collaborative partnerships.

Chapter Six. Contracts & Networking

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will focus on Method 1b of the Linguistic-Hermeneutic Paradigm, examining extant contracts, correspondence and royalty statements between Rida Johnson Young and Dorothy Donnelly with Lee and J.J. Shubert and their related business associates. At this stage, and in the absence of extant contractual paperwork relating to Anne Caldwell, her professional network will be considered from the perspective of her collaborators. The aim of this chapter therefore is to examine the ways in which all three writers connected on two levels. Firstly, via their professional alliances and secondly through membership of emerging guilds and unions to analyse the significance or otherwise of these memberships on the evolution of unions such as The Dramatists' Guild and ASCAP. The critical prism of the analysis will continue to build the focus on female empowerment through negotiation (power with/power to) and will align itself with collaboration and the broader arena of networking and the communicative group engagement of twenty-first century hermeneutics.

6.1.1 Alignment within the Linguistic-Hermeneutic Paradigm

As demonstrated in Chapter Three (Methodology), Method 1b of the research paradigm represents analysis of contracts, royalty statements and membership of professional guilds of Rida Johnson Young, Dorothy Donnelly and Anne Caldwell as represented here in Figure 31:

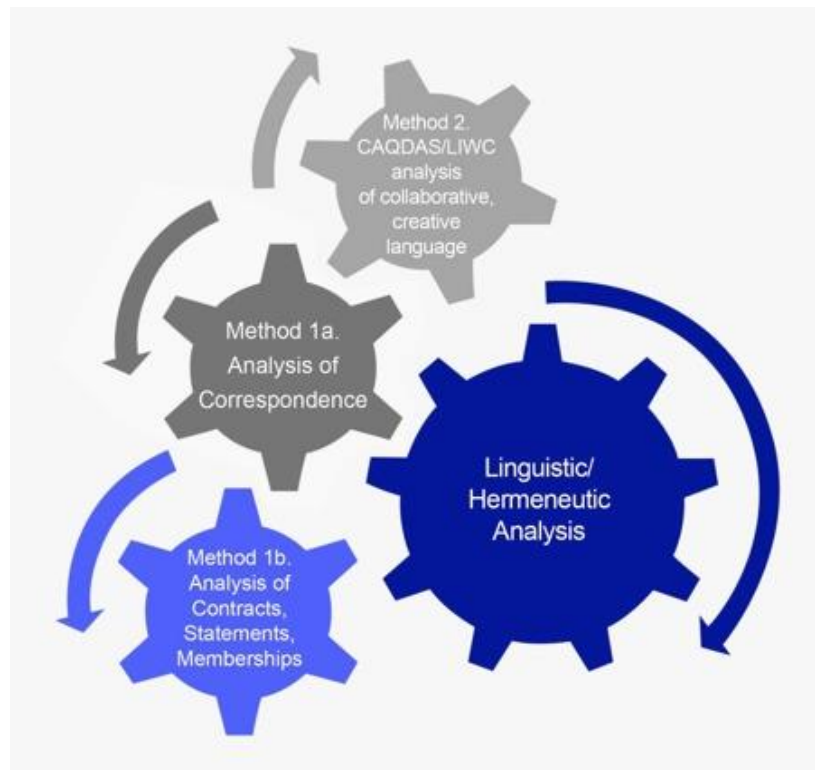


Figure 31. Method 1b, Location of contracts, royalty statements and professional memberships within the Linguistic-Hermeneutic Paradigm

This layer of evaluation will serve to support Method 1a (analysis of correspondence), following through on initial results found in Chapter Five (The Correspondence) thereby reinforcing the triangulation of the research design. Method 1b positions the writer's professional interactions at the heart of five areas of enquiry:

- i) independent networking
- ii) contracts
- ii) contractual correspondence and memos
- iv) royalty statements
- v) professional affiliations

This chapter will highlight the fledgling environment in which each writer was operating with regards to contractual rights for writers and demonstrate how the collective support of Guilds and Unions, although slowly gaining ground through the

early years of the twentieth century, was often resisted by powerful producers such as the Shuberts who viewed regulation as a threat to profits. This chapter will examine Rida Johnson Young and Dorothy Donnelly's particular involvement in relation to fee negotiation and ownership of work and how all three writers individually came to unite with fellow writers to protect their professional identity, creativity and financial returns by means of membership of professional guilds and independent networking. The implementation of Method 1b will therefore demonstrate how, whilst each writer was operating independently in a cultural context where one reality was privileged (the producer), their power to network and join Guilds and Associations as a direct result of their professional relationships, ultimately enabled a nexus of power with their peers to instigate change with their producers as illustrated here in Figure 32:

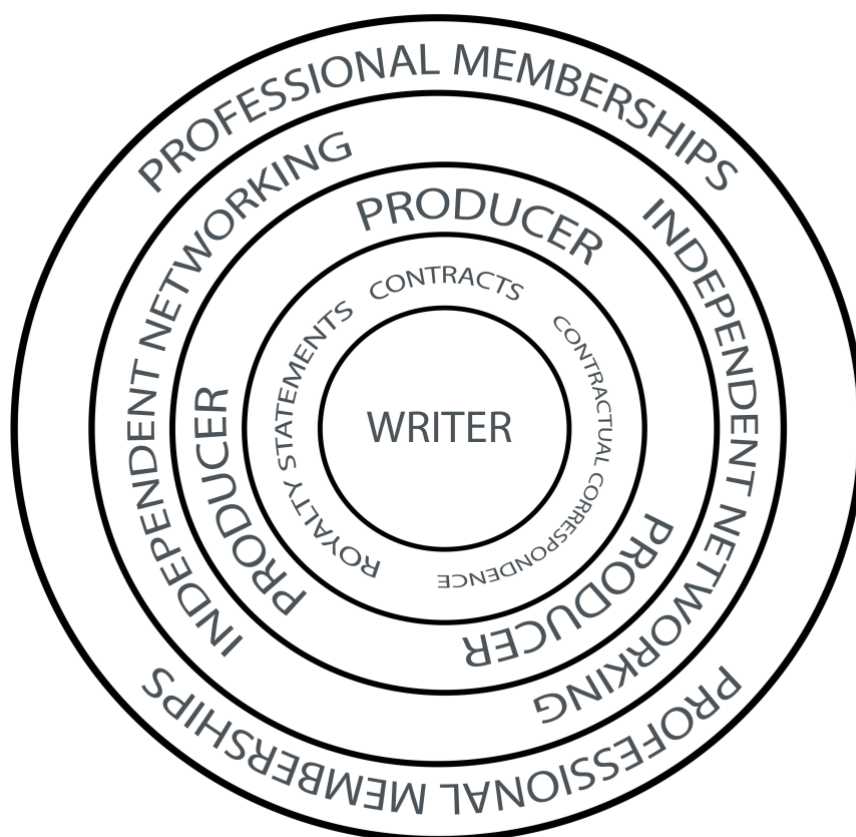


Figure 32. Demonstration of the development of the nexus of power.

Whilst Chapter Five has focused on the independent negotiations and working methods of Rida Johnson Young and Dorothy Donnelly, it is important here to briefly set out the wider context of working conditions for both male and female writers during this period in order to establish potential imbalances of power by the producer vis à vis job expectations and remuneration from the perspective of the writer at large during the early 1900s.

6.2 Contract rights and context in early 1900s

Chapter Five briefly outlines the early development of The Dramatists' Guild (5.3 Casting and the right to be present), from as early as 1891 when leading American dramatist Bronson Howard formed the American Dramatists Club (Walsh, 2016, pp. 54–55), through to the establishment of The Author's League in 1911 which led to the eventual founding of The Dramatists' Guild 1919-1920 (Stocks, 2012, pp. 10–15). Also noted is that this timeframe runs parallel with the most productive period of Rida Johnson Young, Dorothy Donnelly and Anne Caldwell's careers, each individual having begun their professional careers pre-1911 and during a time on Broadway when, according to Thomas Walsh:

the conditions of dramatists in the United States varied widely, were without standards, and left playwrights unprotected. [...] Contracts were given that gave ownership of everything a playwright wrote to the manager. Often a flat fee was paid outright for a play. Once the fee was paid the manager owned the play forever. The conditions under which playwrights of the early twentieth century (and for that matter all authors) survived was a hodge-podge of agreements, contracts, handshakes and nods (2016, pp. 62–63).

In essence, producers (also known as managers) ruled theatrical enterprise from buildings, bookings and talent with little room for negotiation. To recap here, and of particular note to the context of this stage of analysis, Chapter One (Introduction) outlines how two producer-led monopolies ruled the theatre throughout the US

during the late 1800s/early 1900s. The first was the Klaw Erlanger Frohman syndicate (also known as the ‘Syndicate Six’) who were subsequently overthrown by the Shubert brothers who, after asserting they were against the domination of the premise of the Erlanger syndicate, effectively created their own monopoly and became the most powerful producers in America in the first half of the twentieth century. This chapter will demonstrate the importance of the context of the producer-centric landscape in which each of the writers was operating, including how the balance of power was gradually renegotiated.

6.3 Rida Johnson Young and the ‘power to’ network

Analysis of Rida Johnson Young’s correspondence with the Shubert brothers has so far established her ‘power-to’ maintain control of both her business affairs and creativity in the face of considerable power dynamics in the workplace which were by no means balanced in her favour. The confidence with which she negotiated her terms has thus far suggested that she did so as a result of a degree of box office success as demonstrated by the correspondence from as early as 1909 when she negotiates with the Shuberts on *The Lottery Man* over casting, salaries, printing of sheet music and presence in the rehearsal room. By way of aligning each writer’s career in relation to independent networking and professional affiliations with founder members of early unions such as The Dramatists’ Guild, we will now examine Rida Johnson Young’s work on Broadway leading up to her first Broadway hit, *The Lottery Man* in 1909 and consider how any such connections may have helped establish her early in her career.

6.3.1 Assessing Johnson Young's early success

The prominent music publisher and composer Isidore Witmark recalled how he had first been introduced to Rida Johnson Young by a mutual friend and how she became a member of the Witmark staff, firstly 'assisting Isidore in the press department' before moving to the publication department where she wrote one-act plays and set lyrics to music (Witmark and Goldberg, 1939, p. 348). By 1903 she was attracting reviews in the press for her song-writing skills:

There are many new songs out for this season [...] M. Witmark & Sons of New York, are sending out the most winning music to the public this year. [...] *Here's to the Ones at Home*, by Rida Johnson Young and Manuel Klein, is the drinking song which has been introduced to the public [and] has caught on in a remarkable manner, though so recent a publication. It bids fair to become a standard song of good-fellowship, having already been incorporated in many college glee books (Anonymous, 1903, p. 6).

This biographical detail of the early stages of Johnson Young's career is illuminating in that it reveals her success as a budding playwright and lyricist, working for a leading New York publisher, directly enabled as a result of a personal introduction.

Within three years, Johnson Young's writing career was on course, with her output as a writer spanning plays as well as musical comedy and operetta, with *Brown of Harvard* marking her first Broadway success in 1906:

Title	Year	Producer	Theatre	Format	Performances
<i>Brown of Harvard</i>	1906	Henry Miller	Princess Theatre, 29 th Street and Broadway	Play	101
<i>The Boys of Company B</i>	1907	Daniel Frohman	Lyceum Theatre	Comedy	96
<i>The Lancers</i>	1907	Messrs Shubert	Daly's Theatre	Entertainment with music	12
<i>Glorious Betsy</i>	1908	Messrs Shubert	Lyric Theatre	Comedy	24
<i>The Lottery Man</i>	1909	Messrs Shubert	Bijou Theatre	Comedy	200

Table 14: Rida Johnson Young early Broadway plays

Aside from her contribution to the development of musical theatre, Rida Johnson Young's writing oeuvre comprises over 30 plays and musical shows spanning the course of her career, with five productions produced on Broadway from 1906-1909 alone (Engle, 2007, p. 149). However, there are two interesting factors worth considering at this stage. Firstly, Thomas J. Walsh writes that:

The practice of the early twentieth century was for Broadway contracts to favor the more experienced playwright while giving less known playwrights little or no control over their work or receipts (Walsh, 2016, p. 77).

Secondly, whilst *The Lottery Man* correspondence between Rida Johnson Young and the Shuberts most certainly exhibits the negotiating style of an experienced playwright who has earned the right to make demands, theatre scholars such as Candice Marie Coleman and Jack Poggi outline a series of criteria for identifying success based on performance runs in the early twentieth century as follows:

These criteria classify productions between 1900 and 1930 with fewer than 50 performances as “flops,” productions with between 50 and 150 performances as “in-between,” and productions with over 150 performances as “hits”. In the 1920s, the financial break-even point was 100 performances (Poggi, 1968, pp. 74–76; Coleman, 1993, p. 18).

This measurement clearly demonstrates that whilst she had some experience as a playwright, Rida Johnson Young would not have been considered a bona fide success until at least mid 1910 since her financial security wasn't assured until *The Lottery Man* was well into its run, as shown here in Table 15:

Title	Year	Producer	Theatre	Format	Performances	Success measure
<i>Brown of Harvard</i>	1906 26.2.06	Henry Miller	Princess Theatre, 29 th Street and Broadway	Play	101	in-between
<i>The Boys of Company B</i>	1907 8.4.07	Daniel Frohman	Lyceum Theatre	Comedy	96	in-between
<i>The Lancers</i>	1907 3.12.07	Messrs Shubert	Daly's Theatre	Entertainment with music	12	flop
<i>Glorious Betsy</i>	1908 7.9.08	Messrs Shubert	Lyric Theatre	Comedy	24	flop
<i>The Lottery Man</i>	1909 6.12.09	Messrs Shubert	Bijou Theatre	Comedy	200	hit

Table 15: Summary of Rida Johnson Young's success-rate according to Poggi calculations (pp. 74-76)

To add further context here, leading theatrical, literary agent and producer Elisabeth Marbury reported in her 1923 memoir:

[O]ne of the peculiarities of this business is that when a manager makes six productions, four of which are successes and two of which failures, the two failures more than consume the profits of the four successes (Marbury, 1923, p. 54)

In Johnson Young's case, Table 15 shows that the Shuberts invested in three consecutive shows on her behalf in the early stages of her career, the first two of which were clearly failures. This raises the question of why the Shuberts continued their association with her to produce a third show when, according to Marbury's calculations, the financial losses of the first two productions would have far outweighed any potential profit from further investment in a new show. It seems the answer lies at the heart of the producer/playwright flat-fee arrangements alluded to by Walsh (2016, pp. 62–63) offering few, if any, beneficial clauses in favour of the writer and serves to explain the initial contradictory scenario of continuing with a playwright despite initial financial losses.

6.3.2 The unfair exchange of opportunity

The established system whereby a playwright (particularly an unknown playwright) was obliged to accept a flat fee for their dramatic work as a matter of course, worked in favour of just one party: the producer. Playwright and scriptwriter Howard Teichmann reaffirms the dilemma in his biography of Pulitzer Prize winning playwright, director and producer, George S. Kaufman:

If a picture sale was made or a foreign production mounted, all royalties went to the owners of the "grand rights." Moreover, under the old system, the dramatist had absolutely no control over what he had written (Teichmann, 1972b, p. 76)

Applying this frame of reference makes it far easier to understand how the

economics of the producer/budding playwright relationship worked after a show had not succeeded on the Broadway stage. In signing away ownership of a dramatic work, the writer was often only in possession of a flat fee and a relatively fleeting opportunity to achieve renown, whereas a producer had authority to freely commercialise the product beyond its initial run. Irrespective of a show's success in New York, the onward investment was secure as part of the producer's outright ownership by way of prospective exploitation via sales to film companies, stock, amateur and foreign language productions (otherwise known as subsidiary rights) (Commercial Theater Institute, 2019).

The key to survival at the beginning of a writer's career was therefore met by incremental gains in contract negotiation coupled with the support of a network of well-informed professional advisers such as dramatic agents (also known as play-brokers). Whilst not immediately obvious in an analysis of the producer/playwright alliance, the significance of an unobtrusive yet invaluable behind the scenes network will now serve to illustrate how playwrights such as Rida Johnson Young were increasingly able to navigate a fairly daunting business environment with increasing success.

6.3.3 The context of Rida Johnson Young's early network

Broadening the scope of the analysis further to include the professional alliances formed by producers on Broadway during this time also reveals that Rida Johnson Young's career was running parallel with the theatre booking monopoly war being waged between the 'Syndicate Six' (Charles Frohman, Marc Klaw, Al Hayman, Abraham Erlanger, Samuel Nixon and Fred Zimmerman) and the Shuberts. The

reason this is noteworthy is partially explained here by playwright and key founder of The Dramatists' Guild, George Middleton:

[T]here were cooperating with the Syndicate some intelligent and independent men whose productions were needed to keep open such a large string of theatres. Among them were Henry Savage, George C. Tyler, Daniel Frohman, Cohan and Harris, Henry Miller, and young budding producers who secretly shied from the dictates of the Trust, as the oncoming Shuberts began to sniff prospects (1947, p. 55)

Ellen Peck writes that Henry Miller not only produced Johnson Young's first Broadway show, *Brown of Harvard*, but that he also directed it and, notably for this analysis, was 'one of the original members of Frohman's Lyceum Company and a trusted family friend of the Youngs' (2020, p. 18). To elaborate further, it was Daniel Frohman who gave Rida Johnson Young her first job as an actress on Broadway with the Lyceum Company when she first arrived in New York and it was Daniel Frohman who produced her second Broadway show, *The Boys of Company B*; his brother, Charles, was a founding member of the "Syndicate Six". That Rida Johnson Young was able to facilitate opportunities to work for such a well-connected network of elite producers as a direct result of her first introductions on Broadway, illustrates her aptitude for confident negotiating, evident from her business correspondence (Appendix A), magazine interviews (Bennett, 1920) and the published memoirs of influential people for whom she worked such as Isidore Witmark (Witmark and Goldberg, 1939, pp.348-349).

Rida Johnson Young's power-to network independently, particularly at the beginning of her career, is significant. The combination of her network of influential professional connections, coupled with the Shuberts' ambition to hire the best talent, meant that individuals such as Johnson Young, so clearly valued by their business

rivals, evidently worked to her advantage. Recognition of the wider circle of connections developed in the early stages of her career will now serve to further illustrate the navigation of her own ambition to succeed in an unregulated era renowned for producer hegemony and this will now serve as a point of comparison for evaluating Rida Johnson Young's power-to negotiate.

6.3.4 Rida Johnson Young and the 'power to' negotiate

On 31st January, 1910, just nine weeks after *The Lottery Man* opened to glowing reviews, with leading broadsheets such as *The New York Times* hailing it a 'real, live, bona fide success' (Editorial, 1909b, p. 7), Rida Johnson Young sent a letter to 'My dear Mr Shubert':

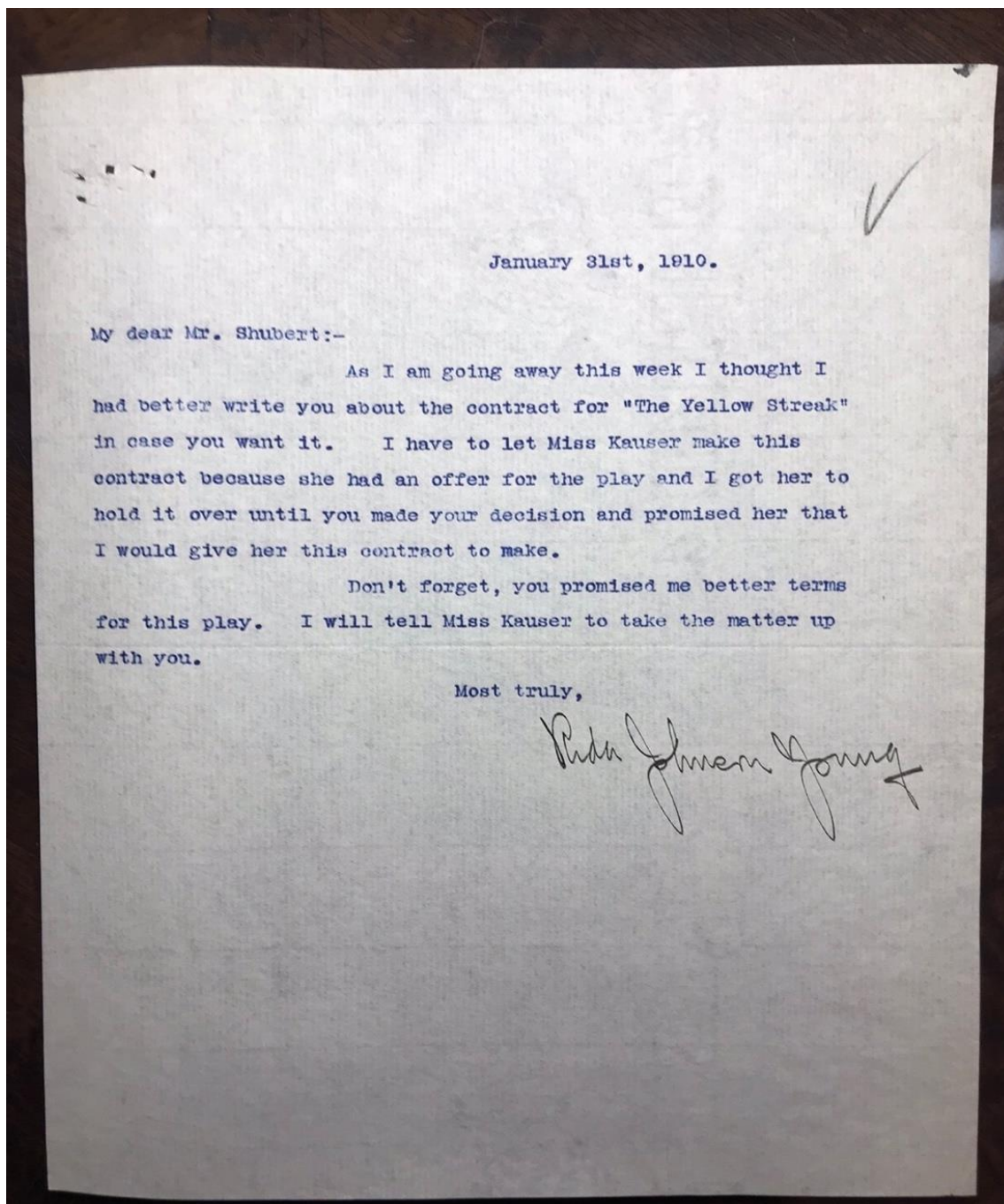


Figure 33: Rida Johnson Young General Correspondence file, The Shubert Archive, Box 470, Appendix A, no. 14

Although it appears *The Yellow Streak* wasn't developed for Broadway at this time, the letter reveals that Johnson Young isn't acting alone in relation to her negotiations with producers and that she in fact is represented at this point by the respected literary agent, Alice Kauser. Kauser notably started out working as a secretary to leading theatrical and literary agent, Elisabeth Marbury, who had herself been

encouraged by Daniel Frohman to become an author's agent (Bordman and Hlschak, 2012) who:

..for many years [...] worked closely with Charles Frohman and his Theatrical Syndicate in bringing order to a rapidly expanding field of enterprise. She later worked with the rival Shubert brothers' organization (Editors of Enclyopaedia Britannica, 2021).

Once again, it appears that Johnson Young's 'Frohman' network is still at work, her well-connected literary agent supporting her in negotiating a new contract with the Shuberts, although Johnson Young is clearly directly establishing that she expects better terms and reminds Shubert in writing that she will hold him to his word. The examination of Rida Johnson Young's correspondence in Chapter Five depicts an individual with the ability to negotiate with great assurance and this is continued here with the opening negotiation from Johnson Young within the first few weeks of her first great Broadway success. Moreover, we shouldn't overlook the fact that Johnson Young was signed up with what George Middleton described as one of 'the best known "lady play-agents"' on Broadway (Middleton, 1947, p. 75) and who it was that Elisabeth Marbury confessed her reason for hiring her in the first instance was to create a 'future rival':

My confidence [...] was justified, but this was my initial experience in creating a future rival. It was with me that Alice Kauser had her early training. Her knowledge of contracts was acquired in my office. Her introduction to the managers came through me (Marbury, 1923).

In actively encouraging Kauser's progress, Marbury displays the connective leadership described by Jean Lipman-Blumen (1992), viewing the encouragement and support of a future rival as a positive act for mutual benefit. Of note is that in 1914 Marbury would go on to form The American Play Company in collaboration with another dramatic agent, John W. Rumsey, and by 1917 was producing a musical comedy on Broadway in partnership with Lee Shubert, foreshadowing Lipman-

Blumen's observations for targeting mutual goals, rather than navigating mutual enemies (1992) and shedding further light on the collective female mindset at large on Broadway during this time. Whether it was an active choice or pure coincidence on Johnson Young's part to choose a female agent, the fact remains that her representative's ambition for negotiation of her contracts would have been aligned very much with her own perspective for a fair deal. Amy Allen defines mutual support and solidarity as a way of defining empowerment not as 'power-over' but as 'power-with':

Feminists are interested in solidarity because we have an interest in understanding the kind of collective power that binds the feminist movement together and allies it with other social movements in such a way that we can formulate and achieve our goals. [...] it does not make sense to view the solidarity that enables the feminist movement to formulate and achieve its objectives as merely an instance of power-over. Rather the goal is a kind of collective empowerment (1999, p. 126).

By acting together, it appears Johnson Young, Kauser and indeed Marbury had formed their own mutually supportive network which simultaneously worked positively for their collective ambition and their individual goals.

6.3.5 The art of contract negotiation

Whilst the mutual support of a well-connected literary agent would have enhanced contract negotiation for Rida Johnson Young, her correspondence has also shown that she was also happy to deal direct, doubtless armed with any necessary business language acquired from her business network. Nevertheless, she was dealing with businessmen such as Lee Shubert who, along with his associates, were understandably focused on the success of their enterprise, and, as Chairman of the Managers' Protective Association in 1917, stated that:

managers would treat with authors individually and in no other way, and that the part of good business was for a manager to get the best and most he could (1947, p. 305).

Rida Johnson Young was negotiating her contract for *The Yellow Streak* in early 1910 in an era that was still nine years away from the formation of The Dramatists' Guild, so it therefore seems hardly surprising that she appears at this stage not to have been successful in her bid for better terms, but she was nonetheless unafraid to make a bid for them. This point is notable at this stage as it highlights the fact that much of Johnson Young's contract negotiation was made before The Dramatists' Guild was formally organised in 1919, her demands for better terms, presence in the rehearsal room and credit on printed materials foreshadowing the minimum basic agreement which would eventually become part of the standard contract.

There is yet another interesting aspect to the arc of Johnson Young's career that is worth closer analysis here and it is reflected in the timing of her Broadway successes and how they appear to have worked in her favour. Scrutiny of her onward professional progress illustrates the circumstances created by financial successes which gave her the power-to negotiate for better contracts despite some shows which clearly did not succeed at the box office (as shown below in Table 16) beginning with the operetta *Naughty Marietta* which opened on Broadway eleven months after *The Lottery Man* and with a new producer, Oscar Hammerstein 1st:

No.	Production	Libretto/ Lyricist/ Playwright	Composer	Producer	Theatre & Year	Format	Total Perfs
1.	Naughty Marietta	Libretto & Lyrics: RJY	Victor Herbert	Oscar Hammerstein	New York, 7 th Nov 1910	'Comic opera in 2 acts'	136
2.	Next!	Playwright: RJY	n/a	Messrs Shubert	Daly's, 28 th Sept 1911	'Comedy drama in 3 acts'	18
3.	The Red Petticoat	Libretto & lyrics: RJY and Paul West	Jerome Kern	Messrs Shubert	Daly's, 13 th Nov 1912	'musical comedy in 3 acts'	61

4.	The Girl and the Pennant	Playwright: RJY and Christy Mathewson	n/a	Selwyn & Co	Lyric 23 rd Oct 1913	Comedy	20
5.	Lady Luxury	Libretto & lyrics: RJY	William Shroeder	Fred C. Whitney (at a Shubert Theatre for the run)	Casino, 25 th Dec 1914	'musical comedy in 2 acts'	35
6.	Captain Kidd, Jr	Playwright: RJY	n/a	Cohan & Harris	Cohan & Harris, 1916	'farce in 3 acts'	128
7.	Her Soldier Boy	Libretto & lyrics: RJY	Emmerick Kalmann & Sigmund Romberg	Messrs Shubert	Astor, 1916	'musical play in 2 acts'	198
8.	His Little Widows	Libretto & lyrics: RJY and William Cary Duncan	William Shroeder	G M Anderson & L Lawrence Weber	Astor, 1917	'musical comedy in 3 acts'	72
9.	Maytime	Libretto & lyrics: RJY	Sigmund Romberg	Messrs Shubert	Shubert, 1917	'musical play in 4 acts'	492
10.	Sometime	Libretto & lyrics: RJY	Rudolph Friml	Arthur Hammerstein	Shubert, 1918	'musical play in 2 acts'	283
11.	Little Simplicity	Libretto & lyrics: RJY	Augustus Barratt	Messrs Shubert	Astor, 1918	'a play with music in 3 acts'	112
12.	Little Old New York	Playwright: RJY	n/a	Sam H Harris	Plymouth 1920	'comedy in 4 acts'	311
13.	The Dream Girl	Libretto: RJY and Harold Atteridge	Victor Herbert	Messrs Shubert	Ambassador, 1924	'musical play in 3 acts'	118

KEY: Produced by **Shuberts**; musical show = ; 'in-between' = ; 'flop' = ; 'hit' =

Table 16: Ongoing timeline of Rida Johnson Young's work from 1910 highlighting how the timing of successful shows enabled her power-to negotiate. (Poggi, 1968; Coleman, 1993; Peck, 2009a)

As Table 16 demonstrates, *Naughty Marietta* is significant for Johnson Young in that it is her first Broadway musical production with a leading composer and generates three songs which go on to become hits with the public in their own right: *Italian Street Song*; *I'm Falling in Love with Someone* and *Ah! Sweet Mystery of Life*.

According to *The New York Times*:

The opening was a brilliant success: virtually every number was encored and the critics were unstinting in their praise of Herbert's melodies and masterful orchestration [...] The Hammerstein production of "Naughty Marietta" [sic] was a tremendous success throughout its 17-week run in New York [...] and it did equally well on the road. The opera continued to make the rounds of stock and touring companies during World War 1 (Rothman, 1975, p. 141).

It is generally accepted that *Naughty Marietta* was Victor Herbert's greatest success and although it only ran for 136 performances on Broadway, it's longevity through stock and touring companies sealed its success over the course of the next decade.

It is from the early stages of this success with Victor Herbert that Johnson Young

was then in a position to negotiate with the Shuberts for her next two shows (the play *Next!* in 1911 and its musical adaptation, *The Red Petticoat* in 1912) as revealed in a handwritten letter to Shubert on 11th April, 1911:

I have read your contract very carefully and I cannot sign it. The contract I sent you I do not consider in any way unreasonable and it is the form of contract I intend to use from now on. I should regret very much having to place the play elsewhere, but must do so unless you will sign my contract. Will you kindly let me know tomorrow morning by 'phone as I must make a decision as to what I am going to do with the play within twenty-four hours. (Source: The Shubert Archive. Rida Johnson Young General Correspondence file. Box 470. Appendix A, no.75)

Unlike her previous neatly typewritten request for better terms just over a year before, there is no preamble to this letter and the text (above) represents the entirety of the note. This outright demand for a better contract is also not the act of a desperate applicant, but rather the stance of an individual emboldened by an additional successful venture with another leading producer, having written a show which had garnered glowing reviews with an established composer. Whether or not encouraged by her supporting network to maintain this bold stance, Johnson Young has held her nerve and taken a firm stand with the Shuberts to make a better deal for the play *Next!*, doubtless in the knowledge that producers generally customised contracts according to a playwright's status and it was imperative to make her position clear. In this instance Rida Johnson Young evidently proved she had the upper hand, as shown in this internal office note outlining the terms of her contract for the 1911-12 season:

470

Rida Johnson Young contract

We have to produce personally and give 50 performances during season of 1911-1912

Royalty 5% to 4000. - 7 1/2% to 10,000. - 10% on all over

We have the right to but one company and cannot produce in New York before Oct. 15th, 1911.

We have to print her name on any advertising of whatever kind of the play.

We have no publishing or operatic rights.

We pay \$50. for each performance under 50 we fail to produce.

We have to give notice in writing each year to keep the agreement in force.

We can place in stock after two years by giving author half the stock royalty with no deductions and she has the right to copy all stock contracts.

We cannot sublet or assign any of our interest without her consent

Figure 34. Source: Rida Johnson Young. General Correspondence file. The Shubert Archive. Box 470. Appendix A, no.80.

With Kauser's experience in contract negotiation it seems quite likely that Johnson Young would have taken her advice on these terms, particularly bearing in mind the Shubert mantra that 'managers would treat with authors individually and in no other way [...] to get the best and most he could' (1947). To fully appreciate the agreement made in this contract, a comparative analysis can be made here with a 1919 deal made with a relatively new dramatist, Blanche Merrill. It is worth noting here that whilst she may well have been a comparative newcomer to playwriting, at the time of signing her contract Blanche Merrill had the distinction of having written songs for Eva Tanguay, Mae West and Fanny Brice and had collaborated as a

songwriter with Irving Berlin. In 1919, Merrill signed a contract for a lump-sum fee of \$500 with the Shuberts wherein she agreed the following:

All such adaptations and musical numbers written and composed by you shall be our property free of any claim by you and we shall have the sole right to copyright the same and to publish or make any other use thereof that we desire in our judgment.... You likewise are to have no interest or right in any mechanical or other rights whether for novelization or otherwise and whether at the present time known or unknown in such work done by you, all these being expressly reserved to us. [...] Nor shall you [Merrill] receive any compensation whatsoever if we sell or lease same for stock, moving picture or any rights other than musical comedy --- all such rights belong to us absolutely (Walsh, 2016, pp. 78–79; Unpublished Contract, Blanche Merrill (1919) Shubert Archive)

By comparing this contract from 1919 with the terms agreed with Rida Johnson Young in 1911, we are better able to appreciate how far producers could push for their own interests ‘to get the best and most’ (1947). The outline contract agreed with Johnson Young in 1911 establishes nine points which, when compared with the Merrill agreement, reveal how significant a turning-point this is for this increasingly successful dramatist. According to Walsh, the sliding scale of payments on gross weekly receipts were ‘more or less standard for successful playwrights on Broadway’ (2016, p. 80). With this point established, Johnson Young is able to assert her position over performance rights, advertising, stock royalties and assignment. To reiterate Walsh’s observations here ‘in 1919, the largest box office potential for any play was in its film and stock (touring) rights’ (p. 79). This is not only significant in terms of the stock payments but the final point, ‘we cannot sublet or assign any of her interest without her consent’, clearly establishes the playwright’s ownership over her intellectual property in such a way as to restrict the producer in respect of future business prospects related to the work without Johnson Young’s agreement.

Thanks to the culture of meticulous record-keeping within the Shubert offices during this time, the correspondence relating to Rida Johnson Young's contract negotiations is considerable (green highlighted entries, Appendix A) and is testament not only to her own scrupulous attention to her business affairs but also her understanding of the necessity to assert her creative value in a highly competitive, unregulated industry. By way of further example, the significance of the 1911 clauses regarding stock and assignment will now be considered in relation to how, even when a play such as *Next!* failed at the box office, it still retained considerable value in terms of motion picture rights.

6.3.6 Negotiating with networked knowledge

Ellen Peck's biography concludes that Johnson Young 'fought for her own equal pay, and defined her place in the boys' club that was professional theater' (2020, p. 142). This statement appears to imply a business landscape wherein she negotiated alone. I argue that closer inspection of the network of professional connections forged in her early career, and the pre-eminence of those connections, suggests that contrary to acting alone, she would have mined them for advice and support. Rida Johnson Young's connection with Alice Kauser and Elisabeth Marbury underpins the onward trajectory of her business negotiations, particularly in relation to the working knowledge they both brought to interpreting the minefield of elaborate clauses devised by well-paid legal experts acting on behalf of the patriarchy for whom they worked. Mouzas and Ford assert that:

Networks can help us to understand negotiations. To do this we need to go beyond the tradition of examining isolated dyadic, interpersonal processes of negotiation and instead, examine the impact of other negotiations elsewhere in the network on any single negotiation and the impact of that negotiation on others. Secondly, a network view allows us to see both the constraints of the network and the power of options inherent in it (Mouzas and Ford, 2003, p. 1).

That Johnson Young was able to negotiate such specific clauses with her producers with such facility during a period renowned for inequitable contracts suggests that whilst she may well have resorted to a traditional dyadic mode of direct written negotiation in her business affairs, that it was not without a broader spectrum of support behind the scenes.

Whilst a show on Broadway provided the perfect showcase for a new production with the obvious accompanying prestige, possessing the ability to handle management and control over subsidiary rights in a contract negotiation was growing increasingly vital for the author during this time as 'it quickly became apparent to both managers and dramatists, that motion picture rights were a lucrative market for plays, whether the play was successful on Broadway or not.' (Walsh, 2016, p. 76). As well as being a lucrative market for dramatists and producers, dramatic agents well-versed in contract law also stood to benefit and in October 1914 Elisabeth Marbury was reported to have:

joined forces with another agent, John W. Rumsey and together they purchased Selwyn and Company [...] including that group's interest in The American Play Company [which] became the largest and most powerful play agency in the world.[...] Marbury and Rumsey promised to work with the Author's League of America and The Society of American Dramatists and Composers (forerunners of The Dramatists' Guild and ASCAP) to make radical improvements in contract terms and conditions for authors. And finally, the new agency would have a special department devoted entirely to motion picture negotiations (Strum, 1989, pp. 274–276).

This development not only reinforces Nic Leonhardt's observation that Marbury 'operated on a principle of mutual benefits' (2021, p. 161) but illustrates how, in advancing her own career, Marbury created a powerful network intent on reciprocity, her influence impacting business decisions made by her professional 'rivals':

Over the course of the late 1910s and the 1920s, Alice Kauser broke new ground by representing scripts and actors in the motion picture business (Leonhardt, 2021, p. 200).

Thus, Rida Johnson Young's direct connection with two leading agencies which specialised in negotiating film licensing who had a vested interest in improving conditions for writers is, to say the least, extremely fortuitous, as reflected in her letter to 'My Dear Mr Shubert' on 11th April 1915:

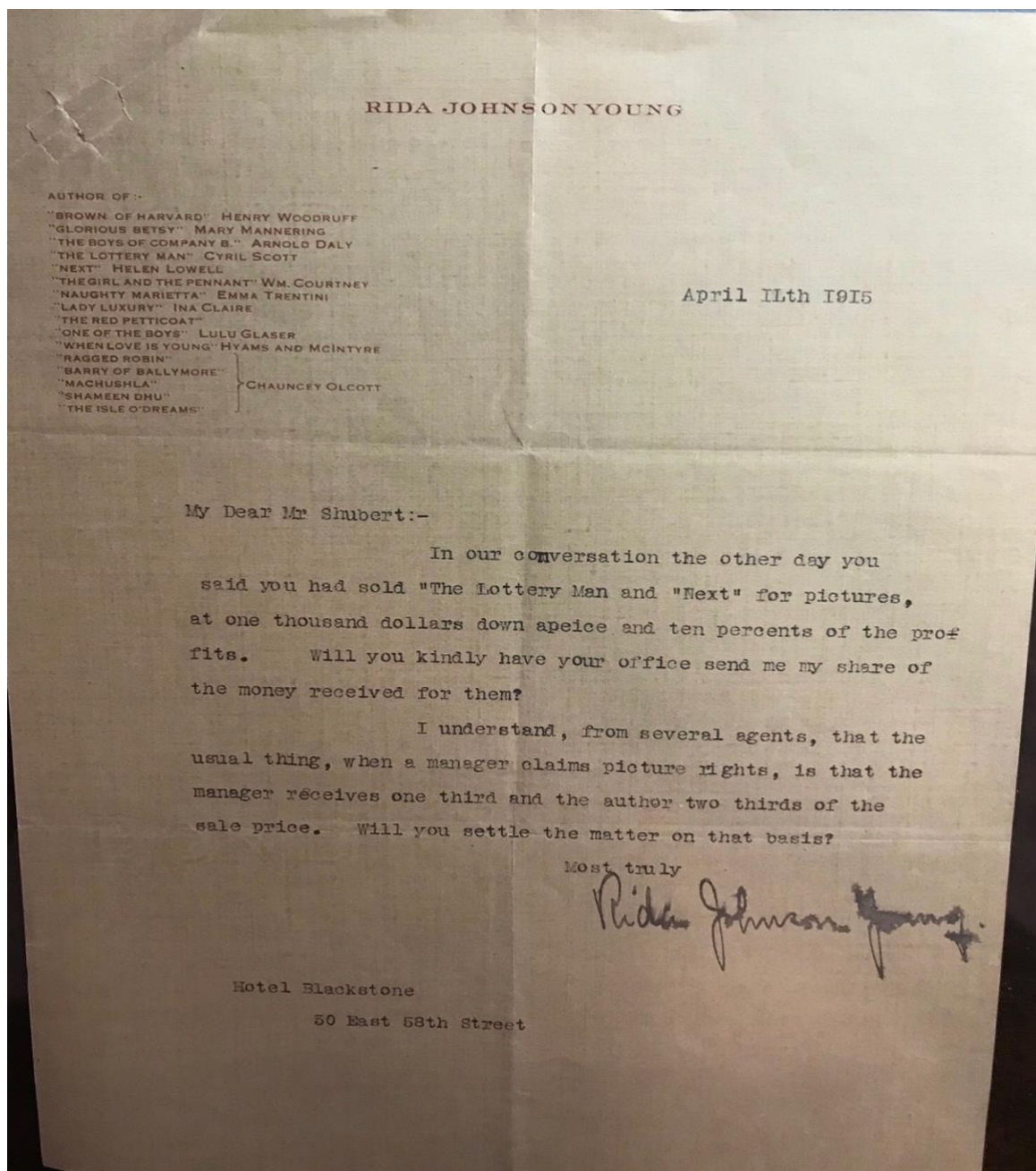


Figure 35. Source: Rida Johnson Young. General Correspondence file. The Shubert Archive. Box 470. Appendix A, no.85

Prior to assessing the advantageous position enabled by Johnson Young's professional network described in her letter, we will start with an analysis of the underlying hermeneutics communicated on the page. Whilst it was common practice during this period for a professional to use letterheaded paper, the correspondence files show that Rida Johnson Young was not averse to using plain paper or complimentary stationery from the hotels at which she resided during the season. The stationery used for this letter is embossed in dark red with her name capitalised in the centre; aligned in smaller print to the left and taking up no small part of the page is a list of the shows she has had produced on Broadway along with the name of the star with which each show was closely associated. The typewritten address at the foot of the letter reveals that Johnson Young is residing at Hotel Blackstone, 50 East 58th Street, close to Madison Avenue and therefore an address where complimentary stationery would doubtless have been close to hand. The motivation to use expensive notepaper which simultaneously advertises the author's success, becomes apparent when considering the detail of what's at stake in this exchange.

Since Rida Johnson Young and Victor Herbert's success with *Naughty Marietta* in 1910, she had since achieved four further shows on Broadway with three different producers, only one (*The Red Petticoat*) had run for the requisite performances to rate as an 'in-between' success, and the Shuberts who had produced this one relative success had also backed its precursor, the play *Next!*, which had failed. The Shuberts subsequently leased one of their theatres for the run of a third show (*The Girl and the Pennant*) which had also proved unsuccessful (see Table 17):

No.	Production	Libretto/ Lyricist/ Playwright	Composer	Producer	Theatre & Year	Format	Total Perfs
1.	Next!	Playwright: RJY	n/a	Messrs Shubert	Daly's, 28 th Sept 1911	'Comedy drama in 3 acts'	18
2.	The Red Petticoat	Libretto & lyrics: RJY and Paul West	Jerome Kern	Messrs Shubert	Daly's, 13 th Nov 1912	'musical comedy in 3 acts'	61
3.	The Girl and the Pennant	Playwright: RJY and Christy Mathewson	n/a	Selwyn & Co	Lyric 23 rd Oct 1913	Comedy	20
4.	Lady Luxury	Libretto & lyrics: RJY	William Shroeder	Fred C. Whitney (at a Shubert Theatre for the run)	Casino, 25 th Dec 1914	'musical comedy in 2 acts'	35

Table 17: Illustration of the Shubert's investment with Rida Johnson Young 1911-1914 (Poggi, 1968; Coleman, 1993; Peck, 2009a)

Irrespective of the potential to recoup costs beyond the initial run, this sequence of events suggests that the Shuberts would have been extremely mindful of their sizeable investment to date with Rida Johnson Young and that further negotiation with them by her would involve a carefully considered approach and her letter reveals the invaluable advantage of her behind the scenes network.

To return to the contents of the 1915 letter, it is clear that Shubert has discussed a deal he has brokered regarding both *The Lottery Man* and *Next!* with an unnamed film company which, it appears, he did not first discuss with Johnson Young. The interesting point to note here is, even if the first, more successful show (*The Lottery Man*) did not have a specifically binding clause relating to subsidiary rights, the contract note of 1911 (Figure 34) most certainly did, and even though *Next!* failed at 18 performances, the producer had formally agreed 'we cannot sublet or assign any of our interest without her consent' and this letter, in alerting Shubert to a potential breach of contract, is providing him effectively with a *quid pro quo* offer for a share of the deal. It is in the second paragraph where Johnson Young's adroitness at

communication is revealed most keenly and also presents proof that she wasn't acting alone:

I understand, from several agents, that the usual thing, when a manager claims picture rights, is that the manager receives one third and the author two thirds of the sale price. Will you settle the matter on that basis? (Source: Excerpt, Appendix A, no.85)

In this statement Johnson Young not only implies her access to agents and thus knowledge of current rights regarding film negotiation, she nonetheless remains discreet as to the identity of her sources, a particularly pertinent consideration here when assessing the overtness of her demand. To add further context to her suggestion, Walsh notes that '[t]he fifty/fifty split on film and subsidiary rights had become, over the years, a common, though not mandatory, industry standard' (Walsh, 2001, p. 54). By suggesting the one third/two thirds share suggests this has been taken on advice as an opening gambit in order to settle with the 'industry standard' at a time in her career when the Shuberts, on paper, had appeared to have the upper hand (Table 17).

The 1915 letter also exhibits a facet of Rida Johnson Young's character in terms of the way she dealt with the news that a decision had been made about selling her intellectual property to a film company without her knowledge or consent. Rather than taking the matter up with Shubert at the time of the conversation, it appears she has gleaned as much information as possible from her producer, sought advice from her network and then followed up with a carefully constructed, well-presented letter presenting the facts in such a way as to establish a conversation regarding the negotiation of her rights. Steinberg writes that:

[I]n the case of communication, a timeless and durable structure is present in the process of persuasion. This structure or 'triptych' consists of a persuader

(communicator), a medium in which a message is embedded, and a persuadee (recipient). (Steinberg, 2006, pp. 5–6)

This deconstruction of the process of negotiation to its component parts highlights the importance of establishing the facts of the claim in writing in order for a process of persuasion to commence and the correspondence files reveal that there was indeed much to be gained through considered exchanges between the 'communicator' and the 'persuadee' as revealed in a letter from Rida Johnson Young three months later in July 1915:

July 30th 1915

My Dear Mr Shubert:-

I have received a very good offer from the Eastern Film Corporation for "Next" and "The Lottery Man". Now I know you don't want to keep me from getting this money, especially as I need the cash just at present. And I think that unless you can get me as good an offer at once, you should agree to my accepting this one.

They are willing to give two thousand dollars apiece for the plays to apply on a ten percent royalty. They will put Miss Lowell in the plays, which I think will help very much. This company is doing very good work and I am very anxious to do business with them.

Now please don't refuse. You have always expressed freindship for me and this is the time to prove it.

Best wishes

Most truly
Rida Johnson Young

Bowron Cottage
Pecksland Road.
Greenwich
Conn.

13820
- 13820
- 13820
- 13820

Figure 36. Source: Rida Johnson Young. General Correspondence file. The Shubert Archive. Box 470. Appendix A, no.86.

To take the underlying hermeneutics of this letter as a starting point, in contrast to the April 11th letter, it is immediately clear from the plain notepaper used by Johnson Young that this is a general business letter continuing an ongoing discussion wherein she is an equal participant. Although a business letter, its tone is informal and direct and is written in a persuasive voice with the intention of reaching an agreement on a much-improved deal that she (rather than Shubert) has negotiated with the Eastern Film Company for *Next!* and *The Lottery Man*. Steinberg asserts that:

A situation is made persuasive through the focus upon accomplishing something **predetermined** and **directional** with recipients. [...] Persuasion directs itself at problems of or opportunities for human action in the areas of the contingent and the probable (2006, p. 7). (bold type author's own)

Having established herself as part of the conversation directly with the film company in terms of brokering the deal, Johnson Young is intent on pursuing an improved agreement with Shubert, although his prompt reply the following day appears to resist her persuasive overtures, attempting to uphold his position as central negotiator in no uncertain terms:

Your favor of the 30th to hand. I have already arranged for the disposal of the two plays referred to, and will get contracts on September 1st. I think the price will be much better than the offer you have received. (Source: The Shubert Archive. Rida Johnson Young General Correspondence file. Box 470. Appendix A, no.87).

Whereas Shubert appears determined to maintain power-over his dramatist in this negotiation, the process instigated by Johnson Young appears to have created a conversation with the film company wherein a specific outcome is ultimately, successfully agreed and reveals just how Rida Johnson Young's intercession causes not only Shubert, but the Eastern Film Company to both become the 'persuadees' of her intent to achieve the best deal as revealed in a letter to 'Dear Mrs Young' on September 5th, 1915:

Enclosed please find check for \$1,000, being your share of the \$2,000 received from the Eastern Film Company on account of the picture rights of "NEXT". (Source: Rida Johnson Young. General Correspondence file. The Shubert Archive. Box 470. Appendix A, no. 91)

These exchanges during the spring/summer of 1915 demonstrate Rida Johnson Young's facility to remain centred on the immense value of subsidiary rights and her vested interest to retain control of her intellectual property. Fairly understandably, Shubert appears to have been more than satisfied with the former deal which, when accounting for the stated share of 'ten percents of the profits', would have doubtless admirably facilitated recoupment of losses accrued on the initial run of *Next!*. However, by overlooking his contractual commitment to gain Johnson Young's consent in his negotiations, Shubert's subsequent conversation gave her the right to pursue her vested interest which eventually worked in his favour.

6.3.7 The power of mutually beneficial negotiation

With the benefit of hindsight, it is worth considering this sequence of events through the prism of Lipman-Blumen's concept of connective leadership and how, as a result of Rida Johnson Young's intercession in a business negotiation, she demonstrated the power inherent in targeting not just her own but a mutually beneficial outcome. The analysis of her contractual correspondence has revealed an evolving profile of an impressive business negotiator cognizant of the value of her creativity and its inherent value beyond the Broadway stage. Honing her skills not just as a dramatist but as a negotiator who had the power-to network within an industry that was heavily weighted in favour of the producer, her power-to negotiate was ultimately enabled by the collective empowerment of a mutually supportive business network influenced by

extraordinary mediators such as Elisabeth Marbury. Amy Allen summarises the influence of positive networking in relation to female empowerment as follows:

[i]nsofar as women may use their power to empower others, the ultimate goal of this particular use of power is to render itself superfluous. According to this view, power is the ability to transform and empower others by nurturing and caring for them in such a way that they are ultimately able to be powerful themselves. (Allen, 1999, p. 21).

This perspective will now be continued in respect of Dorothy Donnelly's approach to her business dealings, beginning in 1916 when she was making the transition from leading Broadway actress to honing her skills as a professional playwright.

6.4 Dorothy Donnelly: personal and professional connective leadership

To follow on from Allen's perspective of positive networking to empower others, Jean Lipman-Blumen writes that 'for many females, connecting to, caring for, and taking responsibility for mediating the conflicting needs of others indicate adult success and provide a sense of safety' (Lipman-Blumen, 1992). This viewpoint is particularly pertinent in respect of Dorothy Donnelly's commitment not just in respect of her affiliation with voluntary and professional guilds but to her own family circle and how it impacted her career. Donnelly's biographer, Lorraine Arnal McLean writes that 'Dorothy made certain that her nephew, Ambrose McCall, and his five children were never in want' (1999, p. 98). This aligns itself within the Lipman-Blumen connective leadership prism of relational achieving style which lends itself well to understanding the heart of Donnelly's negotiational and collaborative approach, as shown here in Figure 37:

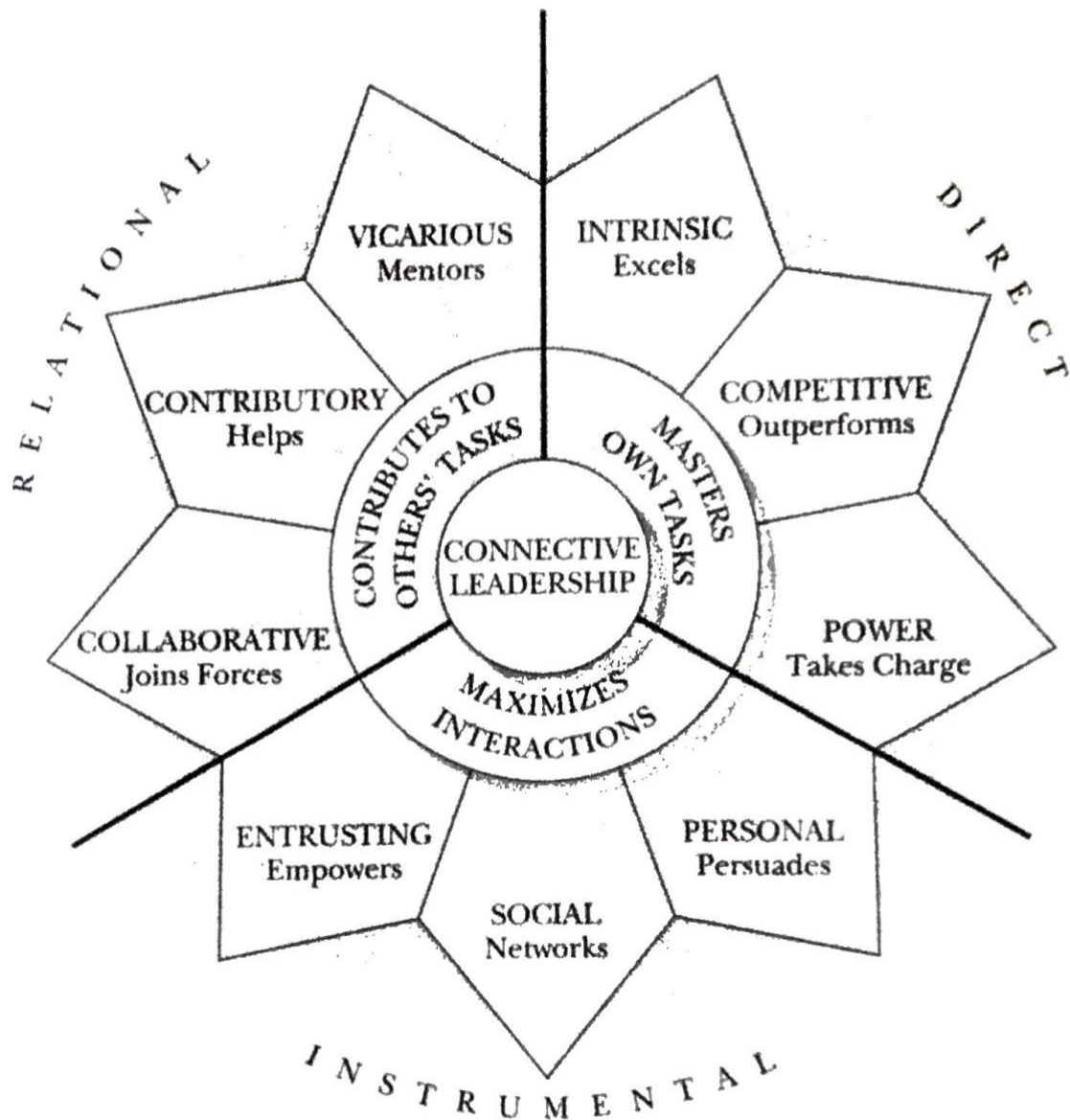


Figure 37. L-BL Achieving Styles Model (Lipman-Blumen, 2000)

As will be shown later in this chapter, the list of guilds and unions with which Donnelly was associated were clearly not just for her own professional advancement although, by association, membership created its own mutually supportive network. As outlined in Chapter Five (5.2 The writer/producer relationship) Donnelly was represented by Mary Kirkpatrick who was considered one of the leading agents of the day and listed as such in a guide to writing vaudeville in 1915:

6. Important Lists of Addresses

SOME OF THE MORE PROMINENT PLAY
BROKERS

AMERICAN PLAY COMPANY, 33 W. 42d St., New York
MARY ASQUITH, 145 W. 45th St, New York
ALICE KAUSER, 1402 Broadway, New York
DARCY AND WOLFORD, 114 W. 39th St., New York
KIRKPATRICK, LTD., 101 Park Ave., New York
MODERN PLAY Co., Columbus Circle, New York
LAURA D. WILK, 1476 Broadway, New York
GEORGE W. WINNIETT, 1402 Broadway, New York
PAUL SCOTT, 1402 Broadway, New York
SANGER AND JORDAN, 1430 Broadway, New York
MRS. M. A. LEMBECK, 220 W. 42nd St., New York

Figure 38. List of Prominent Play Brokers as compiled by Brett Page (Page, 1915, p. 405)

As well as being supported by a leading dramatic agent, the correspondence additionally shows that her nephew, Ambrose Victor McCall, was not only executor of her estate after her untimely death in 1928 but was also actively involved in his aunt's business interests as revealed here in a Shubert office memo on 20th May, 1926:

Mr. McCall, Dorothy Donnelly's representative, was in to see me several times about the STUDENT PRINCE LONDON royalties. [original capitalised title]
(Source: Dorothy Donnelly. The Student Prince Correspondence. The Shubert Archive. Box 3030. Appendix A, no. 230)

As Donnelly had provided support in his earlier years, it is likely McCall would have offered his services to his aunt as a genuine act of reciprocity as his career path

suggests little reason for him needing the work. After graduating from Fordham University, McCall went on to become a prominent attorney and an expert in estate and trust law and, while Assistant State Attorney General of New York, ‘he successfully prosecuted stock manipulators and effected the indictment of Richard Whitney, president of the New York Stock Exchange [...] His work eventually led to the formation of the Securities Exchange Commission’ (1999, p. 159). To have such a well-informed and experienced attorney to assist in Donnelly’s contractual negotiations with the Shuberts was undeniably exceptional and extremely advantageous for Donnelly. Furthermore, consideration of the contractual correspondence from the viewpoint of connective leadership will demonstrate how the combination of Donnelly’s *relational*, Kirkpatrick’s *instrumental* and McCall’s *direct* achieving styles (Figure 37) each worked to impressive effect in brokering binding contracts which prevailed even in the decades following her death in 1928.

6.4.1 Dorothy Donnelly: the successful application of relational collaboration

As detailed in Chapter One, Dorothy Donnelly transitioned from leading Broadway actress to renowned playwright, starting with a published short story in September, 1908, eventually leading to her first collaborations as play-doctor and co-writer on Broadway eight years later in 1916 (1999, pp. 106–115). As can be seen from Table 5, Donnelly’s first two Broadway excursions (*Flora Bella*, 1916; *Johnny Get Your Gun*, 1917) were both produced by John Cort, who in 1910 became President of the newly formed National Theatre Owners’ Association whose aim it was to stand ‘absolutely for independent organization’ and break the hold of the ‘Syndicate Six’ monopoly and was reported to be endorsed by the Shuberts (Editorial, 1910a). At 115 and 80 performances respectively, these first two collaborations were relatively

successful for Donnelly and it was during this time that she also started to accept commissions from the Shuberts as a play-doctor (1999, p. 108):

No.	Production	Libretto/ Lyricist/ Playwright	Composer	Producer	Theatre & Year	Genre	Total Perfs
1.	Flora Bella	Librettist: Felix Doermann. Adapted by Donnelly & Cosmo Hamilton; Lyrics: Percy Waxman	Charles Cavillier & Milton Schwarzwald	John Cort	Casino, 1916	'operetta'	115
2.	Johnny Get Your Gun	Playwright: Edmund Laurence Burke (completed by Dorothy Donnelly)	n/a	John Cort	Criterion 1917	'play'	80
3.	Fancy Free	Libretto: Donnelly & Edgar Smith. Lyrics: Augustus Barratt with additional songs by Clifton Crawford.	Augustus Barratt	Messrs Shubert	Astor, Casino, Bijou, 1918	'a musical in 3 acts'	116
4.	The Riddle	Playwright: Donnelly & Charlotte E. Wells	n/a	George Mooser	Harris, 1918	'play'	165
5.	Forbidden	Playwright: Donnelly	n/a	George Mooser	Manhattan Opera House, 1919	'play'	18
6.	Blossom Time	Libretto & lyrics: Donnelly	Franz Schubert & Sigmund Romberg	Messrs Shubert	Ambassador's, Jolson, Century, 1921-1923	'operetta'	592
7.	Poppy	Libretto & lyrics: Donnelly	Stephen Jones, Arthur Samuels. Additional music by John Egan. Featuring songs by: Howard Dietz, Irving Caesar,	Philip Goodman	Apollo, 1923-1924	'a musical comedy'	346
8.	The Proud Princess	Playwright: Donnelly with Edward Sheldon Closing out of town in Baltimore and never reaching Broadway, this was nevertheless a significant work as Donnelly and Sheldon re-worked the script into a libretto for an operetta, <i>My Princess</i> .	n/a	Not known	Baltimore, 1924	'a romance'	Closed in tryouts,
9.	The Student Prince In Heidelberg	Libretto & lyrics: Donnelly	Sigmund Romberg	Messrs Shubert	Jolson's, Ambassador's, Century, 1924-1926	operetta	608
10.	Hello, Lola	Libretto & lyrics: Donnelly	William B Kernell	Messrs Shubert	Eltinge & Maxine Elliott's 1926	'a musical comedy in 3 acts'	47
11.	My Maryland	Libretto & lyrics: Donnelly	Sigmund Romberg	Messrs Shubert	Jolson's & Casino, 1927	Operetta	312
12.	My Princess	Libretto & lyrics: Donnelly Based on the play by Edward Sheldon and Dorothy Donnelly.	Sigmund Romberg	Messrs Shubert	Shubert, 1927	Operetta	20

KEY: Produced by **Shuberts**; musical show = ; 'in-between' = ; 'flop' = ; 'hit' =

Table 18: timeline of Dorothy Donnelly's work as a dramatist highlighting range of success and work associated with the Shuberts (Poggi, 1968; Coleman, 1993; McLean, 1999; Peck, 2009a).

It is interesting how Table 18 reveals Donnelly's propensity for working with others in the early days of her work as a librettist and lyricist. In this transitional period from actress to dramatist, it appears that as well as working as a play-doctor she built her knowledge as a professional writer by collaborating with others, her first four Broadway productions all being co-written. That her fifth and first solo work proved less than successful could be due to the subject matter (set in Germany during WW1), that it opened five days before Christmas 1919 and was presented at the Manhattan Opera House, described by leading drama critic Alexander Woollcott as 'a play of the occupation' in a badly located theatre:

All of which goes on not in the theatre area, where it belongs, but down in the cavernous Manhattan Opera House, where "Forbidden" was obliged to find shelter in the shortage of stages (Woollcott, 1919).

However, Donnelly's next work, *Blossom Time*, was produced by the Shuberts and proved an outstanding success, effectively marking the end of her relatively lengthy apprenticeship as a dramatist. When reflecting on Donnelly's inclination for working with voluntary and professional groups, it suggests the decision to work in collaboration with more experienced writers at the beginning of her writing career was of her own making and the subsequent advantages gained by her early collaborative work environment and the ongoing influence of transformational support ultimately empowered her to become a success in her own right.

6.4.2 Contract negotiation as a successful dramatist

In Chapter Five (5.5.2 Conflict or Collaboration) we analysed the wider implications of J.J. Shubert's letter of 21st August 1922 to Dorothy Donnelly wherein it is established in the opening line that Dorothy Donnelly had already completed 'the Prologue and the first and second act of "Alt Heidelberg" (*The Student Prince*).

Taking into consideration the time required to complete any such work, it is intriguing to discover a signed copy of the contract, set out in just over one page, agreeing the terms of their collaboration, and it is dated 'New York, August (space) 1922' as shown here in Figures 39-40:

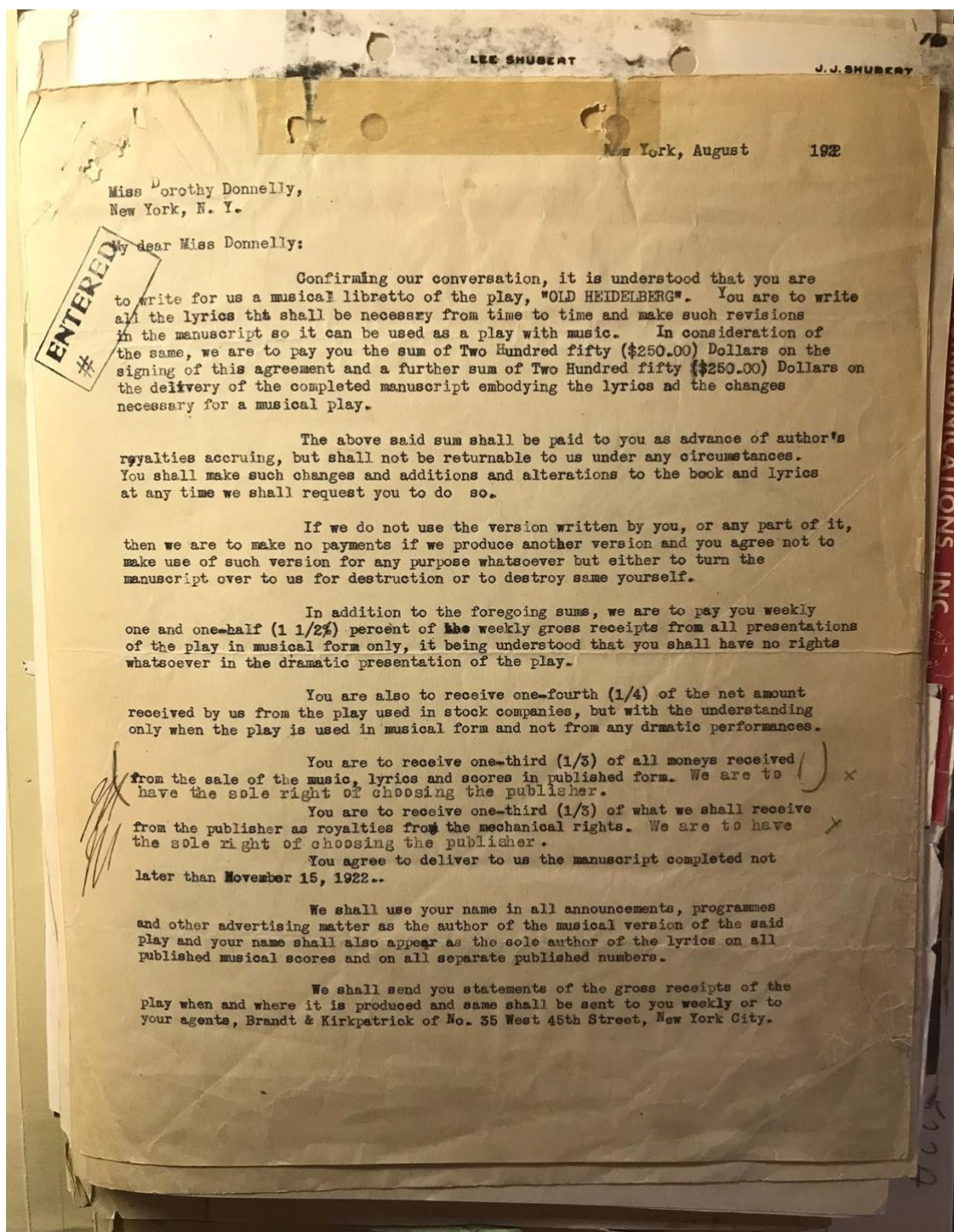


Figure 39. Source: The Student Prince files. The Shubert Archive. Box 3030. Appendix A, no.223.

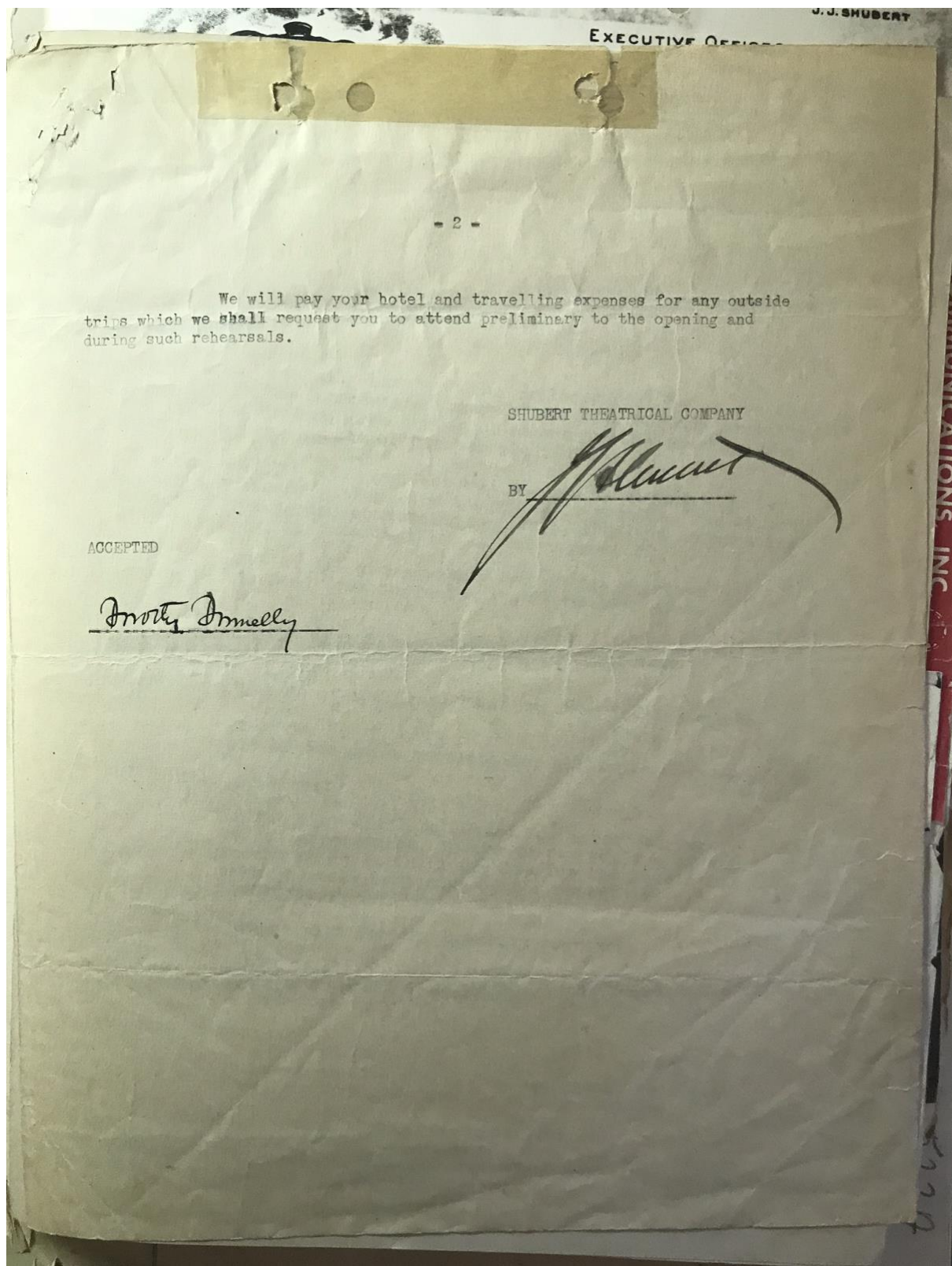


Figure 40. Source: The Student Prince files. The Shubert Archive. Box 3030. Appendix A, no.223.

Scrutiny of this paperwork immediately directs the reader to the fact that the specific day of the month has been omitted not only from the heading but also within the body of the contract. Whether this contract was signed by both parties at the beginning of August or at any other time during the month is open to speculation, but it is clear from the letter that Dorothy Donnelly had completed a significant amount of work on the play up to the third week of August and since J.J. confirms in the letter that this is the first time he has seen the substantive work ('I am sorry you did not consult me before going so far') emphasises the necessity for a signed agreement on both sides.

Reflection on the content of the 1922 contract in comparison with both Blanche Merrill and Rida Johnson Young's agreements firstly demonstrates how three contracts can vary so greatly and echo Lee Shubert's assertion that 'managers would treat with authors individually and in no other way [...] to get the best and most he could' (1947). This contract also raises another intriguing consideration in that whereas the Blanche Merrill document from 1919 has been tailored overwhelmingly in favour of the producer, Rida Johnson Young's outline agreement in 1911 appears on the surface to be superior to Donnelly's agreement insofar as it details the specifics beyond royalties, does not cede to the producer publishing or operatic rights and states categorically 'we cannot sublet or assign any of her interest without her consent'. This is not to suggest that Donnelly's contract isn't as well calculated as Johnson Young's, but it is clearly negotiated with a focus on income derived from royalties of all nature (including stock), recognition in all printed material and accounting of all receipts. A notable clause however is framed in the fourth paragraph wherein the Shuberts agree to pay Donnelly one and a half percent of the

weekly gross receipts ‘from all presentations of the play in musical form’, which, should the production prove a success, would amount to a sizeable income, particularly bearing in mind that this payment would be ‘from all presentations’, and not limited to a single run on Broadway. The absence of an exact date on this contract and initialled amends in paragraphs 6 and 7 lead one to consider that this paperwork, rather than being brokered in the first instance by Ambrose McCall, was initially overseen by her agent:

We shall send you statements of the gross receipts of the play when and where it is produced and same shall be sent to you weekly or to your agents, Brandt & Kirkpatrick of No. 35 West 45th Street, New York City.

The noticeable absence of a clause in the contract relating to subsidiary rights such as film and broadcast is perhaps explained by a letter from the Shubert’s attorney William Klein in 1938 (Figure 41) suggesting its absence in *The Student Prince* contract may have been related to an ongoing debate within The Author’s League (and subsequently The Dramatists Guild). Thomas J. Walsh writes that even in 1915 ‘[t]he money was so significant that the League was advising playwrights to make a legal partnership with managers exclusively on this matter of film rights’ (2016, p. 76). William Klein’s letter, written more than a decade after Dorothy Donnelly’s death, suggests that *The Student Prince* agreement, in not specifying other uses, did not mean it had been overlooked rather that it was a matter for further negotiation at a later date, and in this case, by Donnelly’s attorney and executor of her estate:

May 25th, 1938.

RE:DOROTHY DONNELLY ESTATE

My dear J.J.:-

I have not concluded the agreement with Mr. Ambrose V. McCall, with respect to the Dorothy Donnelly rights, because I have not been able to get as good a contract as I had hoped for.

According to our records she worked on the following plays:

Blossom Time
Student Prince
My Maryland
Charm School
Hello Lola (Seventeen)
Melting of Molly
Circus Dame (Lady of the Circus)
Fancy Free
Forbidden

All McCall will dispose of are the following:

Blossom Time
Student Prince
My Maryland
Charm School
Hello Lola

I attempted to get him to part with the actual rights but the only agreement that he will make is to sell us the future royalties (but not the rights) for \$2500. and that is limited to the speaking stage. The deal will only mean, therefore, that we will be relieved of paying the stipulated royalties on the plays mentioned for the limited sum of \$2500. Whenever there is a broadcast you will have account as in the past.

Cable me if this is agreeable and I will promptly close the matter.

Yours very truly,

Mr. J. J. Shubert

MRW:B

Wm Klein

Figure 41: Source. The Student Prince files. The Shubert Archive. Box 3030. Appendix A, no.195.

This letter is very telling in the fact that it reveals that it appears the producer was not always on the winning side of an agreement and shows how the introduction of a standard contract template would eventually be to both parties' benefit. A notable consideration here is also that Klein is negotiating with McCall in respect of what he refers to as 'the actual rights' for all Donnelly's work with the Shuberts and that:

the only agreement that he will make is to sell us the future royalties (but not the rights) for \$2500, and that is limited to the speaking stage. The deal will only mean, therefore, that we will be relieved of paying the stipulated royalties on the plays mentioned for the limited sum of \$2500. Whenever there is a broadcast you will have account as in the past. (Source. The Student Prince files. The Shubert Archive. Box 3030. Appendix A, no.195).

This paragraph makes quite clear that the Shuberts are being held not only to the letter in respect of the agreed royalties, but that any sale regarding future royalties would be 'limited to the speaking stage'. The final line, in alluding to 'broadcast' draws attention to the fact that whilst the 1922 contract didn't specify matters other than the 'speaking stage', usage in any other format was open to further negotiation.

6.4.3 Analysis and comparison of writer/composer income

As the executor of Dorothy Donnelly's estate, the records have already demonstrated Ambrose V. McCall's attention to her legacy well after her death in 1928 (Figure 41), particularly in relation to the management of her intellectual property and the safeguarding of her ongoing interests in perpetuity. McCall's attention to these matters resulted in requests for exact accounting of the books following her death (Appendix A. nos. 200-202) which triggered revealing statements relating to significant differences of negotiated income between Dorothy Donnelly and Sigmund Romberg as demonstrated in the examples seen at Figures 42 and 43:

DOROTHY DONNELLY

STATEMENT OF SHARE OF STUDENT PRINCE MECHANICAL ROYALTIES

PERIOD	Total Royalty 100%	Total Royalty 50%	Romberg Share 1/4	Royalty Received From Harms 3/8	Paid to D. Donnelly 1/3 of 3/8	Due D. Donnelly 1/3 of 1/2	Balance Due D. Donnelly
3/31/25	\$2,631.99	\$1,315.99	\$328.99	\$ 1,315.99	\$ 438.66	\$438.66	-
6/30/25	1,447.69	723.85	180.95	723.85	480.87	480.87	-
9/30/25	1,437.37	718.68	179.66	718.68			
12/31/25	3,629.83	1,814.92	453.74	671.58	223.86	604.97	\$381.11
3/31/26	2,486.55	1,243.28	310.83	932.45	310.82	414.42	103.60
6/30/26	1,272.38	636.19	159.05	477.14	159.04	212.06	53.02
9/30/26	808.76	404.38	101.10	303.28	101.09	134.79	33.70
12/31/26	1,116.63	558.31	139.57	418.74	139.58	186.10	46.52
3/31/27	891.47	445.73	111.43	334.30	111.43	148.57	37.14
6/30/27	359.65	179.82	44.96	134.86	44.95	59.94	14.99
9/30/27	420.91	210.45	52.61	157.84	52.61	70.15	17.54
12/31/27	580.49	290.24	72.56	217.68	72.56	96.74	24.18
3/31/28	433.37	216.68	54.17	162.51	54.17	72.22	18.05
	<u>\$17,517.09</u>	<u>\$8,758.52</u>	<u>\$2,189.62</u>	<u>\$6,568.90</u>	<u>\$2,189.64</u>	<u>\$2,919.49</u>	<u>\$729.85</u>

3-28-29

KEY: Donnelly 1/3 share of 50% = ; Romberg 1/4 share of 50% = ; Donnelly 1/3 share from Harms 3/8 = :

Figure 42. 1929 statement of share of *The Student Prince* mechanical royalties, highlighting Donnelly and Romberg percentage payments.
(Source: Dorothy Donnelly. The Student Prince folder. Box 3030. The Shubert Archive. Appendix A: no. 198)

G-MUND R.

STUDENT PRINCE

<u>W. E.</u>	<u>Gross</u>	<u>Donnelly's</u> <u>1 1/2%</u>	<u>Romberg</u> <u>1%</u>	<u>Share of \$300 royalty</u> <u>as per contract</u>	
				<u>Donnelly</u> <u>1/4</u>	<u>Romberg</u> <u>1/6</u>
Oct. 24	\$17,199.75	\$258.00	\$172.00	\$75.00	\$50.00
31	14,541.50	218.12	145.42	75.00	50.00
Nov. 7	10,316.25	154.74	103.16	75.00	50.00
14	12,391.50	185.87	123.92	75.00	50.00
21	9,945.80	149.19	99.46	75.00	50.00
28	17,704.50	265.57	177.05	75.00	50.00
Dec. 5	16,864.10	252.96	168.64	75.00	50.00
12	12,704.25	190.56	127.04	75.00	50.00
	<u>\$111,667.65</u>	<u>\$1,675.01</u>	<u>\$1,116.69</u>	<u>\$600.00</u>	<u>\$400.00</u>

12-15-31

Figure 43. 1931 statement of share of *The Student Prince* gross receipts income, including \$300 royalty 'as per contract' (Source: Sigmund Romberg. *The Student Prince* folder. The Shubert Archive. Appendix A: no. 252)

Having scrutinised the 1922 contract and the specifics of the mechanical royalty percentages it is edifying to see the implications of the negotiated contractual percentages as resultant income on a spreadsheet (Figure 42), particularly when compared to the agreed payments applied to Sigmund Romberg where it is immediately clear that the sums due Donnelly are considerably greater. For example, Dorothy Donnelly receives a one third share of 50% of the gross royalty received compared to Sigmund Romberg's quarter share of 50%; Donnelly receives a one third share from the agreed three eighths share of the Harms Publishing income, compared to zero paid to Sigmund Romberg.

The implications of the fourth clause in the 1922 contract are revealed in Figure 43 which presents a statement of week ending gross receipts due to both parties from the period running October to December 1931 (this statement appears to relate to a revival seven years after *The Student Prince* first opened on Broadway). This spreadsheet once again reveals Donnelly's enhanced negotiation to that of the composer in her receipt of one and a half percent of the gross receipts to Romberg's one percent share. However, whereas this statement is clear insofar as it highlights the fourth clause of Donnelly's contract, it also points to what may be an accounting error by the Shubert finance department in allocating Donnelly an additional one quarter percent 'share of \$300 royalty as per contract'. This observation highlights an inevitable downside to negotiating individually tailored contracts which would result in complicated accounting giving rise to occasions of lack of clarity on the part of the Shubert finance department, often manifested in internal correspondence between Ira Helstein's department, J.J. Shubert and their legal representative, William Klein (Appendix A. nos. 201; 202; 239; 240; 241). Whichever is the case,

this statement once again underlines the undeniable fact that Dorothy Donnelly had secured a superior contract overall to Sigmund Romberg and that it continued to provide a sizeable income to her estate even after her death.

6.4.4 Interpreting the implicit implications of *The Student Prince* statements

The royalty documents relating to Dorothy Donnelly's financial affairs with the Shuberts are of particular interest on various levels. In the first instance, as an example of effective negotiation on behalf of a successful writer, they demonstrate the considerable difference in income derived from the negotiated percentage split in royalties between the two parties. Further, the prerequisite brought about by probate after her death, necessitated the accounts to be presented in such a way as to unwittingly create a table of comparison between writer and composer which showcased Donnelly's superior negotiations over those of Romberg. This in itself also highlights a common industry practice whereby producers hired staff writers who, at the same time as providing them with a regular income, restricted their facility to negotiate for anything other than the employment terms they were offered (Teichmann, 1972b, p. 76). Romberg's biographer, William A. Everett, writes that Romberg became a full-time staff composer in 1914 and that:

Romberg's relationship with the Shuberts vacillated between extremely cordial and unbearably tense. The brothers were exceptionally strong-minded and even ruthless in their business dealings -- they could not have dominated the theater industry as they did if they were not forceful. Romberg owed them a great deal; after all, they provided him with his first employment as a professional musical theater composer. [...] Romberg, like everyone associated with the Shuberts, had to walk a fine line (Everett, 2007, p. 46).

To reinforce this statement, the Shubert records show that Romberg was asked on more than one occasion to accept buyout deals on foreign rights after a show had proven successful (Appendix A no. 226, *The Student Prince*) and to take a cut in his

royalty percentage to rectify an issue with a publishing contract (Appendix A. no. 215, *Blossom Time*). It also appears that the culture of compromising or undercutting where possible pervaded working practices within the company, underlining Everett's assertions and highlighting Romberg's 'fine line' in maintaining his employment as shown in this memo between two staff members from 25th May, 1934:

INTER-OFFICE

To SJ

From MRW

Remarks:

May 25th, 1934.

RE: STUDENT PRINCE

I doubt if either of us can make any headway with Mr. Reinheimer who only will hold us up before Romberg signs anything. There is only one suggestion that I can make and that is Mr. Lee Shubert send for Romberg personally. He is much easier to handle without his lawyer.

Perhaps Mr. Lee Shubert can shame him into signing the paper in view of his acknowledgement in his letter of July 11th 1924 that he has no rights in motion pictures.

If it comes to a show down, however, we will have to pay him something if the deal depends on it.

Figure 44. Source: Sigmund Romberg. The Student Prince folder. The Shubert Archive. Appendix A: no.225

In the same way that Sigmund Romberg's terms of employment and Blanche Merrill's contract serve to illustrate Lee and J.J. Shubert's practice of getting 'the best and most', Rida Johnson Young's negotiations and *The Student Prince* royalty statements serve to exemplify a less than obvious hierarchy at play in the industry at this time whereby an individual's negotiating power is measured less by their gender and more by the intrinsic value of their prevailing creative output and subsequent wherewithal to negotiate for 'the best and most' on their own terms.

This set of circumstances present an interesting position in respect of the critical epistemological perspective of this research as, whilst one reality is indeed privileged, the balance of power in this instance is not specifically inclined toward gender-bias but it is rather more influenced by the privilege developed as a result of commercial leverage. This flexibility of the critical lens highlights Merriam and Tisdell's viewpoint that:

[I]n critical inquiry the goal of the study *in its findings or results* is to critique and challenge, to transform, and to analyze power relations (italics author's own) (2016, p. 59)

It is this reflection on the critical definition which pinpoints how both Allen and Lipman-Blumen's perspectives of power and connection enable insight into the power dynamics at work in both Johnson Young and Donnelly's contract negotiations, revealing the presence of their hitherto relatively unacknowledged alliances behind the scenes which served to enable their ultimate success. That is not to suggest that these alliances were unappreciated or overlooked, rather that their own involvement in the process manifested equal rewards, resulting in successful mutual goals across the board.

6.4.5 Anne Caldwell's power relations viewed from the consistency of successful collaborative alliances

Given the premise that the aim of critical inquiry is to critique, challenge and analyse power relations, the absence of contractual paperwork relating to Anne Caldwell primarily suggests any such attempts to form a critique would be merely speculative. However, Table 19 (below) shows that key relationships formed in her early writing career reveal particularly strong alliances. These alliances can be seen in relation to Caldwell's second husband and writing partner, James O'Dea; her regular writing partner and director, Robert Hubberthorne (R.H.) Burnside; the producer, Charles Dillingham, and two composers, Ivan Caryll and Jerome Kern. To add extra context, Burnside and Dillingham are reported to have worked successfully as associates for a total of 16 years both at the Hippodrome and The Globe theatres (NYPL, 1952). Table 19 (below) demonstrates that out of the 21 shows on which Anne Caldwell worked, just under two-thirds of them (13) were produced by Charles Dillingham and just under one third (6) were not only directed by R. H. Burnside but he collaborated on libretto and lyrics with Caldwell as well. Of the 21 productions, 18 of them were in musical comedy format, 10 of which ran for over 200 performances and, throughout her career, only three of Caldwell's shows ran for less than 50 performances on Broadway.

Table 19: Timeline of Anne Caldwell's work as a dramatist highlighting regular collaborators, producer and range of success 1907-1928.

No.	Title	Libretto/ Lyricist	Composer	Director	Producer	Theatre & Year	Genre	Total Perfs
1.	Top O' Th' World	Mark E. Swan (libretto) James O'Dea (lyricist)	Anne Caldwell and Manuel Klein	Frank Smithson	J.M. Allison	Majestic, 1907	Musical extravaganza	156
2.	The Nest Egg	Anne Caldwell	n/a	James R. Gary	L.C. Wiswell	Bijou Theatre 1910	Play in 3 Acts	55
3.	Uncle Sam	Anne Caldwell and James O'Dea	n/a	unlisted	Charles Dillingham	Liberty Theatre 1911	Farce comedy in 3 acts	48
4.	The Lady of the Slipper	Libretto: Caldwell with Lawrence McCarty; Lyrics: James O'Dea	Victor Herbert	R H Burnside	Charles Dillingham	Globe, 1912	Musical fantasy in 3 Acts	232
5.	When Claudia Smiles	Anne Caldwell; William Jerome, Jean Schwartz	n/a (Starred Blanche Ring)	Charles J. Winninger	Frederic McKay	Thirty-Ninth Street Theatre, 1914	Farce with songs	56
6.	Chin-Chin	Libretto: Caldwell with R.H. Burnside Lyrics: Caldwell with James O'Dea	Ivan Caryl	R H Burnside	Charles Dillingham	Globe, 1914	Musical fantasy in 3 acts	295
7.	Pom-Pom	Libretto: Caldwell Lyrics: Caldwell	Hugo Felix	George Marion	Henry W. Savage	Cohan, 1916	Comic opera in 2 acts	128
8.	Jack O'Lantern	Libretto and Lyrics: Caldwell and Burnside	Ivan Caryl	R H Burnside	Charles Dillingham	Globe, 1917	Musical Extravaganza in 2 acts	265
9.	She's a Good Fellow	Libretto: Caldwell Lyrics: Caldwell	Jerome Kern	Fred G. Latham	Charles Dillingham	Globe, 1919	Musical comedy in 2 acts	120
10.	The Lady in Red	Libretto: Caldwell Lyrics: Caldwell	Robert Winterberg	Frank Smithson	John P. Slocum	Lyric Theatre 1919	Musical comedy in 3 acts	48
11.	The Night Boat	Libretto: Caldwell Lyrics: Caldwell	Jerome Kern	Frank Smithson	Charles Dillingham	Liberty, 1920	Musical comedy in 3 acts	148
12.	The Sweetheart Shop	Libretto: Caldwell Lyrics: Caldwell	Hugo Felix Additional music: George Gershwin	Edgar J. MacGregor	Edgar J. MacGregor; William Moore Patch	Knickerbocker Theatre 1920	Musical comedy in 3 acts	55
13.	Tip Top	Libretto & Lyrics: Caldwell and Burnside	Ivan Caryl	R H Burnside	Charles Dillingham	Globe, 1920	Revue in 2 acts	241
14.	Good Morning, Dearie	Libretto: Caldwell Lyrics: Caldwell	Jerome Kern	Edward Royce	Charles Dillingham	Globe, 1921	Musical comedy in 2 acts	347
15.	The Bunch and Judy	Libretto: Caldwell and Hugh Ford Lyrics: Caldwell	Jerome Kern	Fred G. Latham	Charles Dillingham	Globe, 1922	Musical comedy in 2 acts	65
16.	Stepping Stones	Libretto: Caldwell and Burnside Lyrics: Caldwell	Jerome Kern	R H Burnside	Charles Dillingham	Globe, 1923	Musical comedy in 2 acts	241
17.	The Magnolia Lady	Libretto: Caldwell Lyrics: Caldwell	Harold Levey	Hassard Short	Henry Miller	1924	Musical comedy in 2 acts	49
18.	Criss Cross	Libretto: Caldwell and Otto Harbach (6.5.14)	Jerome Kern	R H Burnside	Charles Dillingham	Globe, 1926	Musical comedy in 2 acts with prologue	210
19.	Oh Please!	Libretto and lyrics: Caldwell & Otto Harbach	Vincent Youmans	Hassard Short	Charles Dillingham	Fulton, 1926	Musical comedy	75
20.	Take the Air	Libretto and lyrics: Caldwell and Gene Buck	Dave Stamper	Alexander Leftwich and Gene Buck	Gene Buck	Waldorf, 1927	Musical comedy in 2 acts	208
21.	Three Cheers	Libretto: Caldwell and Burnside Lyrics: Caldwell	Raymond Hubbell	R H Burnside	Charles Dillingham	Globe, 1928	Musical entertainment in 2 acts	209
KEY: Regular collaborator = ; Charles Dillingham = ; musical show = ; 'in-between' = ; 'flop' = ; 'hit' = 								

Source: (Poggi, 1968; Bordman, 1992, pp. 235–236; Coleman, 1993, pp. 199–201; The Broadway League, 2021; ibdb, Broadway World.com, Playbill.com accessed 9.11.21)

Scrutiny of Anne Caldwell's extremely successful tally of shows on Broadway in relation to her successful work relationships should also not overlook the leading composers with whom she collaborated. All of the names listed in Table 6 represent some of the most successful composers of the day, including Victor Herbert, Ivan Caryll, George Gershwin and Jerome Kern (with whom Caldwell collaborated on six shows).

Merriam and Tisdell note that documents of all types 'can help you uncover meaning, develop understanding, and discover insights relevant to the research problem' (2016, p. 106). The timeline of Anne Caldwell's Broadway shows, combined with scrutiny of her regular collaborators, reveals an impressive record that implies not only success but also productive relationships with her business associates and this is underscored by reported events in her personal life. On 12th April, 1914, James O'Dea's obituary notice announced his death at the age of 42 and reported his address to be in Rockville Centre, Long Island (Editorial, 1914c). At this point, and aside from song-writing, both he and Anne had worked on six Broadway shows (four in collaboration). A year after O'Dea's death in 1915, *Theatre Magazine* published an interview with Caldwell which included a photograph of the Caldwell/O'Dea house (Figure 45), which was captioned 'Anne Caldwell's Beautiful Home at Rockville Centre, Long Island, Built with her Royalties' (Patterson, 1915, p. 305).



Figure 45. Source: Image of the O'Dea/Caldwell home at Rockville Centre, Long Island in 1915 (p. 305)

Taking into account the unsubstantiated bias of the published caption, the image nonetheless provides substantive observational detail in parallel with the timeline of Caldwell's productive and successful work on Broadway.

Consideration of Caldwell's professional partnerships at this stage highlights a clear relational achieving style allied with the intent of Allen's 'power-to'. As with the relatively unheralded behind the scenes network discovered running throughout Johnson Young and Donnelly's careers, Caldwell's consistency in her writing alliances appears to forge a similar manifestation of successful collaborative relationships.

6.4.6 The successful application of achieving styles

This chapter has so far demonstrated how the advantage of supportive business relationships ultimately contributed to long-term positive outcomes for all three

writers in a highly competitive, unregulated industry. Lipman-Blumen describes achieving styles as:

simply the characteristic ways in which individuals go about getting things done -- the learned behaviours people use for achieving goals regardless of their substantive nature (1992).

Having established the successful application of learned behaviours in all three writers' personal business negotiations, we will now consider this in broader terms from the perspective of each writer's membership of emerging guilds and unions. Whilst formed in the first instance to support and improve industry conditions, we will also reflect on their distinct preferences for union and guild memberships, influenced potentially by their personal working networks and consider the positive impact sociability of membership contributed to the ongoing collaborative alliances of each writer.

6.5 The wider network and power-with

It is hardly surprising that playwrights in the early twentieth century sought to formalise a system to protect their intellectual property and re-balance the financial scales to better reflect their rights and creativity; it is also understandable that producers were equally keen to maintain the status quo. In his monograph on the four dimensions of power, Mark Haugaard asserts that '[i]n a successful exercise of power-over, the capacity for action, or power-to, is not only possessed by the more powerful but also the less powerful' (2020, p. 19). This is particularly relevant when considered in relation to the lone playwright's status within the nexus of power illustration from earlier in this chapter, which we can reconsider briefly here:

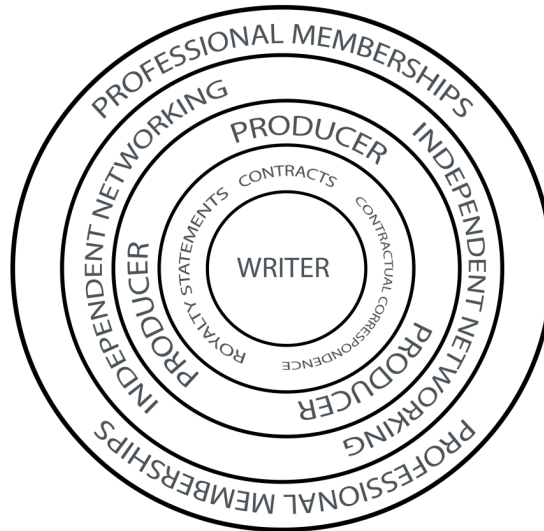


Figure 46. Revisiting the nexus of power illustration.

Figure 46 demonstrates how the less powerful can successfully negotiate their power-less status by joining forces to effectively overpower the dominant status of the producer to collectively negotiate for better terms. Of note here, is that the evolving theatrical guilds and unions were better able to establish a strong foothold as they had at their centre individuals who were established in their own right (George Middleton; Arthur Richman; Edward Childs Carpenter) and whose learned relational and instrumental behaviours maximised their interactions to create an effective framework of guidelines to protect writers across the board.

6.5.1 Rida Johnson Young and The Dramatists' Guild

Academic commentary on Rida Johnson Young's career to date has focused on her creative output, the inherent themes in that work and the apparent dyadic nature of her successful business affairs (Coleman, 1993; Engle, 2007; Rothman, 2008; Rothman *et al.*, 2008; Peck, 2009a, 2020). This chapter has considered evidence pointing to a wider sphere of reference, aligned to Stefanos Mouzas' perspective of networking which contends that 'negotiations rarely occur in isolation; instead each

negotiation affects and is affected by other negotiations that take place within networks of exchange relationships' (Mouzas, 2016). Johnson Young's interactions with her personal network of business connections exemplify the Mouzas' concept of exchange relationships, challenging her previously accepted dyadic profile as the lone business negotiator and reinforcing a more connective profile of an individual who exercises learned network behaviours to get things done.

Rida Johnson Young's highly-effective circle of respected business contacts (Charles & Daniel Frohman; Isidore Witmark; Alice Kauser) and the timeline of her negotiated business dealings runs parallel with a time when Unions and Guilds were in their infancy. Even though her earliest success in the industry was gained as a songwriter, her name does not appear in the ASCAP (American Society of Composers Authors and Publishers) membership records from its inception in 1914 or at any time up to her death in 1926 (Appendix B). However, the correspondence with the Shuberts bears witness to her insistence of ownership of work, presence in the rehearsal room and control of subsidiary rights (Appendix A, nos. 3, 22, 80, 88, 97). Figure 47 is an image from The Dramatists' Guild website (The Dramatists' Guild, 2021), listing the timeline of the Guild's formation and the clauses they fought to include in their Minimum Basic Agreement in 1926 (the year of Johnson Young's death). The image focuses on four key dates:

1. the formation of *The Author's League* in 1912;
2. the establishment of a sub-committee for dramatic writers in 1915;
3. the official naming of The Dramatists' Guild from the sub-committee in 1919;
4. a strike called to establish a Minimum Basic Agreement with subsequent successful negotiations resulting in the publication of the MBA in 1926.

The Guild Is Born

And so *The Authors League* was created in 1912, with a subcommittee for dramatic writers established in 1915, becoming The DG in 1919. By 1926, the membership had authorized a strike in order to establish a Minimum Basic Agreement, promising to withhold work from producers who would not sign it. Negotiations ensued with a newly formed Producers League and an enforceable contract the (MBA) resulted and was signed that year. The contract, called the MBA, provided for:

- Authorial ownership of copyright;
- No changes in text without permission;
- Approvals over artistic collaborators;
- Right to be present; and
- Control over dispositions of subsidiary rights, including film rights.

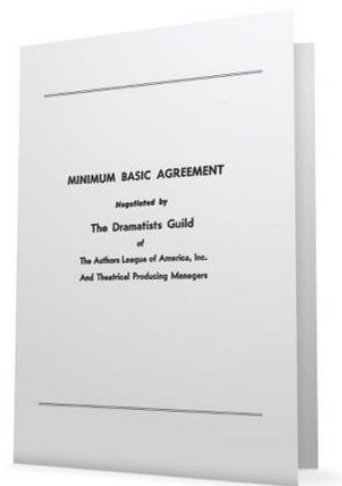


Figure 47. Timeline of The Dramatists' Guild formation and key MBA clauses.

The emerging timeline of The Dramatists' Guild and the development of the Minimum Basic Agreement runs parallel with the progression of Rida Johnson Young's increasing success on Broadway, each clause echoing the conditions and expectations dictated in her business correspondence from as early as 1910 (Appendix A). By 1919, when the Guild was formally named, Johnson Young was at the height of her success and her presence is recorded as a founding Council Member in George Middleton's memoir, listed here in Figure 48 (1947, p. 306):

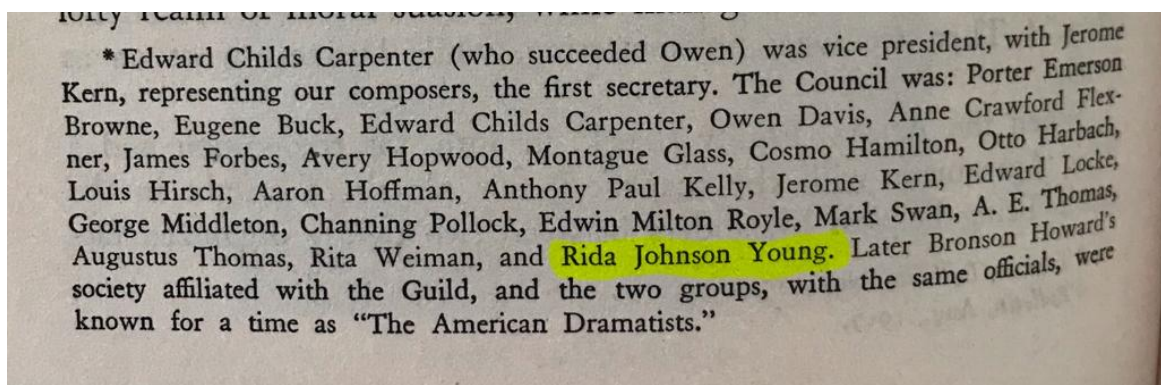


Figure 48. Footnote from *These Things are Mine* listing original Council Members of The Dramatists' Guild, 1919.

Johnson Young's place as a founding Council member of the new Guild is particularly noteworthy in respect of female inclusivity in professional associations on

Broadway during this period. By way of further context, in 1907, leading playwright Martha Morton had established The Society of Dramatic Authors which was formed in no small part to retaliate against the male closed shop of The American Dramatists' Club which had been founded in 1891 by Bronson Howard and denied her membership on the basis of her sex. Morton's new Society cleverly consisted of thirty-one charter members, all women except for playwright, Charles Klein, whom Morton described as 'a man of broad views and "scientific" principles' and, following Bronson Howard's death in 1908, the two societies joined forces to become The Society of American Dramatists and Composers with membership open to both sexes (Editorial, 1919b; Engle, 2007, pp. 13–50). The new Society was later renamed The Author's League of which The Dramatists' Guild was an off-shoot and at which Rida Johnson Young became one of three female founding Council members in 1919 (Figure 48). Of further note is that of the 23 names listed, internet searches reveal over half of them (Edward Childs Carpenter; Anne Crawford Flexner; James Forbes; Cosmo Hamilton; Otto Harbach; Avery Hopwood; Jerome Kern; George Middleton; Channing Pollock; Mark Swan; Augustus Thomas; Rida Johnson Young) to have either been represented by or worked with either Alice Kauser or Elisabeth Marbury over the course of their careers (Appendix C). That over fifty percent of the dramatists' listed as Council members in 1919 were associated with both Kauser and Marbury corroborates Strum's assertion that:

Marbury and Rumsey promised to work with the Author's League of America and The Society of American Dramatists and Composers (forerunners of The Dramatists' Guild and ASCAP) to make radical improvements in contract terms and conditions for authors (1989, pp. 274–276).

Whilst there is no doubt that Rida Johnson Young was impressively adept at handling her business affairs, consideration of her personal professional networking (as revealed in her correspondence) has revealed a broader sphere of connection

and mutual support developed as a result, echoing the ideology of connective leadership and its inherent power-to achieve mutual goals.

By considering Rida Johnson Young's contractual achievements through the prism of her well-maintained business contacts, has revealed a network of equally successful, like-minded individuals who created an organisation fixed on a mutually beneficial goal, negotiating away from their power-less nexus as individuals to successfully broker universally improved terms.

6.5.2 Dorothy Donnelly and the Stage Women's War Relief

Table 20 shows the twelve associations with which Dorothy Donnelly was involved during the course of her career. The table categorises the memberships into two main groups (Professional vs. Social/Political) and then sub-divides them into genre (acting; writing; charitable; political) to home in not just on motive but also to illustrate how great a part collaboration played in Donnelly's life as a whole.

Professional		Social/Political	
A	B	C	D
Acting	Writing	Charitable	Political
Actor's Equity	ASCAP	Stage Women's War Relief	New York Woman's Suffrage Association
Actor's Fund of America	Author's League of America	Women's Overseas Service League	Women's Democratic Union
Twelfth Night Club	The Dramatists' Guild	American Women's Club (London)	
		Speedwell Society	

Table 20. Dorothy Donnelly Professional Affiliations (Source: (McLean, 1999, p. 197)

Whereas columns C and D reflect Donnelly's social conscience and political awareness, there is a direct correlation with the professionally aligned groups in

columns A and B which reveal an individual who supported the rationale of power-with enabling a collective power-to make positive changes. Having considered Donnelly's preference for learning through collaboration, it is also interesting to note how the sociability of membership of a group formed for charitable support also had the power-to create reciprocal professional benefit for members through fellowship and this is illustrated below in a photograph of the founders of the Stage Women's War Relief in 1917:



Figure 49. Founders of the Stage Women's War Relief, 1917 (from left to right: Mary Kirkpatrick, Dorothy Donnelly, Jessie Bonstelle, Rachel Crothers, Elizabeth Tyree, May Budelay, Eleanor Gates).
Source: NYPL Digital Collections - Billy Rose Theatre Division Scrapbooks

Figure 49 shows an image of some of the key founding members of the Stage Women's War Relief (SWWR) which was formed in April 1917 to organise charitable giving in support of the war effort. Seated in the centre of the photograph is the organisation's President, playwright and director, Rachel Crothers. Seated at the far left of the image is the play-broker, Mary Kirkpatrick; standing next to Kirkpatrick is

Dorothy Donnelly. Donnelly's involvement in the SWWR came at a relatively early stage in her writing career when she was working as a play-doctor for the Shuberts whilst building her reputation as a dramatist with another producer, John Cort (Table 18). The photograph serves as a prime example of reciprocal professional benefit as a result of an association formed for a philanthropic purpose. The main work of the SWWR ran from 1917-20 and it is interesting to note that Mary Kirkpatrick, already noted as a leading play-broker in 1915 (Page, 1915, p. 306) would go on to represent both Rachel Crothers and Dorothy Donnelly during the same period. In Donnelly's case, this is revealed in the *Blossom Time (Dreimädelhaus)* memo from Lee Shubert in March 1920:

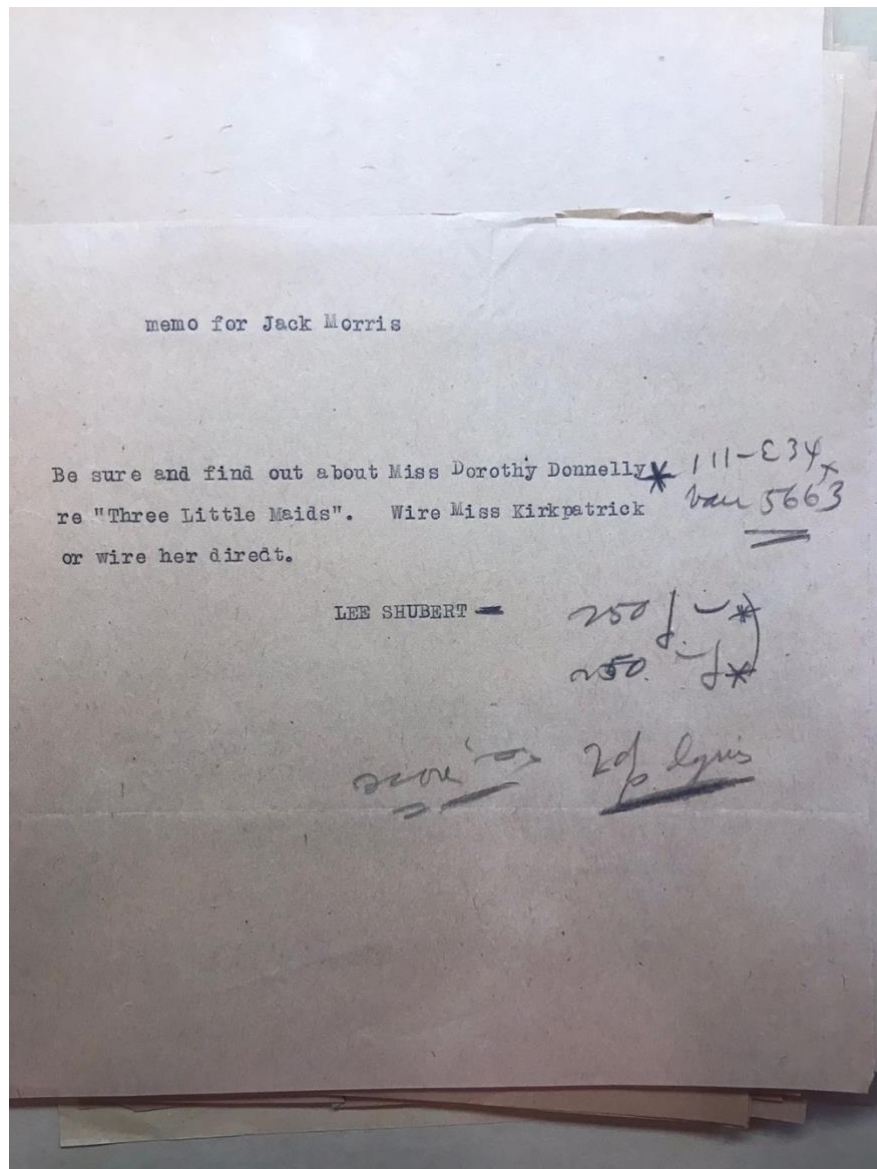


Figure 50. Internal Shubert office memo from Lee Shubert to Jack Morris, March 1920. (Source: The Shubert Archive; Blossom Time correspondence; Box 3030; Appendix A, 189)

In the case of Rachel Crothers, and according to scholar J.K. Curry, she had been working successfully with Lee Shubert as a director for many years, but that their professional relationship changed in 1918 when:

Correspondence in the Shubert Archive indicates that by 1918 Kirkpatrick was representing Crothers in some communication with the Shuberts and had a financial stake in the productions (Curry, 2005, pp. 68–69).

Seen through the prism of the Lipman-Blumen achieving styles model, the fellowship created by the formation of the SWWR provides a fascinating illustration of the

enhanced power inherent in a group formed in the first instance for philanthropic motives, which subsequently led to the broader sphere of professional advancement within the group by targeting mutually beneficial goals. Dorothy Donnelly's propensity for social and professional collaboration enabled a wide spectrum of contacts in her working life which appear to have impacted positively throughout her career both as an actress and dramatist with the negotiation associated with Kirkpatrick leading to *Blossom Time*, marking Donnelly's sixth Broadway production, her first solo written musical production and her biggest success to date:

No.	Production	Libretto/ Lyricist/ Playwright	Composer	Producer	Theatre & Year	Genre	Total Perfs
1.	Flora Bella	Librettist: Felix Doermann. Adapted by Donnelly & Cosmo Hamilton; Lyrics: Percy Waxman	Charles Cavillier & Milton Schwarzwald	John Cort	Casino, 1916	'operetta'	115
2.	Johnny Get Your Gun	Playwright: Edmund Laurence Burke (completed by Dorothy Donnelly)	n/a	John Cort	Criterion 1917	'play'	80
3.	Fancy Free	Libretto: Donnelly & Edgar Smith. Lyrics: Augustus Barratt with additional songs by Clifton Crawford.	Augustus Barratt	Messrs Shubert	Astor, Casino, Bijou, 1918	'a musical in 3 acts'	116
4.	The Riddle	Playwright: Donnelly & Charlotte E. Wells	n/a	George Mooser	Harris, 1918	'play'	165
5.	Forbidden	Playwright: Donnelly	n/a	George Mooser	Manhattan Opera House, 1919	'play'	18
6.	Blossom Time	Libretto & lyrics: Donnelly	Franz Schubert & Sigmund Romberg	Messrs Shubert	Ambassador's, Jolson, Century, 1921-1923	'operetta'	592

KEY: Produced by **Shuberts**; musical show = ; 'in-between' = ; 'flop' = ; 'hit' =

Table 21. (Excerpt of Table 5): Illustration of timeline of Donnelly's work as a dramatist up to her first recorded representation by play-broker Mary Kirkpatrick (1968; 1993; 1999; 2009).

The formation of the SWWR meant that Donnelly and Kirkpatrick either first came into close contact or were able to further forge their ongoing professional acquaintance as a result of their philanthropic motives which clearly led to a successful collaborative relationship. Mouzas writes that:

Taking a network perspective on negotiation increases our understanding of negotiation developments over time. As negotiators engage in give-and-take processes within interconnected business relationships, the bargaining effects are not limited just to the relationship with a particular counterpart, but can spread over time to other more distant relationships throughout the network (Mouzas, 2016)

Consideration of the sociability of the SWWR exemplifies the benefit of the broader network perspective, exemplifying the causal sequence of learned behaviours impacting in time on distant relationships throughout the network.

6.5.3 Anne Caldwell and ASCAP

Earlier in this chapter (6.4.5) we reviewed Anne Caldwell's power relations from the perspective of the consistency of her successful collaborative alliances and it is interesting to note how these relationships appear to have coalesced in their intent to support a newly founded Society. On 13th February, 1914, The American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers (ASCAP) was founded by Victor Herbert, Irving Berlin, John Golden, Raymond Hubbell, William Jerome and Silvio Hein (Appendix B) with the aim to collect royalties for the public performance of copyrighted materials (Pollock, 2014). Of the 78 individuals who joined in the Society's first year (Appendix B), Anne Caldwell, Elsie Janis (1889-1956) and Dolly Morse (1883-1953) were charter members and the first three women to join within ten weeks of ASCAP's inauguration. Caldwell, Janis and Morse's early membership of ASCAP in 1914 was therefore noteworthy for its message of inclusivity to both male and female writers, doubtless helped in no small part by Martha Morton's stand for inclusivity in the industry in 1907 and Marbury and Rumsey's pledge of support to all author's when they founded The American Play Company in the same year (Strum, 1989, pp. 274–276). Furthermore, considering the mindset of producers such as the Shuberts

to deal with dramatists according to their perceived market value rather than their sex, tends to suggest that any attempts to prolong the hard-set patriarchal traditions perpetuated by male networks ultimately undermined the essential ethos of any newly formed organisations seeking a fair deal.

In the same way in which we have considered how the working environments of both Rida Johnson Young and Dorothy Donnelly influenced their personal decision-making *vis à vis* their professional affiliations, scrutiny of the percentage of Anne Caldwell's collaborators who also joined ASCAP (particularly in its founding year) reveals a similar network perspective pattern. Table 22 (below) details the ASCAP joining dates of Anne Caldwell and her fellow Broadway collaborators. Of the eighteen lyricist/librettists and composers with whom she worked over the course of her career, twelve of them (66%) were fellow members of ASCAP, nine of whom joined in the Society's inaugural year, with eight charter members signing up along with Caldwell in the first three months.

Table 22. Anne Caldwell and fellow collaborators' timeline of ASCAP joining dates

No.	Name	Profession	Joining date
1.	Victor Herbert Founder	Composer	13.2.14
2.	William Jerome	Lyricist	13.2.14
3.	Raymond Hubbell	Composer and Lyricist	23.2.14
4.	Jerome Kern	Composer	5.3.14
5.	Jean Schwartz	Lyricist	5.3.14
6.	R.H. Burnside	Composer, Playwright/librettist Actor, Director, Producer	19.3.14
7.	Gene Buck (President. 1924-41)	Lyricist, Director, Illustrator, Producer	28.4.14
8.	Anne Caldwell	Lyricist, Librettist, Composer	28.4.14
9.	Otto Harbach	Lyricist and Librettist	6.5.14
10.	Dave Stamper	Composer and Lyricist	19.11.14
11.	George Gershwin	Composer	17.12.20
12.	Vincent Youmans	Composer and Producer	17.12.20
13.	Harold Levey	Composer, Lyricist, Musical Director and Performer	29.9.25

KEY: Joined in first 3 months of 1914= Joined in 1914= ; joined post 1914 = ;
Source: ASCAP files, Shubert Archive, Box 9, Folder 9; (Editorial, 1935).

Table 22 shows that Anne Caldwell joined ASCAP on 28th April, 1914, less than two weeks after the death of her husband, James O'Dea. Caldwell and O'Dea had been busy working on the Charles Dillingham production of *Chin Chin* with co-writer and director, R.H. Burnside, a fellow ASCAP charter member (elected 19.3.14). Scrutiny of the joining dates reveals an interesting pattern where individuals have joined on the same day, suggesting they may have met socially to sign up and pay their dues, particularly as the original meeting to form the Society in February was held at the Hotel Claridge on Broadway and 44th Street, situated on the southeast corner of Times Square in the heart of the theatre district (Pollock, 2014, p. 1).



Figure 51. Postcard image of Hotel Claridge, Broadway and 44th Street, New York. Source: Avery Classics Collection, Seymour B. Durst Old York Library Collection, Box no. 11, Item no. 330. URL: <https://dlc.library.columbia.edu/durst/cul:280gb5mkr2>

Scholar Bernice S Pescosolido writes that '[n]etwork interactions influence beliefs and attitudes as well as behaviour, action, and outcomes' (2006, p. 210). Whereas The Dramatists' Guild was formed to protect the rights of playwrights, including their involvement in the development of their work, share in royalties and profits in perpetuity, ASCAP's formation in 1914 was very specifically to protect performance rights for songwriters, composers and publishers. Analysis of Anne Caldwell's professional associations reveals she developed successful, enduring relationships with her collaborators, particularly with producer Charles Dillingham with whom she worked on thirteen Broadway shows, twelve of which were musical productions all

running in excess of 100 performances (Table 19). Caldwell's track record with Dillingham (and, by association, R.H. Burnside) suggests that membership of The Dramatists' Guild to have been less a priority, whereas the network interactions of the community of songwriters and composers with whom she regularly collaborated point to a collective influence of opinion in relation to the support of Victor Herbert's new association.

6.5.4 The inherent power of inclusive networks

The second half of this chapter has analysed each writer's networking choice beyond personal networking to the broader arena of improving not just individual rights but industry standards across the board and in perpetuity. We have also examined the learned behavioural styles of each writer and how the impact of their personal affiliations also influenced their individual priorities for membership of particular Unions and Guilds. A direct adjunct to this particular stage of the analysis has also revealed a transition from closed-shop, male only memberships of Guilds and Societies to inclusive membership for both sexes, negotiating terms on an equal footing regardless of gender and Rida Johnson Young and Anne Caldwell were both founding members of the two most significant associations formed in the industry at this time.

6.6 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to examine the ways in which Rida Johnson Young, Dorothy Donnelly and Anne Caldwell connected on two levels in their professional lives. In the first instance, we examined the manner of their negotiations by means of extant correspondence, evidence of their independent

networks (Johnson Young and Donnelly) and newspaper reports (Caldwell) evaluating the progress of their negotiating power in tandem with their Broadway successes. Amy Allen writes that:

Power-with is the sense that emerges out of Arendt's definition of power as "the human ability not just to act but to act in concert. Understood in this way, power is a collective ability that results from the receptivity and reciprocity that characterize the relations among individual members of the collectivity (Arendt, 1969; Allen, 1999, p. 126).

The content of the correspondence led to reflection on individuals referenced in the written exchanges, leading in the first instance to Elisabeth Marbury and Alice Kauser, two of the most influential female play-brokers on both sides of the Atlantic, whose *modus operandi* was allied to the positive reciprocity of connective leadership and the power-to target mutually beneficial goals. Dorothy Donnelly's propensity for collaboration in both her personal and business life brought forth an additional perspective of empowerment, highlighting the ways in which relationships formed from membership of philanthropically inspired groups, progressed beyond the boundaries of their original intent into enduring professional associations. Anne Caldwell's impressive record of regular collaborators reveals that, even after she was widowed, she maintained an extremely successful pattern of collaboration in line with Arendt's 'ability not just to act but to act in concert' (1969).

6.6.1 Re-evaluation of the nexus of power

At the beginning of this chapter, we set out to build on the findings of the correspondence in Chapter Five and to further consider the perceived imbalance of the producer-centric landscape from both the perspective of contractual correspondence, independent affiliations and membership of emerging Guilds and Unions. Contrary to previous assumptions (Peck, 2020, p. 142) this chapter has

revealed, and in line with Mouzas' assertions, that rather than being 'a dyadic, interpersonal process' (2016) successful negotiations develop rather as a result of learned behaviours in making positive connections which lead organically to the perspective of Allen's 'power-to' and Lipman-Blumen's framework of achieving styles. Figure 52 demonstrates the re-evaluation of the nexus of power (Figure 32) and the ways in which the connection of networking has re-aligned the inner circle ranking of the producer which is now positioned beyond its former dominating position close to the writer, out to the fourth band of the circle where he is enclosed by the influence of Pescosolido's 'network interactions', perfectly caught within the sphere of network empowerment (2006).

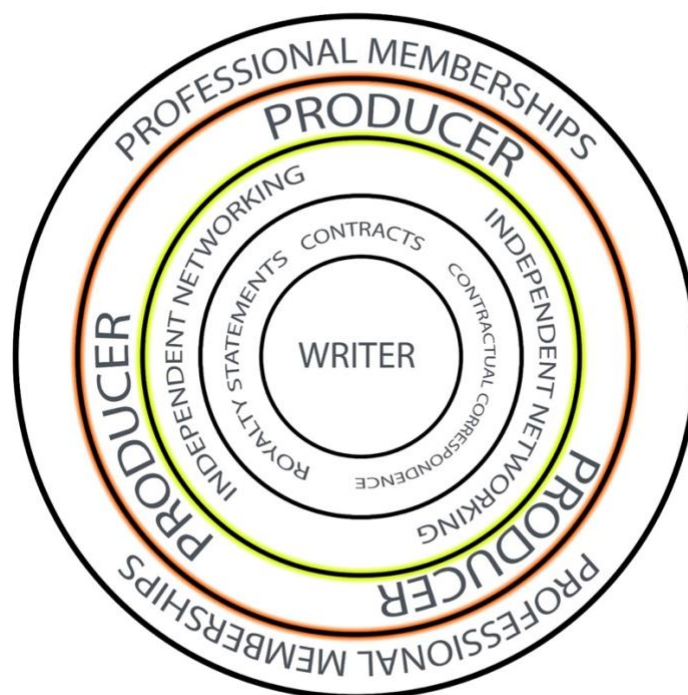


Figure 52. Re-evaluation of the Nexus of Power.

Sociologist and philosopher Georg Simmel wrote that '[s]ociety arises from the individual and the individual arises out of association' (1955, p. 163). This chapter has shown how learned behaviours lead to a form of achieving style which help

develop an escape route away from the notion of the power-less individual via the power-to network, thereby realigning the controlling status of the producer's power-over, moving towards an empowering, collective power-with to achieve mutually targeted goals. Figure 53 (below) serves to further demonstrate the dynamics of Allen's power triad and the infinite flexibility inherent in a network which works toward a common goal. The inherent power of networking, whether forged in relation to individual networking or through joining Guilds and Unions builds on countless connections and as many unforeseen opportunities as well as the mutually targeted goal of the original intention:

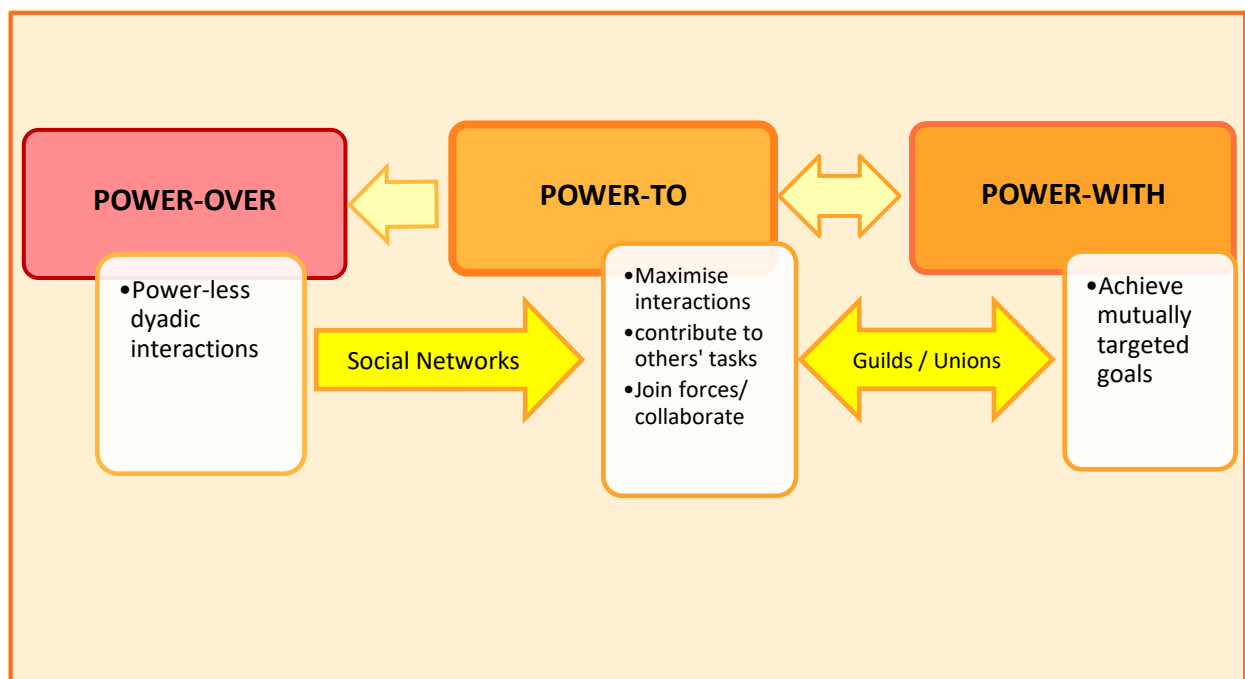


Figure 53. The inherent power of networking demonstrated through Lipman-Blumen's Achieving Style and Allen's power paradigm markers

Having established the power inherent in successful networking, we will now carry this forward to the final perspective of the Linguistic-Hermeneutic Paradigm of the research design (Method 2). Building on both Allen and Lipman-Blumen's models of power and achieving styles, we will direct the hermeneutic prism of the analysis

more specifically toward the sphere of language analysis to investigate the balance of male/female creative writing styles inherent in Johnson Young, Donnelly and Caldwell's jointly written Broadway shows with their male peers.

Chapter Seven: The Collaborations

7.1 Introduction

This chapter represents the culmination of the linguistic-hermeneutic analysis and will illustrate the ways in which the analysis of the collaborated works substantiates the prism of connective leadership through learned behavioural styles of networking and the development of the power-to/power-with paradigm. Chapters Five and Six have presented analysis of both Rida Johnson Young and Dorothy Donnelly's business correspondence, contracts and statements, along with close scrutiny of all three writers' networking behaviours, successfully illustrating both Methods 1 and 1a of the Linguistic-Hermeneutic Paradigm and this chapter represents the third and final stage of the analysis, defined in the design as Method 2 (highlighted in blue in Figure 54 below):

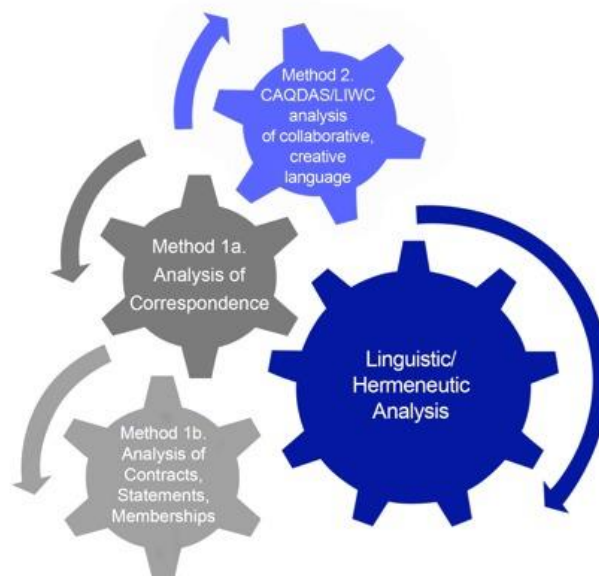


Figure 54. Highlighting Method 2 within the Linguistic-Hermeneutic Paradigm

The expectation for the outcome of the Method 2 analysis is that it will represent the more traditional perspective of hermeneutic scrutiny to evaluate collaboration in two ways: firstly, by means of surveying the written word through the process of LIWC text analysis and secondly by means of primary source handwriting comparisons of primary source scripts.

7.1.1 Text Analysis in action: amalgamating LIWC with primary source

Whilst this chapter is directly linked to Chapter Four (Text Analysis) the focus at this stage is on the collaborative work output, with the LIWC text analysis serving as the methodological tool employed within the Linguistic-Hermeneutic Paradigm to investigate evidence of male/female gender styles allied with primary source hand and typewritten samples which clearly identify collaborative work or distinctly identify the exact author on the page. To reiterate the Merriam and Tisdell view on employing multiple sources of data, it serves to shore up the internal validity of a study and create a system of triangulation and an effective strategy for cross-checking findings (2016, p. 244). As this study builds, there is an additional need for cross-referencing findings from other chapters to effectively strengthen the various strands of analysis from within the research design as a whole.

7.1.2 Organisation of the LIWC analysed collaborated works

Chapter Four outlines in detail the decision to include a control group of scripts (and song lyrics) to establish a standard from which to measure the collaborative outputs

with solo written work in the same manner as a scientific experiment in order to establish specific gender characteristics for each team profile.

Similar to chapters Five and Six, this chapter will consider the work of each writer in turn, referencing and cross-referencing detail from the LIWC text analyses with apposite primary and secondary source data to construct a detailed team profile of collaboration.

Due to the volume of scripts (33, with a combined total of 500,000+ words), the complete set of LIWC analysis charts (including controls) relating to each writer will be grouped into separate appendices:

- Rida Johnson Young: Appendix D
- Dorothy Donnelly: Appendix E
- Anne Caldwell: Appendix F

7.2 The Power-to/Power-with paradigm in collaboration

Whereas Chapter Six demonstrates the power of social and professional networking through the prism of the LB-L achieving styles model, this chapter will broaden the scope of the lens to illustrate the success of connective leadership in collaboration. Reflecting on each writer's collaborative relationships through the prism of the Linguistic-Hermeneutic Paradigm creates a focused platform of analysis from which to consider the overall critical perspective of the research subjects. Although each writer has thus far demonstrated distinct and individual working methods, they are still connected by the flexibility of the achieving styles model (Figure 55):

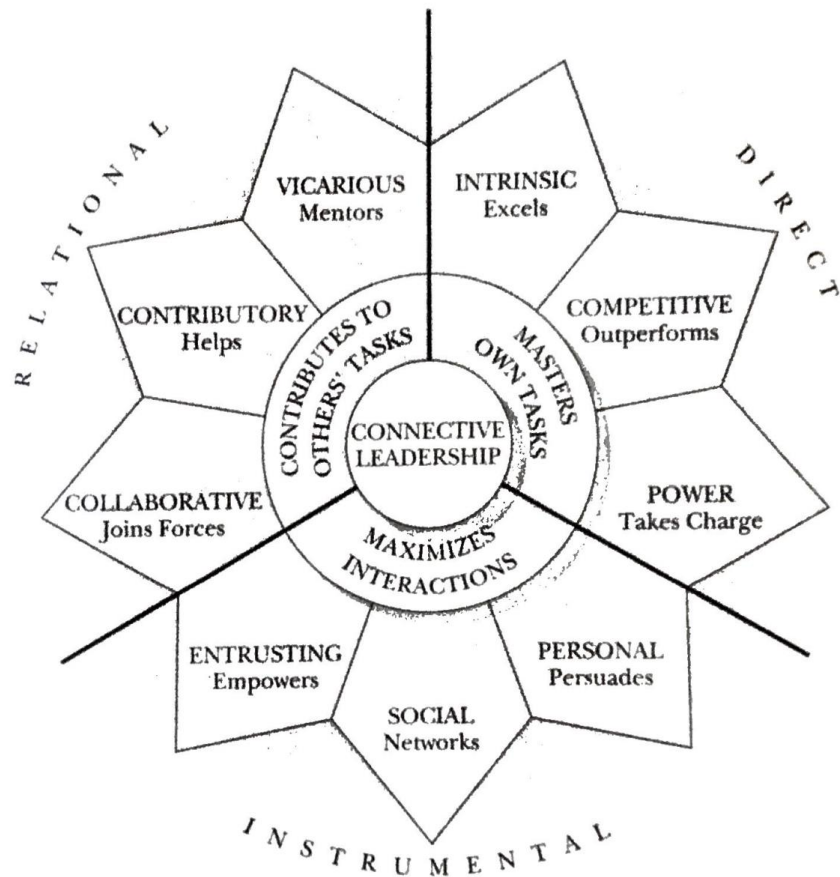


Figure 55. Reflecting on the L-BL Achieving Styles Model in relation to collaboration (Lipman-Blumen, 2000)

Lipman-Blumen's classification of communication styles in such clear and distinct categories compliments Allen's power-to/power-with prism and works to enhance the findings at the heart of the research question, most particularly in respect of the analysis of successful collaborative relationships. Jean Lipman-Blumen maintains that:

Connective leaders like to build enduring relationships with other leaders. They undertake joint enterprises as partners or collaborators, both intermittently and in steady, ongoing relationships. They are more likely to think of others as "colleagues," collaborators, "partners," "constituents," and "supporters" than as "superiors," "bosses," "followers," or "subordinates." (Lipman-Blumen, 2000, p. 237)

The aim of this chapter is therefore to demonstrate each writer's particular collaborative style in turn, cross-referencing evidence gleaned from the LIWC text analyses in tandem with primary and secondary source data. This chapter will therefore employ examples of the LIWC analyses to build on the current collaborative networking profiles to establish a greater perspective of the male/female power-with paradigm, balancing handwritten samples and the linguistic analyses enabled by LIWC. Where possible, scripts have been transcribed for this research from primary sources, with handwritten amends transcribed from the originals. In some instances, pdf files have been employed from already transcribed official sources such as the New York Public Library or files sent from fellow scholars; a small proportion of files have been transcribed from published scans/reproductions taken from original primary source and historical records.

In line with previous chapters, we will now consider each writer's collaborative work in turn, examining the ways in which their distinct learned behaviours worked in relation to their co-written partnerships.

7.3 Rida Johnson Young's collaborative 'form'

The review of Rida Johnson Young's creative output thus far has revealed that of her

18 plays and musical shows produced on Broadway from 1906-1924, Table 23

(below) reveals that she collaborated on libretto and lyrics on only three of them:

No.	Who	Collaborated Title details	Lyricist	Librettist	Perfs	Control libretti/extant writing sample
1.	RJY	Title: <i>The Red Petticoat</i> Composer: Jerome Kern Produced by: Messrs Shubert Venue: Daly's Theatre Opened: 13 th November, 1912;	RJY & Paul West	RJY & Paul West	61	RJY: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Naughty Marietta</i> • <i>The Girl and the Pennant</i> • <i>Brown of Harvard</i> Paul West: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • song lyric samples from extant collection
2.	RJY	Title: <i>His Little Widows</i> Composer: William Shroeder Produced by: G. M Anderson and L Lawrence Webber Venue: Astor Theatre Opened: 30 th April, 1917	RJY & William Cary Duncan	RJY & William Cary Duncan	72	RJY: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Naughty Marietta</i> • <i>The Girl and the Pennant</i> • <i>Brown of Harvard</i> William Cary Duncan <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Golden Hooves</i> (book sample)
3.	RJY	Title; <i>The Dream Girl</i> Composer: Victor Herbert Produced by: Messrs Shubert Venue: The Ambassador Opened: 20 th August, 1924	RJY & Harold Atteridge	RJY & Harold Atteridge	118	RJY: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Naughty Marietta</i> • <i>The Girl and the Pennant</i> • <i>Brown of Harvard</i> Harold Atteridge <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>The Passing Show of 1914</i> • Sample of part of <i>The Passing Show of 1915</i> and typed scenarios for <i>The Passing Show of 1914</i>.

Table 23. Illustration of Rida Johnson Young's collaborated works, co-writers and detail of control scripts used for comparative text analysis. Source: (Coleman, 1993; Engle, 2007; Peck, 2009a).

Homing in on the shows on which Rida Johnson Young collaborated reveals just how infrequently she appears to have felt the necessity to work in tandem with other writers and this highlights an interesting aspect of her character. Previous chapters have thus far established that Rida Johnson Young's approach to her work is closely

aligned with a 'direct' achieving style in that her correspondence with the Shubert organisation as a whole has demonstrated her propensity to take charge of a situation, unfazed by following through; she was driven by her own goals and the path to her connective leadership was in her intrinsic belief that she was in league with her producers as a collaborator and equal partner with whom she was navigating a mutual goal towards success. Johnson Young's collaborative style has thus far been illustrated by her ability to network as a means to an end, to increase her negotiational power (as shown in her links to Kauser and Marbury) and suggests her collaborations are set up generally to help her achieve her overall goal as opposed to a natural inclination to creatively collaborate on a script. By way of explanation and example, this way of thinking is demonstrated in Chapter Five (5.4.1) in her letter to Shubert in 1918:

Will you kindly have Romberg or whomever you wish to do this music call me up and make an appointment to see me about the numbers. (Source: The Shubert Archive, Box 470, Appendix: 88)

Chapter Five established that Rida Johnson Young had developed her working style from her formative writing experiences with the publishing house, M. Witmark & Sons, and that, overall, connection with other creatives appears to have been made as and when necessary; her goal was to complete a task to the best of her ability and create a show which would repay her diligence, and in true 'direct' achieving style, she mastered her own tasks. With this in mind, and being mindful of researcher rigour, the choice of precisely which show of Johnson Young's to employ as an exemplar in the text analysis has been carefully considered to avoid instances, for example, where a genuine collaboration was not exactly in place, and we will now examine the process behind the selection.

7.3.1 Rida Johnson Young's writing collaborations

Of Rida Johnson Young's collaborations, Ellen Peck writes that:

In addition to her collaborations with Chauncey Olcott, which were plays with music rather than musicals, Rida Johnson Young paired with two other lyricist-librettists early in her career: William Cary Duncan and Paul West. Although Young only co-wrote lyrics and librettos for a few musicals, they are as vital in discovering her writing voice as those she wrote herself (2020, p. 77).

It is notable here that Peck omits Johnson Young's credited collaboration with Harold Atteridge on *The Dream Girl* (1924), but this is doubtless due to Atteridge's credit as a collaborator late in the creative process when, as a staff writer for the Shuberts, he was brought in towards the end of the process to contribute an element of his signature vaudevillian comedy into the script, which suggests this pairing to have been less a collaboration, more a producer-led request (2020, pp. 133–139). In terms of Johnson Young's collaboration on *The Red Petticoat* (1912) with Paul West, his Broadway career was largely as a lyricist, with libretto collaborations with other writers and whilst this research design has processed and analysed a 5,320 word control sample of his solo song lyrics (Appendix D), the most compelling collaborative relationship of the three productions in terms of previous work and control source material is that with author and playwright William Cary Duncan (1874-1941¹¹; *His Little Widows*, 1917). An interesting feature of Duncan's Broadway career is that his major contributions to shows are as a collaborator, whether working on songs or libretto. He is credited as a contributing lyricist/librettist on twenty five Broadway shows (Duncan, 1938) and went on to write with, amongst others, Irving Caesar, Otto Harbach and Oscar Hammerstein II following his collaboration with Johnson Young in 1917. *His Little Widows* is also notable in terms of Johnson

¹¹ Also known as William Carey Duncan.

Young's collaborative record as it in fact marks her second outing with Duncan, the first show being *When Love is Young* (1913) which 'had a well-received run but did not make it to New York' (Peck, 2020, p. 88). One final but nonetheless pertinent aspect of this collaborative team is that they are linked by their composer, William Schroeder. In comparison with Jerome Kern and Victor Herbert (respectively composers for *The Red Petticoat* and *The Dream Girl*), William Schroeder presents an intriguing figure in the collaborative mix as he was the son of Johnson Young's only sister, Emma. Sherry D. Engle writes that:

William Schroeder was only twenty-one when he wrote his first score for the Shuberts in 1909, *Just One of the Boys*, a revamping of Young's earlier unproduced, *Sweet Sixteen*. Evidently the Shuberts thought they had a potential Victor Herbert in the emerging composer, but while Schroeder never lived up to that expectation, he did achieve some success as a minor composer and arranger (2007, p. 171).

Whilst it would be fairly easy to overlook this detail when considering the collaborations, it in fact underlines a key facet of Johnson Young's personality and achieving style. In the same way as she would take command of casting suggestions with the Shuberts, it is clear from Engle's statement that Johnson Young promoted her nephew to work on her earlier works (*Just One of the Boys/unproduced*) and that the pair would go on to collaborate on a total of four further shows, *When Love is Young* (1913) *Lady Luxury* (1914); *His Little Widows* (1917) and *A Wise Child* (1921/unproduced). The inherent belief Johnson Young had in her nephew's ability to compete for artistic credibility alongside the likes of Jerome Kern and Victor Herbert, gives us invaluable insight into another aspect of her character in that, whilst much of her overt working style is characteristic in all aspects pertaining to a solo operator intent on mastering her own tasks, in this respect she displays loyalty (albeit familial) and the facility to engineer opportunity in order to champion or empower others, in this case, her nephew.

7.3.2 *His Little Widows*: the collaboration viewed from the context of contemporary reviews and academic conclusions

Having established Johnson Young's working and collaborative approach, we will now briefly home in on *His Little Widows* in respect of context and reception from critical contemporary reviews of the production and current academic conclusions regarding the balance of the collaborative partnership.

On 1st May, 1917, Lewis Sherwin of the *Globe* reported that:

[i]t is impossible to say which part of the book and lyrics of "His Little Widows" [sic] was contributed by Mr. Duncan and which by Mrs Young. One is tempted to make a guess, but I suppose that would not be fair (Peck, 2020, p. 98; New York Public Library. clippings file)

His Little Widows was firstly unusual in that it had a modern and unconventional storyline¹² and when it opened at the Astor Theatre on 30th April, 1917, Ellen Peck writes that '[e]very major critic remarked that the plot was the show's strongest aspect' (2020, p. 94). Despite praise for its strong storyline, it appears prestigious publications such as *The New York Times* didn't consider the strength of the plot worthy of crediting all the collaborators, with their review hailing it an 'amusing show' and the collaborators credited simply as 'by Mrs Young and others' (Editorial, 1917). In an interview with *The New York Sun* a week after the *Times* review, Johnson Young supported her collaborator, remarking:

I wish the reviews had not given me so much credit. I want Mr. Duncan, my collaborator, to have his share. He is such a fine young chap and does good work. But the press, I suppose, because my name is better known, gave me the lion's share of praise (Mullett, 1917).

¹² about a young man who inherits a fortune from his Mormon uncle on condition he move to Salt Lake City and marry his uncle's eleven widows.

In her own analysis of the script, Ellen Peck concludes that whereas some of the humour ‘sounds like Young’:

[t]he biggest issue I had in reading the script is that it simply does not sound like her voice. The lines are short and the pacing almost too quick to match her style. Young’s characters, from the beginning of her career to the end of it, are, well, *loquacious* [sic]. They rarely speak in short sentences, even in one-liners. [...] Young could write very clever dialogue and funny jokes, but this style does not seem to have her stamp on it. I suspect that Duncan wrote most of the dialogue (2020, p. 95).

Whilst Peck’s conclusion is drawn from her extensive knowledge of the author’s solo writing style, the research method at her disposal is ultimately insufficient to conclusively measure the nature of the evolving writing partnership between Johnson Young and Duncan, leading to inevitable speculation as to the balance of authorship. What Peck’s conclusion has been unable to allow for is the intimate discourse of collaboration whereby individuals are able to coalesce ideas to create a joint style, serving a mutual goal. The leverage afforded by an interdisciplinary approach to Peck’s original question can now be mined beyond previous subjective musicological boundaries to the realm of the socially scientific-based objectivity afforded by LIWC software analysis and we will now consider the results gleaned from the processed libretto.

7.3.3 Rida Johnson Young and William Cary Duncan: the *His Little Widows* collaboration viewed through the prism of LIWC

Employing the transcribed and processed analyses of *His Little Widows* and associated controls, this section will focus on an assessment of the male/female writing style indicators and what they reveal about the balance of collaboration in relation to the ‘power-with/power-over’ paradigm created within a writing partnership.

The text source employed for the analysis of *His Little Widows* is a libretto published by Theatre Arts Press which is published from primary source and other historical records and contains the complete book and lyrics (Johnson Young and Duncan, 2020). The original and accompanying control scripts are detailed below, complete with word count totals in Table 24, below:

No.	Author(s)	Title	Collaboration or Control	Word count
1.	Rida Johnson Young (RJY) William Cary Duncan (WCD)	<i>His Little Widows</i>	Collaboration	17,445
2.	WCD	<i>Golden Hoofs</i> (excerpt from novel)	Control	10,210
3.	RJY	<i>The Girl & The Pennant</i>	Control	25,161
4.	RJY	<i>Brown of Harvard</i>	Control	23,945
5.	RJY	<i>Naughty Marietta</i>	Control	17,574

Table 24. Detail demonstrating the collaborated script and related controls employed as balance for the collaborative work *His Little Widows* (for further detail, see Appendix D). Key: = collaboration; = RJY solo; = WCD solo

Table 25 (below) demonstrates the accompanying data sheet for each chart which details six measures, the data for lines 1, 3, 4, 5, 6 remaining constant throughout all the results with the data in line 2 reflecting the results of each new analysis:

Line 1	Linguistic categories
Line 2	LIWC results for the processed libretto
Line 3	the female mean figure from the 2008 results (GDF)
Line 4	the male mean figure from the 2008 results (GDM)
Line 5	the 2008 female standard deviation variable (FSTDEV)
Line 6	the 2008 male standard deviation variable (MSTDEV)

Table 25. Outline demonstration of presentation of LIWC data sheet figures.

The following chart (Figure 56) and Table (26) show the results of the LIWC processed libretto for *His Little Widows*:

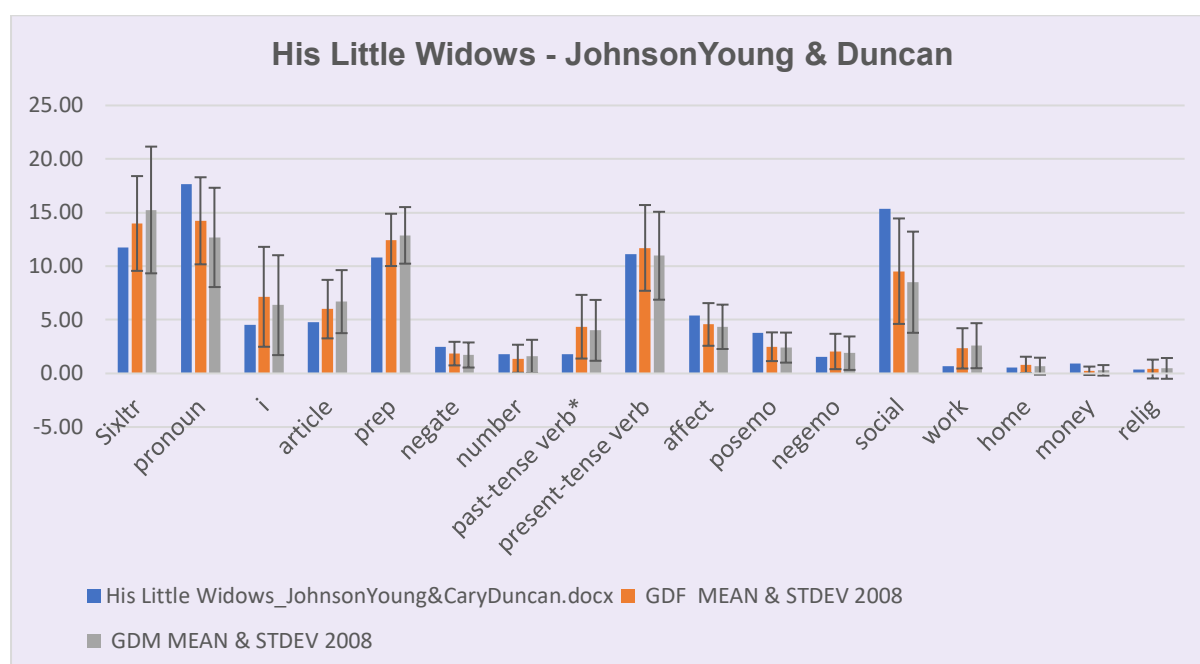


Figure 56. Demonstrating LIWC results for *His Little Widows*. Key: Blue column 1 = LIWC analysis result; Orange column 2 = 2008 LIWC female mean with stdev error bar; Grey column 3 = 2008 LIWC male mean with stdev error bar.

Filename	Sixltr	pronoun	i	article	prep	negate	number	past-tens	present-t	affect	posemo	negemo	social	work	home	money	relig
HisLittleW	11.72	17.63	4.51	4.79	10.80	2.47	1.81	1.78	11.10	5.41	3.81	1.57	15.36	0.69	0.56	0.90	0.39
GDF MEAN	13.99	14.24	7.15	6	12.46	1.85	1.37	4.36	11.71	4.57	2.49	2.05	9.54	2.34	0.8	0.25	0.41
GDM MEAN	15.25	12.69	6.37	6.7	12.88	1.72	1.59	4.02	10.98	4.35	2.41	1.89	8.51	2.59	0.68	0.29	0.47
FSTDEV	4.42	4.06	4.66	2.73	2.44	1.1	1.31	2.97	4	1.99	1.34	1.65	4.92	1.88	0.76	0.39	0.88
MSTDEV	5.91	4.63	4.66	2.94	2.64	1.17	1.55	2.84	4.1	2.07	1.4	1.56	4.72	2.1	0.79	0.49	0.97

Table 26. Calculated detail analysis for results of the collaborated libretto of *His Little Widows* by Rida Johnson Young and William Carey Duncan demonstrating comparative 2008 male (GDM) and female (GDF) gender difference mean and standard deviation (FSTEV; MSTEV)

Before comparing the script with its related controls, it is interesting in the first instance to note that the measurement for words of six letters or more (a trait associated with male writing style) is below the male mean and at the lower end of the variable error bar; the second column representing pronoun usage (a trait more commonly associated with females) is at the higher end of the variable range and significantly above the average female marker. Other notable features are:

- Female: first person singular is within both ranges but not high.
- Male: Articles and prepositions are within both ranges but not high.
- Female: negations; affect; positive emotions and social are high.
- Male: numbers and money are high.

Whereas the results initially appear to reflect a fairly well-balanced mix of male/female traits, closer inspection reveals they favour a stronger feminine influence whose markers outweigh some high ranging male characteristics (e.g. numbers; money). Having assessed the script in isolation, appraisal of the results from the comparative perspective of the controls will now be taken into consideration (Figures. 57-58):

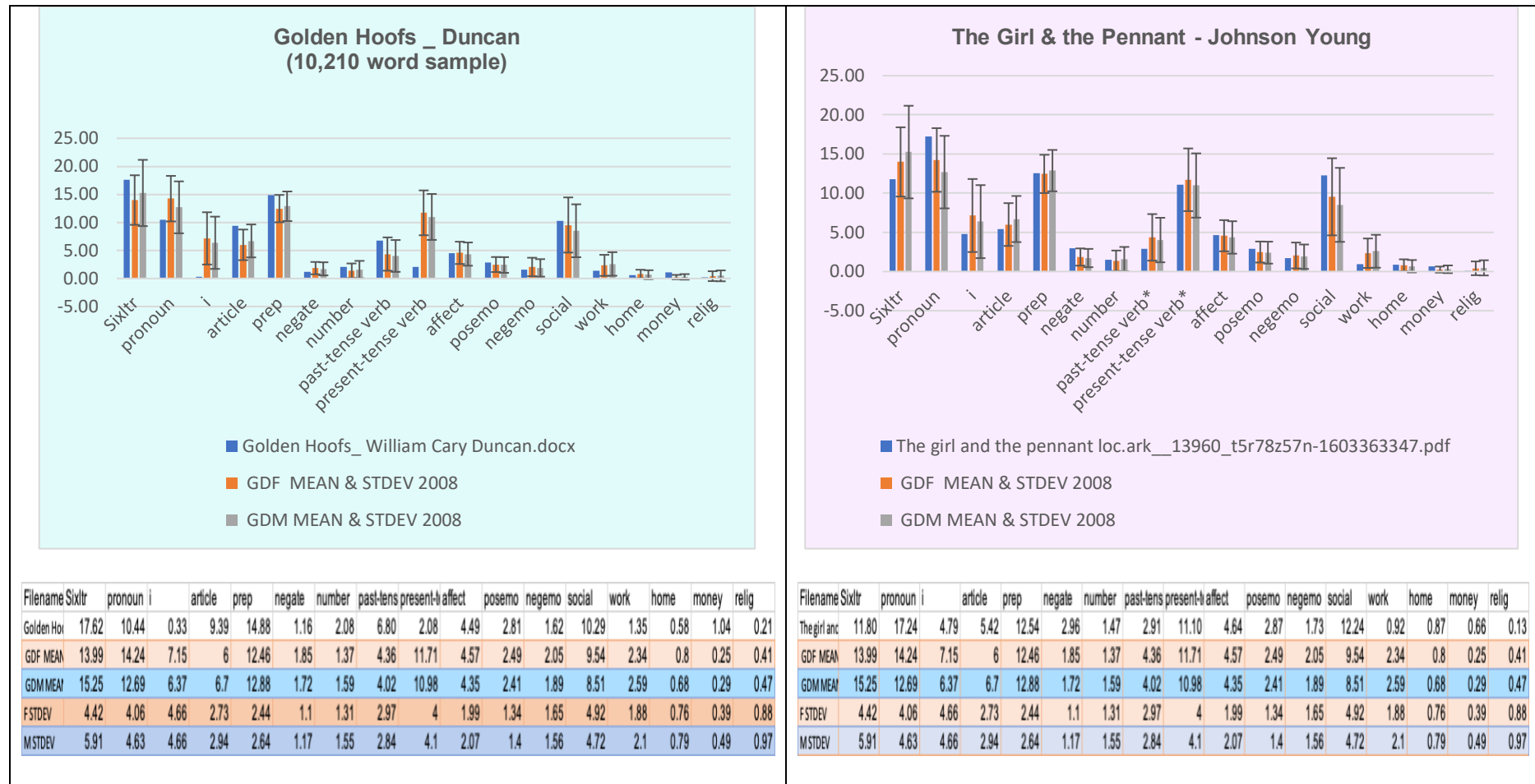


Figure 57. Calculated detail analyses for results of the control scripts of *Golden Hoofs* (William Cary Duncan) and *The Girl and the Pennant* by Rida Johnson Young

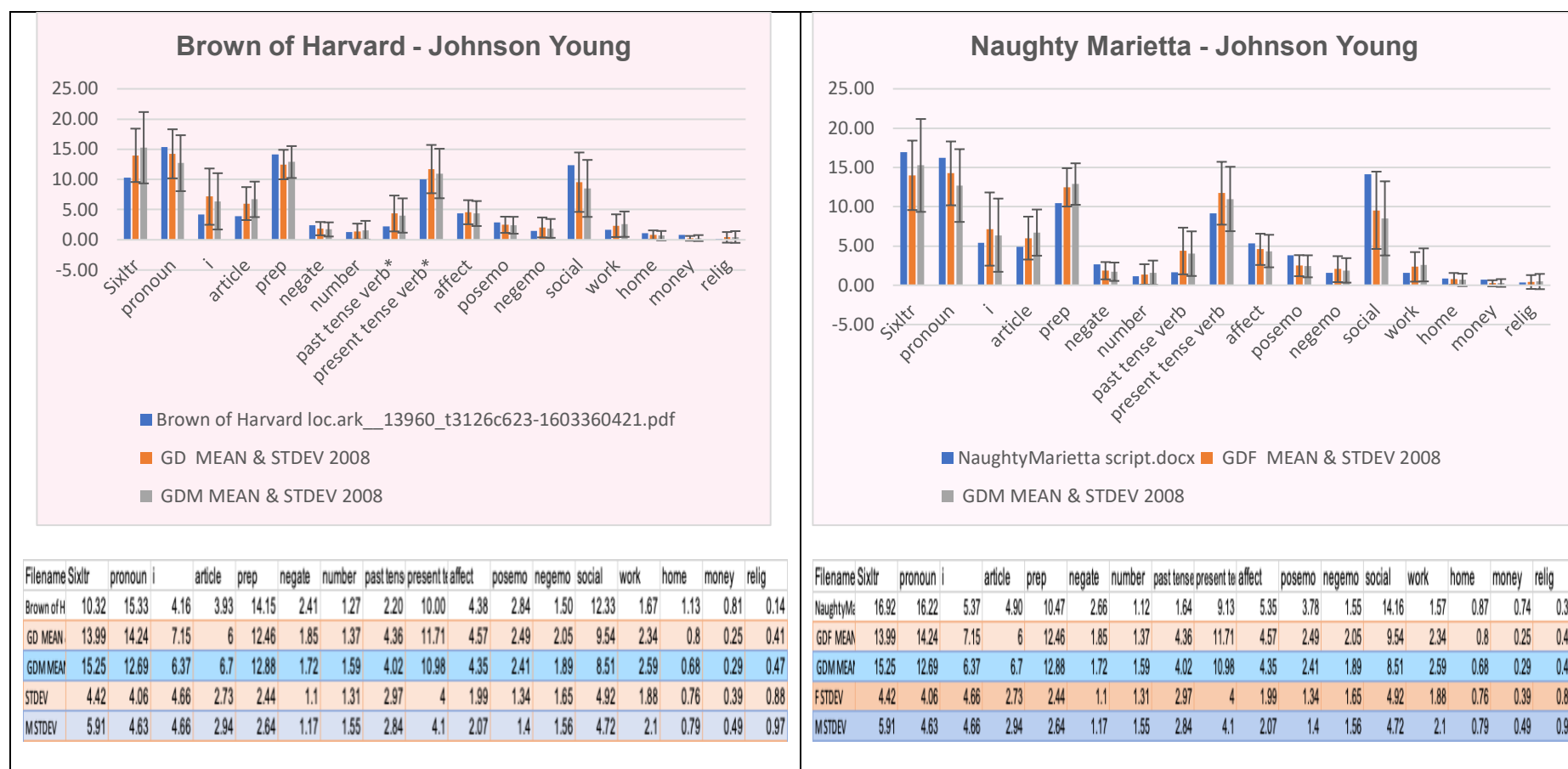


Figure 58. Calculated detail analyses for results of the control scripts of *Brown of Harvard* and *Naughty Marietta* by Rida Johnson Young.

A broad examination of the control results reveals that, when William Cary Duncan is writing solo, his writing style is prone to:

- an above average use of words of six letters or more (male).
- Articles, prepositions, past tense verbs and money are at the highest reach of the error bar variable range (male).
- Pronouns and first-person singular pronouns are well below average and, in the case of the latter marker, significantly below the error bar variable measure, with negations, present tense verbs, social and home showing similarly low markers (female).

In contrast to Duncan's writing style, the control scripts reveal that Rida Johnson Young's writing style is prone to:

- generally lower usage of words of six letters or more (with the exception of *Naughty Marietta*).
- Pronoun usage and social across all three controls are well above average.
- Preposition usage (male) is relatively high, but still within the female variable range.

Of broader interest to the researcher here is that the LIWC analysis will sometimes reveal unexpected high or low results for male/female traits and this is generally clarified by closer text analysis of the original source material. For example, Chapter Four highlights how the six-letter marker for *Naughty Marietta* revealed a higher than expected result for a language trait more often associated with a male marker. These potential anomalies can be cross-checked with reference to the original script and, in this instance, demonstrated a bias for characters with long

names which are subsequently regularly repeated throughout the libretto as illustrated below in the cast of characters for *Naughty Marietta* at Figure 59:

Naughty Marietta

A Musical Comedy

In

Two Acts

Book and Lyrics by RIDA JOHNSON YOUNG

Music by Victor Herbert

CAST OF CHARACTERS

CAPTAIN RICHARD WARRINGTON...An American known as Captain Dick

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR GRANDET

ETIENNE GRANDET.....Son of the Lieutenant-Governor

SIR HARRY BLAKE.....An Irish adventurer

SILAS SLICK.....Captain Dick's servant

RUDOLFO.....Keeper of Marionette Theatre

FLORENCE.....Secretary to Lieutenant-Governor

MARIETTA D'ALTENA

LIZETTE.....A Casquette girl

ADAH.....A Quadroon slave

FANCHON, NANETTE, FELICE

NIGHT WATCHMAN, PIRATES, INDIAN, EAST INDIAN, KNIFE GRINDER

Quadroon Belles, Spanish Girls, French Girls, Captain Dick's followers, Italians, etc., etc

Figure 59. *Naughty Marietta* cast of characters (source: *Naughty Marietta* libretto; New York Public Library)

7.3.4 Assessment of the Johnson Young/Duncan collaborative LIWC analysis

Analysis of the collaborated script in isolation reveals intriguing signs of collaboration, but with an overall balance weighed in favour of Rida Johnson Young as the stronger influence in the overall work. The control scripts enable wider reflection on writing style and, overall, comparison of each of the three control scripts confirms Ellen Peck's observation regarding Johnson Young's consistent writing style. However, the LIWC results also reveal that, contrary to Peck's conclusion that

Duncan ‘wrote most of the dialogue’, the LIWC outcomes point to a collaborative effort which produced a writing style beyond the realms of Johnson Young’s own ‘loquacious’ style, and whilst her influence appears more dominant in the overall results, the combined effect of the two writers appears to have produced a newly framed style of writing as a result of this apparently successful alliance. This particular perspective also tallies with Johnson Young’s comments in her May 1917 interview with *The New York Sun* for Duncan to receive equal credit (7.3.2).

A further point worthy of highlighting in respect of the source file for *His Little Widows* is that it is a published copy and not the actual primary document. However, because LIWC homes in on the ramifications of grammar and function words, this element of the analysis demonstrates that it is not vital to have sight of the source document provided it is published with the appropriate provenance. While primary source remains a fundamental part of the process, the additional layer of targeted word-count software analysis serves to reinforce triangulation and research rigour.

7.4 Dorothy Donnelly in collaboration

As noted in Chapter Six (6.4.1) in Donnelly’s transitional period from actress to dramatist, she developed her skill as a professional writer working both as a play-doctor and co-librettist. Donnelly’s first four Broadway productions were all co-written and consisted of two musicals (*Flora Bella*; *Fancy Free*) and two plays (*Johnny Get Your Gun*; *The Riddle*) and of her eight musical productions in the eleven-year period from 1916-1927 her only collaborated works were those written at the start of her career at a time when she was honing her craft as a writer:

No.	Who	Collaborated title details	Lyricist	Librettist	Year & Perfs	Control libretti/extant writing sample
1.	DD	Title: <i>Flora Bella (1916)</i> Composer: Charles Cuvilier; Milton Schwarzwald Produced by: John Cort Venue: Casino Theatre Opened: 11 th September, 1916	Felix Dörmann	DD; Cosmo Hamiton; Milton Schwarzwald	1916 112	DD: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Poppy</i> Cosmo Hamilton: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>The Sins of the Children</i>
2.	DD	Title: <i>Fancy Free</i> Composer: Augustus Barratt Produced by: Messrs Shubert Venue: Astor Theatre Opened: 11 th April, 1918	Augustus Barratt	DD; Edgar Smith	1918 116	DD: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Poppy</i> Edgar Smith: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Dream City</i>

Table 27. Illustration of Dorothy Donnelly's collaborated works, co-writers and detail of control scripts used for comparative text analysis. Source: (Coleman, 1993; Engle, 2007; Peck, 2009a).

The second collaboration, *Fancy Free*, presents itself as an interesting subject for analysis in that it marks what appears to be a turning point in Donnelly's development. By 1918, aside from her work as a play-doctor for the Shuberts, Donnelly had collaborated on two shows, the operetta *Flora Bella* and the play, *Johnny Get Your Gun*, and both productions had seen reasonable success on Broadway. *Fancy Free* is based on the 1911 play by Stanley Houghton (1881-1913) and Donnelly was teamed with writer Edgar Smith (1857 -1938) and composer Augustus Barratt (1873 -1947) to create a new musical comedy for the Shuberts. Lorraine Arnal McLean writes that 'Smith had begun working for the Shuberts as early as 1909 and [by 1920 had] already written 21 libretti for them' (1999, p. 118). It would be easy to assume from this statement that Smith's success came from writing within the confines of the Shubert staff umbrella in the same manner as Romberg; however, at the time of the *Fancy Free* collaboration, Smith was 60 years

old with a successful career during which he collaborated with the comedy duo Weber and Fields and over the course of his career wrote plays, librettos and lyrics for some 150 Broadway shows (Hirschak, 2008, p. 689). When outlining the fundamentals of connective leadership achieving styles, Lipman-Blumen asserts that:

The first additional set of achieving styles required for success in an interdependent order is the “instrumental” set, whose label reflects the characteristic use of (1) the self, (2) the system, and (3) others as instruments for goal attainment (1992).

Whether or not either party in the *Fancy Free* writing partnership had an initial say in the prospect of their collaboration, taking into account Donnelly’s propensity for social and professional networking, leads to a fair assumption that their match as a writing team was viewed as fortuitous in terms of goal attainment for the aspiring writer and the show would go on to achieve good reviews and a fair run on Broadway. Set in Palm Beach, the musical comedy is set around the story of two young women who journey from their home town to meet eligible young men, passing themselves off as a married woman and a widow and when it opened in January 1918 was described by the Washington D.C. Sunday Star as ‘an evening of musical comedy joys’ (Editorial, 1918a).

7.4.1 Dorothy Donnelly and Edgar Smith: the *Fancy Free* collaboration seen through the prism of LIWC

The control scripts used for this part of the collaborative analysis are *Poppy*, a musical comedy written by Donnelly in 1923 with a score accredited to John Egan, Stephen Jones and Arthur Samuel and *Dream City* (1906) by Edgar Smith,

described as ‘an opera in two puffs’ with music by Victor Herbert and they are detailed below along with their respective word count detail in Table 28:

No.	Author(s)	Title	Collaboration or Control	Word count
1.	Dorothy Donnelly (DD) Edgar Smith (ES)	<i>Fancy Free</i>	Collaboration	16,784
2.	ES	<i>Dream City</i>	Control	11,379
3.	DD	<i>Poppy</i>	Control	25,758

Table 28. Detail demonstrating the Donnelly/Smith collaboration *Fancy Free* and related controls, *Poppy* and *Dream City* (for further detail, see Appendix E).
Key: = collaboration; = DD solo; = ES solo

Bearing in mind Donnelly’s skill and wider recognition for adapting foreign language operetta (such as *The Student Prince*) a key point when considering the most appropriate solo written control for this particular stage of the analysis was to find a work which would align more closely in style to the subject at hand. *Poppy Comes To Town* (it’s full title as written in 1923¹³) is described by McLean as ‘new territory’ for the dramatist and saw Donnelly authoring a comedy storyline of her own making, garnering reviews such as ‘charming’ and ‘an exceptional musical comedy’ from *The New York Times* and at 347 performances on Broadway more than proves it’s suitability alongside Smith’s *Dream City* (Editorial, 1923; McLean, 1999, p. 129).

The following chart (Figure 60) and Table (29) show the results of the LIWC processed libretto for *Fancy Free*:

¹³ Source; Signed Dorothy Donnelly typescript of *Poppy Comes To Town*, Library of Congress, listing John Egan as sole composer. http://https://lccn.loc.gov/unk_84069924 (call number ML50.E32 P6 1923)

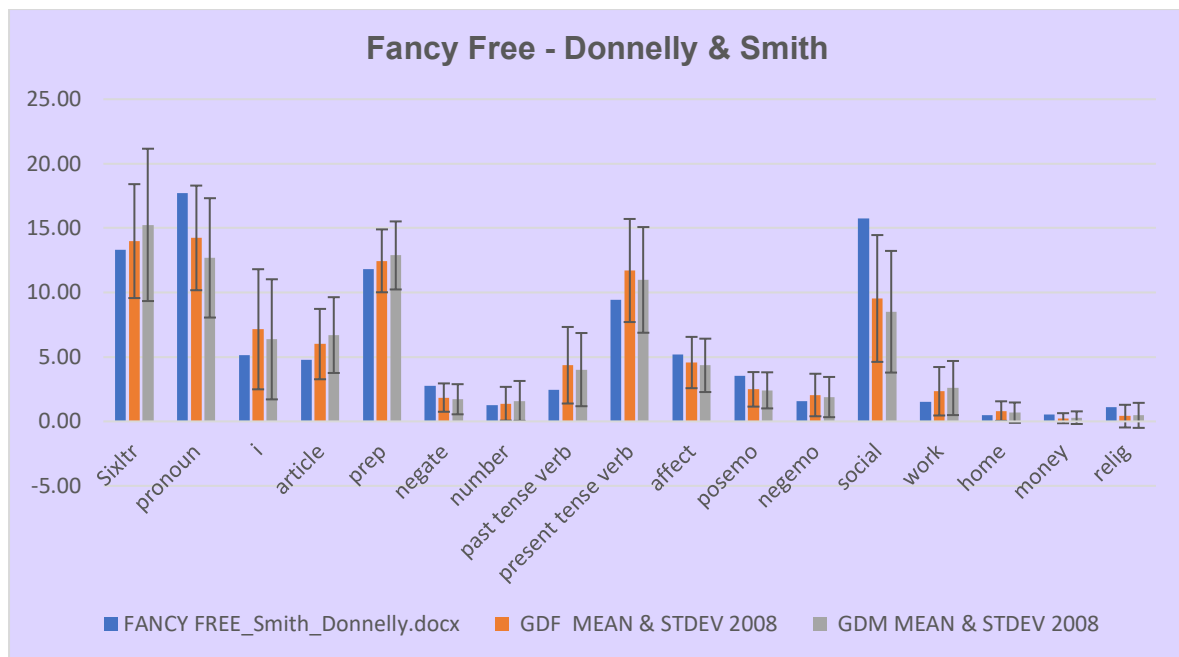


Figure 60. Demonstrating LIWC results for the Donnelly/Smith collaboration, *Fancy Free*. Key: Blue column 1 = LIWC analysis result; Orange column 2 = 2008 LIWC female mean with stdev error bar; Grey column 3 = 2008 LIWC male mean with stdev error bar.

Filename	Sixltr	pronoun	i	article	prep	negate	number	past tens	present t	affect	posemo	negemo	social	work	home	money	relig
FANCY FREE	13.34	17.69	5.16	4.76	11.83	2.75	1.26	2.44	9.43	5.18	3.56	1.58	15.75	1.51	0.50	0.52	1.12
GDF MEAN	13.99	14.24	7.15	6	12.46	1.85	1.37	4.36	11.71	4.57	2.49	2.05	9.54	2.34	0.8	0.25	0.41
GDM MEAN	15.25	12.69	6.37	6.7	12.88	1.72	1.59	4.02	10.98	4.35	2.41	1.89	8.51	2.59	0.68	0.29	0.47
FSTDEV	4.42	4.06	4.66	2.73	2.44	1.1	1.31	2.97	4	1.99	1.34	1.65	4.92	1.88	0.76	0.39	0.88
MSTDEV	5.91	4.63	4.66	2.94	2.64	1.17	1.55	2.84	4.1	2.07	1.4	1.56	4.72	2.1	0.79	0.49	0.97

Table 29. Calculated detail analysis for results of the collaborated libretto of *Fancy Free* by Dorothy Donnelly and Edgar Smith demonstrating comparative 2008 male (GDM) and female (GDF) gender difference mean and standard deviation (FSTEV; MSTEV)

As with the first impressions of the *His Little Widows* collaboration, the chart offers some noteworthy observations, particularly in relation to pronoun usage, a feminine gender style marker at 17.69 on the higher end of the variance. The high 'social' reading here provides us with a narrative-related example (as opposed to neutral grammatical markers) where the reading is impacted by storyline rather than exclusive male/female writing mannerisms. However, it is only through comparison with the control scripts and primary source analysis that we can begin to assess the balance of the collaborative effort, particularly in relation to the unconscious writing characteristics of function word usage:

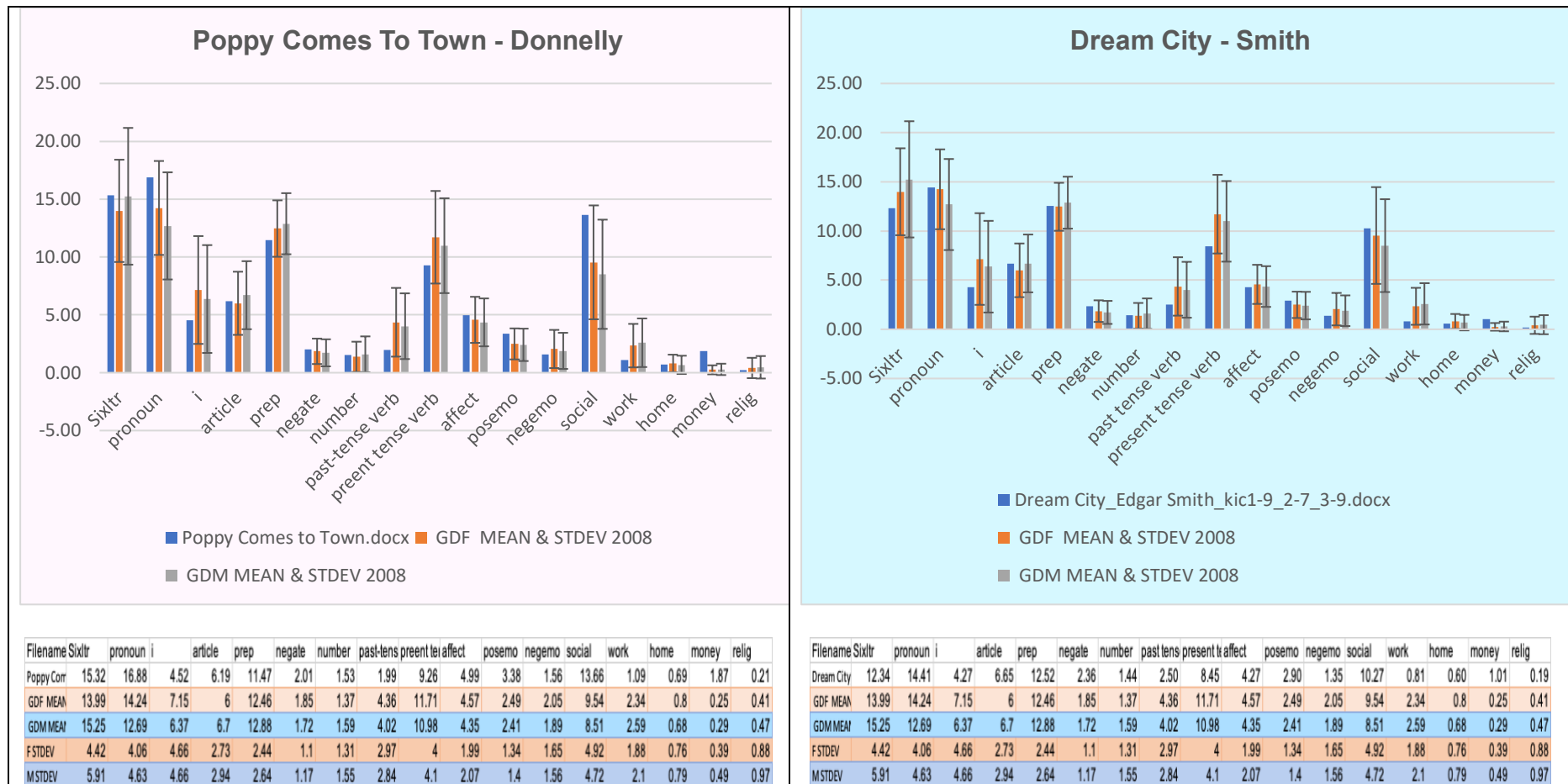


Figure 61. Calculated detail analyses for results of the control scripts of *Poppy* (Dorothy Donnelly) and *Dream City* (Edgar Smith)

Examination of the control results reveals that when Edgar Smith is writing solo (*Dream City*), his writing style is prone to:

- a significantly lower than average use of words of six letters or more (12.34) although it falls well within the variance range.
- a notably lower than average usage of first person singular (4.27/male mean: 6.37)
- both article and preposition usage sit extremely close to the male average at:
 - articles: 6.65 (male mean: 6);
 - prepositions: 12.52 (male mean: 12.88)
- an above average use of pronouns (14.41), negations (2.36) and positive emotions (2.90).

In contrast to Smith's writing style, the control script, *Poppy*, reveals that Dorothy Donnelly's writing style is prone to:

- an above average use of words of six letters or more (15.32) and contrasts particularly with Smith's usage (12.34) for this marker more commonly associated with higher male usage.
- a high usage of pronouns (16.88) and a marginally higher than average use of articles (6.19/female mean: 6).
- a notably lower than average usage of first person singular (4.52/female mean: 7.15)
- a lower than average use of prepositions (11.47).
- a higher than average use of negations (2.01), similar to that of Smith (2.36).

7.4.2 Assessment of the Donnelly/Smith collaborative LIWC analysis

The advantage afforded us by control script comparison enables us to assess the nature of the writing balance in the *Fancy Free* collaboration. Of particular note are the 'words of six letters or more' category for *Dream City* in the way it demonstrates how Smith's unconscious writing mannerism favours a below average usage. When this is compared to Donnelly's control of the same marker it reveals her higher than average usage when writing solo and thus suggests Smith's stronger influence in this aspect of the combined script. The nature of the high pronoun reading (17.69) for *Fancy Free* is a combination of both writer's propensity for higher than average usage and this is equally reflected in usage of first person singular where both writers demonstrate lower than average use when writing solo; a similar effect is also reflected in the higher results for negations in each of the scripts. These three markers therefore reveal an overall compatibility in unconscious writing styles, demonstrating an equable writing partnership, balanced slightly in favour of a male influence.

In summary, the LIWC comparisons here suggest that, whilst Edgar Smith appears to have more influence over the collaborated script (as exemplified by the 'six letters or more' category) that the writing balance overall produced a well-balanced collaborative effort (particularly considering this was an early work for Donnelly, working with a more experienced writing partner).

Whereas the LIWC results reveal a mathematically-driven insight into the contributory balance of each writer to the overall script, examination of the relationship from the perspective of primary source material also serves to elaborate on findings.

7.4.3 *Fancy Free*: balancing LIWC results with primary source scrutiny

The Shubert Archive holds a total of six versions of the *Fancy Free* script, four of which are dated 1918 and the one which was chosen for transcription and analysis here is dated 31st March 1918 (eleven days before the show opened) with a file note reading 'What was left after Edgar Smith, revised'.

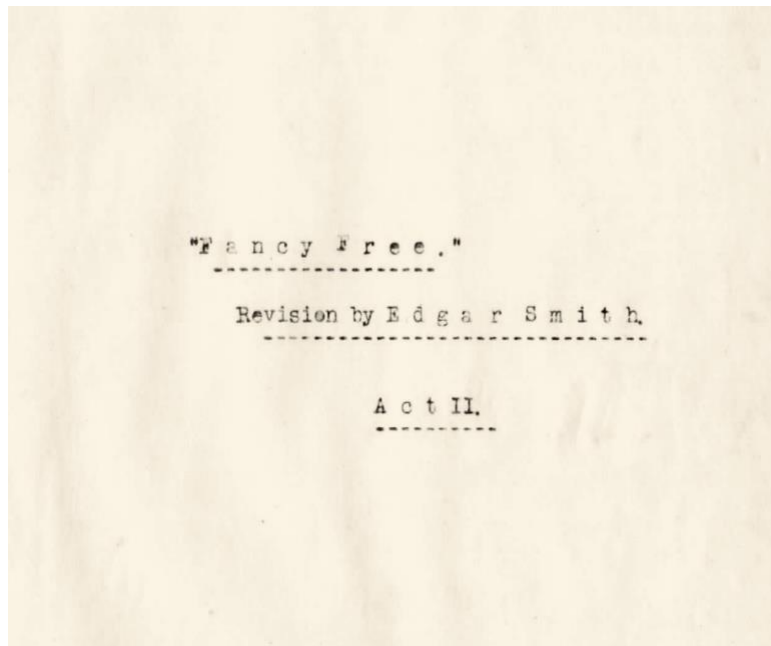


Figure 62. *Fancy Free* Act II excerpt (Source: Shubert Archive)

In terms of collaborative balance here, it is interesting to note that whilst Smith was clearly the senior partner in terms of writing experience in the collaborative partnership, that with eleven days before opening night, he was given a degree

of autonomy to make revisions reflecting a complete lack of direction in terms of plot development as seen below at Figure 63:

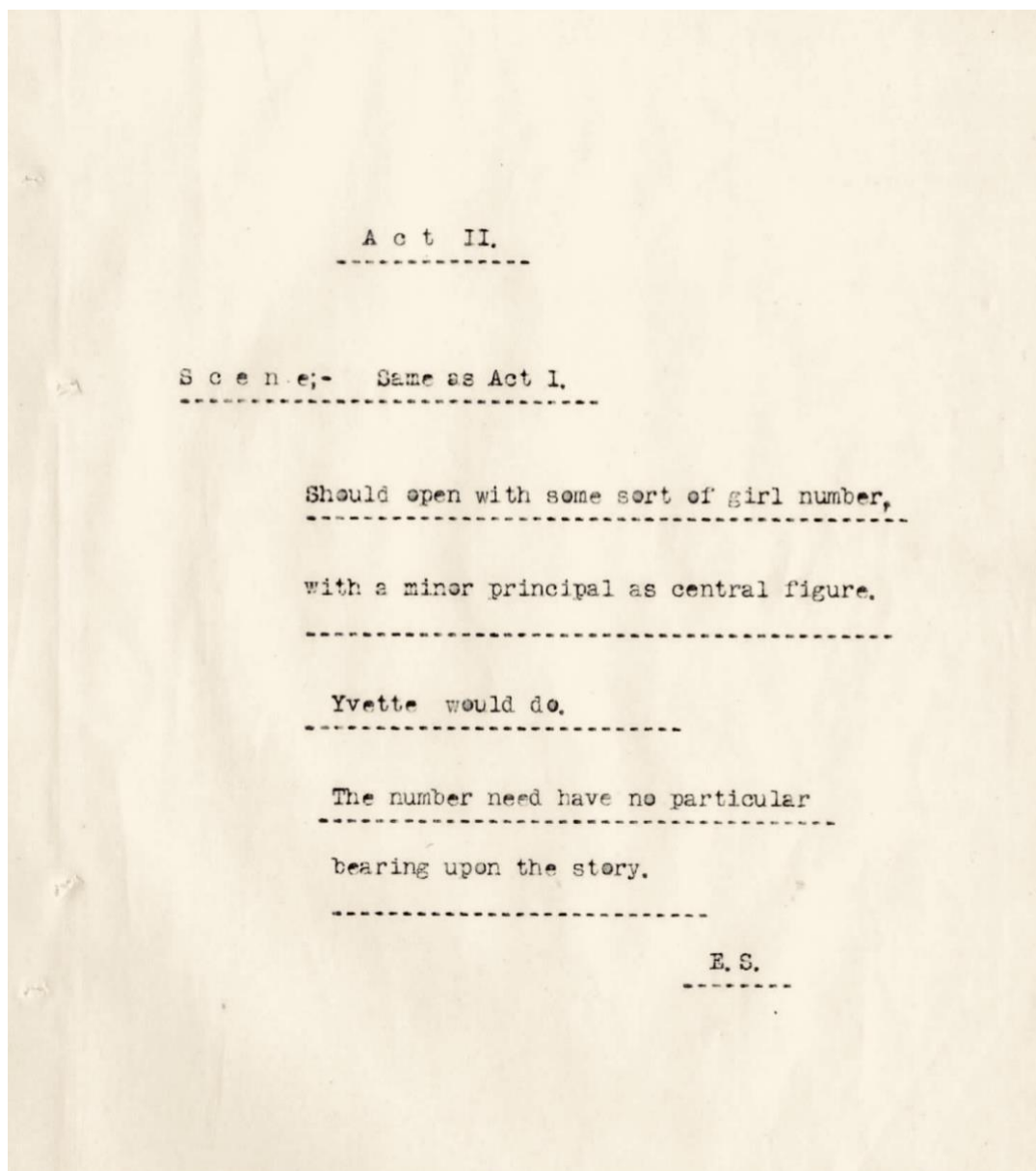


Figure 63. *Fancy Free* Act II, page 2 of Edgar Smith revisions.
(Source: Shubert Archive)

What is not clear here is whose decision it was to include 'some sort of girl number', but it is most definitely redolent of the fashionable Ziegfeld Follies and the Shuberts' own Passing Shows during the same period and it was not lost on *The New York Times* critic who reported that:

[whilst the show] takes a very high place in the musical offerings of the season [...] the book offers little of sustaining interest. The lines are bright and fresh enough, but with no great comic force. The plot, as far as there is one, is quite far-fetched and lacking in the inspiration of humoresque fancy (Editorial, 1918b).

Fancy Free ran at the Astor Theatre for a respectable 116 performances, made a star of its leading lady, Marilynn Miller, and will have contributed to Dorothy Donnelly's growing experience as a collaborator and play-doctor *vis à vis* the producer/dramatist perspective of public demand over plot development. The analysis of Donnelly's collaboration with Smith gives us insight into one of the pitfalls of aspiring dramatists of any age, whereby creative development is overruled by financial considerations or the subjective fancies of a sponsor.

In summary, the blending of both LIWC and primary source scrutiny provide a dual perspective of the collaboration which, without the benefit of cross referencing may have led to a conclusion that the perceived imbalance in the partnership was due solely to Smith's overriding experience. The dual prism of analysis reveals a wider and perhaps more plausible perspective than simply a male/female battle of the sexes: the input of an overruling third party with an eye on the financial bottom line. That the revisions to the script were made with days to spare by only one member of the writing team suggest hasty changes made to appease, which ultimately affected not only the final outcome of the creative balance, but the overall development of the plot.

7.5 Anne Caldwell in collaboration

Chapter Six presented an assessment of Anne Caldwell's career from the perspective of the timeline of her shows in relation to partnerships and networking and this profile can now be developed further in relation to those resultant working collaborations.

In comparison with the extant primary source material relating to Rida Johnson Young and Dorothy Donnelly, scholars to date have found very little in relation to Anne Caldwell's business affairs and collaborations beyond her scripts, short stories¹⁴ and press interviews, with two scripts (*Take the Air*, 1927; *Three Cheers*, 1928) only discovered during this research process in 2020.¹⁵ The analysis of her working partnerships in Chapter Six confirmed that she formed particularly strong alliances with writing partners from very early in her career as a dramatist, particularly with R. H. Burnside and Otto Harbach. Three shows (*Chin Chin*, 1914; *Jack O'Lantern*, 1917; *Tip Top*, 1920) were in association with the composer Ivan Caryll and a total of six shows (*She's a Good Fellow*, 1919; *The Night Boat*, 1920; *Good Morning, Dearie*, 1921; *The Bunch and Judy*, 1922; *Stepping Stones*, 1923; *Criss Cross*, 1926) were in association with composer Jerome Kern. To underline Caldwell's relational aptitude for connective leadership, it is also beneficial at this stage to reiterate Charles Dillingham's involvement in no less than thirteen of Caldwell's shows, the majority of which ran at *The Globe*, Dillingham's theatre at 205, West 46th Street (Figure 64):

¹⁴ *Behind The Scenes. Short Stories From Stage Life* originally published under the name Anna Caldwell in 1904 by Will Rossiter Publisher, New York.

¹⁵ Both scripts are held in the Miles Kreuger Collection at The Institute of the American Musical, Los Angeles.



Figure 64. Image of The Globe Theatre, 1920, notably taken during the seventeen-year period of Anne Caldwell's association with the Charles Dillingham productions, 1911-28.
(Source: American Studio, N. Y. C. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs division (PD))

Reflection on the consistency of Anne Caldwell's business relationships in Chapter Six revealed the profile of a skilled communicator, adept at building and developing interpersonal relationships. Until now, the apparent scarcity of primary source material relating to her career has limited examination of her writing style beyond analysis of lyrics and libretti, but this chapter will demonstrate how, as a result of the process of primary source script transcription for the LIWC analyses, the ways in which Anne Caldwell's personality is revealed not just through software analysis but also from handwritten samples and typewritten, initialled notes within the scripts.

Of Caldwell's eleven collaborated works produced from 1912 to 1928, Table 29

(below) reveals that a total of 5 shows (nos. 2, 3, 4, 6, 10) were written in partnership with R.H. Burnside and we will focus specifically on two of these productions (*Chin Chin*, 1914 and *Stepping Stones*, 1923) for the abundance of comparative material they afford, representing an impressive collaborative partnership spanning a duration of fourteen years:

No.	Who	Collaborated Title details	Lyricist	Librettist	Year & Perfs	Control libretti/extant writing sample
1.	AC	Title: <i>The Lady of the Slipper</i> Composer: Victor Herbert Produced by: Charles Dillingham Venue: The Globe Theatre Opened: 28 th October 1912	James O'Dea	AC & Laurence McCarty	1912 232	AC: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>The Night Boat</i> Laurence McCarty <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>solo work not extant as McCarty appears to have only collaborated.</i>
2.	AC	Title: <i>Chin-Chin</i> Composer: Ivan Caryll Produced by: Charles Dillingham Venue: The Globe Theatre Opened: 20 October 1914	AC & James O'Dea	AC & Robert Huberthorne (R.H.) Burnside	1914 295	AC: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>The Night Boat</i> R. H. Burnside: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Sporting Days</i>
3.	AC	Title: <i>Jack O'Lantern</i> Composer: Ivan Caryll Produced by: Charles Dillingham Venue: The Globe Theatre Opened: 16 th October 1916	AC & R. H. Burnside	AC & R. H. Burnside	1916 265	AC: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>The Night Boat</i> R. H. Burnside: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Sporting Days</i>
4.	AC	Title: <i>Tip Top</i> Composer: Ivan Caryll Produced by: Charles Dillingham Venue: The Globe Theatre Opened: 5 th October, 1920	AC & R. H. Burnside	AC & R H Burnside	1920 241	AC: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>The Night Boat</i> R. H. Burnside: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Sporting Days</i>
5.	AC	Title: <i>The Bunch & Judy</i> Composer: Jerome Kern Produced by: Charles Dillingham Venue: The Globe Theatre Opened: 18 th November, 1922	AC	AC & Hugh Ford	1922 65	AC: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>The Night Boat</i> Hugh Ford <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>not extant; primarily known as a director.</i>

No.	Who	Collaborated Title details	Lyricist	Librettist	Year & Perfs	Control libretti/extant writing sample
6.	AC	Title: Stepping Stones Composer: Jerome Kern Produced by: Charles Dillingham Venue: The Globe Theatre Opened: 6 th November, 1923	AC	AC & R H Burnside	1923 241	AC: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>The Night Boat</i> R. H. Burnside: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Sporting Days</i>
7.	AC	Title: Criss Cross Composer: Jerome Kern Produced by: Charles Dillingham Venue: The Globe Theatre Opened: 12 th October 1926	AC & Otto Harbach	AC & Otto Harbach	1926 210	AC: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>The Night Boat</i> Otto Harbach <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Katinka</i>
8.	AC	Title: Oh, Please! Composer: Vincent Youmans Produced by: Charles Dillingham Venue: The Fulton Theatre Opened: 21 st December 1926	AC & Otto Harbach	AC & Otto Harbach	1926 79	AC: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>The Night Boat</i> Otto Harbach <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Katinka</i>
9.		Title: Take the Air Composer: Dave Stamper Produced by: Gene Buck Venue: The Waldorf Theatre Opened: 22 nd November, 1927	AC & Gene Buck	AC & Gene Buck	1927 208	AC: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>The Night Boat</i> Gene Buck <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lyrics for Ziegfeld Follies of 1919/
10.	AC	Title: Three Cheers Composer: Raymond Hubbell Produced by: Charles Dillingham Venue: The Globe Theatre Opened: 15 th October, 1928 Performances: 209	AC	AC & R H Burnside	1928 209	AC: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>The Night Boat</i> R. H. Burnside: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Sporting Days</i>
11.	AC	Title: Once Upon a Time ¹⁶ (1921) Composer: no composer/unproduced. Venue: n/a Opened: n/a	James O'Dea	AC & Laurence McCarty	n/a	AC: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>The Night Boat</i> Laurence McCarty <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>solo work not extant as McCarty appears to have only collaborated.</i>

Table 30. Illustration of Anne Caldwell's collaborated works, co-writers and detail of control scripts used for comparative text analysis. Source: (Coleman, 1993; Engle, 2007; Peck, 2009a). Key: = Caldwell/Burnside collaborations

¹⁶ It was discovered during the transcription process that *Once Upon a Time*, although listed as an unproduced musical from 1921 on the New York Public Library website (2021), is in fact an early draft of *The Lady and the Slipper* from 1912, not 1921 as catalogued (NYPL were duly notified).

An additional detail to be noted from Table 30 is the high tally of performances realised by each production, and this, overall, is not just on the shows entered into with R. H. Burnside, but those written throughout Anne Caldwell's career and it homes in on a particular style of musical comedy for which Caldwell had a particular gift, known as the 'star vehicle'. As revealed in Chapter One, Caldwell's first-hand performance experience from her early days in vaudeville delivered her a particular advantage as a writer of situation comedy and the key players in relation to the Caldwell/Burnside collaboration were also central to the success or otherwise of a Dillingham star vehicle production.

7.5.1 Anne Caldwell and the star vehicle

The star vehicle theme was generally in the style of pantomime, with familiar characters from traditional stories such as Cinderella or Aladdin and the key performers with whom Anne Caldwell worked over the course of her career were former vaudeville stars Montgomery and Stone, Dorothy Stone, Will Rogers and Fred and Adele Astaire. Gerald Bordman writes that:

Older playgoers --- or younger ones familiar with still lively English traditions -- - quickly recognized the source of the evening's drolleries --- the children's pantomimes once so popular in America [...]. Because Montgomery and Stone shows were so suitable for children, they benefited from an extra large audience. Yet, [-] critics never thought they patronized the audiences and so considered their vehicles adult entertainment. [...]. When a brutal box office slump hit in what should have been the height of the season, *Chin-Chin* alone of all Broadway shows continued to sell-out (1992, p. 301).

There are, however, key differences to note about this style of show compared to a traditional seasonal pantomime. Firstly, and unlike pantomime, the music was original and the composers with whom Caldwell was teamed were amongst some of the leading lights of the day (Victor Herbert; Jerome Kern; Vincent Youmans; Dave

Stamper; Raymond Hubbell; Ivan Caryll). Secondly, and as this chapter will demonstrate, in the same way as West End pantomimes are devised in the present day, there was a great deal of planning and attention to detail in the production process which the historical record, due to the star-focused element of the shows, has hitherto tended to undermine. However, as the performance record of each show clearly testifies, although these musical comedies may not have been culturally edifying, they provided a popular form of entertainment for all the family and Anne Caldwell made a key contribution to a significant amount of these highly successful productions on Broadway over a period of twenty-one years.

7.5.2 Anne Caldwell and R. H. Burnside: aligning primary source with the value-added prism of a LIWC perspective

The LIWC prism of examination will now home in on the Caldwell/Burnside collaborations, along with primary source illustrations of collaboration at work on the page. As with previous analyses in this chapter, the original and accompanying control scripts are detailed complete with word count totals in Table 31, below:

No.	Author(s)	Title	Collaboration or Control	Word count
1.	Anne Caldwell (AC) & R.H. Burnside (RHB) Lyrics: AC & James O'Dea	<i>Chin Chin</i>	Collaboration	11,165
3.	AC & RHB	<i>Stepping Stones</i>	Collaboration	15,406
2.	RHB	<i>Sporting Days</i>	Control	5,319
3.	AC	<i>The Night Boat</i>	Control	13,315

Table 31. Detail demonstrating collaborative scripts and related controls for Anne Caldwell and R.H. Burnside (for further detail, see Appendix F). Key: = collaboration; = AC solo; = RHB solo

As detailed in Chapters One (1.2.2) and Six (6.5.3), there was another significant partnership in Anne Caldwell's career as a dramatist and it was her second husband, the lyricist James O'Dea. It is interesting to note that although O'Dea died in April 1914, six months before *Chin Chin* opened, that he is nonetheless credited with his contribution to the show as co-lyricist with Caldwell although, his part in the collaboration is reported to have been no more than one song (*Those Temple Ragtime Bells*) (Patterson, 1915, p. 306). The chart excerpt shown below is taken from Chapter Six and serves to illustrate how the collaboration between the O'Dea/Caldwell writing partnership evolved with Burnside and Dillingham over the seven-year period leading up to the first Caldwell/Burnside jointly written libretto, *Chin Chin*, in 1914:

No.	Title	Libretto/ Lyricist	Composer	Director	Producer	Theatre & Year	Genre	Total Perfs
1.	Top O' Th' World	Mark E. Swan (libretto) James O'Dea (lyricist)	Anne Caldwell and Manuel Klein	Frank Smithson	J.M. Allison	Majestic, 1907	Musical extravaganza	156
2.	The Nest Egg	Anne Caldwell	n/a	James R. Gary	L.C. Wiswell	Bijou Theatre 1910	Play in 3 Acts	55
3.	Uncle Sam	Anne Caldwell and James O'Dea	n/a	unlisted	Charles Dillingham	Liberty Theatre 1911	Farce comedy in 3 acts	48
4.	The Lady of the Slipper	Libretto: Anne Caldwell, Lawrence McCarty; Lyrics: James O'Dea	Victor Herbert	R.H. Burnside	Charles Dillingham	Globe, 1912	Musical fantasy in 3 Acts	232
5.	When Claudia Smiles	Anne Caldwell, William Jerome, Jean Schwartz	n/a (Starred Blanche Ring)	Charles J. Winniger	Frederic McKay	Thirty-Ninth Street Theatre, 1914	Farce with songs	56
6.	Chin-Chin	Libretto: Anne Caldwell, R.H. Burnside Lyrics: Caldwell with James O'Dea	Ivan Caryll	R.H. Burnside	Charles Dillingham	Globe, 1914	Musical fantasy in 3 acts	295

Table 32: Excerpt taken from Table 6 (6.4.5) to highlight the progress of Caldwell's connective, collaborative working partnerships. **KEY:** Regular collaborator = ■■■■; Charles Dillingham = ■■■■;

The transcription process involved with the primary source material relating to Anne Caldwell's long-term partnership with Burnside revealed a wealth of comparative examples to merit the broader analysis of two collaborations (*Chin Chin* and *Stepping Stones*) and we will now examine particular highlights from each show in

turn, employing the control scripts *The Night Boat* (Anne Caldwell, 1920) and *Sporting Days* (R.H. Burnside, 1908) by way of comparative perspective.

The following charts (Figure 65; Table 33) show the results of the LIWC processed libretto for *Chin Chin* which opened at The Globe Theatre on 20th October, 1914:

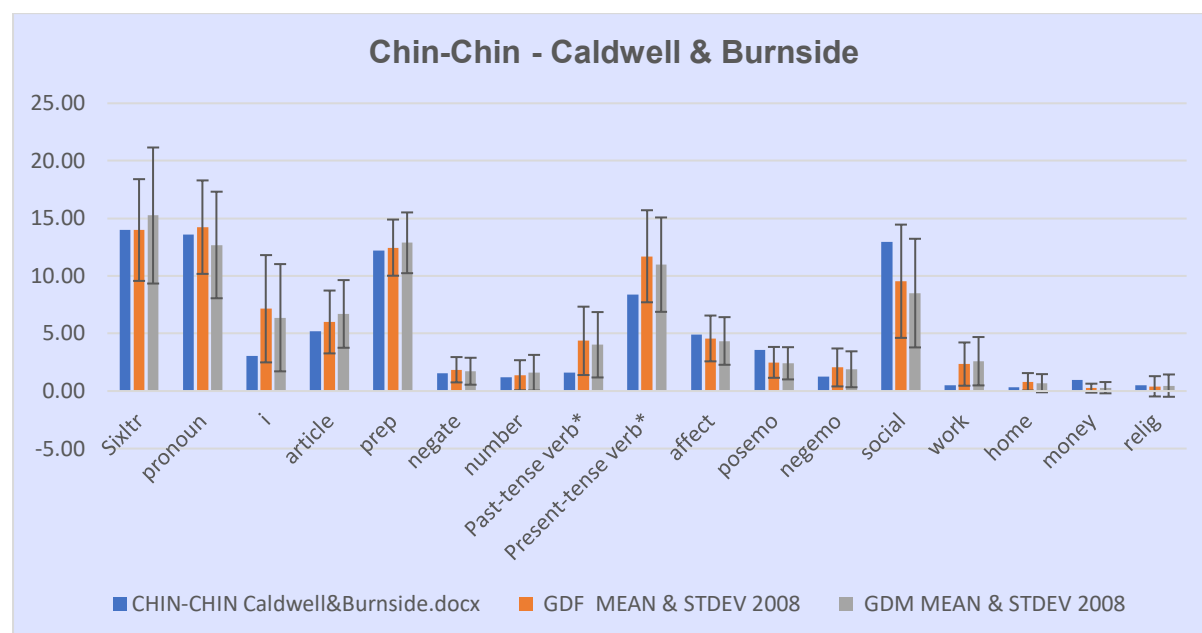


Figure 65. Demonstrating LIWC results for *Chin Chin*. Key: Blue column 1 = LIWC analysis result; Orange column 2 = 2008 LIWC female mean with stdev error bar; Grey column 3 = 2008 LIWC male mean with stdev error bar.

Filename	Sixltr	pronoun	i	article	prep	negate	number	Past-tens	Present-t	affect	posemo	negemo	social	work	home	money	relig
CHIN-CHIN	13.98	13.58	3.06	5.22	12.20	1.52	1.18	1.61	8.36	4.89	3.59	1.28	12.94	0.50	0.30	0.94	0.52
GDF MEAN	13.99	14.24	7.15	6	12.46	1.85	1.37	4.36	11.71	4.57	2.49	2.05	9.54	2.34	0.8	0.25	0.41
GDM MEAN	15.25	12.69	6.37	6.7	12.88	1.72	1.59	4.02	10.98	4.35	2.41	1.89	8.51	2.59	0.68	0.29	0.47
FSTDEV	4.42	4.06	4.66	2.73	2.44	1.1	1.31	2.97	4	1.99	1.34	1.65	4.92	1.88	0.76	0.39	0.88
MSTDEV	5.91	4.63	4.66	2.94	2.64	1.17	1.55	2.84	4.1	2.07	1.4	1.56	4.72	2.1	0.79	0.49	0.97

Table 33. Calculated detail analysis for results of the collaborated libretto of *Chin Chin* by Anne Caldwell and R.H. Burnside demonstrating comparative 2008 male (GDM) and female (GDF) gender difference mean and standard deviation (FSTEV; MSTEV)

Initial observations of the *Chin Chin* results suggest a fairly balanced collaboration, although it is interesting to note here that the first person singular, associated with female writing, is at the lower end of the variance and considerably below the female mean. The markers showing above average (social, money, religion) suggest that

these factors are driven by the storyline as opposed to gender writing mannerisms such as grammatical link or function words (pronouns; articles; prepositions; negations; quantifiers) and this underlines the importance not only of narrative context awareness but also the vital comparative measures afforded by the control scripts which are shown below (Figure 66):

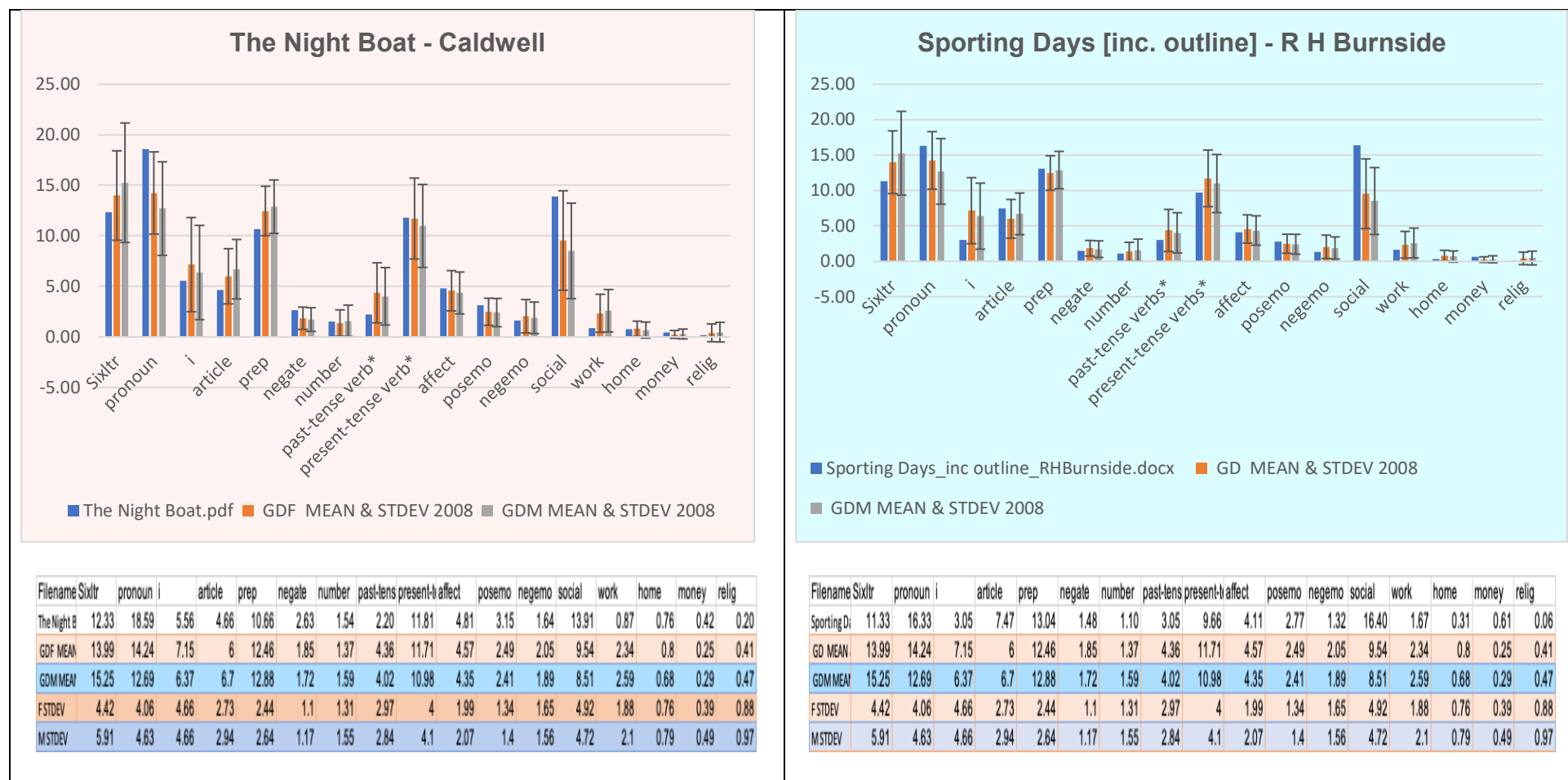


Figure 66. Calculated detail analyses for results of the control scripts of *The Night Boat* (Anne Caldwell) and *Sporting Days* (R.H. Burnside).

Chin Chin marks the first of the Caldwell/Burnside collaborations and although the first person singular female marker is low for female presence in the script, it could be argued that as this was Anne Caldwell's first collaborative work with Burnside, who was also an influential director, that Burnside exerted more influence in their first collaboration. However, it is interesting to note that cross comparisons with the controls reveal that both writers share above average (or mean) pronoun use and that their combined article and preposition usage reveals a male/female near mean balance in the collaborated script:

Function word	<i>The Night Boat</i>	<i>Chin Chin</i>	<i>Sporting Days</i>
Article	4.66	5.22 (mean = 6.065)	7.47
Preposition	10.66	12.20 (mean = 11.85)	13.04

Table 34. The demonstration of collaborative balance through function words

The advantage of the Linguistic-Hermeneutic lens here allows us to broaden the perspective of the LIWC results to consider alternative sources for insight into the nature of this first collaborative outing and it can be found in an interview with Anne Caldwell for *The Theatre* in June 1915:

[Dillingham], Mr Burnside and I met every day at Mr Dillingham's office and talked for hours. Each meeting the plot had evolved a bit further. It wasn't easy. To weave any kind of 'human interest' [sic] around two toy Mandarins who come to life in a Chinese shop and insist upon playing a grand piano, dancing a fox-trot, trying a ventriloquist specialty, and riding a barebacked horse was a bit daunting. Yet that was the problem that confronted us in 1913 when 'Chin Chin' [sic] was begun. In the winter Mr. Burnside, [...] went to Europe to arrange for the scene plots, costume plates and all the et ceteras of production. Mr Ivan Caryll, who wrote the music, made a couple of flying trips across the ocean from his home in the Alps Maritimes, and I plugged away at my home on Long Island, making frequent trips to town to consult the Commander-in-chief at the Globe. Mr Caryll and I exchanged cables as the work progressed [...]. It was a veritable correspondence school in playwriting (Patterson, 1915, p. 306)

This extract from the Anne Caldwell interview is notable on various levels, not just for its revealing content, but also for the perspective afforded the reader by Ada Patterson, the author of the article. In Chapter Two (Literature Review; 2.2) Patterson is cited along with Helen Christine Bennett as a ground-breaking female journalist of the day whose writing for the *New York Journal* covered inequality in female employment, women's working conditions and women's education and the 1915 interview clearly presents Caldwell as a female role model. Although it is Caldwell's sixth Broadway show, it is her first collaboration with Burnside and marks a turning-point in her career as a librettist and collaborator in her own right. The article itself is published eight months after *Chin Chin* opened on Broadway and her description of the planning processes and ways in which the individuals involved worked together as a team at once exemplifies Allen's power-to/power-with paradigm and each relational achieving style marker associated with successful connective leadership, thus demonstrating the development of the feminist theoretical perspective and highlighted here in Figure 67:

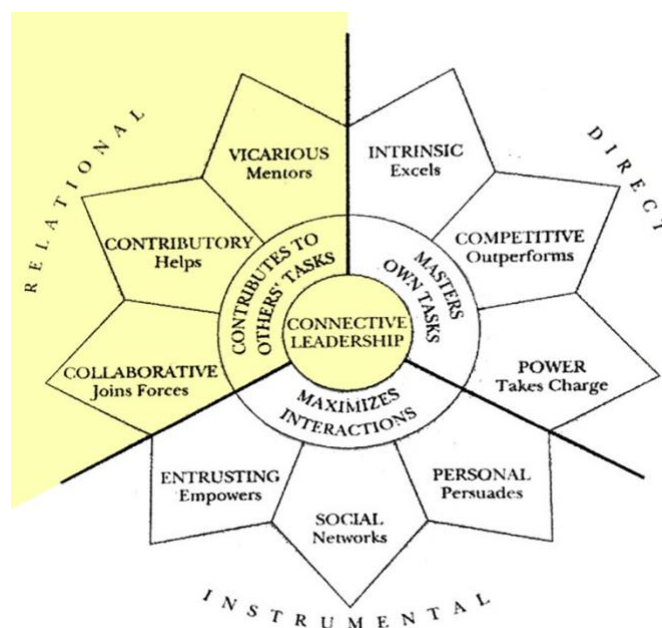


Figure 67. The L-BL Achieving Styles Model in relation to Anne Caldwell's collaborative, connective leadership style (Lipman-Blumen, 2000)

Caldwell's description of the way in which she met with Dillingham and Burnside to work on the development of the script every day for hours gives great insight into the working relationships at play in what was to become an extremely successful collaborative arrangement. It is worth noting that the three individuals met at Dillingham's office at *The Globe* and that Caldwell's description, while illustrating an immense collaborative effort, also alludes to a learning curve ('making frequent trips to town to consult the Commander-in-Chief'; 'veritable correspondence school in playwriting') and serves to illustrate how the initial power balance may have influenced the initial script and explain the considerably lower than average female LIWC result for the first person singular. Because the 2008 gender difference research confirms that the male/female balance in usage of function words is small but significant, it is important not to overlook lower than expected outcomes in a LIWC result as purely unexplained anomalies for the potential insight they may afford when aligned with further script analyses and primary and secondary material and this can now be illustrated as part of the onward analysis of the Caldwell/Burnside partnership.

7.5.3 *Stepping Stones*: blending LIWC with further primary source observations

In 1923, nine years after *Chin Chin* opened on Broadway, Caldwell and Burnside's fourth collaboration, *Stepping Stones* (a musical re-telling of *Little Red Riding Hood*) opened at The Globe Theatre. As before, it was produced by Charles Dillingham and marked Caldwell's fifth collaboration with composer Jerome Kern and the LIWC analysis of the script (in tandem with the related controls), reveals telling signs of how the writing partnership has evolved through the working process of four shows:

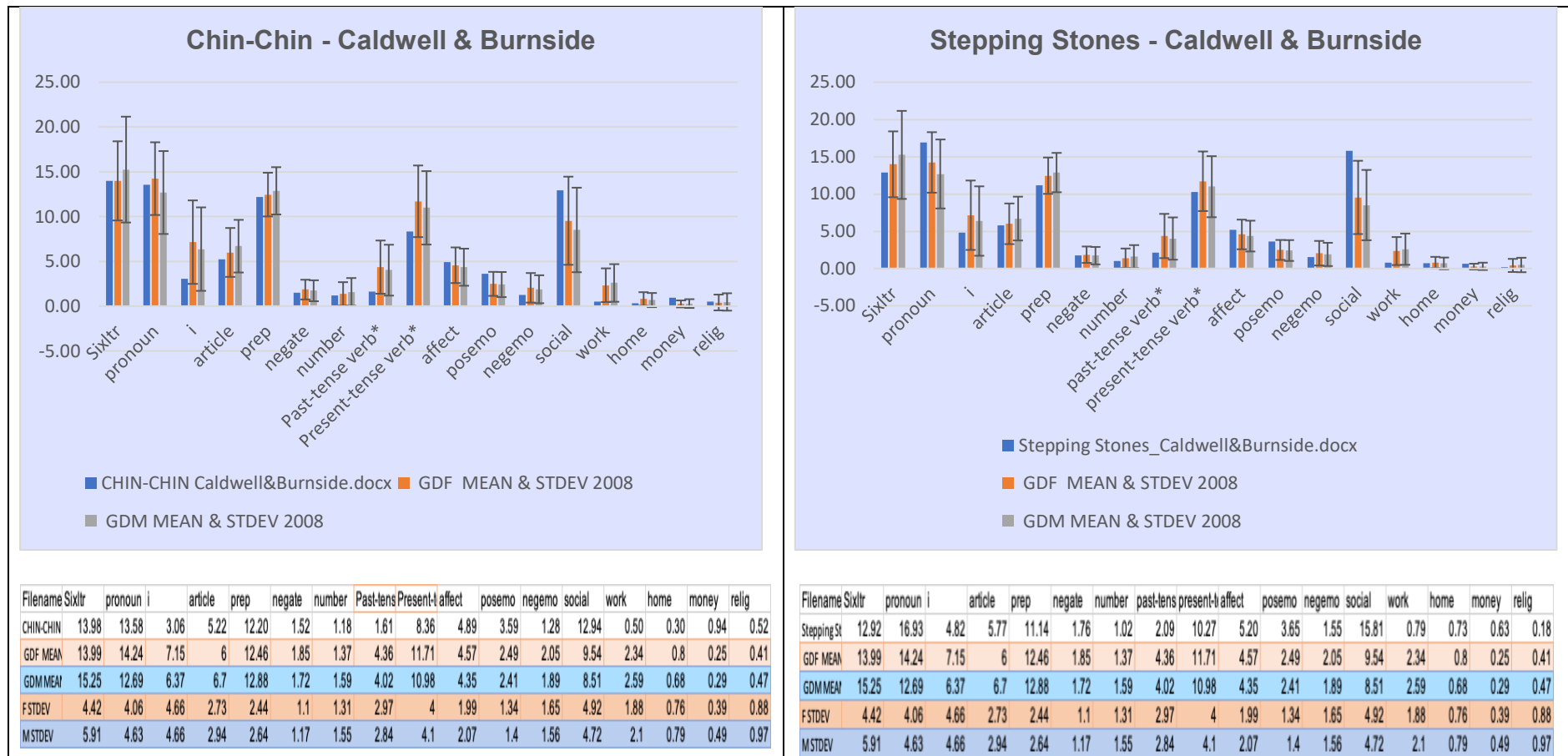


Figure 68. Comparative analysis of *Chin Chin* (1914) with *Stepping Stones* (1923)

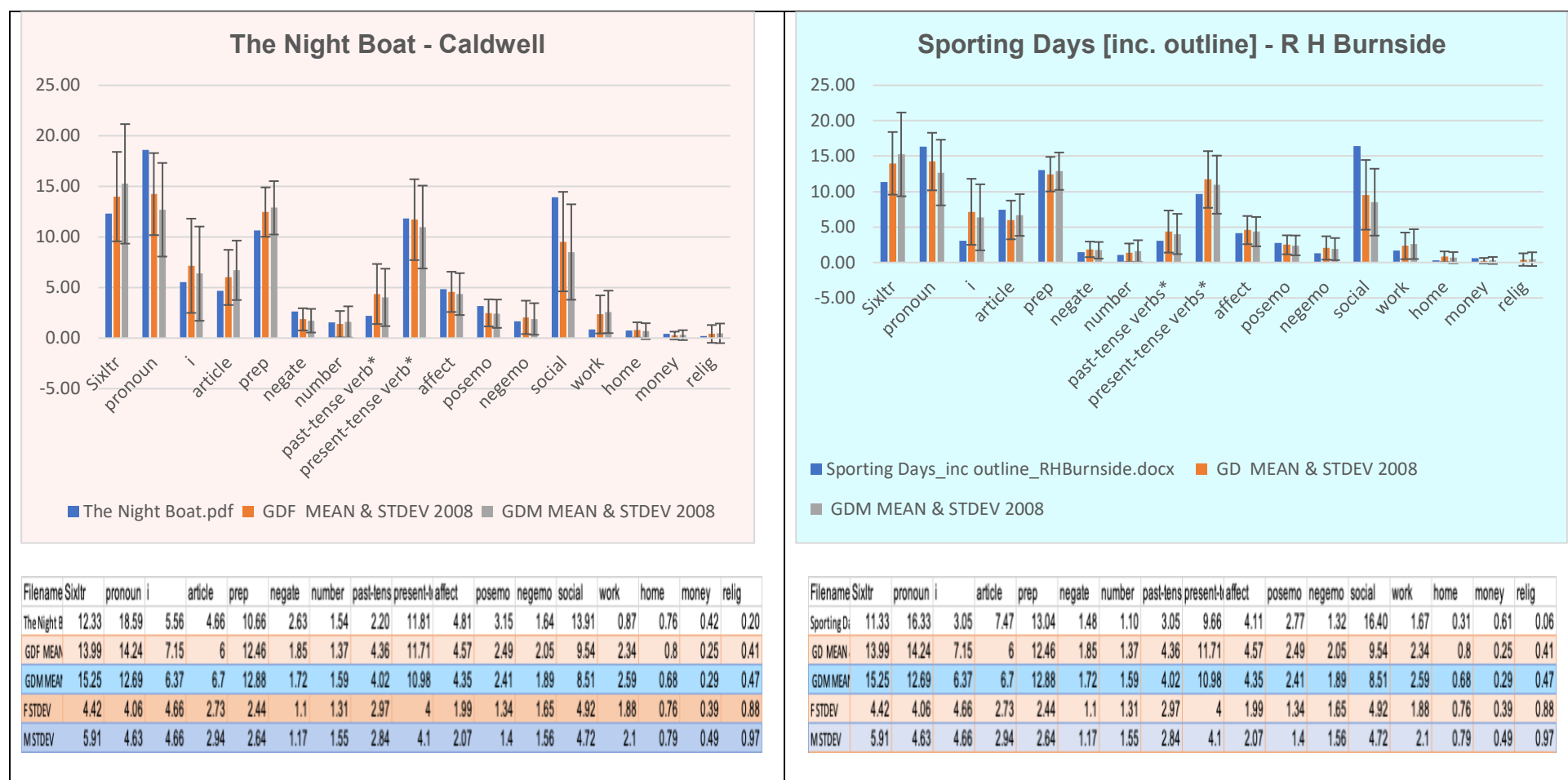


Figure 69. Control scripts of *The Night Boat* (Anne Caldwell) and *Sporting Days* (R.H. Burnside) for comparative analysis with Figure 15.

Scrutiny of the analyses and corresponding data sheets reveal aspects of how the Caldwell/Burnside collaboration developed over time and is particularly noticeable when compared in tandem with each writer's control script. This phenomenon is made clearer when homing in on the specifics of particular function words, and, in this case, they are made up of first-person singular pronouns, articles and prepositions. Table 35 (below) illustrates how the cross comparisons with the controls reveal the following:

- The original *Chin Chin* results (Figures 12; 15) show that the first-person singular usage was within a percentage point of Burnside's solo written script (*Chin Chin* = 3.06; *Sporting Days* = 3.05).
- The *Stepping Stones* result (Figure 15) shows that first-person singular usage has changed significantly over time and is balanced more closely to Anne Caldwell's usage (*Stepping Stones* = 4.82; *The Night Boat* = 5.56).
- Whereas there is a notable difference between article and preposition usage between both control scripts in Figure 16, it is only when the figures for all three function word categories are scrutinised in tandem with the controls that a compelling pattern outlining the evolution of the collaboration is revealed, demonstrating a blending of male/female writing style (shown in Table 35).

1	2	3	4
Function word	Female Control	Collaboration	Male Control
	<i>The Night Boat</i> AC	<i>Chin Chin</i> AC/RHB 1914	<i>Sporting Days</i> RHB
First person singular pronoun 'I'	5.56	3.06 (mean = 4.305)	3.05
Article	4.66	5.22 (mean = 6.065)	7.47
Preposition	10.66	12.20 (mean = 11.85)	13.04
		<i>Stepping Stones</i> 1923	
First person singular pronoun 'I'	5.56	4.82 (mean = 4.305)	3.05
Article	4.66	5.77 (mean = 6.065)	7.47
Preposition	10.66	11.14 (mean = 11.85)	13.04

Table 35. Demonstration of the evolution of the Caldwell/Burnside collaborative balance through function words

Scrutiny of column 3 in Table 35 reveals a noticeable shift in the jointly written scripts from *Chin Chin* in 1914 to *Stepping Stones* in 1923 whereby the function words illustrate how their collaborated usage has been drawn in closer proximity to the calculated mean between the two controls. Of note to the male/female influence is that whereas first person singular and article usage over time has drawn closer to the collaborated mean, preposition use has moved slightly lower and closer to Anne Caldwell's mean usage. Whereas this last point highlights only a small difference, when comparing the balance between the two writer's combined work over the nine-

Once in a Blue Moon
"WHEN THE MOON IS BLUE"

Anne Caldwell

Jerome Kern

Men are called deceivers ever,
And women play with passion-
One true love that lasts forever
Is sadly out of fashion-
Moonlit madness under a pale sky,
Flames that turns to ashes, and then die-
All too soon the lips that kiss
May learn to say, "Goodbye"--.

Refrain

Once in a blue moon
Once in a blue moon, you will meet the right one,
~~Under the new moon~~, find your dear-delight one-
Then, with a thrill, you know that love is true,
Once in a lifetime, when the moon is blue.

Verse 11

My slim girlie took my heart by storm,
With her eyes so truthful-
In that heart so closely sweet and warm,
Dwells her image, youthful-
Maids who pass me smilingly, so gay-
Go, without beguiling me, their way,
There's but one for me, and she shall be
My own some day.

Figure 71. Example of handwritten amends in the typescript of *Stepping Stones* from the end of Act 1 (this page follows consecutively from the image shown at Figure 70). Source. New York Public Library, Performing Arts Research Collections – Theatre

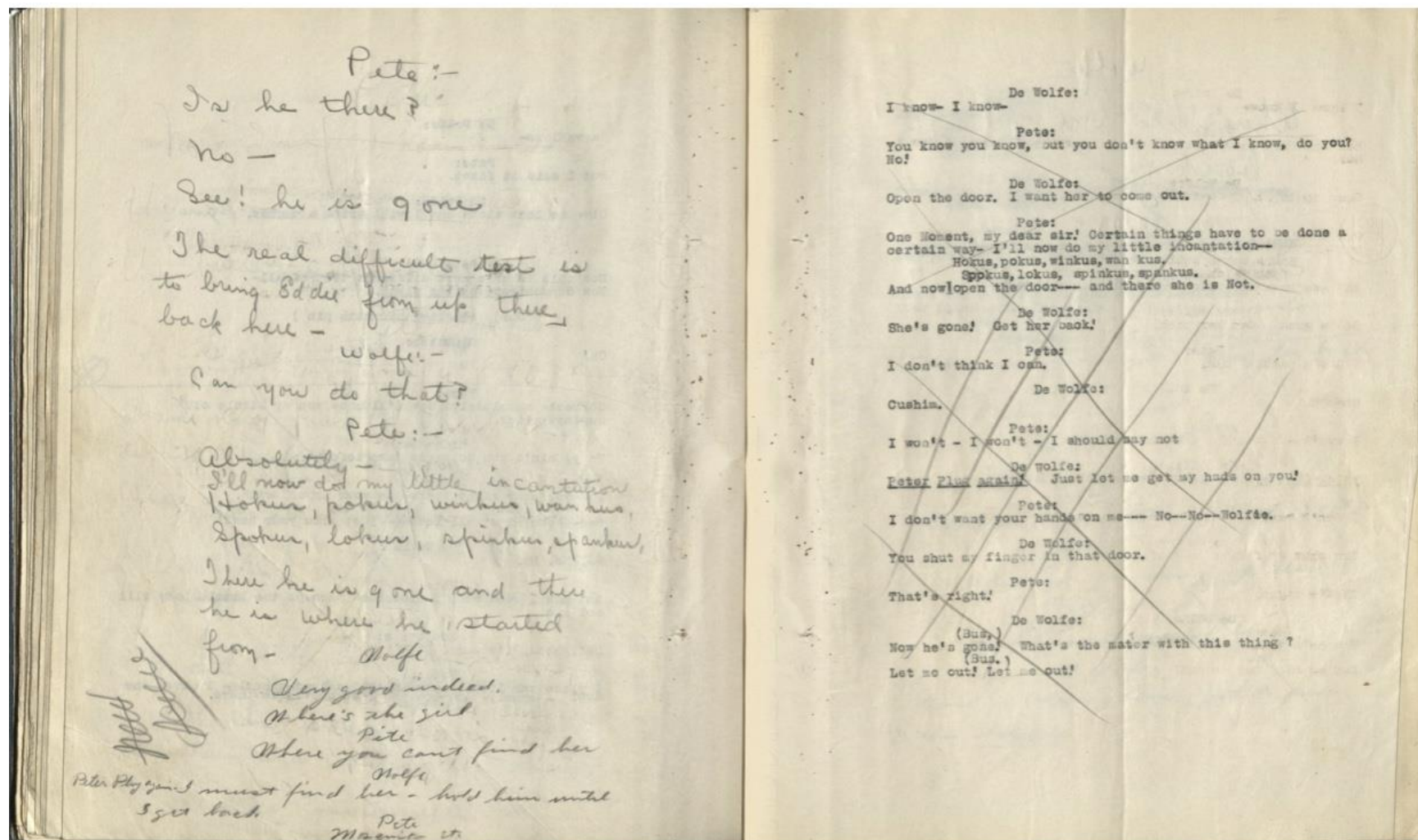


Figure 72. Example of two distinct handwriting styles on one page, from *Stepping Stones*, beginning of Act 2.
Source. New York Public Library, Performing Arts Research Collections – Theatre

The original typescript from which these samples are taken is held at the New York Public Library and contains a wealth of handwritten amendments throughout the script. The responsibility of identifying handwriting carries the risk of speculation and whereas it is established that two people collaborated on the libretto, the purpose of this chapter is to identify that a successful collaborative exercise was undertaken and this is particularly exemplified in Figure 72 where the left hand page illustrates how it is clear there are two authors at work. The primary evidence visually demonstrates the act of a collaborative task physically on the page although this in turn sets in motion a separate need to identify the authors. In order to identify handwriting, it is possible to scrutinise letter writing style, as in Burnside's writing on the front of the *Stepping Stones* typescript (Figure 73) and comparing key letters such as R, H. and B, the letter 'R' matching very clearly with the script at Figure 70.

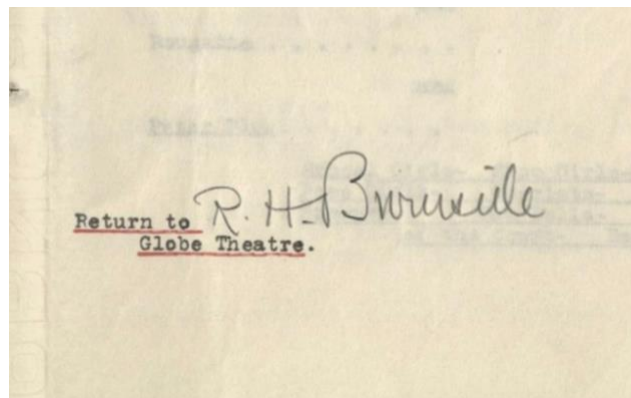


Figure 73. Burnside's signature on the front page of *Stepping Stones* typescript. Source: New York Public Library. Performing Arts Research Collections.

Knowing that Caldwell is the lyricist, suggests the handwritten amends on the song lyrics (Figure 71) would be hers. However, without the benefit of further handwriting samples or controls from each contributor, definitive identification reaches beyond the scope of this research. What the analysis of these samples and the script as a whole does bring to the research is the indisputable fact that the pages have been shared by two different authors, the combination of handwritten notes attesting to a

collaboration and a wholly compatible working relationship, corroborated by the Anne Caldwell interview from 1915.

Finally, Caldwell's voice is clearly shown in a type-written note outlining scene plots at the beginning of the *Criss Cross* typescript, a Charles Dillingham production she co-wrote with Otto Harbach which was directed by Burnside at *The Globe* in 1926:

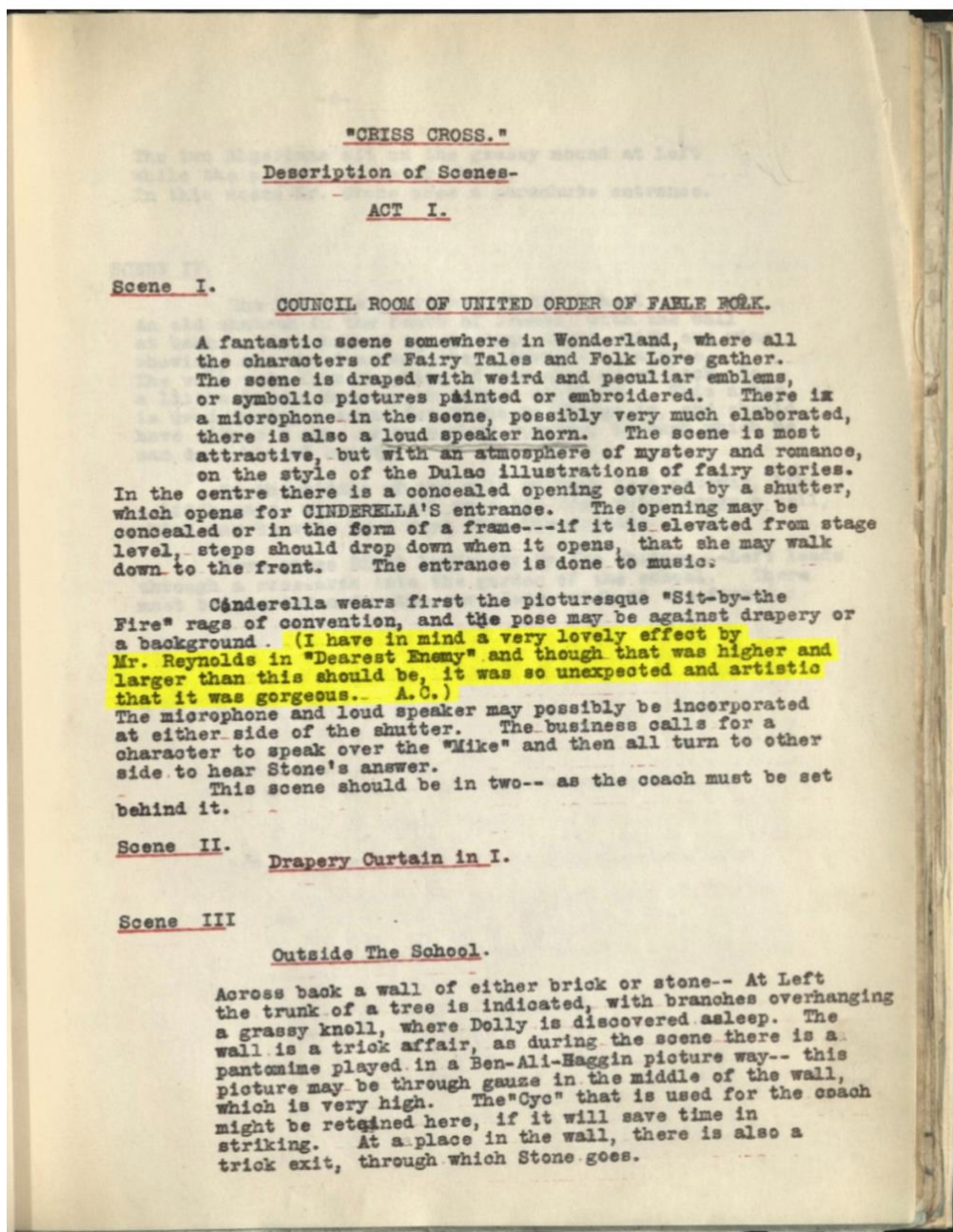


Figure 74. Example of Anne Caldwell's method of communicating with her fellow collaborators taken from *Criss Cross*, opening scene plots, p.13. Source: New York Public Library, Performing Arts Research Collections – Theatre. kic file 0001-4

Caldwell's note, embedded in the typescript, serves to demonstrate the informal nature of the group dynamic involved in the show. Although she was working with another writer (Harbach), she is still collaborating with Dillingham and Burnside and it appears the working method has changed little from the early *Chin Chin* routine described in 1915 and bears witness to a writer contributing as part of a team effort, wholly engaged in aspects of script development beyond the written word. On the subject of peer groups and hierarchies, Lipman-Blumen writes that:

Because they perceive complex connections among people and organizations, connective leaders do not focus on vertical relationships and hierarchies. In fact, they see their environment as networks of peers rather than hierarchies of ranks. Egalitarian and horizontal structures, with no one giving orders and no one snapping to attention, appeal to connective leaders (2000, p. 237).

That Anne Caldwell's association with Dillingham and Burnside lasted for over twenty years is testament to the wholly egalitarian and successful horizontal structure of their collaborative working environment, ultimately affirmed in each of the analytical methods undertaken in this chapter.

7.6 Conclusion

The intention at the outset of this chapter was to present the culmination of the linguistic-hermeneutic analysis by illustrating the ways in which LIWC can serve as a methodological tool to enhance primary source scrutiny of co-written works to further understand the balance of power relations in collaboration. The enhanced prism of perspective afforded the research by the dual aspect of LIWC and primary source scrutiny has successfully served to build individual case studies based on LIWC's objective mathematical calculations which are subsequently reflected in the primary source analyses. This additional layer of perspective within the Linguistic-

Hermeneutic Paradigm therefore provides insight not afforded by primary source analysis alone, adding a layer of objectivity when assessing either previous musicological assumptions (in the case of Johnson Young and Duncan) or previously unconsidered aspects of collaborative working patterns (Donnelly and Caldwell).

In the case of Rida Johnson Young, and because of the particular direct achieving style exemplified in her correspondence, it would be easy to overlook her generosity as a writing partner and this is revealed in the alignment of LIWC and primary source analysis. Contrary to previous assumptions, LIWC results suggest her contribution to *His Little Widows* to have been far greater than previously suggested, revealing subtle nuances of a collaborative style which serves to explain why she expressed in an interview the need for Duncan to receive as much credit as her for the finished work.

In relation to Dorothy Donnelly's collaboration with Edgar Smith, the dual perspective helps demonstrate an equally illuminating discovery in the evidence of a marginally stronger male influence in a work where it would be easy to overlook this as Donnelly's lack of authorial experience, bending to the influence of a more experienced writer. The dual method of analysis enables an alternative reason for the imbalance by the insertion of late revisions implicating the hand of the producers prior to opening night. In the case of Anne Caldwell, her enduring work relationship with R.H. Burnside and Charles Dillingham provides an arena with plenty of scope to explore the flexibility of LIWC analysis, homing in on the evolution of their

collaborative style, cross-referenced by a press interview and primary source evidence of diverse handwritten amends on the page.

In each unique case, the versatility and insight afforded the analysis by the addition of the LIWC scrutiny proves the value of combining the two analytical approaches to reveal previously unconsidered aspects of each writer's distinct collaborative working methods. Jean Lipman-Blumen writes that:

[d]espite abundant mythology about women's competitiveness vis-à-vis one another, there is convincing evidence that women excel in collaborative, contributory, and mentoring behavior [sic], all important aspects of connective leadership (1992).

The dual investigative perspective has served to illumine aspects of each one of these values, which simultaneously echo Allen's power triad and the advantageous flexibility of individuals intent on a common goal.

To sum up, whilst it is clear from these results that the vast detail afforded by the LIWC analysis has the potential for much broader investigation beyond the remit of this research, the key contrasts they reveal around male/female unconscious writing mannerisms is noteworthy. As a value-added methodological tool for identifying gender characteristics in collaboration, LIWC proves its capability to unlock a broader sphere of analytical inquiry within text-based musicological analysis and demonstrates its capacity to provide an unparalleled layer of unbiased objectivity to the research process as a whole.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to assess how the thesis has served the objectives of both the research problem and question and to more specifically establish the wider significance of the new discoveries and the ways in which the methodological rigour signposts a new approach for future musicological inquiry.

8.1.1 Identifying the essence of the research problem

The specifics at the heart of the research problem relate to gender equality, business negotiation and creative collaborative working practices. Part of the unique perspective here is the unexpected use of the term gender *equality* in a thesis exploring working practices in an era more generally associated with patriarchal dominance. The gender equality focus then became instrumental in aligning the research with the correct methodological perspective and to the overall development of the research design. The establishment of the critical epistemological perspective provided the ideal platform for narrative, discourse and text analysis, all elements related to business negotiation and collaboration and established an elemental core for the development of each chapter underscored by a feminist theoretical perspective.

8.1.2 Answering the research question(s)

The determining factors of the research question centre on the relatively unexpected phenomenon of women in the arts appearing to have the freedom to exercise their

dramatic rights and negotiate non-gender-biased earnings in the early twentieth century. Further, this research questioned the feasibility of genuine opportunity to collaborate with male peers and whether it would be possible to measure their joint efforts as free from researcher bias as possible. The dual nature of the research question is explored through the three substantive chapters through analysis of primary source correspondence and contracts and the two-tier analysis of the scripts enabled by LIWC. The feminist theoretical and hermeneutic focus enabled hitherto unexplored observations around power relations *vis à vis* writer/producer/publisher alliances in Chapter Five, allowing scrutiny to move beyond superficial impressions on the page to home in on each subject's particular negotiational style. This profile-building prism organically flowed through to the further analysis of contracts and networking and the analysis of collaboration which, supported by the objectivity of LIWC text analysis, brought a new empirical perspective to creative collaboration. By way of summary, Table 36 (below) charts the ways in which the interdisciplinary exploration of the various sources coalesce to clarify the findings.

No.	Research Question #1	Research Question #2
Five	By analysing individual alliances from the perspective of writer/producer/composer/publisher, the Correspondence chapter reveals the ways in which both Rida Johnson Young and Dorothy Donnelly were able to successfully conduct their business affairs. The feminist theoretical perspective enhances the interpretation of each dramatist's position within the theatrical hierarchy. Skill at negotiation is exemplified	Supported by the confidence of their contracts, how did it affect their position in the group to collaborate? The value of the hermeneutic lens provided the opportunity to reflect not just on the actual language of the correspondence but also the unspoken gestures on the page, reflecting, for instance, Boerboom's interpretation of hermeneutical theory of how individuals and collectives understand texts and communicative actions via their interpretive practices (Boerboom, 2017, p.652).

	through written requests for presence in the rehearsal room; script-reading; views on casting; credit given in advertising material.	
Five		This chapter reveals new and unconsidered aspects of <i>The Student Prince</i> collaboration between Donnelly and J.J. Shubert, revealing a previously unacknowledged successful dramaturgical/creative alliance between dramatist and producer.
Six	Analysis of contractual correspondence and royalty statements highlights requests for key clauses in contracts which were eventually settled as part of The Dramatists' Guild MBA, including remuneration and ownership of rights beyond a Broadway run.	Scrutiny of membership records of Unions and Guilds builds a profile of successful professional networking and consistent collaborative relationships.
Seven		The chapter builds individual profiles of collaboration for each dramatist which are enhanced by the LIWC text analysis to reveal previously unconsidered aspects of each writer's distinct collaborative working methods.

Table 36. Summary of research question findings connecting chapters 5-7.

The success achieved in answering the research question at the heart of this interdisciplinary research is due to an adherence to a narrative founded on archival primary source analysis supported by the methodological prism of the Linguistic-Hermeneutic Paradigm and the socially scientific-based results of the LIWC text analyses. By combining primary source archival inquiry with the prism of computer assisted text analysis serves as an added value triangulatory methodological tool to enhance scrutiny of power relations and collaboration. Forty years on from scholar Patricia Penn Hilden's appeal 'to the scholarly criterion of accuracy' (1982) in the feminist narrative, the imperative for methodological care is as relevant as ever. Advances in technology, combined with greater receptivity to the advantages of

interdisciplinary perspectives, enable researchers in the present day to hone the criterion of accuracy even further.

8.2 The new knowledge

The application of the Linguistic-Hermeneutic Paradigm introduces a logical processing of the material, each method viewing the primary material from the perspective of a methodological lens rather than one purely based in a traditional, often subjective, narrative. The application of the lens over the course of the thesis reveals five aspects of new knowledge in respect of:

- (i) dramatists' rights
- (ii) networking
- (iii) dramaturgical development
- (iv) creative collaboration
- (v) non-gender biased commercial viability.

8.2.1 Pioneers of dramatists' rights and proponents of networking

The detailed focus of the correspondence and contracts reveals the ways in which Caldwell, Donnelly and Johnson Young each contributed to and were pioneers of dramatists' rights. To expand further, rather than considering demands made in a letter from a subjective perspective, the nature of the research paradigm necessitates a deeper questioning of what was at stake in their demands by questioning further the reasons for being present in the rehearsal room, pursuing payments and taking part in casting decisions. Further examination of the context of the dramatists' position reveals how each demand foreshadows the terms of the founding principles of The Dramatists' Guild by at least a decade. This is underlined

by Caldwell's founding membership of ASCAP, Johnson Young's election to the first Dramatists' Guild Council and Donnelly's numerous affiliations including Equity and ASCAP. Membership of guilds and unions underline the importance of professional alliances for advice and support through networking and Johnson Young's early connection with The Dramatists' Guild, recorded within the footnotes of playwright and key founder of The Dramatists' Guild, George Middleton's memoir (1947, p. 306) challenges previous perceptions of the writer as a sole operator (Peck, 2009b, 2020).

8.2.2 Dramaturgical discovery

Analysis of *The Student Prince* correspondence featured in Chapter Five is a prime example of the benefits reaped from forensic examination of primary correspondence. Whereas previous scholarly analyses of the original letter are influenced by unsubstantiated, anecdotal accounts (Stagg, 1968; Ewen, 1970, p. 513; Hirsch, 2000) they were held in high enough regard to subsequently influence academic opinion (McLean, 1999, p. 134; Peck, 2009, p. 34). Bypassing accepted opinion and scrutinising original texts led to previously undiscovered elements relating to dramaturgical development specific to the evolution of early musical theatre (5.4). Of equal value in the process is the way in which the forensic approach highlighted collaborative processes *vis à vis* producer/dramatist expectations foreshadowing values established in The Dramatists' Guild Minimum Basic Agreement in 1927 and founding Bill of Rights (Chapter Five). To reiterate Moran and John-Steiner here:

Collaboration creates an environment where the partners can push the boundaries of themselves and integrate their differing personal characteristics. Interactions between partners create new properties that

build on each other toward creative outcomes, identities, and relational possibilities. (2004, p. 21)

This statement highlights the added value of an interdisciplinary approach to twenty-first century musicology, corroborating how a wider understanding of the nature of collaboration can broaden the researcher mind-set and fine tune a greater three-dimensional process in academic inquiry.

8.2.3 Measuring creative collaboration

The exploration of creative collaboration and the balance of gender writing styles utilising computer assisted text analysis software signposts new methods for the exploration of male/female collaboration in musicological archival research.

Utilising LIWC text analysis has demonstrated how data-driven hermeneutics can serve as a complimentary layer of analysis to traditional musicological inquiry. Using the 2008 gender difference in writing styles data as a blueprint, the results of the analyses reveal patterns of male/female influence which not only shed new light on current academic assumptions of the collaborated works but showcase a contemporary interdisciplinary outlook for musicological expression.

8.2.4 Lessons learnt from early twentieth century commercial equality

The unique perspective of the research has been supported by Allen's feminist theory triumvirate of power relations (1999, 2005) and Lipman-Blumen's paradigm of connective leadership (1992, 2000). Homing in on the balance of power in the producer/dramatist relationship has highlighted an early twentieth century working model for negotiation, evidently free of gender bias. Whereas the overall narrative of

this research illustrates that contract negotiation was by no means a fair playing-field (particularly prior to the introduction of the Minimum Basic Agreement in the late 1920's), the findings clearly reveal that producers focused on the commercial viability of a creative property in negotiation (highlighted by Lee Shubert's maxim of getting 'the best and most') rather than the gender of the dramatist. Whilst this premise for negotiation was based in an unfair system of unregulated agreements, this new perspective *vis à vis* non-gender biased commercial parity provides a compelling perspective in relation to the gender pay gap dialogue in the twenty-first century.

8.3 What happens next?

A central premise of a doctoral thesis is not simply the dissemination of new knowledge but understanding its relevance for the future. Michael J Crotty writes that critical inquiry "is a contrast between a research that seeks merely to understand and research that challenges ... between a research that reads the situation in terms of conflict and oppression ... between a research that accepts the *status quo* [sic] and a research that seeks to bring about change" (1998, p. 113). The aim of this research has been to illumine notable achievements so that they might inform our present and future actions, the point of departure being raising awareness beyond academia.

8.3.1 Disseminating the knowledge to a wider audience

The importance of disseminating the knowledge to a wider audience represents a high priority if we are to change the mindset of the status quo. Whilst there has been a greater awareness of the contribution made by women on Broadway within musicological academia for nearly thirty years, the retinue of male writers originally

promoted in monographs by the likes of Morehouse and Smith (1949; 1950) continue to influence perceptions and reinforce the revered status of the male-dominated musical theatre canon in the present day. Until more is done to redress the perceptions of the collective psyche, the invaluable contributions made by women to the musicological landscape in the early twentieth century will continue unnoticed or at best disregarded. Chapter One alluded to an article published in February 2022 by the independent policy institute, Chatham House, investigating the ways in which we can work to create gender equality in the workplace, stating that:

Research shows that workplace inequality affects not only individuals but has a bearing on the productivity and profitability of companies as well. Companies with higher gender diversity on executive teams are more likely to have above average profitability. Yet, despite the strong incentive for tackling the problem, gender inequality in the workplace persists. The serious implications gender inequality has for both individuals and businesses demonstrate the importance of achieving equality for societies and economies to thrive. At the current rate of progress, it will take 99.5 years to close the global gender gap, so action in this area is paramount if it is to be closed within our lifetime (Hart *et al.*, 2022).

This statement signposts the further ways in which the discoveries from this research reach beyond the boundaries of musicology, highlighting an imperative to communicate the findings to the wider community. In an age of multiple broadcast platforms, we are now in a position to disseminate information beyond the sphere of academic literature to not only establish an unbiased, more representative historical perspective but to educate and enlighten future generations beyond narrow and out-dated attempts to de-rail gender equality.

8.3.2 Anne Caldwell monograph

In contrast to the biographical publications detailing the lives of Dorothy Donnelly and Rida Johnson Young, the trajectory of Anne Caldwell's impressive career

remains as yet unpublished as a monograph. The discovery of previously uncatalogued primary material relating to Caldwell's career during this research process substantiates the clear need to represent her achievements fully in the historical record to further raise awareness of women's achievements during the Progressive Era. However, whilst a published monograph represents a first step, if our intention to redress the current imbalance in the historical record is truly genuine, there should be a greater ambition to disseminate knowledge to a wider audience beyond academic convention to popular mediums such as podcasts, radio, television and online forums such as TED Talks.

8.3.3 Promoting a new methodological approach

Musicological methods in archival research traditionally favour text-based descriptive profiles of creative work presented in tandem with biographical narratives supporting the analysis. A central mechanism of this research which has consistently forged the onward momentum of the analysis has been the creation of the Linguistic-Hermeneutic Paradigm. The model has been instrumental in the organisation of vast amounts of data (including six appendices consisting of in excess of 200 photographic images and 33 charts representing analysis of over half a million words) and represents a new model of analysis for streamlining musicological narratives.

8.3.4 Utilising LIWC as a complimentary layer for research rigour

To reiterate a key conclusion from the text analyses of Chapter Seven, the vast detail afforded by the LIWC analysis in assessing the collaborative partnerships has proved it has the potential for much broader investigation beyond the remit of this

research. The results from the gender differences research project (Newman *et al.*, 2008) helped establish the methodological blueprint for a new method of musicological analysis. Establishing how word count software can be utilised beyond the realms of social sciences to reveal unconscious gender writing mannerisms and its potential for use within musicological archival analysis is significant, revealing its capability to unlock a broader sphere within text-based analysis and demonstrates its capacity to provide an unparalleled layer of unbiased objectivity to the research process as a whole. Used in tandem with traditional observational techniques the application of LIWC provides a layer of logic based in social-scientific analysis which elevates conventional scrutiny and delivers musicology a new triangulatory method of analysis for qualitative research in the twenty-first century.

8.3.5 Further avenues for research

The application of LIWC within a musicological research model opens up potential further avenues of interdisciplinary research projects related to the psychology of collaboration. Whereas this thesis has begun the analysis of collaborative works, the combination of primary source data in the form of scripts, complete with hand-written additions and the LIWC results has established the potential for greater in-depth exploration of the subject at post-doctoral level.

The result of viewing negotiation from the feminist theoretical perspective revealed how propriety became an advantage for the New Woman, dictating it improper to meet a producer in a bar at the end of the working day unlike her male peers who were placed at a distinct disadvantage and open to compromise by the culture of the

gentlemen's club. The utilisation of the feminist prism reveals how the favoured business model of a handshake for agreement represents a previously unconsidered negotiational advantage women held over their male peers and points to potential avenues for further academic research.

8.4 Closing thoughts

Whereas the importance of stating womankind's right to a place in the history books is a matter of fact, it is by no means revelatory. Second wave feminism and the work of feminist writers such as Betty Friedan called out the injustice of denying a woman's right to choose in the early 1960s, rightly signposting and lamenting the loss of opportunity achieved by their grandmothers fifty years before. It is now time for feminists and society in general in the twenty-first century to learn yet more from the past: to fully recognise that not only were women's life choices diverted by ingrained social misogyny but their status to negotiate equal pay was side-lined even more effectively. Reflection on the results of this research reveals that women in the twenty-first century have largely been labouring under the illusion that they have never been treated equally regarding financial recompense or negotiating power. The evidence presented in this thesis proves that even before women had won the right to vote, they were able to earn and negotiate on a par with their male peers, their common point of negotiation being their commercial viability not their gender. However, whilst scholars have diligently presented peer-reviewed evidence in monographs, journals and at conferences since the early 1990s, their discoveries remain largely unknown beyond their own disciplinary sphere. By perpetuating conventional patterns for disseminating new knowledge and overlooking the audience beyond academe is surely the underlying reason general misconceptions

of the musical theatre canon have not been realigned in the thirty years since new discoveries were made in the early 1990s.

In April 2020, authors of an Open Access article set out innovative strategies for the dissemination of research within the scientific community and noted that, irrespective of the multiple avenues available to researchers, there remains a reticence to engage fully with new strategies beyond tried and tested methods (Ross-Hellauer T, Tennant JP, Banelytè V, Gorogh E, Luzi D, 2020). However, researchers have the facility (and it could be argued, responsibility) to promote new methods beyond the monograph, journals and academic conference route, to consider the effective new strategies from the various trends highlighted by the authors of the 2020 report, such as:

New online formats for interaction with the wider public, such as TED talks broadcast via YouTube often receive millions of views (...) In particular, digital technologies invoke new ways of teaching and involving audiences beyond their usual primary dissemination targets (i.e., other scholars) to actively involve peers or citizens who would otherwise remain out of reach for traditional methods of communication (2020).

This developing mindset within the academic community signals exciting developments in transforming universal dissemination of new knowledge and points the way forward for transformative approaches across all disciplines which link more consciously with the wider public.

Finally, the specific methodological outlook of this research has also enabled a closer consideration of power relations, the results of which are relevant to a broad spectrum of analysis beyond musicology. Homing in on the professional behaviour patterns of Caldwell, Donnelly and Johnson Young has revealed successful behavioural working models which are relevant to the present day. Constructing

awareness of the broader professional network at play inevitably builds stronger, more representative profiles in historical accuracy rather than exploring solo biographical narratives as is often the case in conventional musicological research. This research has shown how each writer operated in a patriarchal society with confidence, equanimity and with the respect of her peers with whom she collaborated and negotiated financially as an equal. Taruskin writes that 'by acknowledging that the "problem" of women's creativity in the arts, and in music particularly, is one that we do not see directly but through a screen of social and esthetic issues' and that '[o]nce this is realized, economic and political factors such as *access* and *dissemination* suddenly stand revealed' (Taruskin, 2010). Rather than continuing to confine this period of time to the realms of a bygone golden era of opportunity only experienced by enterprising women who wrote for the theatre, it is therefore surely time to fully elevate and disseminate their creative and business achievements beyond academia and contribute valuable insights to gender pay gap debates in the present day.

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Appendix A

Methods 1a & 1b: Primary source correspondence between writers and their network

Key:

RJY: Rida Johnson Young; DD: Dorothy Donnelly; LS: Lee Shubert; JJS JJ Shubert; SO: Shubert Office; OC: Office copy; SA: The Shubert Archive. Contractual correspondence:

No.	From	To	Date	Précis of Contents	Image ref location	Researcher Image no.
1	RJY	LS	'Tuesday'	Letter. Artist negotiation. Helen Lowell for 'Lottery'.	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470 General Correspondence	IMG_0001.jpg
2	LS	RJY	23.9.09	Letter; office copy. Artist negotiation; Helen Lowell.	6459	IMG_0002.jpg
3	RJY	LS	22.9.09	Letter. Artist negotiation. Helen Lowell and 'Miss Glaser'. Also of note, headed paper with embossed list of hit productions.	6459	IMG_0003.jpg
4	RJY	LS	'Friday'	Letter. Do not let Hoffman take charge/ he will upset Mrs Furness (director)	6459	IMG_0004.jpg
5	RJY	LS	17.11.09	Telegram. Confirming visit to Shubert office 'at about 11 o'clock' (although no evidence that LS is aware of this)	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470 General Correspondence	IMG_0005.jpg
6	LS	RJY	8.12.09	Letter. Have you read play 'a modern marriage' yet. If so, what do you think.	6459	IMG_0006.jpg
7	LS	RJY	8.12.09	Letter; office copy. Artist call meeting. Principal lead would like RJY present.	6459	IMG_0007.jpg
8	SO	RJY	13.12.09	Letter; office copy. Covering ltr re. Financial statement re royalty payments/direct negotiation	6459	IMG_0008.jpg
9	RJY	LS	27.12.09	Letter. Contract negotiation with producer; negotiation with another writer/publishing rights; negotiation regarding new work. Feedback from RJY on new Shubert play/collaboration.	6459	IMG_0009.jpg IMG_0010 2.jpg There is also a brighter copy of 09/labelled 09 2
10	RJY	LS	5.1.10	Letter. Chasing contract finalisation and payment owing in no uncertain terms.	6459	IMG_0011.jpg Alt copy 11 2 And 12 2
11	LS	RJY	6.1.10	Letter; office copy. 'cheeky' reply from LS resolving RJY demand for payment.	6459	IMG_0013.jpg
12	RJY	SO	'Tuesday'	Letter; handwritten. Thank you for press clippings "Lottery"/ Appeasing nature. 'I take back all the 'sassy' things I said..'	6459	IMG_0014.jpg IMG_0015.jpg copy

No.	From	To	Date	Précis of Contents	Image ref location	Researcher Image no.
13	RJY	SO	12.1.10	Letter; handwritten. Direct contact, dealing directly. Confirmation of receipt of cheque. Confirmation of current address for correspondence.	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470 Gen Corr	IMG_0016.jpg
14	RJY	LS	31.10.10	Direct negotiation of contract with Producer and Literary agent, Alice Kauser.	6699	IMG_0017.jpg
15	LS	RJY	1.2.10	Letter; office copy. Confirmation of receipt of previous day's letter from RJY.	6699	IMG_0018.jpg
16	LS	RJY	4.2.10	Letter; office copy. enc a song; 'if you will have Mr. Jerome go over it, it may strike you as just what you want'	6699	IMG_0019.jpg
17	SO	RJY	15.2.10	Letter. Royalty receipts.	6699	IMG_0020.jpg
18	LS	RJY	15.3.10	Letter; office copy.. Confirmation re. receipt of ltr from RJY Re. The Candidate and 'will take the matter up with you in the next few days'.	6699	IMG_0029.jpg
19	?	SO	-	Eg. of patriarchal system. Clipping from letter which appears to be taking issue with a Shubert description of 'a large chorus of pretty girls and sturdy young fellows' – only took image of clipping, but not whole letter although it's in the RJY correspondence file /1910.	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470 Gen Corr	IMG_0030.jpg
20	RJY	LS	24.3.10	Letter. Re. The Candidate contract negotiation/forthright. Artist choice decisions from RJY.	6699	IMG_0031.jpg 32 & 33 close ups of ltrhd. 34 image of Lusitania?
21	LS	RJY	25.3.10	Letter; office copy. LS prompt negotiation response to RJY re The Candidate.	6699	IMG_0036.jpg
22	RJY	LS	'Friday' prob 31 st March 1910	Letter; handwritten. RJY note to LS to make an appt with 'the moving picture man' for 'Monday afternoon at 4.30'. (No reason given/just make the appointment at your office).	6699	IMG_0037.jpg
23	LS	RJY	1.4.10	LS confirms meeting and his availability.	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0038.jpg
24	RJY	LS	29.4.10	Letter; handwritten. direct artist audition/letter of introduction, no other notice.	6699	IMG_0039.jpg IMG_0040.jpg

No.	From	To	Date	Précis of Contents	Image ref location	Researcher Image no.
25	RJY	LS	'Wednesday' (May 1913)	Ltr/hwritten Re. Lady Luxury new script. RJY chasing LS to read it – either she will come to his office or could he 'motor out to her one Sunday'	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470 Gen Corr	IMG_0041.jpg
26	LS	RJY	21.5.13	Ltr/OC 'I will endeavour to read it some day this week'	6699	IMG_0042.jpg
27	RJY	LS	23.9.14	Telegram 'I am wiring you Ben Teal's opinion' of Lady Luxury.	6699	IMG_0043.jpg
28	RJY	LS	'Tuesday' Prob. 1914	Ltr/hwritten RJY pushing for a deal on Lady Luxury.	6699	IMG_0044.jpg
29	RJY	Part of SA/ls pwork	Undated Prob. 1914	Handwritten note re. casting reqs for Lady Luxury.	6699	IMG_0045.jpg
30	LS	RJY	24.9.14	Ltr/OC Confirming discussions for a theatre for Lady Luxury in NY	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470 Gen Corr	IMG_0046.jpg
31	RJY	LS	21.12.14	Telegram Play went splendidly. Disappointed not to see anyone from Shubert's/pls endeavour to come.	6699	IMG_0047.jpg
32	RJY	LS	22.12.14	Telegram As above/still pushing for attendance.	6699	IMG_0048.jpg
33	LS	RJY	22.12.14	Telegram.OC 'I'll be there tomorrow night'	6699	IMG_0049.jpg
34	LS	RJY	21.1.14	Ltr/OC Polite note requesting mtg. (although name spelt wrong 'Rider')	6699	IMG_0050.jpg
35	LS	RJY	21.1.14	Ltr/OC Unsigned/carbon copy/short contract for film deals on 4 productions but offering RJY 50%	6699	IMG_0051.jpg
36	RJY	LS	13.10.11	Ltr Chasing royalty payments directly.	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0052.jpg

No.	From	To	Date	Précis of Contents	Image ref location	Researcher Image no.
37	RJY	LS	10.10.13	Telegram Casting/Artist management	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0053.jpg 0054 copy
38	RJY	Howard Teichmann SO	13.3.12	Ltr help with legal case; choice of performer.	6679	IMG_0055.jpg
39	LS	RJY	16.4.12	Ltr/OC producing 'Next' and is it playing in stock?	6679	IMG_0056.jpg
40	RJY	LS	26.4.12	Ltr sending back amended and signed contract and artist negotiation sep to contract	6679	IMG_0057.jpg
41	RJY	Howard (Jacott) Lee Shubert's assistant	16.5.12	Ltr Chasing payment/discussing creative idea for title for NEXT	6679	IMG_0058.jpg
42	RJY	LS/JJS	17.9.12-20.9.12	From RJY to LS who sends it to JJS for opinion and JJS sends it back – typed with dates and pencil markings by brothers.	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0059
43	RJY	LS	27.5.12	Covering note for contract 'with an additional clause, added by me'. REF. Next	6679	IMG_0060.jpg
44	LS	Howard Jacott	Undated but May 1912 as this refers to RJY note of 27 th .	Memo to assistant for opinion and reply to LS from HEJ. It appears RJY has made quite a change to her contract.	6679	IMG_0061.jpg
45	SO	RJY	25.5.12	Covering note from SO re. contract for Next (which RJY replied to with changes as above)	6679	IMG_0062.jpg
46	RJY	SO	11.10.12	change of address : has moved to Madison Avenue (outward sign of success)	6679	IMG_0063.jpg
47	SO	RJY	19.11.12	Ltr/OC Covering note regarding royalties on Red Petticoat	6679	IMG_0064.jpg

No.	From	To	Date	Précis of Contents	Image ref location	Researcher Image no.
48	RJY	LS	'Wednesday'	Ltr/hwritten Tickets for shows	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0065.jpg
49	RJY	SO/ McMartin	13.11.12	Ltr chasing royalties on stock company returns on Lottery Man (complete with pencil markings from SO).	6679	IMG_0066.jpg
50	RJY	LS	4.12.12	Ltr Suggesting to LS that he move Red Petticoat to a better theatre up-town where one of his other shows is playing /replace that with her show.	6679	IMG_0067.jpg
51	RJY	LS	27.12.12	Ltr RJY chasing box office receipts and statements/also typed onward notes from LS asking McMartin to follow up.	6679	IMG_0068.jpg
52	LS	RJY	3.10.11	Hwritten receipt from Dalys Theatre for 50 tickets for RJY as requested by LS. Signed by RJY, stamped 'used'. (Her play 'Next!' had opened at Daly's the previous week, produced by the Shuberts/it closed on 5 th Oct after 18 performances).	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0069.jpg
53	RJY	LS	Undated	Hwritten note from 'The Green Room Club' – RJY suggesting/telling LS sees 'Mr Hilliard' for audition for part of Jack. Joint casting decisions.	6679	IMG_0070.jpg
54	RJY	LS	1.10.11	Telegram/Hwrittn RJY urging LS to stick with Next which had just opened at Dalys Theatre and closed after 18 performances.	6679	IMG_0071.jpg
55	-	-	Sept 1911	Stock company receipts/Box Office receipts for 'lottery man' from Belfast Opera House (Maine) and Bangor Opera House in Maine.	6679	IMG_0072.jpg
56	-	-	Sept 1911	Stock company receipts/Box Office receipts for 'lottery man	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0073.jpg

No.	From	To	Date	Précis of Contents	Image ref location	Researcher Image no.
57	-	-	Sept 1911	Box office receipt and programme for Lottery Man at the Bijou Theatre, NY. Of note here is that LS didn't go with RJY's suggestion of Mr Hilliard to play Jack as Cyril Scott is playing the lead.	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0074.jpg
58	-	-	Sept 1911	Stock company receipts/Box Office receipts for 'lottery man	6679	IMG_0075.jpg
59	-	-	Sept 1911	Stock company receipts/Box Office receipts for 'lottery man	6679	IMG_0076.jpg
60	-	-	Sept 1911	Stock company receipts/Box Office receipts for 'lottery man	6679	IMG_0077.jpg
61	RJY	HJ	18.8.11	Ltr Update on script read-through on Next with LS to HJ; fresh casting ideas; chivvying them along as she's busy; can we get a rehearsal together asap.	6679	IMG_0078.jpg
62	-	-	-	Office receipt /form of copyright protection for writer – docs received. (blank)	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0079.jpg
63	RJY	SO	1 st October (prob 1911)	Ltr Chasing royalty payments on Lottery Man no. 2 company. Handwritten notes from SO office/poss LS saying get back to RJY with 'we are chasing up on money and she will hear from us next week'	6679	IMG_0080.jpg
64	RJY	LS	17.10.10	Ltr Update on when she will be dropping in to the Shubert offices; trusts they will want to produce her next play 'the Lowell play' which 'promises to be the funniest one yet'.. by the end of December.	6679	IMG_0081.jpg
65	RJY	LS	October 30 th (assume 1910 from reply in image 66)	Ltr Update on where she is, what she's working on; when she's coming to the office; ideas for several of the characters and changes. Shorthand reply in pencil at end of ltr.	6679	IMG_0082.jpg
66	LS	RJY	31.10.10	Ltr. reply to previous day's ltr, confirming meeting at Shubert office when RJY is able.	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0083.jpg

No.	From	To	Date	Précis of Contents	Image ref location	Researcher Image no.
67	RJY	JJS	11 th Nov (prob 1911)	Telegram Demanding JJS takes legal measures to protect copyright of Lottery Man as she has read about young woman offering herself up in a Lottery and believes this is a copyright infringement.	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0084.jpg IMG_0085.jpg Copy
68	-	SO	19 th Nov (prob 1911)	OC receipt for \$50 to confirm royalty paid to RJY ref. Lottery Man no.4	6679	IMG_0086.jpg
69	HJ	RJY	27.1.11	Ltr HJ asking for a copy of The Candidate as he's 'anxious to have a certain part read it'.	6679	IMG_0087.jpg
70	RJY	LS	21.2.11	Ltr. Almost finished Miss Lowell's play ('Next' which became The Red Petticoat)	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0088.jpg
71	LS	RJY	24.3.11	Ltr. OC Note to fix up mtg at SO.	6679	IMG_0089.jpg
72	RJY	LS	5.3.11	Ltr. great description by RJY of how reading LS the script will be better and will come to the office when convenient to read it together. 'the Lowell play' (Next)	6679	IMG_0090.jpg
73	LS	RJY	6.3.11	Ltr. OC LS confirms 'next Thursday evening, 8.30'.	6679	IMG_0091.jpg
74	RJY	LS	10.3.11	Ltr Covering ltr for contracts regarding Lowell play. Reminding LS he had promised better terms 'so have had this made' accordingly.	6679	IMG_0092.jpg
75	RJY	LS	11.4.11	Ltr. Hwrittn LS has clearly rejected her amendments to the contract and RJY counters his rejections and states that if he doesn't reply by tomorrow morning she will consider taking the work elsewhere.	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0093.jpg
76	RJY	LS	11.4.11	Ltr. Hwrittn Page 2 of letter.	6679	IMG_0094.jpg

No.	From	To	Date	Précis of Contents	Image ref location	Researcher Image no.
77	RJY	SO/ McMartin	22.3.11	Ltr. Chasing royalties on Lottery Man	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0095.jpg
78	LS	HJ	1.4.11	Memo. OC 'please get these contracts off at once to her and advise accordingly' (see 0097)	6699	IMG_0096.jpg
79	RJY	LS	31.3.11	Ltr Chasing contracts for Next and discussing casting choices of her own for LS to consider.	6699	IMG_0097.jpg
80	LS/SO	-	Undated but prob March 1911	Office Note regarding CONTRACT TERMS	6699	IMG_0098.jpg
81	RJY	SO/Mr Bird	13.7.11	Ltr Detailed ltr chasing stock company receipts.	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0099.jpg
82	RJY	SO/McMartin	13.4.11	Ltr Correcting SO on payments.	6699	IMG_0100.jpg
83	RJY	HJ	22.6.11	Ltr Charming ltr /'if I am your favourite playwright'..asking for copies of plays; wants to get to work on changes; chasing royalties/can you help; casting choices, can you get these people. 'Motor out, the latch key is on the string all summer'	6699	IMG_0101.jpg
84	LS Not on note but it correlates with 0103	RJY	12.4.15	Brief Ltr.OC 'Your favor of the 11 th inst to hand'.. + refs to contract and financial.	6699	IMG_0102.jpg
85	RJY	LS	11.4.15	Ltr Following up on film deals for Lottery Man and Next and RJY's %. She also alludes to having spoken to several agents regarding usual practice = dealing direct/networking	6699	IMG_0103.jpg IMG_0104.jpg IMG_0105.jpg (duplicates)

No.	From	To	Date	Précis of Contents	Image ref location	Researcher Image no.
86	RJY	LS	30.7.15	Ltr Has received good offer from Eastern Kodak. \$2k apiece and a 10% royalty. 'Unless you get as good an offer I'm going with them' paraphrase – finishes with now's the time to prove what you say about our friendship.	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0106.jpg
87	LS	RJY	31.7.15	Ltr LS confirms he's already done a deal on the plays and will have details beg of Sept and expects better terms than she describes. See 0111 – he didn't/she won	6659	IMG_0107.jpg
88	RJY	JJS (assuming this as he replies and refers to Mr Comstock)	28.8.15	Ltr Regarding a new play which she has 'Mr Herbert's consent not to use his music' – maybe use Mr Kern 'or any one else, I am quite ready to do so'	6659	IMG_0108.jpg
89	JJS	RJY	30.8.15	Ltr. OC JJS replies – make an appointment, come and see me.	6659	IMG_0109.jpg
90	RJY	LS (assuming LS)	6.9.15	Ltr. OC Idea for a play – would like to discuss with you/wait til Winter Garden show is on? (for once she's not in a hurry/consideration of collaborator). Shorthand reply in pencil at end of ltr.	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0110.jpg
91	SO Assuming as OC no author ref	RJY	8.9.15	Ltr Enc'd cheque for \$1000, your percentage with the Eastern Film Co for the film rights to NEXT. See 0107 for this negotiation.	6659	IMG_0111.jpg
92	LS	RJY	16.9.15	Ltr As per our telecon, Enc'd advance royalty cheque for \$500, half your percentage for The Lottery Man -please come in and sign contract (this doesn't mention film deal, but because of timeline it suggests it is the case). See 0107 and 0113 for this negotiation.	6659	IMG_0112.jpg

No.	From	To	Date	Précis of Contents	Image ref location	Researcher Image no.
93	RJY	LS	15.9.15	Ltr Chasing up on payment for film deal which Shubert's appear to have neglected to confirm with RJY. (see previous img's 0107 and 0112)	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0113.jpg
94	RJY	JJS	5.10.16	Ltr Update on latest writing project 'Gold gave I for iron'; timings so LS can think about casting.	6679	IMG_0114.jpg
95	JJS	RJY	8.10.15	Ltr/OC reply to RJY note re. "Gold" note JJ's pedantic but pleasant tone.	6679	IMG_0115.jpg
96	JJS	RJY	19.2.16	Ltr/OC Kindly call and see me re your favour of the 17 th inst.	6679	IMG_0116.jpg
97	RJY	JJS (or LS)	'Friday' Assuming 11 th April as Shubert replies on Monday 14th	Ltr/OC casting: RJY not happy with Shubert choices and outlining why she disagrees with where casting is going and to reconsider suggestions she is making.	6679	IMG_0117.jpg
98	RJY	JJ or L?	29.5.15	Ltr/OC RJY thoughts on 'Her Soldier Boy' title and thoughts on structure of script. Hwritten note from Shubert to come and see me.	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0118.jpg
99	JJ or LS?	Mr Chamberlain Brown	14.4.16	Ltr/OC Letter to agent requesting to see artist as suggested by RJY. See 0117	6679	IMG_0119.jpg
100	LS	RJY	19.6.16	Ltr/OC/cld be tgrm Think this is an OC of a tgrm ' Miss Rita Johnson Young' /post office typo? artist choice for Soldier Boy/need a copy of the script/need to meet up when you're back.	6679	IMG_0120.jpg
101	RJY	LS	20.6.16	Telegram. Rply from RJY in Buffalo. Left latest script in your office last week/will be back next week.	6679	IMG_0121.jpg

No.	From	To	Date	Précis of Contents	Image ref location	Researcher Image no.
102	RJY	JJS	19.10.16	Ltr. Enclosing two sets of lyrics as has heard Mr Lee is replacing two scenes with songs.	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0123.jpg
103	RJY	encs	19.10.16	The first set of enclosed lyrics from ltr: The Goose Step Refrain with hwrtn note that it is shortlisted by name I can't decipher. However, pretty sure it is RJY's writing and her 'style' of speech e.g. 'I'	6699	IMG_0124.jpg
104	RJY	encs	19.10.16	The second set of enclosed lyrics from RJY ltr. Come back to Old New York – with handwrttn explanation by RJY as to why/how/context	6699	IMG_0125.jpg
105	RJY?	-	Undated but must be 1916	Typed 'layout' (songs and scenes) of Soldier Boy p1.	6699	IMG_0126.jpg
106	RJY?	-	Undated but must be 1916	Typed 'layout' (songs and scenes) of Soldier Boy p2.	6699	IMG_0127.jpg
107	JJS	RJY	27.10.16	Urgent Telegram OC 'Please remain in Boston til I get there tomorrow' (Soldier Boy)	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0128.jpg
108	RJY	JJS	26.10.16	Telegram from RJY which prompted JJ to send urgent reply (sounds like there are changes in cast she has in mind)	6699	IMG_0129.jpg
109	RJY	JJS (?)	26.11.16	Ltr Enc cheque for seats to opening of Soldier Boy + note about new costumes needed for Broadway cast opening/hope you will be in Baltimore some time this week.	6699	IMG_0130.jpg
110	GBH on behalf of JJS	RJY	5.6.17	Ltr JJ chasing update on book and lyrics for new show.	6699	IMG_0131.jpg
111	SO Library	RJY	undated	Ltr /OC undated from library dept at SO. JJS requesting copy of a song. 'Twas once in May'	6699	IMG_0132.jpg

No.	From	To	Date	Précis of Contents	Image ref location	Researcher Image no.
112	JJS	RJY	18.6.17	Ltr/OC 'please come and see me when you are next in NY. The finale isn't quite what I want but we can fix it in a few mins'	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0133.jpg
113	SO?	RJY	4.9.17	Telegram from EP temple, but is just a please contact and charge Shubert theatrical Co.	6699	IMG_0134.jpg
114	RJY	SO	19.9.17	Ltr RJY turning down a book idea but do please send others you may like me to read over. (Who's loony now')	6699	IMG_0135.jpg
115	RJY	SO/jm	6.10.17	Ltr And they do – can you make a musical out of 'Parisian Air'? from JM	6699	IMG_0136.jpg
116	JJS/LS?	RJY	29.6.18	Ltr/OC seems unfinished – is rply to 117 from RJY. Discussing/but disagreeing casting preferences for 'Miss I don't know'	6699	IMG_0137.jpg
117	RJY	JJS/LS?	28.6.18	Ltr Frank discussion of casting preferences for 'Miss I don't know' – RJY wanting very attractive girls for the main roles	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0138.jpg
118	RJY	JJS/LS?	'Tuesday' possibly beg of July 1918	Ltr Frank discussion continues. RJY goes as far as fixing up an appt at the SO with a performer she wants for the part and then informs JJS/LS	6699	IMG_0139.jpg
119	RJY	JJS/LS?	3.1.18	Ltr Romberg or whomever you wish to do the music call me up and make an appointment to see me about the music numbers Letter also includes mention of enc of cast (0141)	6699	IMG_0140.jpg
120	RJY	JJS/LS?	3.1.18	The cast list description enc.,		IMG_0141.jpg
121	A T Worm (Shubert press dept)	LS	24.1.18	Ltr/OC Interesting letter as it is from ATW discussing casting ideas for Miss I don't Know (Little Simplicity?)	6699	IMG_0142.jpg IMG_0143.jpg IMG_0144.jpg IMG_0145.jpg Copy

No.	From	To	Date	Précis of Contents	Image ref location	Researcher Image no.
122	RJY	LS	18.10.18	Ltr. Suggesting 'Happy Days' as possible title for Miss I Don't Know.. bearing in mind that this was 1918 during the Spanish Flu epidemic and the end of WW1.	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0146.jpg
123	RJY	LS	18.10.18	Enclosure of suggested titles as above	6699	IMG_0147.jpg
124	LS	RJY	20.8.18	Telegram. LS chasing piano score on Miss I don't Know.	6699	IMG_0148.jpg
125	RJY	LS	18.11.18	Ltr. Chasing advance royalty on Little Simplicity and performance royalties.	6699	IMG_0149.jpg
126	RJY	LS	12.6.18	Ltr Motion picture rights of Maytime: not willing to sell for less than \$5,000 for her (RJY's) share.	6699	IMG_0150.jpg
127	JJS cc. LS	RJY	13.6.18	Ltr Motion picture rights of Maytime. Come into the office, we need to talk.	6699	IMG_0151.jpg
128	LS	RJY	13.6.18	Ltr Motion picture rights of Maytime. Presumably from LS, prior to his brother's reply? LS says: you cannot be serious	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0152.jpg
129	cc. LS	RJY	13.6.18	Ltr Motion picture rights of Maytime. Come into the office, we need to talk. (original signed cpy of 0151 but blurry)	6699	IMG_0153.jpg
130	JJS	RJY	13.6.18 (typo in ltr/ 13.7.18)	Ltr. Motion picture rights of Maytime. Sep ltr to JJS re her concerns, so both Shuberts are involved as RJY has written sep to them both.	6699	IMG_0154.jpg
131	RJY	JJS	26.7.18	Ltr. Querying a royalty cheque sent in final payment received on Maytime. Dealing here with the Shuberts PLUS talks of Mr Schirmer and Viktor Records	6699	IMG_0155.jpg IMG_0161.jpg Copy

No.	From	To	Date	Précis of Contents	Image ref location	Researcher Image no.
132	JJS	RJY	30.7.18	Ltr.OC JJS refutes and says the 'air in Stamford is inflating your ideas as to royalties'!	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0156.jpg IMG_0162.jpg copy
133	JJS (?)	RJY	25.6.18	Ltr. OC Sending RJY a play which he thinks will work as a wonderful musical play with music by Victor Herbert or 'some other well known composer.'	6679	IMG_0157.jpg IMG_0163.jpg copy
134	RJY	JJS (assuming JJS?)	25.12.18	Ltr. Turning down a play idea.	6679	IMG_0158.jpg IMG_0159.jpg IMG_0164.jpg Copy
135	RJY	JJS (assuming JJS?)	2.11.17	Ltr. Turning down a script but saying if you send me a contract to do 'Old Heidelberg' I'll get to work on it at once – that's the sort of thing I know I can do well.	6679	IMG_0160.jpg IMG_0165.jpg (0161 copy of prev ltr 0155) Ditto similar for 0162-0165)
136	RJY	JJS?	14.12.17	Ltr. Chasing up contract for Miss I don't Know – and landing Mr Morris in the office 'in it'. Pencil reply on btm lh corner 'ok'	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0166.jpg
137	RJY	JJS	26.1.18	Ltr. Hwrtn Chasing music royalties on Maytime and anxious for opinion on Miss I Don't Know. Includes personal detail of having been ill in bed for two weeks but will come in to town soon.	6679	IMG_0167.jpg
138	JJS	RJY	28.1.18	Ltr.OC In response to previous day's letter – I am not aware of any arrangement for music royalties/sorry you haven't been well.let's talk	6679	IMG_0168.jpg

No.	From	To	Date	Précis of Contents	Image ref location	Researcher Image no.
139	JM (Morris? SO)	RJY	25.2.18	Ltr.OC Regarding someone contesting rights to Brown of Harvard	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0169.jpg
140	JJS (?)	RJY	5.3.18	Ltr.OC Regarding Miss I don't know' : what have you done regarding the music. Did you get in contact with Mr Romberg. What have you done about the Brown of Harvard pictures matter.	6679	IMG_0170.jpg
141	RJY	JJS (?)	13.3.18	Ltr Turning down a play adaptation suggestion	6679	IMG_0171.jpg
142	JJS (?)	RJY	1.5.18	Ltr OC charity fundraiser of some kind connected to Washington and performance of Red Petticoat – refers to an article that 'speaks for itself/not attached. 'Will you donate your royalty/You will receive a ltr of thanks from Washington if you oblige'	6679	IMG_0172.jpg
143	RJY	JJS (?)	18.5.18	Ltr Mentions that she has been talking to Mr Schirmer re the Hammerstein piece (as in Oscar Hammerstein I) and also chasing up on Maytime royalties.	6679	IMG_0173.jpg
144	RJY	JJS (?)	25.1.19	Ltr. Turning down Old Heidelberg offer – I don't think its for me.	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0174.jpg
145	JJS (?)	RJY	31.1.19	Ltr. Please consider this play which we once produced/I think it would make a wonderful musical play (he always says that)	6679	IMG_0175.jpg
146	JJS (?)	RJY	19.2.19	Ltr. Negotiation/ Collaboration Confirming contract situation with Lottery Man film rights and some difficulty regarding Ray Comstock (producer and theatre operator)"	6679	IMG_0176.jpg
147	JM	RJY	15.10.19	Ltr.OC Agreement enclosed with suggested changes. Will you please take this up immediately and advise me just what you will agree to?		IMG_0177.jpg

No.	From	To	Date	Précis of Contents	Image ref location	Researcher Image no.
148	JM/SO	RJY	19.10.19	Ltr. Negotiation/ Mr Morris following up on ltr of the 15 th .	6499	IMG_0178.jpg
149	RJY	Jack Morris (JM)	21.10.19	Ltr. Loggerheads on contract negotiation	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0179.jpg
150	JM/SO	RJY	22.10.19	Ltr. Please call and see me as I feel sure we can resolve this.	6499	IMG_0180.jpg
151	RJY	JJS?	14.11.19	Ltr. Hwritten Negotiation/ Turning down 'The Dancing Fool' as thought they weren't interested and took other work elsewhere. Please attend to royalty payments on listed other works.	6499	IMG_0181.jpg
152	LS Assuming this in relation to 0184	RJY	17.11.19	Ltr. OC Must give you satisfaction to turn us down/don't worry I won't ask you to write any more plays for us. Then details on royalties.	6499	IMG_0182.jpg
153	RJY	LS Assuming this in relation to 0184	19.11.19	Ltr. Very charming, almost contrite, conciliatory letter in reply from RJY	6499	IMG_0183.jpg
154	RJY	Mr Hellstein/OC	19.1.20	Ltr. Unperturbed, RJY follows up on outstanding royalties with SO/Millstein. Of note here are the pencil calculations regarding outstanding monies. Gross receipts on Maytime '3' and the monthly amounts total a staggering \$71,248.06	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0184.jpg
155	RJY	LS?	7.2.20	Ltr Doubtless, unbeknownst to RJY, they are working on her request; but she has gone to Florida to nurse her sick mother. She is also chasing royalties on other works, including Maytime/Australia and Soldier Boy in England.	6499	IMG_0185.jpg

No.	From	To	Date	Précis of Contents	Image ref location	Researcher Image no.
156	RJY	SO	Undated, estimate 1920	Notification of new telephone installation card. +address.	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0186.jpg
157	RJY	JM (Jack Morris)	11.11.18	Postcard /address	6699	IMG_0187.jpg
158	JJS/LS?	RJY	10.2.20	Ltr.OC Following with a cheque for royalty on Maytime 3 and update on other royalty payments for Maytime in Australia and Soldier Boy in England. Asking RJY to write to Australia and ask them to hurry it up rather than Shuberts chasing it up. Also asks RJY to put a price on all her royalty rights.	6699	IMG_0188.jpg Reply to 0184
159	RJY	JJS/LS?	18.2.20	Ltr. Thank you for the cheque on Maytime 3 but please can I also have the statements as I haven't seen any yet.	6699	IMG_0189.jpg
160	JJS/LS?	RJY	23.2.20	Ltr.OC Refuting RJY's claim that this offer has been made/I informed everyone it was not on the market/I merely asked as I thought you needed the money'.	6699	IMG_0190.jpg
161	RJY	Mr Klein cc.d to Shuberts	28.4.20	Ltr. OC Allegation that RJY has heard that Mr Klein has quoted RJY as saying she is being 'done' by Mr Shubert. Please refute this allegation.	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0191.jpg
162	JM	RJY	8.6.21	Ltr. OC Mr LS wants to know 'immediately' if you can turn Red Petticoat or Next into a sketch for Vaudeville	6699	IMG_0192.jpg
163	RJY	JM	11.6.21	Ltr./reply I'm too busy to do it myself at the moment, but would be happy for someone else to do same for Lottery Man or Next provided I'm paid \$50 apiece for them for each week for the use of them.	6699	IMG_0193.jpg
164	LS	RJY	11.4.22	Ltr.OC I'm looking for a melodrama to put on at the Century Theatre – on account of the size of this theatre the melodrama must be of gigantic proportions – if you have something of this nature please submit it to me at once.	6699	IMG_0194.jpg

No.	From	To	Date	Précis of Contents	Image ref location	Researcher Image no.
165	RJY	LS	28.12.21	Ltr Collaboration/artists RJY has idea for a lead singer for Dream Girl she would like LS to see if he is thinking of putting the show on in the following season.	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0195.jpg
166	LS	RJY	30.12.21	Ltr Collaboration/artists LS agrees and even wishes RJY compliments of the season (!)	6679	IMG_0196.jpg
167	RJY	LS	5.6.22	Ltr Collaboration/artists RJY chivvying LS – its been 6 months, has he decided. If no, please return the manuscript ‘and oblige.’	6679	IMG_0197.jpg
168	RJY	LS	10.12.22	Ltr Collaboration/artists RJY has another artist/Englishman in place of American in mind for a lead role and Victor Herbert has written the music in the style of Naughty Marietta and has several ‘sure fire hits’ in it. LS apparently still has the score in his office ‘if you want to refresh your memory’.	6679	IMG_0198.jpg
169	SO/JJ	RJY	23.3.23	Ltr JJ would like to see you when you’re next in town.	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0199.jpg
170	RJY	JJS	Undated, but suspect April 1923	Ltr Replying re. an Offenbach adaptation they are considering – RJY wants to know if they are obliged to keep the original music. On subject of Dream Girl, there’s progress – John Rumsey has wired the original authors, so I hope everything will be fixed up next week.	6679	IMG_0200.jpg
171	JJS	RJY	16.4.23	Letter; office copy. with producers, publisher and two composers: Herbert and Romberg. Yes, you can change the music as you see fit /with Herbert; And re. Dream Girl, I’m waiting on Mr Dreyfus for a contract. Let’s meet next week.	6679	IMG_0201.jpg
172	RJY	JJS	17.5.23	Ltr on artist choices DREAM GIRL: Thank you, delighted this is coming together, when you have a moment I would like to meet up and discuss ideas for casting.	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0202.jpg

No.	From	To	Date	Précis of Contents	Image ref location	Researcher Image no.
173	RJY	JJS	19.5.23	Ltr Mrs Sherman (sec?) tells me you have lost your copy of Dream Girl, I send you extra copies and am enclosing a list of characters with descriptions so as not to hold up casting.	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0203.jpg
174	RJY?	Howard Jacott	1.8.10	Ltr Took pic for ltrhead, although there might be more as this is also interesting in terms of collaboration.	“	IMG_0204.jpg
175	LS	Seymour Furth via his publisher, Joseph Morris.	5.8.10	Ltr/OC Not regarding RJY – but brief letter to S Furth – Dear Furth, come up and play the song for us some time.	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0205.jpg
176	SF	LS	8.4.10	Ltr/hwritten The letter sent from Seymour Furth asking about bringing them his song. And he addresses LS as My dear Lee	“	IMG_0206.jpg
177	SF	JJS	5.8.10	Ltr From Lew Fields to ‘dear Jake’ – kindly put Mat Smith in such and such a show	“	IMG_0207.jpg
178	JJS	LF	8.8.10	Ltr/OC Between Lew Fields and JJS re contract for Victor Herbert.	“	IMG_0208.jpg
179	CPG/SO	Jas E Fennessy, Manager	4.8.10	Ltr/LETTERHEAD To Lyric Theatre, Cincinnati regarding shows for the independent managers.	“	IMG_0209.jpg
180	-	-	-	Interesting ltrhead design/not from RJY or related.	“	IMG_0210.jpg
181	-	-	-	Lee Shubert’s signature	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0211.jpg
182	LS?	RJY	9.8.10	Letter; office copy. Collaboration/artists and script Yours of the 8 th to hand, I will take the matter up with you about One of the Boys a little later.	“	IMG_0212.jpg

No.	From	To	Date	Précis of Contents	Image ref location	Researcher Image no.
183	RJY	LS?	8.8.10	Ltr. OC Collaboration/artists and script I'm glad you're thinking of putting Mabel Barrisson in One of the Boys. Could you send me a script so I can get working on it as soon as possible.	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_0213.jpg
184	C J Tabor	SO	24.8.10	Ltr re royalty. Carlisle Hotel, Woodstock/C J Tabor	6699	IMG_0214.jpg
185	Sam S Shubert Theatre, Kansas City	SO/Mr J W Jacobs	7.8.10	Ltr Sam S Shubert Theatre, Kansas City Re contracts and salaries.	6699	IMG_0215.jpg
186	Alhambra Theatre	SO/Mr J W Jacobs	29.9.10	Ltr. Confirming banking details.	6699	IMG_0216.jpg
187	RJY	Mr Bird	8.9.10	Ltr. Chasing Lottery Man royalties. IMG_0218-0233 Contracts for Captain Kidd Jnr with Cohan and Harris. See Method 1b nos. 4-9. And contract with Harold Atteridge and Cohan & Harris and Irving Berlin.	6699	IMG_0217.jpg
188	RJY	LS (?)	7.3.10	Ltr. 'The title of the Lottery Man which should be stripped with my name, is still guarding the dark secret of the author's identity. Also, newspapers missed my name out' This is in my contract. Kindly have someone attend to this.	SA Mon 23 rd Box 470	IMG_RJY writer id.jpg
189	LS	JM	March 1920 (undated, but related to 190, dated)	Internal memo. 'be sure and find out about Miss Dorothy Donnelly 'Three Little Maids'; wire Miss Kirkpatrick or wire her direct.	SA Weds 25 th . Box 3030. Blossom Time Correspondence	IMG_0004.jpg
190	JM	DD	24.3.20	Letter. with ref to our 'phone conv., will you please start working on "DREIMADELHAUS" Mr Shubert will agree with you \$250 now/ \$250 upon delivery.	6699	IMG_0003.jpg
191	IH	J N Schmitz	31.12.25	Memo ref. DD music royalties on Student Prince and Blossom Time; will you please have a statement made up at once as she is asking for it everyday.	Thurs 26p th Box 3030 Blossom Time	IMG_0060.jpg

No.	From	To	Date	Précis of Contents	Image ref location	Researcher Image no.
192	DD	JM	Undated (but for Broadway opening of <i>Blossom Time</i> , 29.9.21)	Letter. Handwritten. request for tickets, including for Judge Thomas F. Donnelly and Hart O. Berg, Esq. 19 tickets in total. Please reserve good ones, especially for the Judge. I have told all of these people to send you cheques...	“	IMG_0006.jpg
193	JJS	DD	22.8.22	Letter. Alt Heidelberg/The Student Prince. JJ's advice on Prologue, first and second act and his ideas for the show.	“	IMG_0007.jpg
194	WKlein	JJS	5.4.41	Ltr Broadcasting rights on Blossom Time /trying to strike a deal with DD's lawyer, McCall.	SA Tues 24 th . 'D Donnelly file'	IMG_4258.jpg
195	JF Waters	Milton R Weinberger	13.2.41	Ltr. Broadcasting rights on Blossom Time, My Maryland, Student Prince. NOTE: the following files are contractual but relate to the DD estate and negotiations regarding broadcast rights etc: 4261;4262 4263 4264 4265 4266 (inc contract copy relating to 4261) 4268 no image	“	IMG_4259.jpg
196	Statement DD	Statement	6.3.29	My Maryland Mech royalties statement	“	IMG_4269.jpg IMG_4270.jpg
197	Statement DD	Statement	6.3.29	My Maryland Mech royalties statement p2	“	IMG_4271.jpg
198	Statement DD	Statement	31.3.25	Student Prince mech royalties	“	IMG_4273.jpg
199	Sydney M Kaye	Ira Helstein	18.1.28	Re. DD estate please file the attached.	“	IMG_4293.jpg
200	J F Waters	Ira Helstein	29.3.29	Int memo re student prince royalties (see 4273 and 4275)	“	IMG_4275.jpg

No.	From	To	Date	Précis of Contents	Image ref location	Researcher Image no.
201	Ira Helstein	Waters	26.3.29	<p>Reply to above memo (relating to mech statements 4271-4273)</p> <p>This is a key memo relating to the royalty statements on the DD estate as it outlines what the statements are illustrating : 'a statement showing all payments made to Dorothy Donnelly for her 1/3 share of the "Student Prince" mech rights. This statement should show total receipts from sales of mechanical devises, our 50% share, the deduction made by Harms for Romberg's share and the amount we paid to Dorothy Donnelly for her 1/3 share .. (also inc My Maryland)... Mr McCall has made a claim for same.</p>	"	IMG_4276.jpg
202	Sydney M Kaye	Ira Helstein	6.3.29	<p>Int memo - related to DD estate and the requests made by Ambrose McCall</p> <p>'is this what she's been receiving?'</p>	"	IMG_4279.jpg
203	Student Prince mech royalty statement	-	Created 1929	Payments made to DD /her 1/3 share of SP mech royalties 1925-1928	"	IMG_4280.jpg 4281 cpy
204	Waters	Harms Inc	5.3.29	Related letter to mech statements requests to Harms Inc from Waters as a result of ltr from A McC for DD estate.	"	IMG_4281.jpg
205	JJ	Helstein	27.2.29	<p>Int memo</p> <p>'Give them the amount they are entitled to' (referring to Harms; see 4284)</p>	"	IMG_4283.jpg
206	Helstein	JJ	27.2.29	In memo (see reply 4283 above) is it ok to pay Harms the same as we pay DD?	"	IMG_4284.jpg
207	Ambrose McCall	Ira Helstein	27.2.29	Letter - chasing up on detail of monies owed regarding Harms (detail of correspondence outlined in subsequent letters /above)	"	IMG_4285.jpg
208	Delehanty etc	JJ	9.11.28	Ltr chasing specifics of royalties due estate on My Maryland and Student Prince.	"	IMG_4287.jpg
209	Ambrose McCall	Sydney M Kaye	16.1.28	Confirming DD's death on 4 th Jan 1928	:	IMG_4295.jpg
209	LS	Theresa Helburn	22.4.25	Ltr from Theresa Helburn to LS thanking him for his 'cordial words of greeting' at the opening of the new Guild Theatre.	"	<p>IMG_4306.jpg</p> <p>IMG_4307.jpg</p> <p>copy</p> <p>4308 is initial invite from theatre guild</p>

No.	From	To	Date	Précis of Contents	Image ref location	Researcher Image no.
210	SO office note	-	Undated but detail shows 1910	Interesting note about Victor Herbert's contract details 1910-12 for The Duchess (Followed by further correspondence related to Victor H)	“ Box 463	IMG_4351.jpg
211	Jack Morris	DD	24.3.20	Ltr Jack Morris to DD re. Dreimäderlhaus (blossom time); includes detail of 'will you \$250 now and same upon delivery of script/Mr S will take up matter of royalties with you at a later date'	Weds 25th Box 3030 Blossom Time Correspondence	IMG_0003.jpg
212	P Schnell	Ira Helstein	19.4.22	Internal memo - this relates to the mistake in contract and making Romberg take a cut: 'Romberg is to receive 1cent per copy of all music and interpolations on Blossom Time, this being a new contract, and checks are to be made to M Witmark & Sons'.	Weds 25th Box 3030	IMG_0008.jpg
213	JJ	Ira Helstein	18.4.22	Covering internal memo regarding discussion and subsequent letter to Romberg about cut in royalties on Blossom Time. JJS: 'pls enter on books and file away carefully'	Weds 25th Box 3030	IMG_0009.jpg
214	M Witmark & Sons	Shuberts	18.4.22	Conf re. deal with Romberg to cut his royalties due to mistake made by Shuberts.	Weds 25th “	IMG_0010.jpg
215	JJS	Sigmund Romberg	18.4.22	Letter copy to : My dear Romberg 'otherwise I should not have made a terrible mistake - you only receive half of the royalty we receive' (refers also to what DD gets 2cents a copy / SR has to accept 1c per copy, effectively sharing with the Shuberts)	“”	IMG_0011.jpg
216	Ira Helstein	JJS	15.3.22	Int memo to Helstein from JJ outlining the contract errors - 'govern yourself accordingly, and before payments are made, let me ok proposition'. Including extra int memo from helstein to Schnell to make checks out to Donnelly and Romberg for 50%	“”	IMG_0012.jpg
217	William Klein	JJS	9.3.22	Letter from Klein to JJ re. Blossom Time contract outlining that Sigmund Romberg has been left out of the calculations - this is clearly JJ's mistake and subsequent correspondence shows there was no option to renegotiate the original contract in any way.	“ “	IMG_0013.jpg
218	Ira Helstein	JJS	3.3.22	This appears to be the original memo highlighting the issue with the Blossom Time contract and querying the details in favour of Dorothy Donnelly.	Weds 25th Box 3030 Blossom Time Correspondence	IMG_0014.jpg IMG_0015.jpg copy with note to write to Klein

No.	From	To	Date	Précis of Contents	Image ref location	Researcher Image no.
219	Ira Helstein	JJS	5.4.21	Int memo from Helstein to JJ regarding deal on Blossom Time checking detail (see 0003 letter to DD re. \$250 now, same on completion; matter of royalties Mr S will take up with you later). This memo is a year after the original note to DD (24.3.20).	“”	IMG_0016.jpg
220	Publishing Contract	Sigmund Romberg and Witmark	6.5.25	Unsigned publishing contract between Sigmund Romberg and M Witmark & Sons - 2 pages (renewal of original deal/appears to be a buy-out)	“”	IMG_0017.jpg IMG_0018.jpg
221	PJ Leonard	Ira Helstein	8.6.25	Romberg bill of sale for Passing Show of 1924 (buyout for \$1500)	Thurs 26 th SA	IMG_0024.jpg
222	Passing show 1924 bill of sale	-	27.5.25	Bill of sale as above for Passing Show of 1924.	“”	IMG_0025.jpg IMG_0026.jpg
223	Student Prince contract	-	1922	Original STUDENT PRINCE contract between Dorothy Donnelly and JJS. X 2 pages (this appears to be part of the correspondence file referred to in letter of 25.10.29 after DD's death in 1928)	Thurs 26 th SA Student Prince file	IMG_0034.jpg IMG_0035.jpg
224	William Klein	Ira Helstein	25.10.29	This letter is dealing with a production of Student Prince by Carpenter and Kinsey, the reason for looking at the original contract with DD is that there is a query as to whether Romberg and the DD estate should receive their percentages from 100% or the 10% that the Shuberts are receiving. Klein is advising they can try and get away with paying out on 100% 'although ultimately I cannot state if you will have to pay a larger sum'.	“”	IMG_0036.jpg IMG_0037.jpg
225	'MRW'	'SJ'	25.5.34	Int memo re. Student Prince film rights for Romberg 'Perhaps Mr Lee Shubert can shame him into signing the paper..' Referring to doc signed by SR on 11 th July 1924 (although it doesn't specify film rights as such)	“”	IMG_0038.jpg
226	SR Contract / Buyout for Student Prince (?)	-	11.7.24	Contract agreement SR for Student Prince - paperwork referred to in letter above.	“”	IMG_0039.jpg IMG_0040.jpg

No.	From	To	Date	Précis of Contents	Image ref location	Researcher Image no.
227	Harms Publishing Agrmnt Student Prince	-	1.10.24	Harms publishing agreement on STUDENT PRINCE	Thurs 26 th {Box 3030} Student Prince file	IMG_0041.jpg
228	Romberg buyout ref Student Prince	-	6.5.25	Romberg buyout on STUDENT PRINCE for all foreign territories for sum of \$5000.	“”	IMG_0042.jpg
229	Weinberger	JJS	7.1.47	Covering memo to JJS with ref. to publishing deals with SR from 1924/25 (of note, it looks like SR still receives mech royalties on foreign territories).	“”	IMG_0043.jpg
230	Ira Helstein	JJS	20.5.26	Int memo Re unpaid royalties on Student Prince, London (which made a loss)	“”	IMG_0045.jpg IMG_0049.jpg cpy
231	Mech Royalties Statement	-	31.12.25	Mech royalties statement - Student Prince (2 sep statements, one slightly more detailed)	“”	IMG_0047.jpg IMG_0051.jpg
232	SO	M Witmark & Sons	1.4.26	Copy of covering note re. Romberg outstanding royalty share on SP		IMG_0052.jpg
233	Louis Dreyfuss/Harms Inc	JJS	6.1.26	UK royalty agreement for SO in British Empire.	“”	IMG_0055.jpg
234	JJS	Helstein	6.1.26	Int memo attaching above ltr	“”	IMG_0056.jpg
235	Helstein	JJS	7.1.26	Int memo re. latest monies owed to DD on SP 30.9.25. 0058 follows as attached statement.	“”	IMG_0057.jpg IMG_0058.jpg
236	Schnitz	Helstein	20.11.25	Int memo querying royalty payments to DD on SP	“”	IMG_0061.jpg
237	Helstein	JJS	22.9.25	Int memo querying SP payments : ‘Miss Donnelly returned this payment stating that it was after Sept 1 st and should be figured at 1 ½ % as per agreement’... Rare evidence DD dealing direct JJ’s reply in shorthand on page - also see 244/0073 for outline of same deal with Romberg.	“”	IMG_0063.jpg
238	JJS	Helstein	22.9.25	JJ’s reply to 0063: ‘[Miss Donnelly was right in this matter [...]] Have this changed at once.’		IMG_0062.jpg
239	Helstein	JJS	29.7.25	Ltr SP royalties which demonstrates DD’s agent are involved in checking royalties. Good example of DD’s professional network	“”	IMG_0066.jpg
240	Helstein	JJS	29.7.25	Sep memo from above but ongoing re. what’s due DD on SP + actual statement (0068)	“”	IMG_0067.jpg IMG_0068.jpg

No.	From	To	Date	Précis of Contents	Image ref location	Researcher Image no.
241	JJS	Helstein	7.7.25	Int memo Reply from JJS and very interesting detail on who gets paid what (DD vs Romberg) - however JJ has misread Helstein's memo.	Thurs 26 th SA Student Prince file	IMG_0069.jpg
242	Helstein	JJS	1.7.25	Int memo Related to memo above and Helstein's query about what exactly is due DD - quite revealing regarding contractual agreement.	“”	IMG_0070.jpg
243	FJ Leonard	Helstein	13.6.25	Outlines deal and cuts in STUDENT PRINCE royalty with Romberg. it is revealing in that it highlights that both DD and SR had the same deal with JJ on SP royalties during this period and, in this instance, asked them both to take a reduction in royalty by one quarter percent on no 2 & 3 companies.	“”	IMG_0072.jpg
244	JJS	Sigmund Romberg	11.6.25	This is the original letter to Romberg outlining the agreement to cut royalties - the memo at 237/0063 shows that DD is on the same deal.	“”	IMG_0073.jpg
245	Helstein	Harms Inc	12.6.25	Ltr copy re mech and music rights re. Romberg 'as there are certain amounts that we want to deduct before same is paid'. Student Prince	“”	IMG_0074.jpg
246	JJS	Helstein	11.6.25	Int memo - JJS outlining '2 cents on sheet music and 3 cents on selections from Harms - please guide yourself accordingly'.	“”	IMG_0075.jpg
247	SP publishing Agreement	-	6.5.25	Student Prince agreement between Shuberts, Romberg and Witmarks - 2pages (buyout?)	“”	IMG_0076.jpg IMG_0077.jpg
248	Meyer-Förster SP royalty Statement	-	14 th Feb - Apr 11 th 1925	Student Prince royalty statement relating to Meyer-Förster 'less income tax of 6%'. The gross for the period amounts to \$338, 512.00 showing MF's percentage of 2% less 6% income tax - and then an interesting final deduction note 'less income tax of 6% on \$50,000 paid to him by J J Shubert'. Final amount according to statement due to MF = \$3,364.03.	“”	IMG_0078.jpg
249	JJS	Ira Helstein	5.6.25	JJS passing the file relating to the Meyer-Förster outright purchase of The Student Prince in 1925 (a year after SP had opened). 'Please note on your records and file away carefully. These are very important'.	“”	IMG_0079.jpg
250	SP royalty statement	-	14 th Feb - Apr 11 th 1925	Copy of royalty statement at 248/0078 but with handwritten calculations and note about Meyer-Förster calculations as referred to in above memo at 249/0079. (0081 = same memo diff copy with note that shows this is about MF)	“”	IMG_0080.jpg IMG_0081.jpg
251	Sigmund Romberg	Ira Helstein	3.4.25	Letter from Romberg to Helstein debating deductions made on contract which should he believes be deducted from publisher share.		IMG_0082.jpg
252	Student Prince royalty statement	-	15.12.31	This is a good example of royalties still being paid to Donnelly estate 3 years after her death, wherein her share is greater than Romberg's - as there is no evidence of a buyout in her case; the payments are presumably in perpetuity to her estate.	Friday 27 th SA SP file	IMG_0012.jpg

No.	From	To	Date	Précis of Contents	Image ref location	Researcher Image no.
253	DD	LS	1917	Handwritten note: I'm awfully sorry but I find it is impossible to finish "Lieutenant Gus"... the pressure of my work... three months from December 31 st 1917.	Weds 25 th SA DD Box 3030	IMG_0001.jpg

Appendix B

ASCAP Membership Records, 1914-1934

These records are as typed in 1935 by the Shubert office for their own records. As recorded on the first page, the list was published in *Variety Magazine* on 4th December, 1935 and shows the elected date of each member from the Society's foundation through to the end of June, 1934.

THE FOLLOWING LIST APPEARED IN VARIETY, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 4th, 1935 AND GIVES THE MEMBERSHIP AND DATE ELECTED THROUGH JUNE, 1934, INCLUSIVE.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>DATE ELECTED</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>DATE ELECTED</u>
Aarons, Alfred E.	1/27/27	Bloch, Ernest	9/26/29
Abrahams, Maurice, Est.	3/12/14	Bloom, Marty	4/30/25
Achron, Joseph	1/22/31	Bloom, Rube	9/26/29
Adams, R. Stanley	2/28/34	Blossom, Henry, Est.	1/27/27
Adamson, Harold	11/ 2/32	Bond, Carrie Jacobs	10/29/25
Ager, Milton	8/21/19	Borisssoff, Josef	4/30/25
Ahlert, Fred E.	12/17/20	Bornschein, Franz C.	11/28/28
Akst, Harry	5/25/22	Botsford, George	5/ 3/23
Allen, Thornton W.	4/30/31	Boutelje, Phil	2/27/30
Alter, Louis	3/14/29	Bowers, Fred'k V	11/27/23
Anderson, F. H., Jr.	9/29/25	Bowers, Robert Hood	3/26/14
Anderson, Lily	3/28/24	Bradford, James C.	11/28/28
Archer, Harry	3/30/22	Branscombe, Gena	11/29/32
Arlen, Harold	9/25/30	Bratton, John W.	9/ 3/14
Armstrong, Harry	9/26/29	Breau, Lew, Est.	5/ 3/23
Arndt, Felix, Est.	9/25/30	Brennan, James A.	10/31/22
Arnheim, Gus	3/ 6/25	Brennan, J. Keirn	10/15/14
Atteridge, Harold	3/19/14	Breuer, Ernest	3/30/22
Auer, Leopold, Est.	6/26/24	Bridges, Ethel	4/15/20
Austin, Gene	4/30/25	Brockman, James	9/29/21
Axt, William	3/28/24	Brooks, Shelton	9/26/29
Ayres, Fred, Est.	9/23/24	Broones, Martin	4/28/27
Baer, Abel	3/28/24	Brown, A. W., Est.	5/ 3/23
Bainbridge, K.	6/26/24	Brown, A. Seymour	9/27/28
Baker, Phil	9/26/29	Brown, Bertrand	3/ 6/25
Ball, Ernest R., Est.	5/ 6/14	Brown, Lew	2/ 3/21
Ballard, Pat	11/ 2/32	Brown, Nacio Herb	9/29/27
Barnett, Alice	9/23/24	Browne, J. L., Est.	3/28/24
Baron, Maurice	1/19/26	Browning, Mortimer	6/28/34
Barris, Harry	4/30/31	Bruhns, Geo. F. W.	11/28/28
Barron, Ted S.	11/27/23	Bryan, Alfred	9/17/14
Bartholomae, P. H.	4/28/14	Brymn, J. Tim	6/29/33
Bartholomew, Marshall	9/23/24	Bucharoff, Simon	4/30/25
Baskette, Billy	5/ 3/23	Buck, Gene	4/28/14
Bassett, K. W., Est.	9/23/24	Burke, Johnny	11/ 2/32
Baxter, Phil	11/27/31	Burke, Joseph A.	12/17/20
Bayha, Chas. A.	12/17/20	Burleigh, Harry T.	3/26/14
Beach, Mrs. H.H.A.	9/23/24	Burnett, Ernie	2/28/34
Bennett, Geo. J.	10/31/22	Burns, Annelu	3/ 6/25
Berg, David	9/29/21	Burnside, R. H.	3/19/14
Berg, Harold	6/25/26	Burnett, Earl	3/28/24
Bergh, Arthur	11/ 6/19	Burton, Val	1/28/32
Berlin, Irving	2/13/14	Buzzi-Peccia, A.	9/29/25
Bibo, Irving	12/17/20	Byrnes, James A.	11/ 6/19
Black, Ben	1/19/26	Caddigan, Jack J.	6/26/23
Black, Frank J.	6/25/26	Cadman, Chas. W.	12/15/25
Blake, Eubie	3/30/22	Caesar, Irving	12/17/20
Blake, James W.	2/24/33	Caine, Sidney C.	6/26/23
Blaufuss, Walter	9/29/21	Callahan, J. Will	9/23/24

(i) ASCAP Membership A-C

<u>NAME</u>	<u>DATE ELECTED</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>DATE ELECTED</u>
Carlo, Monte	5/ 3/23	David, Mack	6/28/34
Carmichael, Hoagy	11/27/31	Davis, Benny	9/29/21
Carpenter, John A.	4/25/29	Davis, John Carlyle	9/29/25
Carroll, Earl	4/16/14	Davis, Lou	11/27/23
Carroll, Harry	1/13/14	Dawson, Eli	9/29/21
Cassel, Irwin M.	6/28/34	De Costa, Harry	9/29/25
Cavanaugh James	4/27/33	De Costa, Leon	6/25/26
Charig, Philip	9/29/27	De Francesco, L. E.	9/25/30
Chase, Newell	1/22/31	De Koven, Reg., Est.	3/14/29
Chasins, Abram	6/29/33	De Leath, Vaughn	9/27/23
Chattaway, Thurland	9/26/29	Delf, Harry	4/30/25
Chenoweth, Wilbur	11/ 2/32	Denniker, Paul	2/27/30
Clare, Sidney	3/30/22	Deppen, Jessie L.	5/28/25
Clark, Amy Ashmore	12/ 4/24	De Rose, Peter	10/31/22
Clarke, Grant, Est.	4/ 2/14	De Sylva, Bud	1/ 8/20
Claypoole, Ed. B.	3/14/29	Dett, Nathaniel R.	9/29/25
Cleary, Michael H.	11/26/29	De Voll, Cal	9/29/21
Clifford, Gordon	3/31/32	Dick, Dorothy	12/19/33
Cobb, Will D., Est.	3/30/27	Dietz, Howard	12/26/29
Coburn, Richard	9/29/21	Dillon, Will	4/ 9/14
Cohan, George M.	10/16/14	Dixon, Harold	3/28/24
Cohen, Henry R.	3/30/22	Dixon, Mort	3/28/24
Cohn, Chester	3/28/24	Donaldson, Walter	9/29/21
Collins, Will	3/28/24	Donaldson, Will	5/ 3/23
Confrey, E. E.	5/25/22	Donnelly, Andrew	9/26/29
Connor, Pierre	9/29/25	Donnelly, D., Est.	9/27/23
Conrad, Con	12/23/20	Dougherty, Dan	5/26/27
Cook, Philip D.	3/28/24	Drake, Milton	2/28/34
Cook, W. Mercer	11/29/32	Dreyer, Dave	3/ 6/25
Cook, Will Marion	6/26/24	Drumm, George	11/ 2/32
Cooke, Jane Francis	2/28/34	Dubin, Al	1/20/21
Cool, Harold	12/23/30	Duke, Vernon	2/28/34
Coombs, C. Whitney	9/23/24	Duncan, Wm. C.	5/25/22
Cooper, Bud	9/29/25	Dunn, James P.	6/26/24
Cooper, Joe	5/ 3/23	Dyson, Hal	6/26/24
Coots, J. Fred	3/30/22		
Coslow, Sam	6/26/23	Eberhart, Nelle R.	4/28/27
Costello, Bartley	6/26/30	Edelheit, Harry	9/29/25
Cowan, Rubey	12/13/23	Edmonds, Shepard N.	11/27/23
Cox, Ralph	6/25/26	Edwards, Clara	4/30/25
Creamer, Henry, Est.	3/28/24	Edwards, Gus	3/12/14
Crist, Bainbridge	10/29/25	Edwards, Leo	10/ 2/14
Crosby, Bing	11/ 2/32	Egan, John C.	3/ 6/25
Crummit, Frank	12/13/23	Egan, Raymond B.	1/20/21
Cunningham, Paul	9/29/21	Ehrlich, Sam, Est.	9/29/21
Curran, Pearl G.	3/ 6/25	Elie, Justin, Est.	6/25/26
Curtis, Billy	3/28/24	Eliscu, Edward	9/25/30
Curtis, Loyal	4/30/31	Elman, Mischa	10/24/24
		Enders, Harvey	6/28/34
Daly, William	2/27/23	English, Granville	3/ 6/25
Daniels, Charles N.	11/29/25	Erdman, Ernie	12/17/20
Dash, Irwin	3/28/24		
David, Benjamin	5/ 3/23	Fain, Sammy	1/19/26
David, Lee	5/ 3/23	Farley, Roland, Est.	9/23/24
		Fazioli, Billy, Est.	5/ 3/23

(ii) ASCAP Membership C-F

<u>NAME</u>	<u>DATE ELECTED</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>DATE ELECTED</u>
Federlein, Gottfried	6/26/24	Goodhart, Al	1/28/32
Fields, Buddy	4/30/25	Goodman, Alfred	3/30/22
Fields, Dorothy	3/14/29	Goodman, Frank	9/29/21
Fiorito, Ted	9/29/21	Goodman, Lillian R.	2/28/28
Fisher, Fred	2/ 3/21	Goodwin, Joe	9/17/14
Fisher, Mack	1/19/26	Goold, Sam, Est.	1/18/24
Fisher, Wm. Arms	1/19/26	Gordon, Mack	4/27/33
Flagler, Robert S.	6/29/33	Gorney, Jay	4/30/25
Flatow, Leon	9/21/22	Gottler, Archie	3/22/17
Fleeson, Neville	2/ 3/21	Grainger, Percy A.	10/24/24
Forster, Dorothy	5/28/25	Grant, Bert	3/30/22
Forsyth, Cecil	3/14/29	Grant, Charles N.	10/ 1/14
Fowler, B. Sherman	9/29/25	Green, Bud	9/29/21
Fox, Oscar J.	4/28/27	Green, John W.	1/22/31
Franklin, Dave	6/28/34	Greene, Schuyler, Est.	9/29/21
Franklyn, Blanche	3/30/22	Greer, Jesse	12/13/23
Franko, Nahan, Est.	1914	Grey, Clifford	3/ 6/25
Freed, Arthur	1/18/24	Grey, Frank H.	9/29/21
Freed, Ralph	2/28/34	Griselle, Thomas	4/27/33
Freer, Eleanor E.	12/ 4/24	Grofe, Ferde	11/27/23
Frey, Hugo	3/24/14	Grossman, Bernie	3/30/22
Fried, Martin	12/13/23	Grunberg, Jacques	1/20/21
Friedland, Anatol	6/26/23	Grunn, Homer	6/26/27
Friend, Cliff	3/30/22	Guion, David W.	9/29/27
Friml, Rudolf	3/24/14	Gumble, Albert	3/ 5/14
Frisch, Billy	2/27/23	Gurewich, Jascha	3/28/24
		Gusman, Meyer	2/27/30
Gahn, Joseph	6/25/26		
Gaines, Samuel R.	6/26/24	Hadley, Henry	2/15/17
Galloway, Tod B.	6/29/33	Haenschen, W. G.	4/30/25
Gardner, Wm. H., Est.	6/26/20	Hageman, Richard	11/28/30
Garrett, Lloyd Frey	4/30/25	Hagen, Milt	3/28/24
Gaskill, Clarence	1/20/21	Hager, Clyde	9/29/25
Gaul, Harvey B.	4/28/27	Hahn, Carl, Est.	4/30/25
Gay, Byron	10/31/22	Hajos, Karl	4/25/29
Gensler, Lewis E.	6/26/23	Hall, Wendell	4/26/34
Gerard, Richard H.	9/29/27	Hamblen, Bernard	4/30/25
Gerber, Alex	9/29/21	Hammerstein, O., 2nd	6/26/23
Gershwin, George	12/17/20	Handman, Lou	6/26/23
Gershwin, Ira	12/17/20	Handy, W. C.	12/ 4/24
Gifford, H. Eugene	4/26/34	Hanley, James F.	5/ 3/17
Gilbert, L. Wolfe	12/ 4/24	Hanlon, Bert	5/ 3/23
Gillespie, Haven	9/29/25	Harbach, Otto A.	5/ 6/14
Gillespie, Marion E.	12/17/20	Harburg, E. Y.	11/28/30
Ginsberg, Sol	11/24/20	Harling, W. Franke	4/23/26
Glick, Jesse G. M.	9/29/25	Harris, Chas. K., Est.	4/ 9/14
Glogau, Jack	1914	Harris, Harry	2/28/28
Godowsky, Leopold	1/28/32	Harris, Victor	9/23/24
Goetz, Coleman, Est.	2/27/30	Harrison, C. F.	3/14/29
Goetz, E. Roy	2/13/14	Hart, Lorenz	1/19/26
Gold, Joe	3/ 6/25	Hartmann, Arthur	9/29/25
Golden, Ernie	3/31/32	Hawley, C. B., Est.	9/26/29
Golden, John	2/13/14	Hazzard, John E.	8/27/14
Goldman, Edwin F.	9/23/24	Heagney, Wm. H.	1/19/26

(iii) ASCAP Membership F-H

<u>NAME</u>	<u>DATE ELECTED</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>DATE ELECTED</u>
Hein, Silvio, Est.	2/13/14	Jones, Isham	6/26/24
Henderson, Chas. E.	1/22/31	Jones, Stephen	3/28/24
Henderson, Ray	2/27/23		
Herbert, Victor, Est.	2/13/14	Kahal, Irving	9/29/27
Herscher, Louis	12/17/20	Kahn, Grace Le Boy	10/30/30
Hersom, Frank E.	9/23/24	Kahn, Gus	1/20/21
Hess, Cliff	8/21/19	Kalmar, Bert	12/23/20
Heyman, Edward	1/22/31	Kassel, Art	9/25/30
Hill, Alexander	2/28/34	Kaufman, Mel B., Est.	6/26/24
Hill, William (Billy) J.	11/26/29	Keithley, E. Clinton	6/26/30
Hirsch, Louis, A., Est.	4/16/14	Kempinski, Leo A.	9/29/27
Hirsch, Walter	9/29/21	Kendis, James	9/29/21
Hobart, Geo. V., Est.	2/13/14	Kenny, Nick A.	1/28/32
Hoffman, Al	5/ 6/30	Kern, Jerome	3/ 5/14
Holden, Sidney	4/30/25	Kernell, Wm. B.	9/29/21
Holiner, Mann	6/29/33	Kernochan, Marshall	6/26/27
Hollingsworth, Thekla	2/28/28	Kerr, Harry D.	10/31/22
Holzmann, Abraham	5/ 3/23	Kilenyi, Edward	9/29/27
Homer, Sidney	9/23/24	King, Robt. A., Est.	11/26/20
Hooker, Brian	5/ 3/23	King, Wayne	4/27/33
Hoschna, Karl, Est.	2/27/30	Klages, Raymond W.	5/ 3/23
Hosmer, Lucius	6/26/24	Klein, Lou	4/25/29
Howard, John Tasker	6/25/26	Klemm, Gustav	11/28/30
Howard, Joseph E.	9/29/21	Klenner, John	4/28/32
Hubbell, Raymond	2/13/14	Klickmann, F. Henri	9/29/21
Huerter, Charles	3/14/29	Knox, Helen	9/23/24
Hughes, Rupert	9/23/24	Keohler, Ted	1/19/26
Ruhn, Bruno	6/26/24	Kortlander, Max	12/17/20
Hupfeld, Herman	4/30/31	Kountz, Richard	9/29/27
		Kramer, A. Walter	4/12/17
Jacobi, Frederick	9/23/24	Kreisler, Fritz	9/23/24
Jaffe, Moe	6/27/29	Krouse, H. Sylvester	6/29/33
James, Billy	6/26/24	Kummer, Clare	6/28/34
James, Paul	4/30/31		
James, Philip	11/28/28	Lada, Anton	4/15/20
Janis, Elsie	3/12/14	La Forge, Frank	11/ 2/32
Janssen, Werner	3/30/22	Lake, Mayhew Lester	6/26/24
Jasmyn, Joan	1/12/33	Lampe, J. Bodewalt, Est.	3/24/14
Jason, Will	6/29/33	Lane, Burton	4/27/33
Jentes, Harry	1/15/15	Lane, Eastwood	3/ 6/25
Jerome, M. K.	12/17/20	Lange, Arthur	6/26/24
Jerome, Wm. Est.	2/13/14	Lange, Henry W.	6/26/24
Johnson, Arnold	4/30/25	Lannin, Paul	6/26/23
Johnson, Horace	3/28/24	Lardner, Ring, Est.	4/27/33
Johnson, Howard E.	3/29/17	Laska, Edward	1914
Johnson, J. C.	11/ 2/32	Lawlor, Chas. B., Est.	10/30/30
Johnson, James P.	1/19/26	Lawnhurst, Vee	10/26/33
Johnson, J. Rosamond	12/15/27	Lawrence, Jack	6/28/34
Johnson, J. Weldon	6/25/26	Layton, Turner	3/30/22
Johnston, Arthur	4/27/33	Le Baron, William	4/27/33
Johnstone, Gord., Est.	10/30/19	Lee, Norah	6/26/24
Johnstone, Thomas A.	3/28/24	Lerner, Sammy	6/30/31
Johnstone, Will B.	4/30/25	Leslie, Edgar	3/24/14
Jolson, Al	1/ 8/20	Levant, Oscar	2/27/30

M.I.) 1941-1945, (Re: ASCAP)

Box 9, Folder 9

(iv) ASCAP Membership H-L

NAME	DATE ELECTED	NAME	DATE ELECTED
Levenson, Boris	6/26/24	Metz, Theo. A.	1/28/32
Levey, Harold	9/29/25	Meyer, George W.	3/26/14
Levinson, Jerry	11/15/33	Meyer, Joseph	3/30/22
Lewis, Al	6/26/27	Meyers, Billy	9/29/27
Lewis, Roger	3/ 6/25	Miles, Walter E.	4/30/25
Lewis, Samuel M.	10/22/14	Millay, Edna St. V.	2/28/34
Leif, Max	10/29/31	Miller, Bob	2/24/33
Leif, Nathaniel	10/29/31	Miller, Ned	6/26/24
Lieurance, Thurlow	4/26/34	Mills, F. A.	3/ 3/32
Link, Harry	2/27/30	Mills, Irving	2/26/26
Little, George A.	9/29/21	Mitchell, Sidney D.	8/21/29
Little, Jack	9/27/28	Moll, Billy	5/ 6/30
Livingstone, Mabel	12/ 9/26	Monaco, James V.	3/26/14
Lockhart, Eugene	9/29/25	Moore, Elizabeth E.	4/30/25
Loeb, John Jacob	11/ 2/32	Moore, Leslie F.	11/19/25
Logan, Fred'k K., Est.	3/ 1/17	Moore, McElbert	6/26/24
Logan, Virginia K.	9/21/22	Morgan, Carey	2/27/23
Lombardo, Carmen	3/14/29	Morris, Edward	6/28/28
Lyman, Abe	6/26/24	Morris, Melville	10/28/20
MacBoyle, Darl	4/30/25	Morse, Arthur C.	6/25/26
MacDermid, James G.	10/31/22	Morse, Dolly	3/12/14
MacDonald, Ballard	10/ 8/14	Morse, Theo., Est.	3/12/14
MacDonough, Glen, Est.	2/13/14	Motzan, Otto	11/19/14
Madden, Edward	3/28/24	Murchison, Kenneth M.	4/30/25
Maduro, Charles	3/10/31	Murphy, Owen	11/28/28
Maganini, Quinto	11/ 2/32	Murphy, Stanley, Est.	12/17/29
Magidson, Herbert	11/26/29	Murray, Jack	9/26/29
Magine, Frank	9/29/21	Myers, Richard	9/29/27
Mahoney, Jack	4/30/25	Neiberg, Al J.	2/24/33
Maley, Florence T.	4/28/27	Nelson, Ed G.	3/30/22
Malneck, Matt	3/31/32	Nevin, Arthur	9/23/24
Mana-Zucca, Mme	9/29/25	Nevin, Ethelbert, Est.	5/28/25
Manney, Charles F.	12/ 9/26	Nevin, George B., Est.	6/26/27
Manning, Kathleen L.	1/28/32	Newman, Charles	4/25/29
Marion, George, Jr.	9/25/30	Nichols, Alberta	6/29/33
Marks, Gerald	3/31/32	Norworth, Jack	3/30/22
Marshall, Henry I.	11/ 2/32	Oakland, Ben	6/28/34
Martens, F. H., Est.	3/ 7/24	O'Dea, Anne Caldwell	4/28/14
Mason, Daniel G.	11/12/33	O'Flynn, Charles	12/15/27
McCarron, Chas., Est.	2/24/33	O'Hara, Geoffrey	3/26/14
McCarthy, Joseph	5/16/14	O'Keefe, James	6/26/27
McConnell, Geo. B.	2/ 3/21	O'Keefe, Lester	4/23/26
McHugh, Jimmie	3/30/22	Olcott, Chauncey, Est.	11/ 5/14
McKee, Frank W.	10/ 1/14	Olman, Abe	12/17/20
McKenna, William	9/29/25	Oppenheim, David	1/22/31
McLaughlin, John	2/27/30	Orlob, Harold	8/29/14
McPherson, R. C.	3/ 6/25	Osborne, Nat	10/ 1/14
Melrose, Walter	9/26/29	Osgood, H. O., Est.	10/31/22
Mencher, Murray	1/22/32	Otvos, A. Dorian	11/27/23
Mendoza, David	6/27/29	Owens, Harry	4/30/25
Mercer, John W.	11/29/32	Paley, Herman	3/19/14
Merle, George	10/ 8/14		
Meskill, Jack	6/26/24		

(v) ASCAP Membership L-P

<u>NAME</u>	<u>DATE ELECTED</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>DATE ELECTED</u>
Selden, Edger, Est.	12/17/29	Stept, Sam H.	6/25/26
Severn, Edmund	6/26/24	Sterling, Andrew B.	9/21/22
Seymour, Tot	1/20/21	Stern, Henry R.	9/29/21
Shapiro, Ted	6/26/24	Stern, Jack	9/29/21
Shay, Larry	3/ 6/25	Stevens, David	4/25/29
Shelley, Harry Rowe	3/ 5/14	Stickles, William	6/28/28
Sherman, Al	3/ 6/25	Stoddard, Geo. E.	9/29/21
Shields, Ren, Est.	2/27/30	Stone, Billy, Est.	2/27/30
Shilkret, Nathaniel	9/27/28	Stothart, Herbert	6/26/23
Siegel, Monty	9/26/29	Straight, Charley	12/17/20
Sigler, Maurice	2/28/34	Stride, Harry	4/26/34
Signorelli, Frank	6/29/33	Stults, R. M., Est.	9/25/30
Silberta, Rhea	6/26/24	Sturn, Murray	3/ 6/25
Silver, Abner	3/30/22	Suesse, Dana	11/27/31
Silvers, Louis	2/27/23	Sullivan, Alexander C.	3/30/22
Silvers, Sid	9/26/29	Sullivan, Henry	3/ 3/32
Simon, Edw. G., Est.	2/28/28	Sunshine, Marion	6/29/33
Simon, Robt. A.	12/19/33	Swanstrom, Arthur	9/25/30
Simon, Walter C.	6/26/24	Sweatman, Wilbur C.	4/12/17
Simons, Seymour B.	9/21/22	Swift, Kay	4/30/31
Sirmay, Albert	5/25/33	Symes, Marty	11/15/33
Sissle, Noble	3/30/22		
Sizemore, Arthur L.	9/29/21	Taylor, Deems	1/27/27
Skilton, Charles S.	3/28/24	Terry, Robert H.	9/23/24
Sloane, A. B. Est.	3/ 5/14	Thompson, Harlan	3/28/24
Smith, Chris	4/30/31	Thornton, James	9/29/27
Smith, Clay, Est.	9/21/22	Tierney, Harry	3/ 8/17
Smith, Edgar	3/ 5/14	Tinturin, Peter	10/26/33
Smith, Harry B.	3/19/14	Tobias, Charles	10/31/22
Smith, H. Wakefield	6/28/28	Tobias, Harry	3/30/22
Smith, Robert B.	12/ 4/24	Tobias, Henry H.	6/27/29
Smith, Walter W.	6/26/24	Tracey, William G.	10/15/14
Snyder, Ted	4/16/14	Trent, Jo	9/29/25
Solman, Alfred	9/29/21	Trinkaus, George J.	10/22/14
Sousa, John P., Est.	6/11/14	Tucker, John A.	6/26/24
Sowerby, Leo	9/29/27	Turk, Roy	9/21/22
Spaeth, Sigmund	3/ 6/25	Twohig, Daniel S.	1/19/26
Spalding, Albert	6/26/24	Tyers, Wm. H., Est.	4/12/17
Speaks, Oley	3/ 7/24		
Spencer, Fleta J. B.	12/17/20	Vallee, Rudy	5/ 6/30
Spencer, Herbert	12/17/20	Van Alstyne, Egbert	6/26/23
Spencer, Otis	3/30/22	Vanderpool, Fred'k. W.	12/17/20
Spencer, Robert E.	11/19/25	Verges, Joe	2/28/28
Spier, Larry	4/30/25	Vicars, Harold, Est.	5/ 6/30
Spina, Harold	6/29/33	Vincent, Nathaniel H.	3/30/22
Spitalny, Maurice	11/28/28	Von Der Goltz, E., Jr.	1/19/26
Spros, Chas. Gilbert	3/ 6/25	Von Tilzer, Albert	6/11/14
Squires, Harry D.	6/26/24	Von Tilzer, Harry	3/12/14
Stamper, Dave	11/19/14		
Stanley, Jack	9/29/21	Waller, Thomas	10/29/31
Stanton, F. L., Est.	12/17/29	Walsh, J. Brandon	2/ 3/21
Steiger, Jimmy, Est.	9/29/27	Ward, Sam	6/26/24
Stein, Jules K.	4/30/31	Ware, Harriet	6/29/33
Stephens, Ward	6/29/33	Warford, Claude	9/29/25

(vi) ASCAP Membership S-W

<u>NAME</u>	<u>DATE ELECTED</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>DATE ELECTED</u>
Warren, Harry	6/26/24	Williams, Clarence	4/28/27
Washington, Ned	5/ 6/30	Williams, Sam	1/19/26
Watts, Wintter	2/24/33	Williams, Spencer	1/20/21
Wayne, Mabel	6/28/28	Williams, W. R.	3/30/22
Webb, Kenneth S.	3/12/14	Wilson, Al	2/27/23
Webb, Roy	3/12/14	Wilson, Irving M.	9/29/25
Webster, Paul F.	11/ 2/32	Wilson, Mortimer, Est.	6/26/24
Weeks, Harold	10/31/22	Winne, Jesse M.	4/28/14
Weidt, A. J.	6/26/30	Winternitz, Felix	6/26/24
Weill, Irving	12/ 9/26	Wolfe, Jacques	11/29/32
Weinberg, Charles	9/26/29	Wood, Cyrus D.	12/13/23
Weldon, Frank	6/29/33	Wood, Leo, Est.	9/29/21
Wells, John Barnes	4/30/25	Woodin, Wm. H., Est.	1/28/32
Wendling, Pete	10/30/19	Woodman, R. H.	5/28/25
Wenrich, Percy	5/ 6/14	Woods, Harry M.	4/30/25
Weslyn, Louis	5/ 3/23	Wright, Frank A.	6/25/26
West, Eugene	2/27/23	Wrubel, Allie	11/29/32
Westphal, Frank C.	6/26/24	Wynn, Ed	6/26/24
Wever, Ned	6/29/33		
Whitcup, Leonard	6/28/34	Yellen, Jack	10/18/17
White, Clarence C.	6/26/24	Yon, Pietro A.	9/29/27
Whithorne, Emerson	6/26/24	Youmans, Vincent	12/17/20
Whiting, George	6/25/26	Young, Joseph	10/ 1/14
Whiting, Richard A.	1/20/21	Young, Victor (Std.)	6/28/34
Wiedoeft, Rudy	9/26/29	Young, Victor (Pop.)	4/28/32
Wilkie, Bud	3/30/22		
		Zamecnik, J. S.	3/28/24

NON-PARTICIPATING MEMBERS

Altman, Arthur	Davidson, Morey
Balagh, Erno	De Leone, Francesco
Bennett, Robt. Russell	Dillon, Fannie Charles
Bernie, Ben	Doll, Raymond
Berwald, William	
Bestor, Don	Endor, Chick
Braine, Robert	Fields, Arthur
Brit, Addy	Fogarty, J. Paul
Brooks, Harry	
Buchanan, Annabel M.	Gilmore, Elizabeth M.
	Goering, Al
Charles, Ernest	Golde, Walter
Cowles, Cecil	Goldsworthy, W. A.

NON-PARTICIPATING MEMBERS (CONTINUED)

Gordon, Ben	Platzman, Eugene
Grosvenor, Ralph L.	Raymond, Harold
Gunshy, Maurice, Jr.	Reiser, Alois
	Rich, Jack
Henry, Grace R.	Risher, Anna Priscilla
Herbert, Jean	Roder, Milan
Heywood, Donald	
	Sanders, George H.
Katzman, Louis	Sanford, Dick
Keidel, Hal	Sciapiro, Michel
Krisco, Charles W.	Shand, Terry
Klein, Sol	Singer, Dolph
Koppell, Alfred	Smith, Walter
	Solomon, Harold
Le San, Jack	Stener, Max
Levitzki, Mischa	Stevens, Leonard
Levy, Leon L.	Sullivan, Jerry
Loth, L. Leslie	
	Van Loan, Paul F.
Messenheimer, Sam	Vann, Al
McPhail, Lindsay	Vecsei, Desider J.
Nelson, Steve	Wallace, Mildred W.
Nevin, Gordon B.	Wagner, George
	Ward, Eddie
Pascal, Richard W.	Warren, Elinor R.
Perry, Rob Nay	Weinberg, Jacob

DROPPED MEMBERS

Bagby, George	Larson, Earl Roland
Bergere, Ray	Levenson, Robert
Bonx, Nathan J.	
Brackman, David H.	Mack, Andrew
Buffano, Jules	Mallie, Tommie
	Myers, Henry
Carbonara, Gerard	
Casler, Don	O'Hare, William C.
Cortelyou, Winthrop	
	Payche, Freida
Davis, George Gibson	
Dowell, J. Edgar	Rodgers, Jimmie
Eames, Henry Furmont	Salver, Frank
	Sullivan, Don J.
Henshaw, March	Williams, Fred A.

(viii) ASCAP Membership Non-Participating and Dropped members 1914-34.

The previous ASCAP pages, as filed at The Shubert Archive, appear to have been typed independently by a member of the office staff in 1935. Unfortunately, even though the pages were stapled together, there were 2 page '7's' and no page '6'. In order to complete the missing membership names from P-S, I therefore accessed the original source from 'Songwriters' ASCAP Payoff', *Variety Magazine*, December 4th, 1935, pp. 37-41.

Wednesday, December 4, 1935

Name,	Date elected,	resent class,	Perform- ance credits,	P. C. of total.	Royalties paid 1933.
Powell, John.....	5/28/30	1	487	.01	400.00
Price, Georgie.....	12/13/23	4	32	.00	20.00
Privat, Max.....	12/13/23	4		.00	35.00
Pryor, Arthur.....	9/27/28	1		.06	200.00
Rachmannoff, Sergei....	4/30/25	CC		.17	1,708.87
Rainger, Ralph.....	4/30/31	D		.62	525.00
Rapee, Erno.....	11/27/23	CC		.13	2,563.31
Rapaport, Ruth.....	9/23/24	3		.00	80.00
Rasbach, Oscar.....	1/28/32	DD	2,261	.03	400.00
Raskin, William.....	3/28/24	C-1	472	.01	1,281.64
Razaf, Andy.....	6/27/29	CC	20,836	.58	1,708.87
Reddick, William.....	12/ 9/26	3	118	.00	80.00
Repper, Charles.....	6/26/30	3	1,083	.03	80.00
Revel, Harry.....	2/28/34	DD	43,114	1.34
Rice, Lieut. Gitz.....	10/30/19	1	473	.01	400.00
Rich, Max.....	4/30/31	1	15,036	.42	350.00
Richman, Harry.....	2/26/26	3	926	.03	110.00
Riesonfeld, Hugo.....	12/ 4/24	C-1	568	.02	1,281.64
Ringle, Dave.....	3/30/22	2	3,343	.09	200.00
Robe, Harold.....	9/ 4/19	1	367	.01	400.00
Roberts, Charles J.....	6/26/24	B	2,232	.06	2,563.31
Roberts, Lee S.....	6/ 3/23	1	1,231	.03	350.00
Robin, Leo.....	6/26/27	A	34,193	.96	4,875.41
Robinson, J. Russell....	12/17/20	B	8,422	.24	2,563.31
Robison, Carson J.....	6/29/33	2	2,979	.08	40.00
Robison, Willard.....	4/26/28	DD	6,976	.20	700.00
Robyn, Alfred G.....	3/ 5/14	Perm. C	972	.03	750.00
Rodgers, Richard.....	1/19/26	AA	24,171	.68	*6,974.34
Rogers, James H.....	3/28/24	B	1,040	.03	2,563.31
Rolfe, Walter.....	6/30/31	2	36	.00	80.00
Roma, Caro.....	6/26/24	D	1,181	.03	400.00
Romberg, Sigmund.....	4/12/17	AA	20,898	.58	6,835.46
Ronell, Ann.....	11/ 2/32	D	13,945	.39	*925.00
Rose, Billy.....	11/27/23	AA	13,818	.39	*6,960.45
Rose, Ed.....	6/26/24	2	745	.02	200.00
Rose, Fred.....	11/28/28	2	243	.01	200.00
Rose, Vincent.....	9/29/21	BB	4,972	.14	3,417.73
Rosemont, Walter L....	3/ 6/25	3	11	.00	80.00
Rosey, George.....	4/30/31	2	144	.00	80.00
Rosey, Joe.....	8/21/19	4		.00	20.00
Rosoff, Charles.....	3/ 6/25	1		.01	400.00
Rourke, M. E., Est.....	9/ 9/14	Perm. C		.05	750.00
Rubens, Maurie.....	1/19/26	2		.00	200.00
Ruby, Harry.....	5/24/17	A		.13	6,835.46
Ruby, Herman.....	3/30/22	D		.04	807.13
Rupp, Carl.....	9/29/25	3		.00	80.00
Russell, Alexander.....	6/28/28	3		.00	80.00
Russell, Benec.....	9/29/27	CC		.11	1,708.87
Russo, Dan.....	4/30/25	4		.00	20.00
Ryan, Ben.....	5/ 3/23	1		.04	400.00
Ryder, Sturkow, Mme....	9/29/27	4		.00	20.00

Owens, Mary.....	2/20/20		.05	80.00
Paley, Herman.....	3/19/14	Per	.00	750.00
Palmer, Jack.....	12/ 9/26		.02	400.00
Parenteau, Zoel.....	8/13/17		.02	20.00
Parish, Mitchell.....	6/27/29		.50	550.00
Paskman, Dailey.....	9/21/22		.01	20.00
Pasternack, Josef.....	6/27/29		.01	35.00
Paul, E. T., Est.....	2/ 3/21		.00	80.00
Pease, Harry.....	4/30/25		.12	1,281.64
Peck, Raymond W.....	1/19/26		.01	200.00
Penn, Arthur A.....	12/17/20		.12	3,417.73
Perkins, Frank S.....	1/12/33		.24	80.00
Perkins, Ray.....	9/29/21		.01	110.00
Perry, Sam A.....	12/13/23		.02	200.00
Peters, Wm. Fred'k.....	1/28/32		.00	80.00
Petkere, Bernice.....	11/ 2/32		.38	250.00
Phillips, Fred.....	4/30/25		.02	250.00
Plantadosi, Al.....	9/29/21		.02	3,417.73
Pinkard, Maceo.....	9/29/21		.09	1,708.87
Pirani, Eugenio Di.....	6/26/24		.01	80.00
Pochon, Alfred.....	6/26/24		.00	80.00
Polla, W. C.....	12/ 9/26		.03	200.00
Pollack, Lew.....	11/23/20		.23	3,417.73
Pollack, Muriel.....	2/24/33		.04	80.00
Ponce, Phil.....	6/27/29		.02	35.00
Porter, Cole.....	1/22/31		.68	1,174.51
Ryan, Ben.....	5/ 3/23	1	.04	400.00
Ryder, Sturkow, Mme....	9/29/27	4	.00	20.00
Saar, Louis Victor.....	6/28/24		.01	80.00
Saenger, Gustav.....	9/23/24		.03	35.00
St. Clair, Floyd J.....	9/23/24		.00	200.00
Salter, Mary Turner.....	11/ 2/32		.00	80.00
Saminsky, Lazare.....	6/26/24		.00	140.00
Samuels, Frank.....	2/27/30		.00	80.00
Samuels, Walter G.....	4/26/34		.05
Sanders, Alma M.....	5/ 3/23		.01	400.00
Sanders, Joe L.....	9/26/29		.02	110.00
Santly, Henry W., ...	10/31/22		.00	35.00
Santly, Joseph H.....	8/21/19		.00	80.00
Santly, Lester.....	12/ 4/24		.00	20.00
Savino, Domenico.....	9/23/24		.23	2,563.31
Schad, Walter C.....	11/28/28		.03	80.00
Schafer, Bob.....	3/28/24		.01	400.00
Schertzinger, Victor.....	12/19/33		.04
Schmid, Adolf.....	11/28/28		.02	80.00
Schmidt, Erwin.....	6/26/24		.01	200.00
Schoebel, Elmer.....	6/26/27		.14	250.00
Scholl, Jack.....	1/12/33		.49	*223.33
Schonberg, Chris.....	12/ 4/24		.00	80.00
Schonberger, John.....	4/30/25		.03	20.00
Schuster, Ira.....	9/29/21		.59	*2,813.31
Schuster, Joseph.....	4/26/28		.01	250.00
Schwartz, Arthur.....	5/ 6/30		.46	2,165.46
Schwartz, Jean.....	3/ 5/14		.22	*4,710.63
Schwartz, Nat.....	6/28/34		.02
Schwarzwald, Milton....	6/26/24		.00	20.00
Scott, John P., Est.....	4/26/28		.01	200.00
Selden, Edgar, Est.....	12/17/29		.00	400.00
Severn, Edmund.....	6/26/24		.02	80.00
Severn, Edna.....	1/22/31		.12

Appendix C

Table illustrating Rida Johnson Young's fellow Council members of the 1919 Dramatists' Guild Council, illustrating their connection to either Alice Kauser or Elisabeth Marbury and the source of the connection reference

No.	Name	Connection to:	Internet
1.	Edward Childs Carpenter	Alice Kauser	https://www.auctionzip.com/auction-lot/alice-kauser-1872-1945-theatrical-agent._7E742A4AC8/
2.	Anne Crawford Flexner	Alice Kauser	https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alice_Kauser
3.	James Forbes	Alice Kauser	https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=LAH19070915.2.93.7&e=-----en--20--1--txt-txIN-----1 [Los Angeles Herald, 1907]
4.	Cosmo Hamilton	Elisabeth Marbury	https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1926/03/07/100055364.pdf?pdf_redirect=true&ip=0 [New York Times, 1907]
5.	Otto Harbach	Elisabeth Marbury	https://archives.nypl.org/search/results?utf8=%26%3Fq=Otto+Harbach+and+Elisabeth+marbury New York Public Library records
6.	Avery Hopwood	Elisabeth Marbury	https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/17782/lot/1092/ American Play Company Scripts: approx 90 boxes containing nearly 1000 theatrical scripts, most typed manuscripts, some representing early working drafts of popular 20th century dramas, others representing scripts used in regional or stock productions of the period. Present are scripts by PHILIP BARRY, GUY BOLTON, GEORGE M. COHAN, JOHN COLTON, RACHEL CROTHERS, PHILIP DUNNING, JACQUES DUVAL, EDNA FERBER, SALISBURY FIELD, JOSEPH FIELDS, CLYDE FITCH, ELMER HARRIS, LILLIAN HELLMAN, AVERY HOPWOOD, GEORGE S. KAUFMAN, NORMAN KRASNA, RING LARDNER, HOWARD LINDSEY AND RUSSELL CROUSE, FREDERICK LONSDALE, CHARLES MACARTHUR AND BEN HECHT, W.S. MAUGHAM, A.A. MILNE, EUGENE O'NEILL (early performance drafts of "Anna Christie," "Mourning Becomes Electra," "Strange Interlude," and others), SIGMUND ROMBERG, HARRY SEGALL (including early drafts of "Heaven Can Wait" and original drafts of several unproduced plays), PRESTON STURGES, TENNESSEE WILLIAMS (including an early draft of "The Glass Menagerie" with original screen device note still intact), and many more.
7.	Jerome Kern	Elisabeth Marbury	https://archives.nypl.org/the/88 New York Public Library records
8.	George Middleton	Elisabeth Marbury	https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=K_1MEAAQBAJ&pg=PA91&lpg=PA91&dq=george+middleton+and+elisabeth+marbury&source=bl&ots=3mQlzxHfH&sig=ACfU3U2nypzYmTA1QXXRPdOcXBxbvIRQ&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwIFj7u7k7b0AhUihP0HHS4jDEMQ6AF6BAgQEAM#v=onepage&q=george%20middleton%20and%20elisabeth%20marbury&f=false Negotiating Copyright in the American Theatre: 1856–1951 By Brent Salter (Sadler, 2021, pp. 91, 93)
9.	Channing Pollock	Alice Kauser	https://www.auctionzip.com/auction-lot/alice-kauser-1872-1945-theatrical-agent._7E742A4AC8/
10.	Mark Swan	Elisabeth Marbury	https://archives.nypl.org/search/results?utf8=%26%3Fq=mark+Swan+and+elisabeth+marbury New York Public Library records
11.	Augustus Thomas	Elisabeth Marbury	https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=1CjUndpIBNoC&pg=PA117&lpg=PA117&dq=augustus+thomas+and+elisabeth+marbury&source=bl&ots=BMYT4PBtD1&sig=ACfU3U3VvHbQ0OY84JDtHelAd7ELfNJAsw&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwITzZiqmbb0AhU38LsiHROdCTcQ6AF6BAgREAM#v=onepage&q=augustus%20thomas%20and%20elisabeth%20marbury&f=false (Hischak, 2013, p. 117)

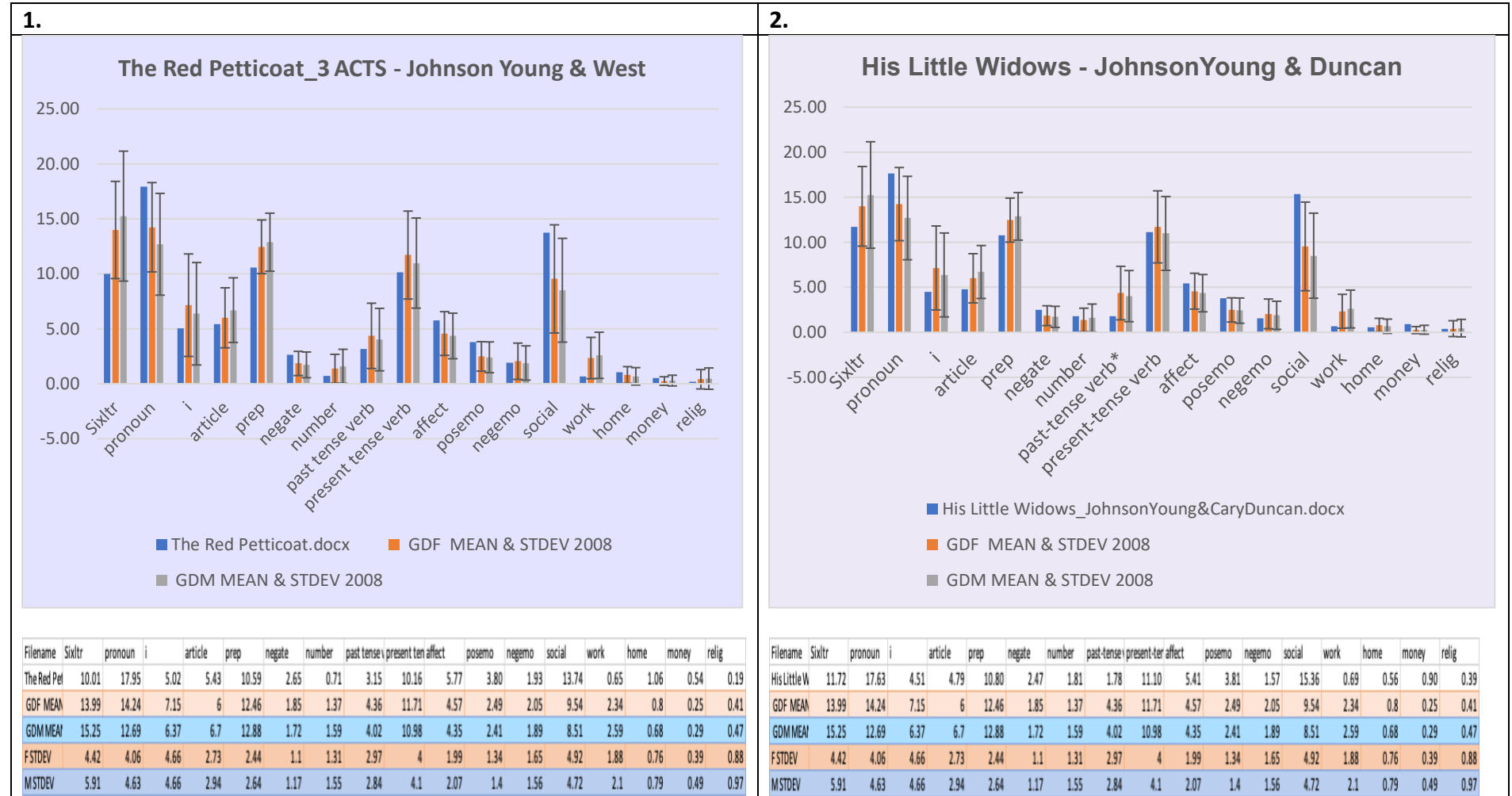
Appendix D

LIWC Analysis results for Rida Johnson Young

(i) Collaborated shows and sources

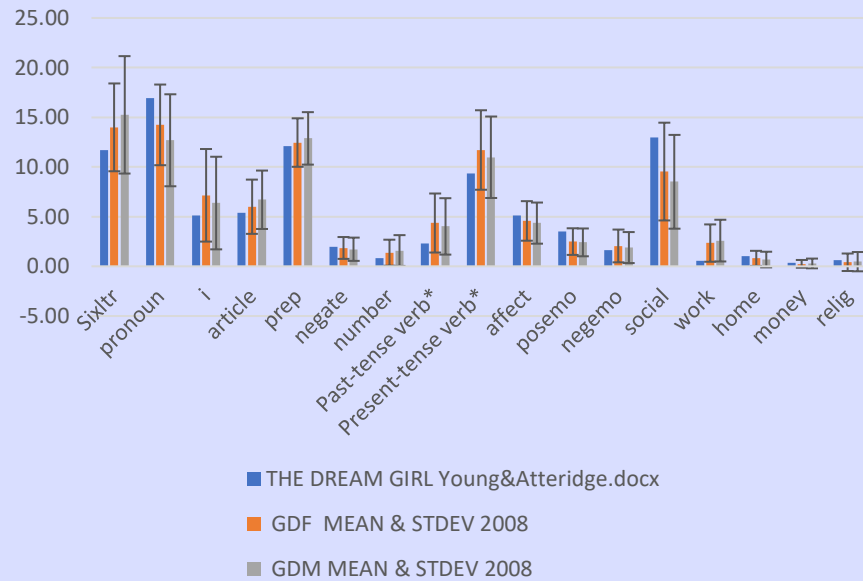
No.	Who	Title/theatre/date/ performances	Composer	Lyrics	Libretto	Producer	Script location
1.	RJY	The Red Petticoat; Daly's Theatre; 13 th November, 1912/61 perfs	Jerome Kern	Johnson Young and Paul West	Johnson Young and Paul West	Messrs Shubert	Shubert Archive RED PETTICOAT – Manuscript Music #503, Box 2: typescripts
2.	RJY	His Little Widows; Astor; 30 th April, 1917/72 perfs	William Shroeder	Johnson Young and William Cary Duncan	Johnson Young and William Cary Duncan	G. M Anderson and L Lawrence Webber	University of Wisconsin Promptbooks https://search.library.wisc.edu/catalog/999586789002121
3.	RJY	The Dream Girl; version 1 . Ambassador; 20 th August, 1924/118 perfs (There are 2 versions)	Victor Herbert	Johnson Young and Harold Atteridge	Johnson Young and Harold Atteridge last musical by Victor Herbert; starred Fay Bainter.	Messrs Shubert	NYPL, theatre collection. DREAM GIRL – Manuscript Music #188, Boxes 3 & 4: scripts, sides, lyrics, misc. Show Series: Box 22, Folders 20-21
4.	RJY	The Dream Girl; version 2 . Ambassador; 20 th August, 1924/118 perfs	Victor Herbert	Johnson Young and Harold Atteridge	Johnson Young and Harold Atteridge	Messrs Shubert	The Shubert Archive This copy has the extra character added by HA.

(ii) Rida Johnson Young: LIWC results for collaborated shows



3.

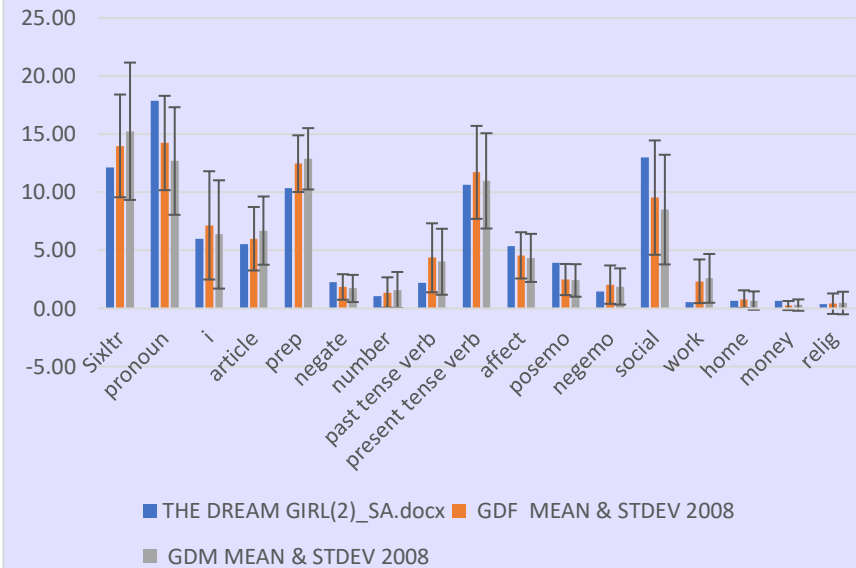
The Dream Girl_1_NYPL - Johnson Young & Atteridge



Filename	Sixltr	pronoun	i	article	prep	negate	number	Past-tense verb*	Present-tense verb*	affect	posemo	negemo	social	work	home	money	relig
THE DREAM	11.69	16.94	5.09	5.39	12.12	1.94	0.83	2.29	9.35	5.12	3.48	1.63	13.00	0.55	1.02	0.33	0.61
GDF MEAN	13.99	14.24	7.15	6	12.46	1.85	1.37	4.36	11.71	4.57	2.49	2.05	9.54	2.34	0.8	0.25	0.41
GDM MEAN	15.25	12.69	6.37	6.7	12.88	1.72	1.59	4.02	10.98	4.35	2.41	1.89	8.51	2.59	0.68	0.29	0.47
FSTDEV	4.42	4.06	4.66	2.73	2.44	1.1	1.31	2.97	4	1.99	1.34	1.65	4.92	1.88	0.76	0.39	0.88
MSTDEV	5.91	4.63	4.66	2.94	2.64	1.17	1.55	2.84	4.1	2.07	1.4	1.56	4.72	2.1	0.79	0.49	0.97

4.

The Dream Girl (2_SA) - Johnson Young & Atteridge

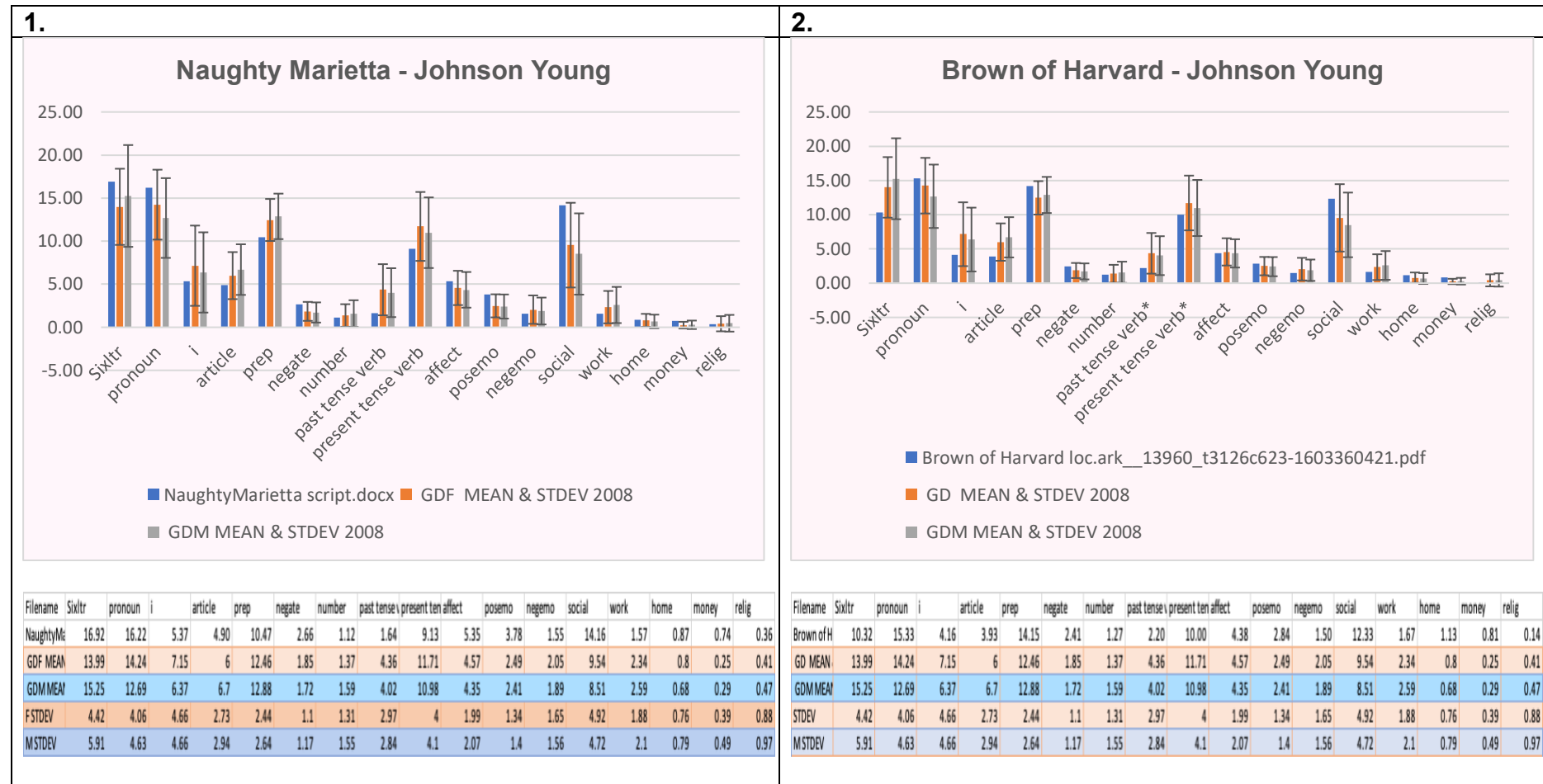


Filename	Sixltr	pronoun	i	article	prep	negate	number	past tense verb	present tense verb	affect	posemo	negemo	social	work	home	money	relig
THE DREAM	12.16	17.86	5.99	5.52	10.34	2.26	1.08	2.18	10.64	5.39	3.92	1.46	12.98	0.57	0.63	0.65	0.35
GDF MEAN	13.99	14.24	7.15	6	12.46	1.85	1.37	4.36	11.71	4.57	2.49	2.05	9.54	2.34	0.8	0.25	0.41
GDM MEAN	15.25	12.69	6.37	6.7	12.88	1.72	1.59	4.02	10.98	4.35	2.41	1.89	8.51	2.59	0.68	0.29	0.47
FSTDEV	4.42	4.06	4.66	2.73	2.44	1.1	1.31	2.97	4	1.99	1.34	1.65	4.92	1.88	0.76	0.39	0.88
MSTDEV	5.91	4.63	4.66	2.94	2.64	1.17	1.55	2.84	4.1	2.07	1.4	1.56	4.72	2.1	0.79	0.49	0.97

(iii) Controls for collaborated shows and sources

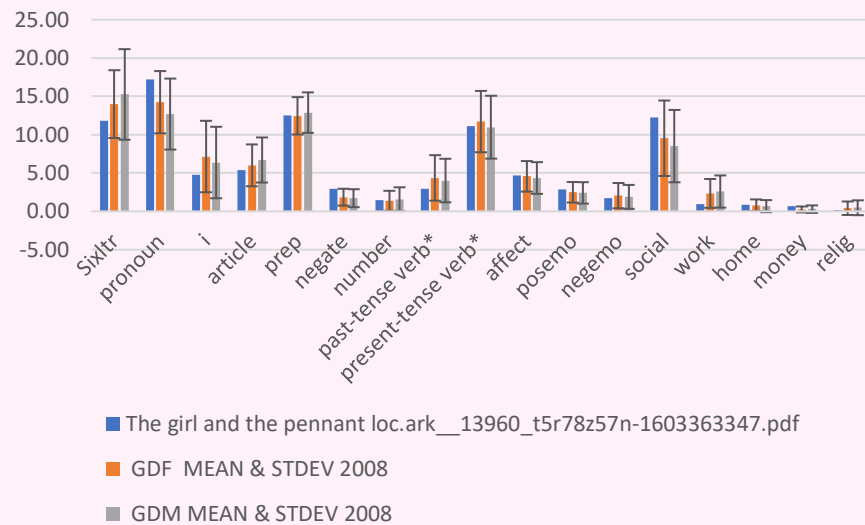
No.	Who	Title	Libretto by	Worked with	Script location
1.	Rida Johnson Young	Naughty Marietta	Rida Johnson Young	William Cary Duncan; Harold Atteridge; Paul West;	New York Public Library, Performing Arts Division.
2.	Rida Johnson Young	Brown of Harvard	Rida Johnson Young	William Cary Duncan; Harold Atteridge; Paul West;	Obtained online via University of Pennsylvania
3.	Rida Johnson Young	The Girl and the Pennant	Rida Johnson Young	William Cary Duncan; Harold Atteridge; Paul West;	Obtained online via University of Pennsylvania
4.	William Cary Duncan	Golden Hooves	William Cary Duncan	Rida Johnson Young	Hard copy of book obtained. (Duncan, 1938)
5.	Harold Atteridge	Sample of part of script for <i>The Passing Show</i> of 1914 and typed scenarios (1914/15)	Harold Atteridge	Rida Johnson Young	From book <i>The Passing Shows</i> by Dr. Jonas Westover. (Westover, 2016)
6.	Harold Atteridge	The Passing Show of 1914	Harold Atteridge	Rida Johnson Young	Received e-troduction with Dr Jonas Westover via the Shubert Archive who supplied pdf.
7.	Paul West	Song lyrics	Paul West	Rida Johnson Young	internet Broadway database for song lyrics, catalogued and transcribed as one document.

(iv) Rida Johnson Young: LIWC results for control shows



3.

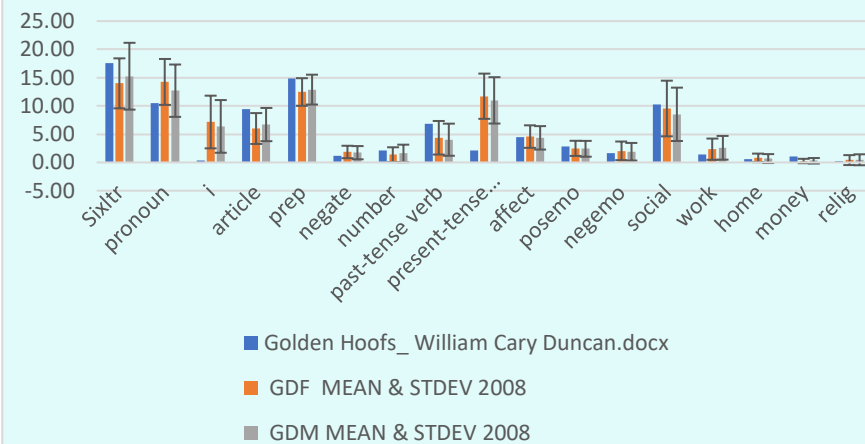
The Girl & the Pennant - Johnson Young



Filename	Sixltr	pronoun	i	article	prep	negate	number	past-tense	present-ter	affect	posemo	negemo	social	work	home	money	relig
The girl anc	11.80	17.24	4.79	5.42	12.54	2.96	1.47	2.91	11.10	4.64	2.87	1.73	12.24	0.92	0.87	0.66	0.13
GDF MEAN	13.99	14.24	7.15	6	12.46	1.85	1.37	4.36	11.71	4.57	2.49	2.05	9.54	2.34	0.8	0.25	0.41
GDM MEAN	15.25	12.69	6.37	6.7	12.88	1.72	1.59	4.02	10.98	4.35	2.41	1.89	8.51	2.59	0.68	0.29	0.47
FSTDEV	4.42	4.06	4.66	2.73	2.44	1.1	1.31	2.97	4	1.99	1.34	1.65	4.92	1.88	0.76	0.39	0.88
MSTDEV	5.91	4.63	4.66	2.94	2.64	1.17	1.55	2.84	4.1	2.07	1.4	1.56	4.72	2.1	0.79	0.49	0.97

4.

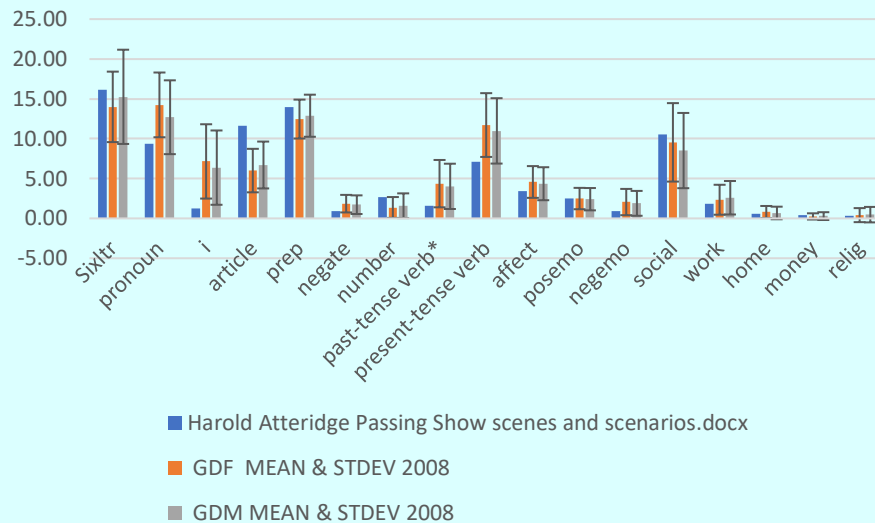
Golden Hoofs - Duncan (10,210 word sample)



Filename	Sixltr	pronoun	i	article	prep	negate	number	past-tense	present-ter	affect	posemo	negemo	social	work	home	money	relig
Golden Hoi	17.62	10.44	0.33	9.39	14.88	1.16	2.08	6.80	2.08	4.49	2.81	1.62	10.29	1.35	0.58	1.04	0.21
GDF MEAN	13.99	14.24	7.15	6	12.46	1.85	1.37	4.36	11.71	4.57	2.49	2.05	9.54	2.34	0.8	0.25	0.41
GDM MEAN	15.25	12.69	6.37	6.7	12.88	1.72	1.59	4.02	10.98	4.35	2.41	1.89	8.51	2.59	0.68	0.29	0.47
FSTDEV	4.42	4.06	4.66	2.73	2.44	1.1	1.31	2.97	4	1.99	1.34	1.65	4.92	1.88	0.76	0.39	0.88
MSTDEV	5.91	4.63	4.66	2.94	2.64	1.17	1.55	2.84	4.1	2.07	1.4	1.56	4.72	2.1	0.79	0.49	0.97

5.

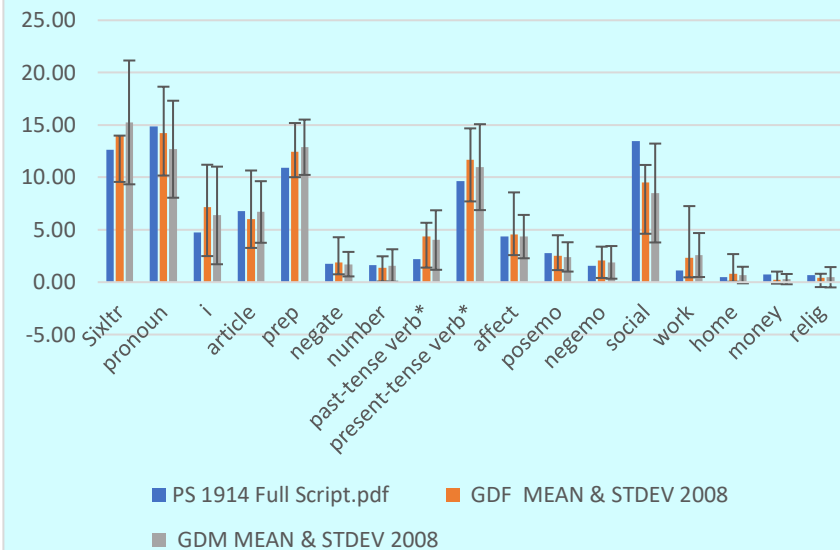
Passing Show 1914/15 scenes & scenarios - Atteridge



Filename	Sixltr	pronoun	i	article	prep	negate	number	past-tense verb*	present-tense verb	affect	posemo	negemo	social	work	home	money	relig
Harold Atteridge	16.16	9.32	1.26	11.63	13.95	0.89	2.64	1.62	7.07	3.44	2.48	0.93	10.51	1.82	0.56	0.40	0
GDF MEAN	13.99	14.24	7.15	6	12.46	1.85	1.37	4.36	11.71	4.57	2.49	2.05	9.54	2.34	0.8	0.25	0
GDM MEAN	15.25	12.69	6.37	6.7	12.88	1.72	1.59	4.02	10.98	4.35	2.41	1.89	8.51	2.59	0.68	0.29	0
FSTDEV	4.42	4.06	4.66	2.73	2.44	1.1	1.31	2.97	4	1.99	1.34	1.65	4.92	1.88	0.76	0.39	0
MSTDEV	5.91	4.63	4.66	2.94	2.64	1.17	1.55	2.84	4.1	2.07	1.4	1.56	4.72	2.1	0.79	0.49	0

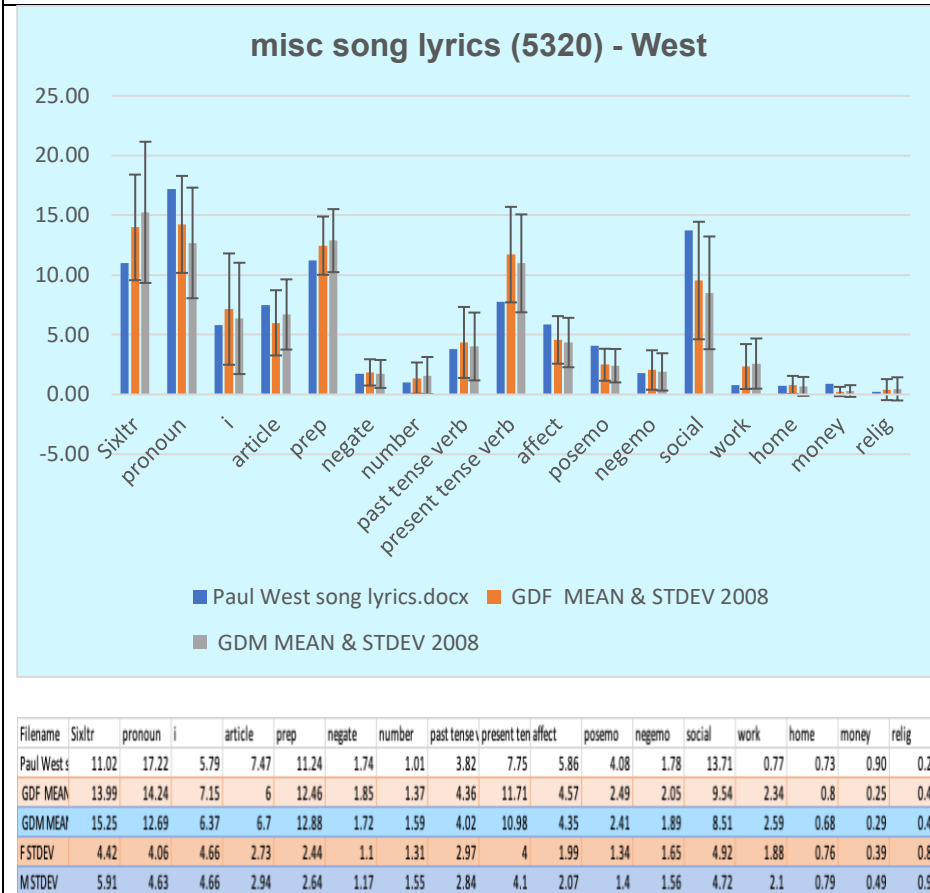
6.

The Passing Show of 1914 - Atteridge



Filename	Sixltr	pronoun	i	article	prep	negate	number	past-tense verb*	present-tense verb	affect	posemo	negemo	social	work	home	money	relig
PS 1914 Full Script.pdf	12.67	14.85	4.74	6.77	10.92	1.75	1.60	2.19	9.63	4.34	2.74	1.59	13.44	1.13	0.50	0.75	0
GDF MEAN	13.99	14.24	7.15	6	12.46	1.85	1.37	4.36	11.71	4.57	2.49	2.05	9.54	2.34	0.8	0.25	0
GDM MEAN	15.25	12.69	6.37	6.7	12.88	1.72	1.59	4.02	10.98	4.35	2.41	1.89	8.51	2.59	0.68	0.29	0
FSTDEV	4.42	4.06	4.66	2.73	2.44	1.1	1.31	2.97	4	1.99	1.34	1.65	4.92	1.88	0.76	0.39	0
MSTDEV	5.91	4.63	4.66	2.94	2.64	1.17	1.55	2.84	4.1	2.07	1.4	1.56	4.72	2.1	0.79	0.49	0

7.



Appendix E

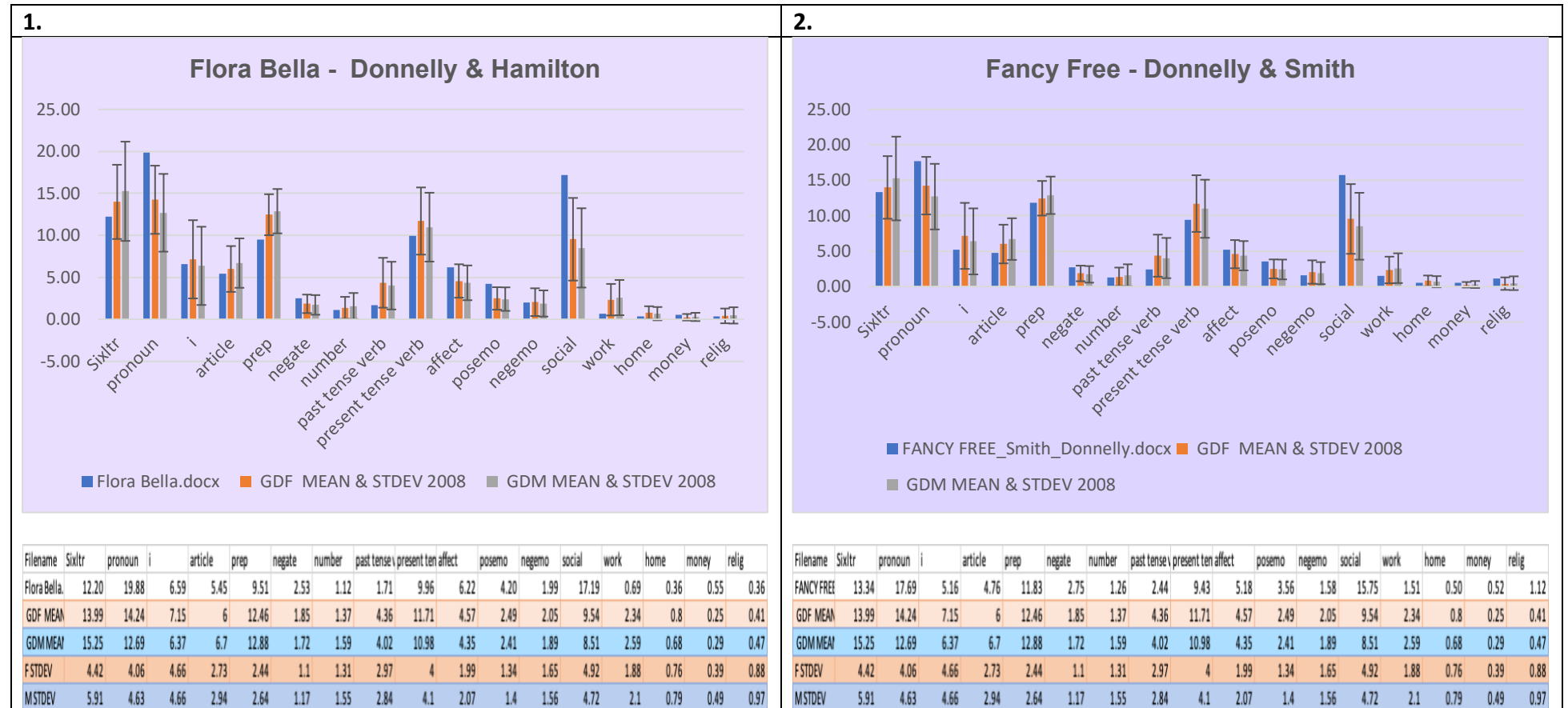
LIWC Analysis results for Dorothy Donnelly

(i) Collaborated shows and sources

No.	Who	Title/theatre/date/ Performances	Composer	Lyrics	Libretto	Producer	Script location
1.	DD	<i>Flora Bella</i> Venue: Casino Theatre Opened: 11 th September, 1916/112	Charles Cuvillier; Milton Schwarzwald	Felix Dörmann	Cosmo Hamilton; Milton Schwarzwald	John Cort	NYPL Call number: NCOF + p.v. 460
2.	DD	<i>Fancy Free</i> Venue: Astor Theatre Opened: 11 th April, 1918/116	Augustus Barratt	Augustus Barratt	Dorothy Donnelly; Edgar Smith	Messrs Shubert	The Shubert Archive

(for LIWC charts, please refer to (ii) below)

(ii) Dorothy Donnelly: LIWC results for collaborated shows

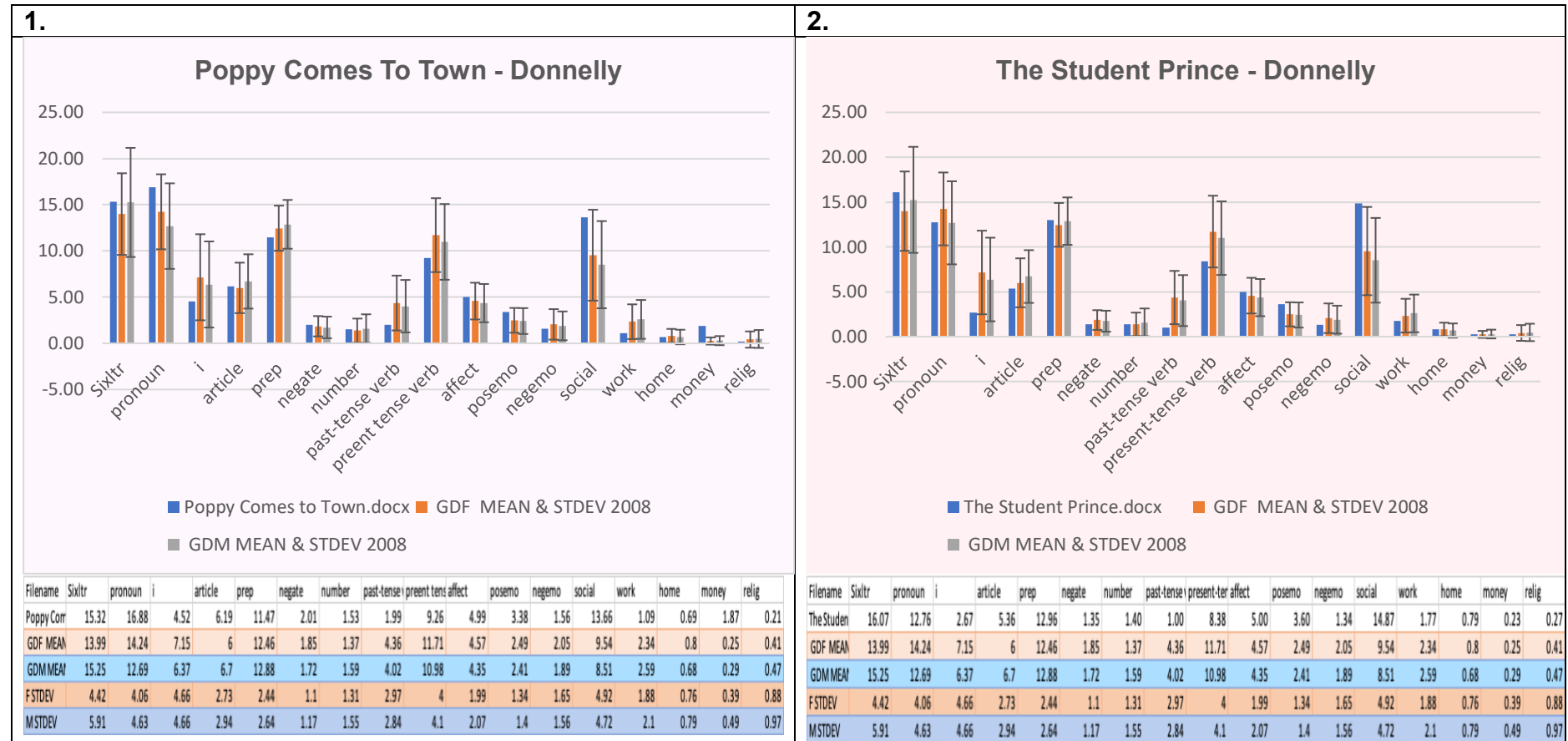


(iii) **Controls for collaborated shows and sources**

No.	Who	Title	Libretto by	Worked with	Script location
1.	Dorothy Donnelly	<i>Poppy</i>	Dorothy Donnelly	Edgar Smith; Cosmo Hamilton	Library of Congress
2.	Dorothy Donnelly	<i>The Student Prince</i>	Dorothy Donnelly	Edgar Smith; Cosmo Hamilton	NYPL
3.	Edgar Smith	<i>Dream City</i>	Dorothy Donnelly	Dorothy Donnelly	NYPL
4.	Cosmo Hamilton	<i>The Sins of the Children</i>	Cosmo Hamilton	Dorothy Donnelly	Babel

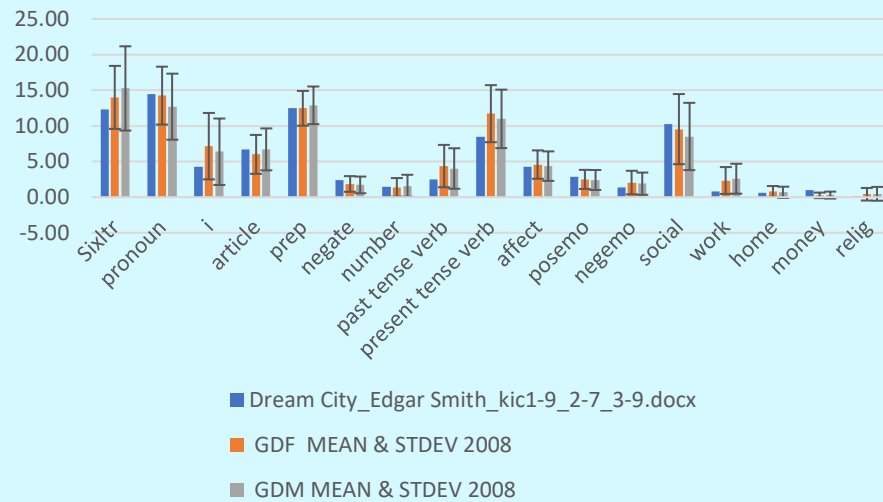
(for LIWC control charts, please refer to (iv) below)

(iv) Dorothy Donnelly: LIWC results for control shows



3.

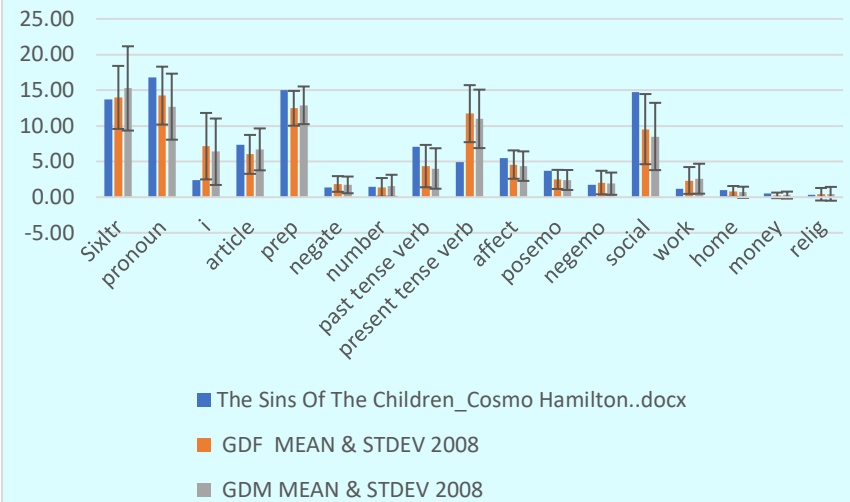
Dream City - Smith



Filename	Sixltr	pronoun	i	article	prep	negate	number	past tense verb	present tense verb	affect	posemo	negemo	social	work	home	money	relig
Dream City	12.34	14.41	4.27	6.65	12.52	2.36	1.44	2.50	8.45	4.27	2.90	1.35	10.27	0.81	0.60	1.01	0.19
GDF MEAN	13.99	14.24	7.15	6	12.46	1.85	1.37	4.36	11.71	4.57	2.49	2.05	9.54	2.34	0.8	0.25	0.41
GDM MEAN	15.25	12.69	6.37	6.7	12.88	1.72	1.59	4.02	10.98	4.35	2.41	1.89	8.51	2.59	0.68	0.29	0.47
FSTDEV	4.42	4.06	4.66	2.73	2.44	1.1	1.31	2.97	4	1.99	1.34	1.65	4.92	1.88	0.76	0.39	0.88
MSTDEV	5.91	4.63	4.66	2.94	2.64	1.17	1.55	2.84	4.1	2.07	1.4	1.56	4.72	2.1	0.79	0.49	0.97

4.

The Sins of the Children - Hamilton



Filename	Sixltr	pronoun	i	article	prep	negate	number	past tense verb	present tense verb	affect	posemo	negemo	social	work	home	money	relig
The Sins Of	13.72	16.77	2.35	7.36	14.99	1.40	1.48	7.11	4.95	5.44	3.66	1.72	14.73	1.17	1.00	0.49	0.33
GDF MEAN	13.99	14.24	7.15	6	12.46	1.85	1.37	4.36	11.71	4.57	2.49	2.05	9.54	2.34	0.8	0.25	0.41
GDM MEAN	15.25	12.69	6.37	6.7	12.88	1.72	1.59	4.02	10.98	4.35	2.41	1.89	8.51	2.59	0.68	0.29	0.47
FSTDEV	4.42	4.06	4.66	2.73	2.44	1.1	1.31	2.97	4	1.99	1.34	1.65	4.92	1.88	0.76	0.39	0.88
MSTDEV	5.91	4.63	4.66	2.94	2.64	1.17	1.55	2.84	4.1	2.07	1.4	1.56	4.72	2.1	0.79	0.49	0.97

Appendix F

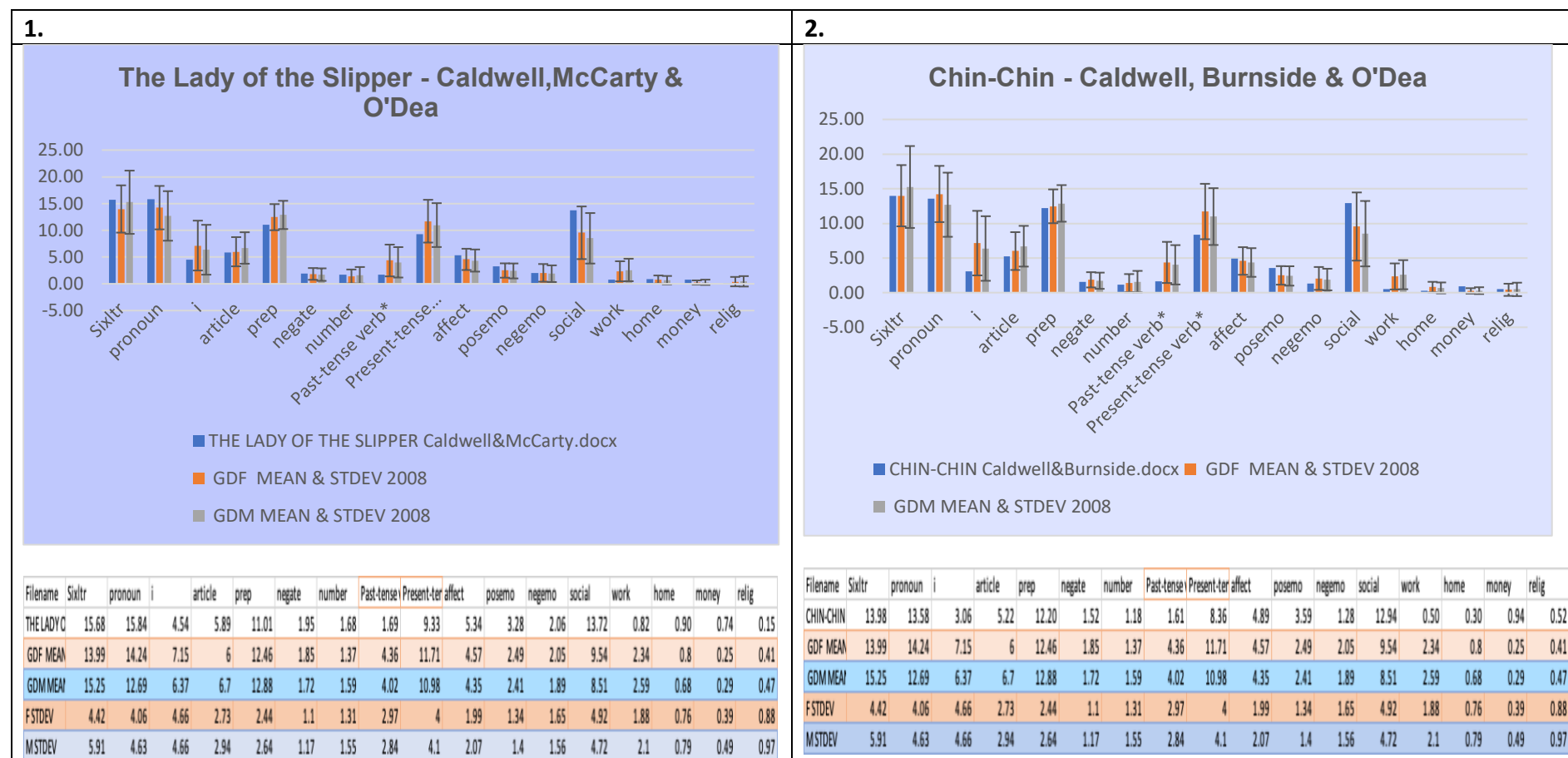
LIWC Analysis results for Anne Caldwell

(i) Collaborated shows and sources

No.	Who	Title/theatre/date/ Performances	Composer	Lyrics	Libretto	Producer	Script location
1.	AC	<i>The Lady of the Slipper</i> ; Globe; 28 October, 1912/ 232 perfs	Victor Herbert	James O'Dea	Anne Caldwell; Laurence McCarty	Charles Dillingham	Victor Herbert website (vhs source)
2.	AC	<i>Chin-Chin</i> ; Globe; 20 October 1914/295 perfs	Ivan Caryll	Caldwell and O'Dea	Anne Caldwell; R.H. Burnside	Charles Dillingham	NYPL, theatre collection
3.	AC	<i>Jack O'Lantern</i> ; Globe; 16 October, 1917; 265 perfs	Ivan Caryll	Caldwell and Burnside	Caldwell and R H Burnside	Charles Dillingham	NYPL, theatre collection Also at Shubert Archive
4.	AC	<i>Tip Top</i> 2 Acts; Globe; 5 th October, 1920/241 perfs	Ivan Caryll	Caldwell and Burnside	Caldwell and R H Burnside	Charles Dillingham	NYPL, theatre collection
5.	AC	<i>Tip Top</i> 3 Acts; Globe; 5 th October, 1920/241 perfs	Ivan Caryll	Caldwell and Burnside	Caldwell and R H Burnside	Charles Dillingham	NYPL, theatre collection
6.	AC	<i>The Bunch & Judy</i> ; Globe; 28 th November, 1922/65 perfs	Jerome Kern	Caldwell	Caldwell and Hugh Ford	Charles Dillingham	Library of Congress as microfilm file Also at Hathi/Babel online
7.	AC	<i>Stepping Stones</i> ; Globe; 6 th November, 1923; 241 perfs	Jerome Kern	Caldwell	Caldwell and Burnside	Charles Dillingham	NYPL theatre collection

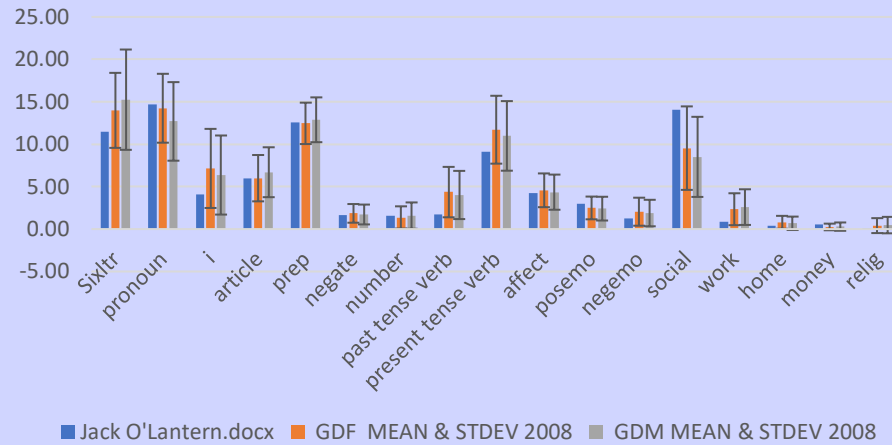
No.	Who	Title/theatre/date/ performances	Composer	Lyrics	libretto	Producer	Script location
8.	AC	<i>Criss Cross</i> ; Globe; 12 th October, 1926; 210 perfs	Jerome Kern	Caldwell and Otto Harbach	Caldwell and Harbach	Charles Dillingham	NYPL, theatre collection
9.	AC	<i>Oh, Please!</i> ; Fulton; 21 st December, 1926/79 perfs	Vincent Youmans	Caldwell and Harbach	Caldwell and Harbach	Charles Dillingham	NYPL, theatre collection
10.	AC	<i>Take the Air</i> ; Waldorf; 22 nd November, 1927/208 perfs	Dave Stamper	Caldwell and Gene Buck	Caldwell and Gene Buck	Gene Buck	Institute of the American Musical; Miles Kreuger; Eric Davis.
11.	AC	<i>Three Cheers</i> ; Globe; 15 th October, 1928/ 209 perfs	Raymond Hubbell	Caldwell	Caldwell and Burnside	Charles Dillingham	Institute of the American Musical; Miles Kreuger; Eric Davis.
12.	AC	<i>Once Upon a Time</i> ; 1921 Nb. this is an early draft of <i>The Lady of the Slipper</i>, 1912 and incorrectly catalogued. NYPL informed 2021.	Early draft of <i>The Lady of the Slipper</i> but uncatalogued	Caldwell	Anne Caldwell; Lawrence McCarty; James O'Dea	Charles Dillingham	NYPL Research call no. NCOF + (Caldwell A. Once Upon a Time)

(ii) Anne Caldwell: LIWC results for collaborated shows



3.

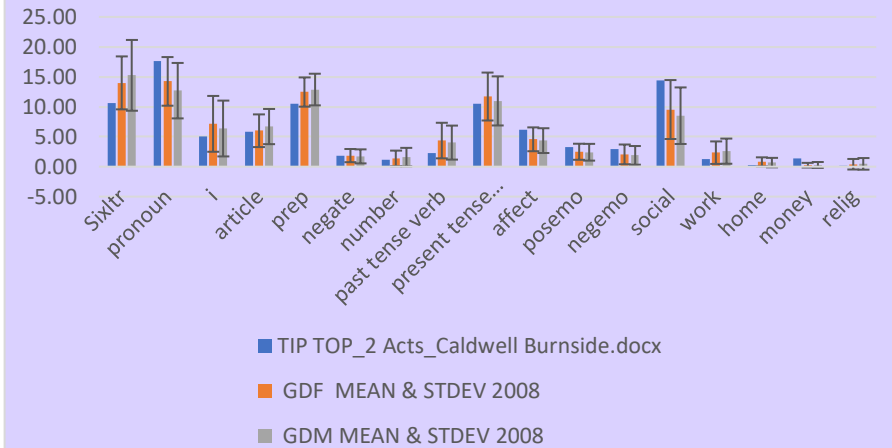
Jack O'Lantern_Caldwell & Burnside



Filename	Sixltr	pronoun	i	article	prep	negate	number	past tense verb	present tense verb	affect	posemo	negemo	social	work	home	money	relig
Jack O'Lant	11.50	14.66	4.07	5.99	12.56	1.62	1.57	1.72	9.11	4.27	3.02	1.22	14.06	0.86	0.41	0.55	0.10
GDF MEAN	13.99	14.24	7.15	6	12.46	1.85	1.37	4.36	11.71	4.57	2.49	2.05	9.54	2.34	0.8	0.25	0.41
GDM MEAN	15.25	12.69	6.37	6.7	12.88	1.72	1.59	4.02	10.98	4.35	2.41	1.89	8.51	2.59	0.68	0.29	0.47
FSTDEV	4.42	4.06	4.66	2.73	2.44	1.1	1.31	2.97	4	1.99	1.34	1.65	4.92	1.88	0.76	0.39	0.88
MSTDEV	5.91	4.63	4.66	2.94	2.64	1.17	1.55	2.84	4.1	2.07	1.4	1.56	4.72	2.1	0.79	0.49	0.97

4.

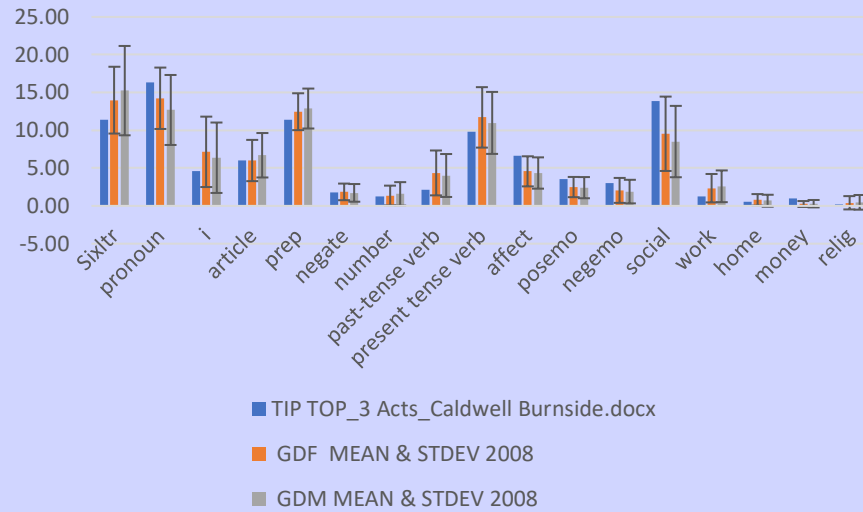
Tip Top - 2 Acts - Caldwell & Burnside



Filename	Sixltr	pronoun	i	article	prep	negate	number	past tense verb	present tense verb	affect	posemo	negemo	social	work	home	money	relig
TIP TOP_2 /	10.61	17.68	5.10	5.86	10.50	1.82	1.19	2.24	10.52	6.18	3.22	2.93	14.38	1.29	0.30	1.37	0
GDF MEAN	13.99	14.24	7.15	6	12.46	1.85	1.37	4.36	11.71	4.57	2.49	2.05	9.54	2.34	0.8	0.25	0
GDM MEAN	15.25	12.69	6.37	6.7	12.88	1.72	1.59	4.02	10.98	4.35	2.41	1.89	8.51	2.59	0.68	0.29	0
FSTDEV	4.42	4.06	4.66	2.73	2.44	1.1	1.31	2.97	4	1.99	1.34	1.65	4.92	1.88	0.76	0.39	0
MSTDEV	5.91	4.63	4.66	2.94	2.64	1.17	1.55	2.84	4.1	2.07	1.4	1.56	4.72	2.1	0.79	0.49	0

5.

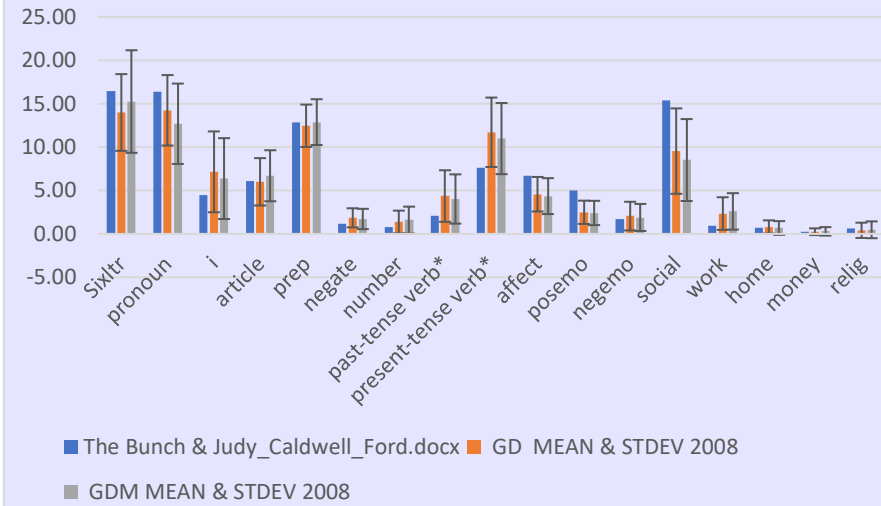
Tip Top - 3 Acts - Caldwell & Burnside



Filename	Sixltr	pronoun	i	article	prep	negate	number	past-tense	present-tense	affect	posemo	negemo	social	work	home	money	relig
TIP TOP_3	11.37	16.30	4.64	6.05	11.41	1.75	1.23	2.13	9.81	6.60	3.54	3.01	13.88	1.21	0.56	1.00	0.22
GDF MEAN	13.99	14.24	7.15	6	12.46	1.85	1.37	4.36	11.71	4.57	2.49	2.05	9.54	2.34	0.8	0.25	0.41
GDM MEAN	15.25	12.69	6.37	6.7	12.88	1.72	1.59	4.02	10.98	4.35	2.41	1.89	8.51	2.59	0.68	0.29	0.47
FSTDEV	4.42	4.06	4.66	2.73	2.44	1.1	1.31	2.97	4	1.99	1.34	1.65	4.92	1.88	0.76	0.39	0.88
MSTDEV	5.91	4.63	4.66	2.94	2.64	1.17	1.55	2.84	4.1	2.07	1.4	1.56	4.72	2.1	0.79	0.49	0.97

6.

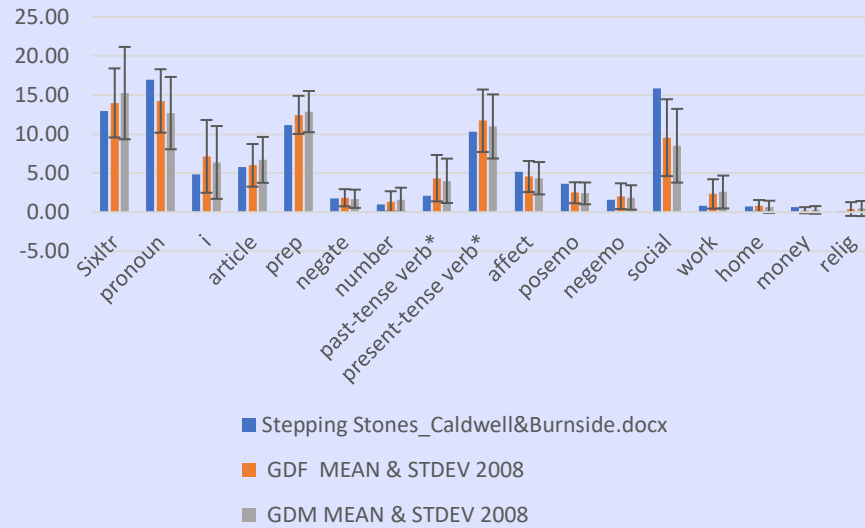
The Bunch & Judy - Caldwell & Ford



Filename	Sixltr	pronoun	i	article	prep	negate	number	past-tense	present-tense	affect	posemo	negemo	social	work	home	money	relig
The Bunch	16.43	16.39	4.47	6.07	12.86	1.20	0.75	2.12	7.63	6.72	4.98	1.71	15.40	0.96	0.73	0.26	0.66
GD MEAN	13.99	14.24	7.15	6	12.46	1.85	1.37	4.36	11.71	4.57	2.49	2.05	9.54	2.34	0.8	0.25	0.41
GDM MEAN	15.25	12.69	6.37	6.7	12.88	1.72	1.59	4.02	10.98	4.35	2.41	1.89	8.51	2.59	0.68	0.29	0.47
FSTDEV	4.42	4.06	4.66	2.73	2.44	1.1	1.31	2.97	4	1.99	1.34	1.65	4.92	1.88	0.76	0.39	0.88
MSTDEV	5.91	4.63	4.66	2.94	2.64	1.17	1.55	2.84	4.1	2.07	1.4	1.56	4.72	2.1	0.79	0.49	0.97

7.

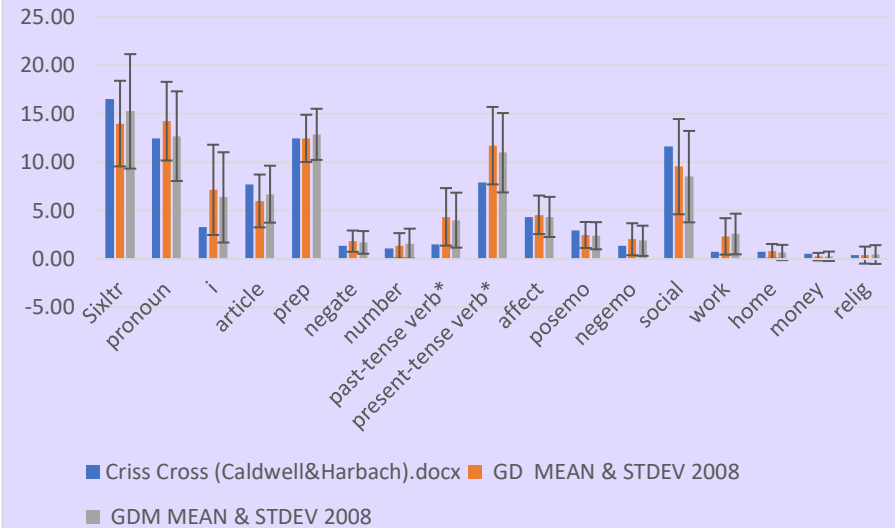
Stepping Stones - Caldwell & Burnside



Filename	Sixltr	pronoun	i	article	prep	negate	number	past-tense	present-ter	affect	posemo	negemo	social	work	home	money	relig
SteppingSt	12.92	16.93	4.82	5.77	11.14	1.76	1.02	2.09	10.27	5.20	3.65	1.55	15.81	0.79	0.73	0.63	0.18
GDF MEAN	13.99	14.24	7.15	6	12.46	1.85	1.37	4.36	11.71	4.57	2.49	2.05	9.54	2.34	0.8	0.25	0.41
GDM MEAN	15.25	12.69	6.37	6.7	12.88	1.72	1.59	4.02	10.98	4.35	2.41	1.89	8.51	2.59	0.68	0.29	0.47
FSTDEV	4.42	4.06	4.66	2.73	2.44	1.1	1.31	2.97	4	1.99	1.34	1.65	4.92	1.88	0.76	0.39	0.88
MSTDEV	5.91	4.63	4.66	2.94	2.64	1.17	1.55	2.84	4.1	2.07	1.4	1.56	4.72	2.1	0.79	0.49	0.97

8.

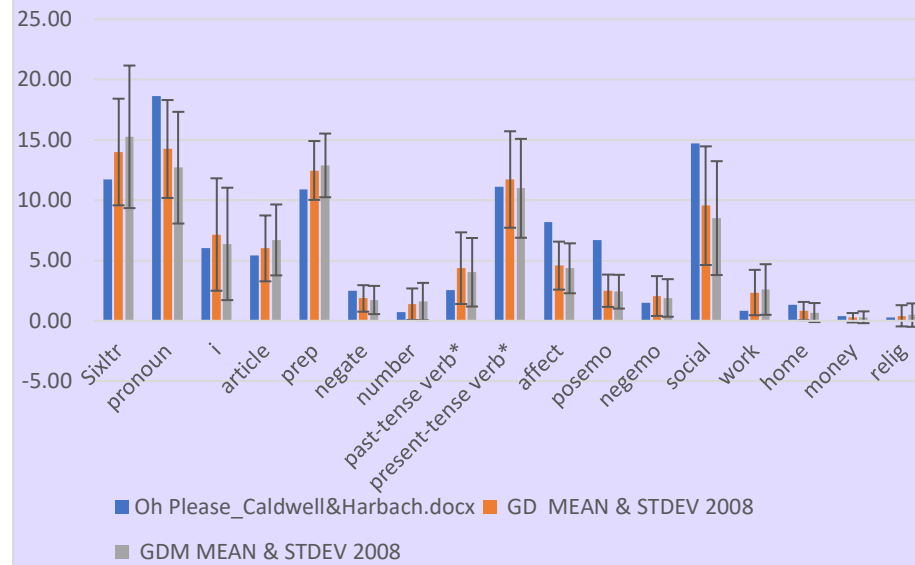
Criss Cross - Caldwell & Harbach



Filename	Sixltr	pronoun	i	article	prep	negate	number	past-tense	present-ter	affect	posemo	negemo	social	work	home	money	relig
CrissCross	16.55	12.47	3.33	7.72	12.44	1.34	1.12	1.52	7.91	4.35	2.95	1.34	11.62	0.78	0.78	0.52	0.39
GD MEAN	13.99	14.24	7.15	6	12.46	1.85	1.37	4.36	11.71	4.57	2.49	2.05	9.54	2.34	0.8	0.25	0.41
GDM MEAN	15.25	12.69	6.37	6.7	12.88	1.72	1.59	4.02	10.98	4.35	2.41	1.89	8.51	2.59	0.68	0.29	0.47
FSTDEV	4.42	4.06	4.66	2.73	2.44	1.1	1.31	2.97	4	1.99	1.34	1.65	4.92	1.88	0.76	0.39	0.88
MSTDEV	5.91	4.63	4.66	2.94	2.64	1.17	1.55	2.84	4.1	2.07	1.4	1.56	4.72	2.1	0.79	0.49	0.97

9.

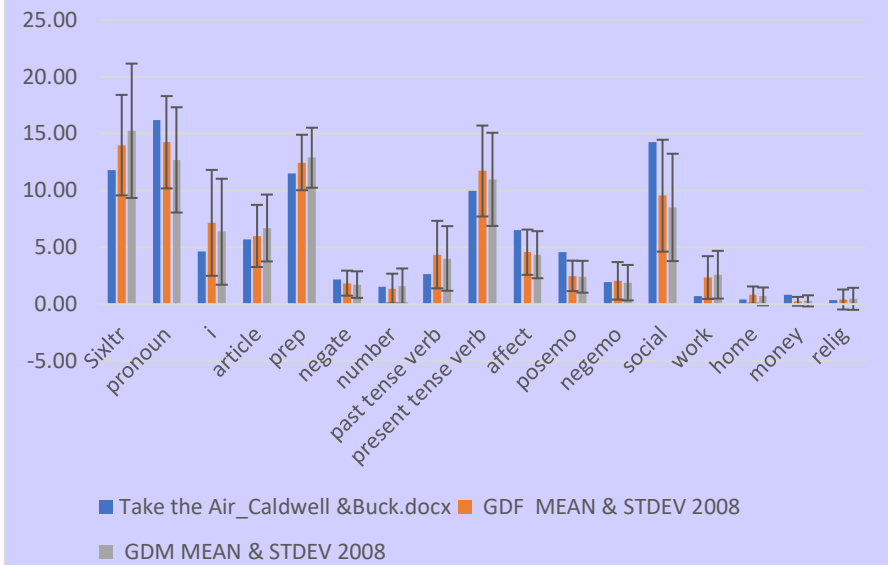
Oh, Please! Caldwell & Harbach



Filename	Sixltr	pronoun	i	article	prep	negate	number	past-tense	present-ter	affect	posemo	negemo	social	work	home	money	relig
Oh Please	11.70	18.60	6.00	5.41	10.91	2.51	0.73	2.54	11.10	8.17	6.68	1.47	14.72	0.83	1.30	0.38	0.30
GD MEAN	13.99	14.24	7.15	6	12.46	1.85	1.37	4.36	11.71	4.57	2.49	2.05	9.54	2.34	0.8	0.25	0.41
GDM MEAN	15.25	12.69	6.37	6.7	12.88	1.72	1.59	4.02	10.98	4.35	2.41	1.89	8.51	2.59	0.68	0.29	0.47
FSTDEV	4.42	4.06	4.66	2.73	2.44	1.1	1.31	2.97	4	1.99	1.34	1.65	4.92	1.88	0.76	0.39	0.88
MSTDEV	5.91	4.63	4.66	2.94	2.64	1.17	1.55	2.84	4.1	2.07	1.4	1.56	4.72	2.1	0.79	0.49	0.97

10.

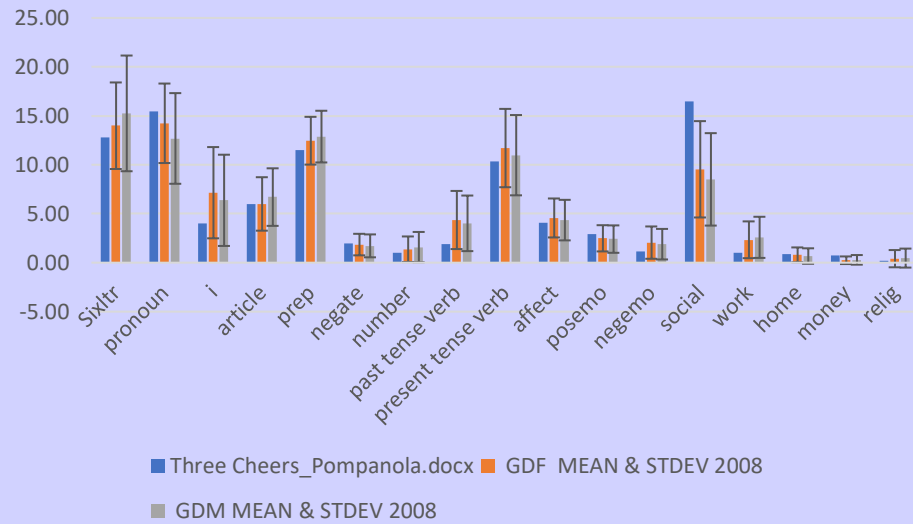
Take the Air - Caldwell & Buck



Filename	Sixltr	pronoun	i	article	prep	negate	number	past tense	present ten	affect	posemo	negemo	social	work	home	money	relig
Take the Air	11.82	16.22	4.63	5.70	11.48	2.18	1.52	2.64	9.95	6.50	4.57	1.93	14.23	0.70	0.43	0.85	0.37
GDF MEAN	13.99	14.24	7.15	6	12.46	1.85	1.37	4.36	11.71	4.57	2.49	2.05	9.54	2.34	0.8	0.25	0.41
GDM MEAN	15.25	12.69	6.37	6.7	12.88	1.72	1.59	4.02	10.98	4.35	2.41	1.89	8.51	2.59	0.68	0.29	0.47
FSTDEV	4.42	4.06	4.66	2.73	2.44	1.1	1.31	2.97	4	1.99	1.34	1.65	4.92	1.88	0.76	0.39	0.88
MSTDEV	5.91	4.63	4.66	2.94	2.64	1.17	1.55	2.84	4.1	2.07	1.4	1.56	4.72	2.1	0.79	0.49	0.97

11.

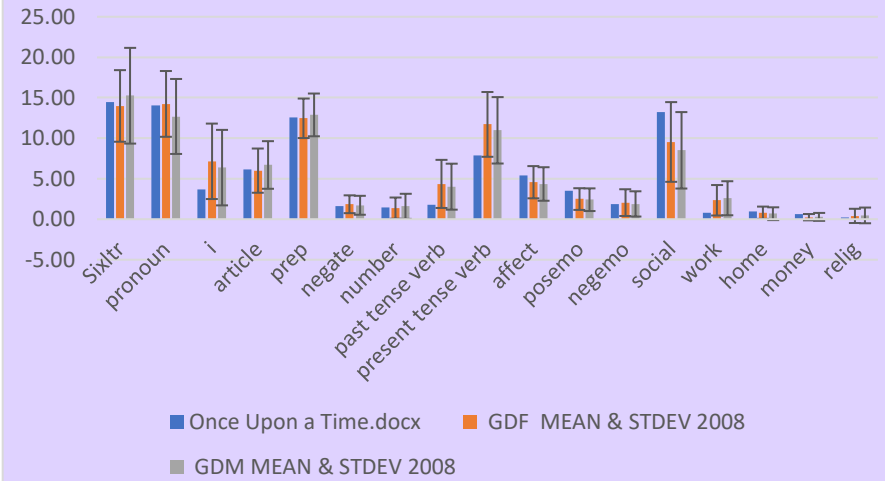
Three Cheers/Pompanola - Caldwell & Burnside



Filename	Sixltr	pronoun	i	article	prep	negate	number	past tense	present tense	affect	posemo	negemo	social	work	home	money	relig
Three Chee	12.80	15.48	3.99	6.01	11.47	1.96	1.04	1.90	10.35	4.08	2.92	1.14	16.46	1.00	0.89	0.72	
GDF MEAN	13.99	14.24	7.15	6	12.46	1.85	1.37	4.36	11.71	4.57	2.49	2.05	9.54	2.34	0.8	0.25	
GDM MEAN	15.25	12.69	6.37	6.7	12.88	1.72	1.59	4.02	10.98	4.35	2.41	1.89	8.51	2.59	0.68	0.29	
FSTDEV	4.42	4.06	4.66	2.73	2.44	1.1	1.31	2.97	4	1.99	1.34	1.65	4.92	1.88	0.76	0.39	
MSTDEV	5.91	4.63	4.66	2.94	2.64	1.17	1.55	2.84	4.1	2.07	1.4	1.56	4.72	2.1	0.79	0.49	

12.

Once Upon a Time - Caldwell, McCarty & O'Dea

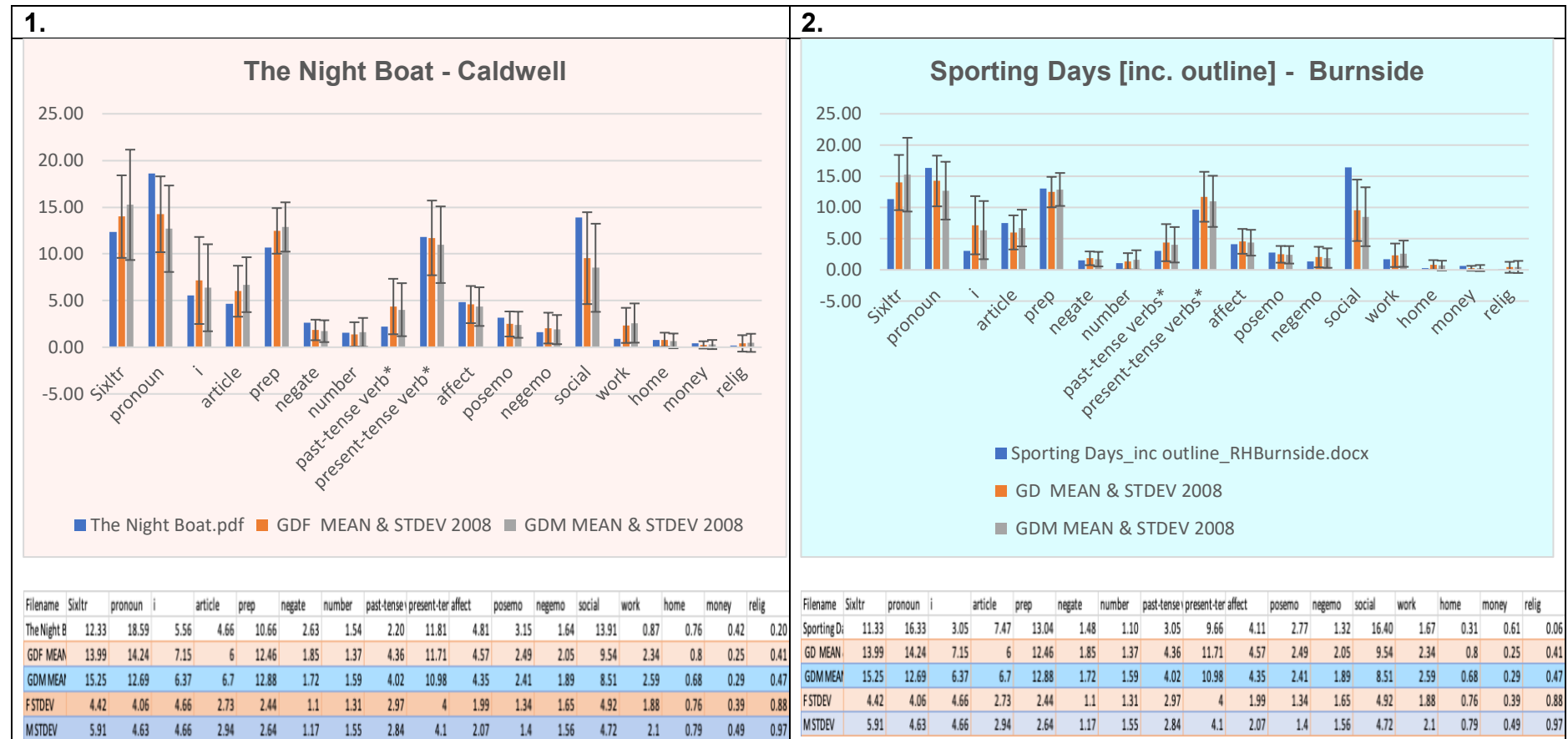


Filename	Sixltr	pronoun	i	article	prep	negate	number	past tense	present tense	affect	posemo	negemo	social	work	home	money	relig
Once Upon	14.49	14.08	3.65	6.18	12.54	1.62	1.43	1.81	7.89	5.40	3.49	1.90	13.26	0.83	0.99	0.64	0.19
GDF MEAN	13.99	14.24	7.15	6	12.46	1.85	1.37	4.36	11.71	4.57	2.49	2.05	9.54	2.34	0.8	0.25	0.41
GDM MEAN	15.25	12.69	6.37	6.7	12.88	1.72	1.59	4.02	10.98	4.35	2.41	1.89	8.51	2.59	0.68	0.29	0.47
FSTDEV	4.42	4.06	4.66	2.73	2.44	1.1	1.31	2.97	4	1.99	1.34	1.65	4.92	1.88	0.76	0.39	0.88
MSTDEV	5.91	4.63	4.66	2.94	2.64	1.17	1.55	2.84	4.1	2.07	1.4	1.56	4.72	2.1	0.79	0.49	0.97

(iii) Controls for collaborated shows and sources

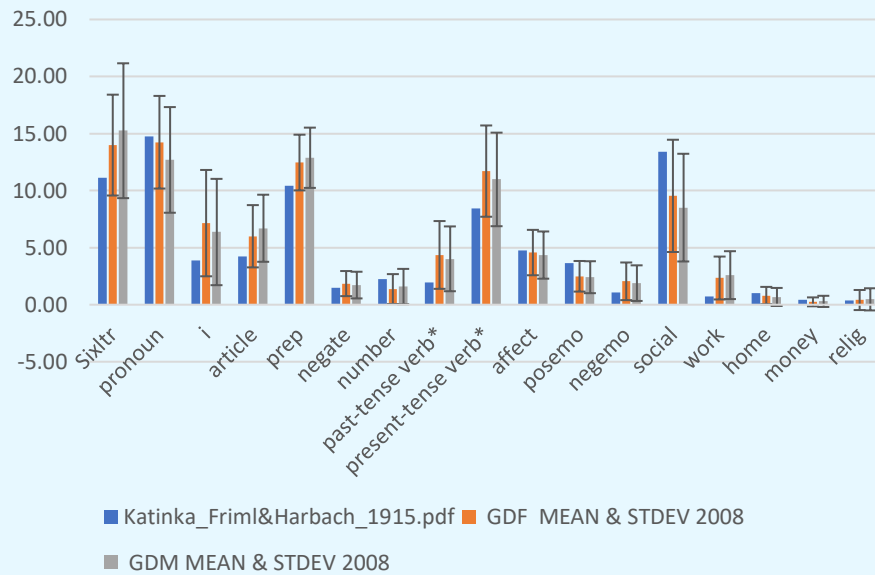
No.	Who	Title	Libretto by	Worked with	Script location
1.	Anne Caldwell	The Night Boat	Anne Caldwell	Otto Harbach; R H Burnside; James O'Dea; Gene Buck	NYPL, theatre collection
2.	R.H. Burnside	Sporting Days 1908. 448 perfs.	R.H. Burnside	Anne Caldwell	NYPL, theatre collection
3.	Otto Harbach	Katinka	Otto Harbach	Anne Caldwell	NYPL, theatre collection
4.	Gene Buck	Ziegfeld Follies of 1919	Gene Buck	Anne Caldwell	Hard copy obtained from Theatre Arts Press - Gene Buck's lyrics from ZF's of 1919

(iv) Anne Caldwell: LIWC results for control shows



3.

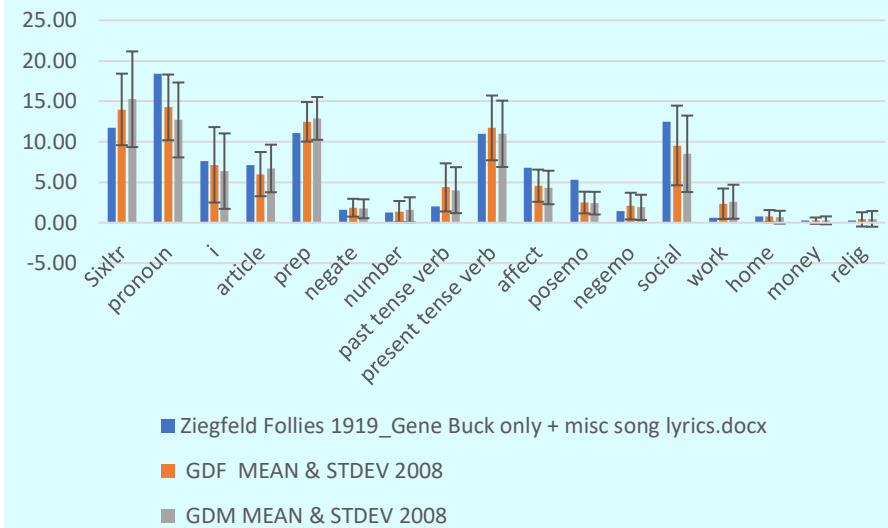
Katinka - Harbach



Filename	Sixltr	pronoun	i	article	prep	negate	number	past-tense	present-ter	affect	posemo	negemo	social	work	home	money	relig
Katinka_Fri	11.14	14.76	3.88	4.21	10.42	1.51	2.22	1.96	8.45	4.74	3.65	1.06	13.43	0.71	1.02	0.45	0.40
GDF MEAN	13.99	14.24	7.15	6	12.46	1.85	1.37	4.36	11.71	4.57	2.49	2.05	9.54	2.34	0.8	0.25	0.41
GDM MEAN	15.25	12.69	6.37	6.7	12.88	1.72	1.59	4.02	10.98	4.35	2.41	1.89	8.51	2.59	0.68	0.29	0.47
FSTDEV	4.42	4.06	4.66	2.73	2.44	1.1	1.31	2.97	4	1.99	1.34	1.65	4.92	1.88	0.76	0.39	0.88
MSTDEV	5.91	4.63	4.66	2.94	2.64	1.17	1.55	2.84	4.1	2.07	1.4	1.56	4.72	2.1	0.79	0.49	0.97

4.

Ziegfeld Follies of 1919 episodes + misc song lyrics - Gene Buck



Filename	Sixltr	pronoun	i	article	prep	negate	number	past tense	present ten	affect	posemo	negemo	social	work	home	money	relig
Ziegfeld Pol	11.75	18.39	7.60	7.14	11.05	1.56	1.26	2.02	11.02	6.77	5.31	1.46	12.48	0.63	0.73	0.30	0.30
GDF MEAN	13.99	14.24	7.15	6	12.46	1.85	1.37	4.36	11.71	4.57	2.49	2.05	9.54	2.34	0.8	0.25	0.41
GDM MEAN	15.25	12.69	6.37	6.7	12.88	1.72	1.59	4.02	10.98	4.35	2.41	1.89	8.51	2.59	0.68	0.29	0.47
FSTDEV	4.42	4.06	4.66	2.73	2.44	1.1	1.31	2.97	4	1.99	1.34	1.65	4.92	1.88	0.76	0.39	0.88
MSTDEV	5.91	4.63	4.66	2.94	2.64	1.17	1.55	2.84	4.1	2.07	1.4	1.56	4.72	2.1	0.79	0.49	0.97