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Nils Grosch und Tobias Widmaier

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AMERICAN FIDDLE TUNES AND THEIR GERMAN CONNECTION

ARMIN HADAMER

The German origins of US-American fiddle tunes, that is, melodies for dances played primarily by fiddles but also other instruments, have so far received only very marginal attention. The following study offers a point of departure for future investigations by looking at the existing scholarship, historical musical practices, and eventually by presenting some concrete examples. In doing so, it relies on archival material, secondary literature, and on some original field research by the author in West Virginia, Arkansas, and Pennsylvania.

For a long time, research on American fiddle music has concentrated mostly on collecting fiddle tunes from regional traditions and identifying their origins and structural relations, but also on individual fiddle players, their stories and repertoires.¹ These studies have often applied a paradigm of oppositions such as folk vs. popular (commercial), oral tradition vs. print culture, country vs. city, and Anglo-American vs. ethnic (immigrant) cultures. This simple paradigm is on one hand a result of prevailing romantic notions about American folk music in general. These are particularly noticeable for the southern regions of the Appalachian Mountains:

Virtually until the dawn of the twentieth century, the life of these mountain folk was as primitive as it was isolated [...]. They spoke an archaic language which was passed on from one generation to the

1 For example, Cauthen, Joyce H.: *With Fiddle and Well-Rosined Bow: Old-Time Fiddling in Alabama*. Tuscaloosa 1989; Wolfe, Charles K.: *The Devil's Box: Masters of Southern Fiddling*. Nashville 1997; Titon, Jeff T.: *Old Time Kentucky Fiddle Tunes*. Lexington 2001; Burman-Hall, Linda C.: *Southern American Folk Fiddle Styles*. In: *Ethnomusicology* 19/1 (January 1975), pp. 47–65. For an early overview, see *A Bibliography of Fiddling, Fiddle Tunes, and Related Dance Tune Collections in North America*. Library of Congress. Washington, DC, 1974.

next. In those southern hills, from the late eighteenth century on, everybody sang. Few homes did not own some musical instrument, a fiddle, a dulcimer, a guitar or a banjo.²

On the other hand, this paradigm can also be seen as a compensation for the lack of reliable primary information on fiddle music in the history of the United States. It has therefore been challenged by those who think that »[t]he story of the earlier musical life of the United States is beclouded, mainly, because far too much of the actual music of the time has been presented to us through channels of secondhand opinion«, and who are trying to understand America's early musical life increasingly through primary sources.³ Music scholars like Bill Malone have made new studies urgent by conceding that

the comparative research necessary for bold judgments about the survival of British music in America simply has not been done. We do not know enough about music and dance on either side of the Atlantic during the first two centuries of immigration to the North American colonies.⁴

In recent years, the lack of a comprehensive understanding of the subject has again been confirmed by ethnomusicologist Jeff Titon in his *Old Time Kentucky Fiddle Tunes*: »[A]s yet there is no satisfying, book-length treatment of fiddling in North America that would portray its complex historical development overall.«⁵ As a result, the German background of American fiddle tunes, or that of other immigrant groups, has not received the attention necessary for unfolding such complexity.

In contrast to scholarly research, country fiddlers themselves seemed to have been »not worried about origins« as they were drawing their musical material from a pluralist and diverse background, ethnically and cultu-

2 Ewen, David: *All the Years of American Popular Music*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1977, p. 29.

3 Krüger, Karl: *The Musical Heritage of the United States: The Unknown Portion*. New York 1973, p. 9.

4 Malone, Bill C.: *Singing Cowboys and Musical Mountaineers: Southern Culture and the Roots of Country Music*. Athens, GA, 1993, p. 11.

5 Titon: *Old Time Kentucky Fiddle Tunes*, p. 12.

rally.⁶ In this sense, some old-time fiddle players appear to have been more relaxed about associating themselves and their music with a German background where appropriate. Melvin Wine (1909–2003) from West Virginia, for example, expressed this connection occasionally⁷, and Ed Haley (1885–1951), a fiddler from the same state, sometimes referred to himself as »Dutch-Irish«, with »Dutch« standing for »Deutsch«.⁸ Jake Hockemeyer (1919–1997) from Missouri was known as the »left-handed Dutchman«⁹, and the lesser known Peter Krouse (dates unknown) from Berks County, Pennsylvania, who recorded for the Library of Congress, still used the German names for some of the tunes he played.¹⁰ The same has been true, and less surprisingly so, for fiddle players in the Upper Midwest such as fiddle champion Karl »King Tut« Schwanenburg (dates unknown) and his culturally mixed repertoire.¹¹ In the same way, many regions across the United States are known for their hybrid traditions that include musical material from the British Isles alongside German or African-American elements. The town of Helvetia in Randolph County, West Virginia, for example, was founded in 1869 by German and Swiss settlers who brought their guitars, fiddles and accordions. The local tradition still links fiddle tunes like the *Shepherd's Wife Waltz* back to a German or Swiss background, even though its origin is far from being clear.¹² Since German tune names were usually anglicized over time, references to origins within oral traditions, while being unreliable, can occasionally be very telling about the sentiments within regional cultural memories: »There were stories about how different fiddle tunes got their names [in Tennessee]. [...] *Tennessee Waggoner* refers to the driver of an ox-pulled Conestoga

6 Malone: *Singing Cowboys*, p. 40.

7 Wine, Melvin: *Interview with the author*. Elkins, WV, July 03, 1996.

8 Milnes, Gerry: *Interview with the author*. Elkins, WV, July 03, 1996.

9 Marshall, Howard: <http://fiddle.missouri.org/people/profile>. Accessed November 2009.

10 Milnes: *Interview*; Krouse, Peter: *Pennsylvania Fiddletunes*. Tape recording by Gerry Milnes. Berks County, PA. No date.

11 Leary, James P., and Richard March: *Down Home Dairyland: A Listener's Guide*. Madison 1996, pp. 14–15.

12 Bettler, Bruce: *Interview with the author*. Helvetia, WV, August 11, 1996.

wagon, or to a popular adaption of an air by the German composer Wagner, depending on whom you talk to.«¹³

In more recent years, scholars have also begun to acknowledge that, aside from Scots-Irish and English, German-speaking settlers also contributed to folk and fiddle music in Appalachia and other regions.¹⁴ At the same time, the influence from popular and cultivated music on fiddle music, its style and repertoire, has also been more and more noted.¹⁵ A work pioneering this tendency in scholarship is Samuel Bayard's (1908–1997) collection of fiddle and fife tunes in Pennsylvania and northern West Virginia, a field-research project spanning several decades. His findings led him soon to conclude that »some fiddle tunes and versions have a flavor or quality that seems to distinguish them from the music played in the British Isles [...]. It may be that the German musical influence in this country has caused the melodic idiom to undergo changes«, and that the German »effect on the whole musical idiom – not only in Pennsylvania, but over the whole country at large – may possibly have been far from slight«. ¹⁶ Not only did he find »some German and German-sounding airs«, especially the many waltzes, polkas, and schottisches, but also noticed the many tunes which entered the fiddle and fife repertoire via printed sources.¹⁷ In his second and larger collection (1982) Bayard confirmed the influences from German music »and elsewhere«, and despite some difficulties in identifying the precise German original for certain tunes still

13 Wolfe, Charles K.: *Tennessee Strings: The Story of Country Music in Tennessee*. Knoxville 1977, p. 19. Regarding the change from German to English in tune names within regional fiddle traditions, see also Milnes, Gerald: *Play of a Fiddle: Traditional Music, Dance, and Folklore in West Virginia*. Lexington 1999, p. 14.

14 Malone: *Singing Cowboys*, p. 13; Titon: *Old Time Kentucky Fiddle Tunes*, pp. 17–18.

15 Bill Malone was one of the first to make this point: »The folk dances of the southern United States, both black and white, clearly demonstrate the interplay between the cultivated and folk traditions [...] and many of our ›folk dances‹ were survivals or imitations of formal or even courtly dances« (*Southern Music, American Music*. Lexington 1979, p. 12). Cf. Jabbour, Alan: *Fiddle Music*. In: *American Folklore. An Encyclopedia*. New York 1996, p. 255.

16 Bayard, Samuel Preston: *Hill Country Tunes: Instrumental Folk Music of Southwestern Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia 1944, pp. xx, xii.

17 Ibid., p. xx.

finds that the German melodic influence »nevertheless pervades American instrumental folk music«.¹⁸ As structural indicator for a German background, Bayard mentions two-part tunes in which each part is played in a different key, something he also considers a sign of contributions from professional composers, or both in combination, such as *Fisher's Hornpipe*, for example. In more recent years, ethnomusicologist Gerry Milnes has built on these insights and supported them with a number of concrete tunes, tune structures, players, instruments, and other folklife evidence from his home state West Virginia.¹⁹ He concludes that

[a] regional or, more often, state identity (Virginia) quickly replaced the European and African identities. Beginning with World War I and continuing through World War II and beyond, things German were out of favor. This helped the regional identity take a firm hold and caused German ethnicity to disappear. Still, we cannot reshape musical history to match patriotic or cultural ideals. Moreover, we cannot accept that a significant cultural influence simply bowed to others and retreated into obscurity.²⁰

The scattered pieces of evidence from primary and secondary sources regarding the German background of American fiddling and fiddle tunes will ultimately challenge these »cultural ideals«, that is, the paradigm mentioned above, when taken together to form a more complex picture. Before discussing individual fiddle tunes, a brief look at musical instruments and musical practices will help to sketch out some of this complexity and the historical contexts that potentially allowed German melodies to find their way into American fiddling.

Generally, standard works on American music history have only commented in passing on folk music and related instruments brought by Germans to the Colonies or the early United States, much in contrast to the studies on more »cultivated« musical practices like German church and orchestral music. They remark vaguely that »in the colonial period Swedes

18 Bayard, Samuel P.: *Dance to the Fiddle, March to the Fife*. University Park, PA, 1982, p. 8.

19 Milnes: *Interview*. Milnes: *Play of a Fiddle*, pp. 14, 150–152.

20 Ibid., p. 151.

and Germans brought along their fiddles and flutes and their folk songs»²¹, or that »these Germans [did not only] sing hymns, they [also] accompanied their singing with instrumental music, and brought instruments with them when they first landed in this country«. ²² More precisely, folk dancing accompanied by fiddles and dulcimers among early German settlers in Pennsylvania has been occasionally commented on by contemporary observers in a variety of contexts. For example, the Lutheran patriarch Muhlenberg described in his journals the »deplorable« moral conditions of that State in 1747 as he wrote: »My neighbor, the old Reformed pastor, Mr. Boehm, tells his people that one cannot keep young people tied up in a sack; they must have their fun, and dancing has its place, too«. Muhlenberg elsewhere attests to the prevalence of dancing at wedding feasts among German-Americans in those days.²³ A contemporary Pennsylvania newspaper noted similarly: »We hear that Tuesday night last, a young Dutchman was married to an old Dutchwoman, who was known to have money. They had a fiddle at the Wedding [...]. She danc'd till it was late«. ²⁴ A drawing of 1808 by folk artist Lewis Miller at York, Pennsylvania, portrays a social dance accompanied by two musicians playing a fiddle and a hammered dulcimer. The handwritten caption underneath the drawing presents a curious mixture of English and German: »Stephan und das Hackbret (Stephan and the hammered dulcimer), 1808, dancing at the house of John Glessner; Stephan, a good violin player and his companion, a German, playing on the indulcimer, or barbiton and lyricum, ein hackbret«. ²⁵

21 Wittke, Carl Frederick: *We Who Built America: The Saga of the Immigrant*. New York 1940, pp. 366, 91. Cf. Sonneck, Oscar G.: *Early Concert-Life in America, 1731–1800*. New York 1978, p. 156.

22 Howard, John Tasker: *Our American Music: Three Hundred Years of It*. New York 1931, pp. 19–20.

23 Quoted in Boyer, Walter E., Albert F. Buffington, and Don Yoder: *Songs Along the Mahantongo: Pennsylvania Dutch Folksongs*. Hatboro, PA, 1964, pp. 18–19.

24 Quoted from the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 15 to 22, 1738/39, in Drummond, Robert: *Early German Music in Philadelphia*. New York 1910, p. 25.

25 Miller, Lewis: *Sketches and Chronicles*. York, PA, 1966, p. 66. Other of his drawings document as well the use of fiddles among the Pennsylvania Germans in the first half of the 19th century. Cf. Groce, Nancy: *The Hammered Dulcimer in America*. Washington, DC, 1983, pp. 41–42.

The hammered dulcimer had also come to America with German-speaking settlers in the 1700s where its practice and repertoire may later have merged with dulcimer traditions coming from the British Isles.²⁶ In the same way, German settlers brought to Pennsylvania and the Colonial frontier their fretted zithers which had come from the German ›Scheitholz‹. This instrument is documented to have been owned by Mennonite pioneers in the early 1700s and was originally used to accompany private hymn singing.²⁷ It later evolved into what is today known as the lap-style Appalachian dulcimer.²⁸ Extant collections of zither-like instruments and Appalachian dulcimers give testimony of their usage and popularity in the 18th and 19th century among Scots-Irish and German settlers where they became part of early string ensembles along with fiddles to accompany dances.²⁹ 19th-century descriptions of German-American pioneer life confirm the usage of string instruments for dances and other social events. A wagon train of German settlers from Missouri to Oregon in 1855, for example, included »good musicians« as well as a number of instruments like violin, guitar, flute, clarinet, zither, and drums.³⁰ The same instruments can be seen in a lithograph from 1850 which shows a group of men

26 Cf. Hadamer, Armin: *Hammered Dulcimer*. In: Continuum Encyclopedia of Popular Music of the World. Vol. 2. London, New York 2003, p. 426. The hammered dulcimer has in some regions been primarily associated with German settlers, such as in the Ozark Mountains (McNeil: *Interview*).

27 Pesavento, Alissa A.: *The Concert Zither in America: Its History, Performance Practice, and Repertory*. M.A. thesis. Kent State University 1994, p. 52.

28 Seeger, Charles: *The Appalachian Dulcimer*. In: Journal of American Folklore 71, no. 279 (Jan.–March 1958), pp. 44–45; and Hadamer, Armin, and David Radagnani: *Appalachian Dulcimer*. In: Continuum Encyclopedia of Popular Music of the World. Vol. 2. London, New York 2003, pp. 405–406.

29 Cf. Milnes: *Play of a Fiddle*, p. 135. The Appalachian dulcimer folk tradition, as it was collected by Gerald Milnes in West Virginia, tells the stories of many families of old German stock who built and played the instrument since their arrival in the 1750s. We also hear of the various names for the Appalachian dulcimer in West Virginia, one of which was »waterswivel«, which could be an Anglicized form of the German »Vaters Fiedel« (»father's fiddle«; *ibid.*, pp. 136–139).

30 Schroeder, Adolf E., and Julie Youmans: *The Musical Life of Bethel German Colony 1844–1879*. Columbia, MO, 1990, p. 16.

of a German-American social club in Cincinnati holding a variety of instruments, including guitars, fiddles, and zithers.³¹

The repertoire and styles of German dance music that came with these instruments to the United States during the first half of the 19th century included most notably music for couple dances like the schottische, waltz, varsouvienne, and later the polka, but also contra dances. Melodies from marches and classical pieces were added over time to the increasingly culturally mixed repertoires of dance tunes among German settlers and their neighbors.³² In 1872, an observer noted that in his view public dances in the German-American communities (»Tanzvergnügen«) enjoyed an even stronger existence than in Germany itself.³³ These folk traditions were continued in rural areas of the Midwest as house parties in the winter and »bowerie« dances in the summertime way into the 20th century.³⁴ Some barn dances came to be known as a »german«, as has been the case in the Ozark Mountains in Arkansas, for example.³⁵ The german had originally been an elaborate social event around dancing cotillions and popular mostly in American cities in the second half of the 19th century. Later it came to be known as a tune type, and, along with the quadrille, formed the basis for the American square dance.³⁶ After the American Civil War much instructional literature was published to accompany the german including the appropriate music, also from popular German and Austrian composers

31 Reprinted in Miller, Randall M., ed.: *Germans in America: Retrospect and Prospect*. Philadelphia 1984, p. 45. The original is at the Cincinnati Historical Society.

32 Jabbour, *Fiddle Music*, p. 254. Cf. Schroeder, Youmans: *The Musical Life of Bethel German Colony 1844–1879*, p. 26. Extant hand-written collections still provide strong evidence of such eclectic German-American dance music (ibid. p. 32–33). This hybrid repertoire of dance tunes, for example, is still reflected in 20th-century Missouri folk dancing; see, Lippincott, Peter: *Traditional Dance in Missouri*. In: *The Old-Time Herald* (Winter 1994/95), pp. 10–11.

33 Muench, Friedrich: *Der Deutsche Pionier*, no. 3 (January 1872), p. 341. Cf. Schroeder, Adolf E.: *The Survival of German Traditions in Missouri*. In: *The German Contributions to the Building of the Americas: Studies in Honor of Karl J. R. Arndt*. Ed. Gerhard K. Friesen and Walter Schatzberg. Hanover, NH, 1977, p. 295.

34 Greene, Victor: *A Passion For Polka: Old-time Ethnic Music in America*. Berkeley 1992, pp. 120–121.

35 McNeil, William: *Interview with the author*. Mountain View, Arkansas, May 14, 1996.

36 Milnes: *Play of a Fiddle*, p. 14.

of the time.³⁷ Back then, German dances were apparently an accepted source of social entertainment:

As its name suggests, this most delightful member of the Terpsichorean family originates in and comes to us from *Das Vaterland*, where, indeed, it reaches its greatest perfection, and where it is known by its proper appellation, ›*Der Cotillon*‹.³⁸

German tunes and musical idioms reached the backcountry also by way of professional immigrant musicians. In the South, Charleston was a major center of musical activity before the American Revolution that had attracted many German and other European musicians. The city started its first musical society in the 1760s and cultivated a very diverse and radiating music culture that left its marks on the entire region providing also the music for balls and dances held at the various plantations. This connection becomes apparent, for example, in the travel account of German duke Bernhard zu Sachsen Weimar-Eisenach who toured the United States in 1825 and 1826. During his visit in Columbia, South Carolina, he attended an upper-class dance ball and noted that the contra dances were danced to the style of »boring« German quadrilles, as he called it, while the music itself was provided by black servants, or slaves.³⁹ Later in New Orleans, he also witnessed the early popularity of European waltzes, along with contra dances, among the Creole population, and he noted that the women also received formal instruction in dancing and music.⁴⁰ Since the mid-1700s, German musicians appeared also in Philadelphia as teachers of music giving instructions in violin, German flute, harpsichord,

37 For example, see *Dick's Quadrille Call-Book and Ball-Room Prompter*. New York 1878.

38 *The German: How to Give It, How to Lead It, How to Dance It*. Chicago 1879, p. 11. See also, »The German, or Parlor Cotillon« in Howe, Elias: *American Dancing Master, and Ball-Room Prompter*. Boston 1862, pp. 132–133.

39 *Reise seiner Hoheit des Herzogs Bernhard zu Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach durch Nord-Amerika in den Jahren 1825 und 1826*. Ed. Heinrich Luden. Vol. 1. Weimar 1828, p. 312.

40 *Ibid.*, pp. 74–75.

and later also pianoforte. From Massachusetts to Virginia, they also made up a substantial number of itinerant dancing and music masters.⁴¹

Generally, popular music and popularized folk music came often from the Eastern cities to rural America by way of traveling shows such as circuses, show boats, minstrel troupes, and later by medicine shows, Chautauqua tent shows, and touring brass bands. From here, it filtered into the tradition of country fiddlers and slowly took on the styles and idioms perceived typical for old-time or country music today.⁴² From the back-country of West Virginia, Gerry Milnes provides this account he found in the history of a local family of musicians:

The Ohio riverman, Tom Collins, who [...] operated the river between 1849 and 1873, was a fiddler. Tom encountered a wide variety of music on his excursions from the deep South to the Northwest. [...] On his travels, he noted German fiddlers and African-American fiddle and banjo players. He heard and observed flute music, bagpipe music, minstrel shows, clog dancing, fiddling, and fiddling with dancing in a Union Army camp.⁴³

Blackface minstrel bands with their unique blend of African and European traditions strongly influenced American popular music from about the 1830s way into the 20th century. The music and instrumentation of these bands became formative for later old-time string bands, country and bluegrass, but also for jazz and blues.⁴⁴ Aside American, English and Irish performers, Germans and Austrians did in fact join these bands in steady

41 Drummond: *Early German Music in Philadelphia*, pp. 37–39; Keene, James A.: *A History of Music Education in the United States*. Hanover, NH, 1982, p. 64; Stoutemire, Albert: *Music of the Old South: Colony to Confederacy*. Rutherford 1972, p. 248.

42 Bill Malone especially stresses the importance of circuses and other traveling shows in the late 18th and 19th century not only for spreading fiddle tunes but also for professional musicians composing them; see *Singing Cowboys*, p. 48. Cf. also Malone, Bill: *Country Music U.S.A.: A Fifty-Year History*. Rev. ed. Austin 1985, p. 9. For example, in the decades before the Civil War dozens of circuses toured as far as rural Missouri (Bowen, Elbert Russel: *Theatrical Entertainment in Rural Missouri before the Civil War*. Columbia 1959, p. 17).

43 Milnes: *Play of a Fiddle*, p. 149.

44 Green, Archie: *String Bands*. In: John Edwards Memorial Foundation Quarterly 15, no. 56 (Winter 1979), p. 218.

numbers since the early days of bands like the Ethiopian Serenaders, Christy's Minstrels, or New Orleans Serenaders, to name but a few. They worked as violinists, guitarists, concertina or accordion players, flutists, musical directors, or even banjo players; they blew combs, rang bells, and of course they sang and yodeled as well. A number of German or Austrian songs were adapted for minstrelsy, or for what came to be known as the Ethiopian Opera, some melodies of which also circulated as instrumental tunes in general usage.⁴⁵ Examples are *The Mountain Maid's Invitation* which was performed and published by the Christy's Minstrels as *Niggers After-Work Invitation* in 1848⁴⁶, and *Am I Not Fondly Thine Own* which was changed to *Am I Not Fond of Soft Corn* for the sake of blackface parody.⁴⁷ These minstrels also engaged in burlesque interpretations of more ›serious‹ instrumental compositions to exhibit their virtuosity on gas-lit stages for entertainment purposes ranging from Mozart all the way to Weber and Wagner.

While much research and speculation has evolved around minstrel banjo playing and its significance for the banjo today, the fiddle or violin as played by the minstrels, and other instruments for that matter, has not received appropriate attention.⁴⁸ A couple of examples from a German perspective might help to add light to these studies while they also illustrate another important avenue for German tunes to enter the mainstream dance and fiddle repertoire. Leopold Meyer (1835–1875) played fiddle and

45 Hadamer, Armin: *Mimetischer Zauber. Die englischsprachige Rezeption deutscher Lieder in den USA 1830–1880*. Volksliedstudien, no. 9. Münster 2008, pp. 331–333, 343. See also, Green, Alan W.C.: »Jim Crow«, »Zip Coon«: *The Northern Origins of Negro Minstrelsy*. In: *Massachusetts Review* 11/2 (Spring 1970), pp. 385–397.

46 *The Ethiopian Glee Book: Containing the Songs by the New Orleans Serenaders, with Many Other Popular Negro Melodies, in Four Parts, Arranged for Quartette Clubs*. No. 4. Boston, 1850, n. p. Cf. Erk, Ludwig, und Franz M. Böhme: *Deutscher Liederhort*. 3 vols. Leipzig 1893/94. Reprint, Hildesheim 1963, no. 1458. The melody appears under the title *Marschlied der Jäger*; as an instrumental it can be found in many tune books, as in Howe, Elias: *Musician's Omnibus:[...] for the Violin, Flute, Cornet, Clarionett, &c., Containing over 700 Pieces of Music*. Boston 1863, p. 36.

47 Ibid., p. 9. The German original is *Du, du liegst mir im Herzen*.

48 Winans, Robert B. *Early Minstrel-Show Music, 1843-1852*. In: *Musical Theatre in America*. Ed. Glenn Loney. Westport, CT, 1984, p. 78.

harmonica mostly with the then famous George Christy's minstrels in New York City between 1853 and 1871, obviously specializing in »burlesque« and »Ethiopian« polkas and other show pieces for the violin.⁴⁹ John B. Donniker (1836–1902) was another high-profile minstrel violin player who had come to the United States with an Austrian ensemble called the Styrian Vocalists as early as 1851. Later he joined the premier minstrel troupe of its days, the Christy's Minstrels, showcasing his fiddle solos. Here he also worked with Max Zorer, another German-American minstrel, yodel virtuoso and composer of polkas, and also with singer and »Dutch« banjoist Dave S. Wambold (1836–1889) as part of the San Francisco Minstrels around 1865.⁵⁰ Donniker was active as a minstrel and musical director in New York until about 1873.⁵¹ After the Civil War, the minstrel performer and »Dutch« star of the early Broadway musical stage, Joseph Kleinfelter Emmet (1841–1891), delivered his famous German stage characters not only with singing and yodeling, but also with accomplished guitar playing and fiddling, including playing German folk tunes.⁵²

Another important and possible way for German tunes to enter the repertoire of American fiddling was its close association with fifing, particularly the music played by fifes in military bands in Europe and later in the United States where during the Federal Era many European musicians including Germans were also employed as bandmasters.⁵³ But perhaps more importantly, British military bands had frequently enlisted German

49 Rice, Edward Le Roy: *Monarchs of Minstrelsy: From »Daddy« Rice to Date*. New York 1911, p. 103. Christy's Minstrels. Playbill. New York, American Opera House, July 28, 1853. George Christy and Wood's Minstrels. Playbill. New York, Minstrel Hall, 1854. Odell, George C.D.: *The Annals of the New York Stage*. New York 1927–1949. Vol. 6, pp. 76–77, 92, 257, 326–327, 583; vol. 7, pp. 88–89, 519; vol. 8, p. 121.

50 Odell: *The Annals of the New York Stage*. Vol. 7, p. 682. For Dave Wambold, see Rice: *Monarchs of Minstrelsy*, pp. 70–71.

51 Odell: *The Annals of the New York Stage*. Vol. 6, pp. 74–75, 77, 325, 415, 422, 495. Rice: *Monarchs of Minstrelsy*, p. 83. See also, Lawrence, Vera Brodsky: *Strong on Music: The New York Music Scene in the Days of George Templeton Strong*. Vol. 2. *Reverberations, 1850–1856*. Chicago 1995, p. 643.

52 He was also known for his harmonica playing (Odell: *The Annals of the New York Stage*. Vol. 8, p. 565).

53 *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music*, s.v. »Bands«, p. 128.

musicians since the 1740s and »it is obvious that many of the musicians of the ninety-five British regiments in America during the 18th century were of German origin, and that a number of these remained to find their fortunes in the New World«. ⁵⁴ In addition, the Hessian and Brunswick troops who were known for their musicianship imported their own fifers, drummers and trumpeters to North America. Upon their first arrival in New York in 1776, the British-controlled *New York Gazette* (October 28, 1776) reported that the Hessians »debarked from their Ships [...] in the highest Spirits imaginable [...] making the Hills resound with Trumpets, French Horns, Drums, and Fifes, accompanied by the Harmony of their Voices«. When they were captured at Trenton, their musical talents were later enlisted at the first Fourth of July anniversary celebration at Philadelphia, where an »elegant dinner« was reported in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* (July 5, 1777): »The Hessian band of music, taken in Trenton the 26th of December last, attended and heightened the festivity with some fine performances suited to the joyous occasion«. ⁵⁵ The Hessians' musical reputation found its illustration on the cover of an originally English instruction book for the fife, *The Compleat Tutor* (Philadelphia 1805). Its American reprint shows a Hessian soldier playing a fife in front of a fort from the flagpole of which the American stars and stripes are flowing. ⁵⁶ There are dance tunes in the British repertoire from the late 1700s with the attributes »Hessian« or »Brunswick« in their titles and which came to the

54 Olson, Kenneth E.: *Music and Musket: Bands and Bandsmen of the American Civil War*. Contributions to the Study of Music and Dance, no. 1. Westport, CT, 1981, p. 7. As a matter of fact, England dispatched agents to Germany to hire these musicians (Camus, Raoul F.: *Military Music of the American Revolution*. Chapel Hill 1976, p. 22). One example is Philip Roth (?–1804) who came as a bandmaster in British service to America in 1771 and later stayed to become a music teacher in Philadelphia (Drummond: *Early German Music in Philadelphia*, pp. 76–80).

55 Both quoted in Lawrence, Vera Brodsky: *Music for Patriots, Politicians, and Presidents: Harmonies and Discords of the First Hundred Years*. New York 1975, p. 68. For similar examples, see Camus: *Military Music*, pp. 69–70.

56 Oscar Sonneck comments: »The helmet of the Hessian shows the word ›Liberty‹ instead of the Hessian coat of arms. Apparently these were rubbed out and the word ›Liberty‹ was inserted instead. It is equally evident that the ›Stars and Stripes‹ have been added.« (Sonneck, Oscar George Theodore: *A Bibliography of Early Secular American Music*. Reprint, New York 1964, p. 85.)

American Colonies around the Revolutionary War. The relationship between these titles, the tunes themselves and the historical context deserve further exploration.⁵⁷ In addition, some of these former Hessians remained in America and made names for themselves as musicians, music teachers and publishers, some also active in military music.⁵⁸ Still in the 1940s, Samuel Bayard collected fiddle *and* fife tunes in Pennsylvania and northern West Virginia, stating that »fifes used to be played a great deal«, while zithers and the dulcimers (before the instrument was revived during the folk revival in the 1960s) »are now rare and apparently passing out of use«.⁵⁹

As a result of their close association, many tune books were compiled and published for fife and fiddle in the early 1800s, but also later for the increasingly popular German flute and the fiddle combined, and even later for the piano forte as well. This widely circulating print material, often designed for student and master players alike, lasted and increased immensely throughout the 19th century. It often reflected the American and British military band repertoire but also featured tunes taken from traditional folk music as well as popular songs, marches, and dances like waltzes, cotillions, minuets, and quicksteps. An early example of such a tune book is *Riley's Flute Melodies*, a collection in two volumes published between 1814 and 1820.⁶⁰ In the 1830s similar books were published in America, for example

57 Scholarly tradition so far has taken their British origins for granted; cf. »Hessian Dance« in *The Fiddler's Companion*, in *Ceolas: The Tune Index* at <http://www.ceolas.org>.

58 Others became prominent in other fields of music as composers, teachers, and music publishers. The most prominent was Jacob Eckhard (1757–1833) who later settled in Charleston, South Carolina, where he became famous as an organist, composer of patriotic music, and tune-book compiler. His compilations for church music already showed a very eclectic mix of English, American, and German tunes. Ellinwood, Leonard: *The History of American Church Music*. Rev. ed. New York 1970, pp. 89–90. See also Williams, George W.: *Jacob Eckhard and His Choirmaster's Book*. In: *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 7/1 (Spring 1954), pp. 41–47. Another figure is a Hessian who came to be known by »William Brown« and who gave the first subscription concerts in New York after the Revolution; see Engel, Carl: *Introducing Mr. Braun*. In: *The Musical Quarterly* 30 (January 1944), p. 68.

59 Bayard: *Hill Country Tunes*, p. xiii.

60 Riley, Edward: *Riley's Flute Melodies*. 2 vols. New York 1820; reprint, New York 1973.

John Cole's *Pocket Companion for the Flute, Flageolet or Violin*⁶¹ and James L. Hewitt's *The Casket or Musical Pocket Companion*.⁶² Aside from popular instrumental pieces by composers like Mozart, Haydn, Koczwara, Pleyel, Hummel, and later Weber, these publications included a great number of marches and dance tunes, especially waltzes, with titles and characteristics that point to a possible German, Austrian or Swiss origin. Of these, the vast majority has no composer attributed but is designated as *German*, *Austrian*, *Bohemian*, *Swiss*, *Tyrolese*, or *Tyrolese and Hungarian*, and a few are attributed with geographical references such as *Moravian*, *Prussian*, *Silesian*, *Brunswick*, *Vienna*, *Hamburg*, *Frankfort* or *Leipsic*.⁶³ Some concrete examples are *Allemand Swiss*, *German Spa*, *Hessian Dance*⁶⁴, *Hanover Waltz*, *Brounswick Waltze*, *German Waltz*⁶⁵, and *German Dance*.⁶⁶ While the origin of many of these is unclear, some connections can be made in favor of a German or Austrian background. *German Dance*, for example, bears in part a strong resemblance with the German dance tune *Heureigen* credited to the composer Johann Abraham Peter Schulz (1747–1800) who might have very well taken it from oral tradition in Germany.⁶⁷ A popular tune like the *Queen of Prussia Waltz* is often designated as

61 Cole, John: *Cole's Pocket Companion for the Flute, Flageolet or Violin: Consisting of Popular Airs, Waltzes, Marches, Cotillions, etc.*, 8 vols. Baltimore 183–?.

62 Hewitt, James L.: *The Casket or Musical Pocket Companion: A Collection of the Most Popular Songs, Duets, Marches, Waltzes, Dances, etc.* 2 vols. New York 1830.

63 See under these keywords in Wolfe, Richard J.: *Secular Music in America, 1801–1825: A Bibliography*. 3 vols. New York 1964, or under attributes like »celebrated«, »favorite«, »much admired«, »popular«, or »new« (as in, for example, a »celebrated German waltz«).

64 Van Winkle Keller, Kate, and Ralph Sweet: *A Choice Selection of American Country Dances of the Revolutionary Era, 1775–1795*. New York 1976, pp. 15, 26, and 30 respectively.

65 William Litten's *Fiddle Tunes* pp. 33–34. For *Brunswick Waltz*, see also Cole: *Cole's Pocket Companion*. Vol. 8, p. 76, and Howe, Elias: *Howe's School for the Violin*. Boston 1851, p. 28.

66 Hendrickson, Charles Cyril, and Kate van Winkle Keller: *Social Dances from the American Revolution*. Sandy Hook, CT, 1992, p. 14. Many of these early tunes stayed in circulation in American publications for violin and flute much throughout the 19th century.

67 Stoverock, Dietrich: *Singt und Spielt: Musikbuch für Schulen*. Vol. 2. 15th ed. Bielefeld 1965, p. 47. The similarity is between the first and third part of *German Dance* with the first and second part of *Heureigen*.

English without further references to composer or source. However, it was already published in Hamburg and Altona, Germany, around 1810 as *Erster Favorit-Walzer der Königin von Preussen von Himmel*, implying it was composed by the German composer Friedrich Heinrich Himmel (1765–1814).⁶⁸

Finally, instrumental adaptations of German and Austrian vocal pieces, like folk and popular songs, hymns, operatic arias and choruses, started small in number but became more numerous in later decades of the 19th century as the songs themselves became more popular.⁶⁹

American collections of popular instrumental music of later decades, particularly since the late 1840s, continued to include some of this repertoire⁷⁰, but were now adding more and more newly appropriated tunes due to the import of fashionable dances from Europe, above all the polka. Subsequently we find tunes as the *Cologne Polka*, *Alpine Polka*, *German Polka*, *Leipzig Polka*, *Hohnstock Polka* and *Bohemian Polka* along with many schottisches, marches, mazurkas, and waltzes with similar titles, some of which have composers such as Johann Strauss (1804–1849) or Anton Wallerstein (1813–1892).⁷¹ These new dance tunes appeared alongside many traditional hornpipes and reels, forming a new body of a dance tune repertoire. The needs of the ballroom-dancing populace were also met with instruction books like the *American Dancing Master and Ball-Room Prompter* of 1862 which recommends for contra dances tunes like the *German Polka* and the *Baden Polka* just as much as *Arkansas Traveler* or *Fisher's Hornpipe*.⁷² Some of these publications were designed for one in-

68 *Favorit-Walzer der Königin von Preussen*. Fürs Forte Piano. Sheet music. Hamburg und Altona: L. Rudolphus, [1810]. In Germany, the tune was also called *Lieblingswalzer der Königin Louise von Preussen*. For an American publication, see Cole: *Cole's Pocket Companion*. Vol. 2, p. 43.

69 Early examples are *Life Let Us Cherish* (»Freut euch des Lebens«), *Tyrolese Song of Liberty* (»Wann i morgens früh«), *Blue-Eyed Mary* (»Herr Bruder, nimm das Gläschen«), *Alpine Waltz* (»Das weißt du gar zu wohl«), or *Tyrolean Waltz* (»Die Tiroler sind lustig«).

70 For example, see Howe: *Howe's School for the Violin* (Boston 1851).

71 For example, see Elias Howe's publications like *Young America's Collection of Instrumental Music* (Boston 1856), and *Leviathan Collection of Instrumental Music* (Boston 1858).

72 Howe: *American Dancing Master*, pp. 79, 119, 122, 124.

strument only, some presented mixed arrangements such as duets or trios, which reflected the demand for »social music« to be played by smaller ensembles of strings and winds in more private settings.⁷³ Many immigrant German musicians composed, compiled, and arranged dance music for this market. Simon Knaebel (1820–1869), for example, compiled the popular *Boston Collection of Instrumental Music* in which he featured the traditional print repertoire of previous decades, already a cultural mix in itself, and enriched it with new tunes from the Old World and many of his own compositions for the ballroom.⁷⁴ Around the same time, Stephen Foster, who was already an established songwriter, produced a similar book, *The Social Orchestra for Flute or Violin*, equally designed for individual or small ensemble dance music. It combined the popular melodies of the day, often operatic, with a few of his own instrumental compositions but also with four tunes, polkas and schottisches, by his friend, teacher and musical collaborator, Henry Kleber (1816–1897), a German-American composer and publisher in Pittsburgh.⁷⁵ The popularity of German dance music and musicians since the mid-century becomes obvious when one looks at the various series of tune books for violin, flute and wind instruments, for example, the *Musician's Omnibus* published by Elias Howe in Boston from 1863 on. It is striking how many German dance tunes were added in the volumes after the Civil War, now many given with their German titles proper, like *Morgenroth Waltz*, *Aus dem Bohmerwald Polka Mazurka*, *Erinnerung an Heidelberg March*, *Waldblumen Waltz*, *Reigen im Reigen*

73 Hoover, Cynthia Adams: *19th-century American Ballroom Music: Waltzes, Marches, Polkas, and Other Dances, 1840–1860*. Nonesuch Records H-71313, 1975, LP notes.

74 See Knaebel, Simon: *The Boston Collection of Instrumental Music: Containing Marches, Quicksteps, Waltzes, Airs, Cotillions, Contra Dances, Hornpipes, Quadrilles, Arranged with Figures, Scotch and Irish Jigs, Reels, and Strathspeys, Arranged for Brass, Wooden and Stringed Instruments*. Boston 185-?. For other German-American contributors, composing or arranging, see and hear side one, nos. 3, 4, 6, and 9, and side two, nos. 6, 7, and 10, plus the notes to *19th-Century American Ballroom Music*.

75 See Foster, Stephen C.: *The Social Orchestra for Flute or Violin: A Collection of Popular Melodies Arranged as Solos, Duets, Trios, and Quartets*. New York 1854. Reprint, New York 1973. Kleber himself wrote *Rainbow Schottische* which had a career in printed and folk tradition since the mid-1800s (cf. Ford: *Traditional Music of America*, p. 156.)