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SOMETHING WICKED THIS WAY

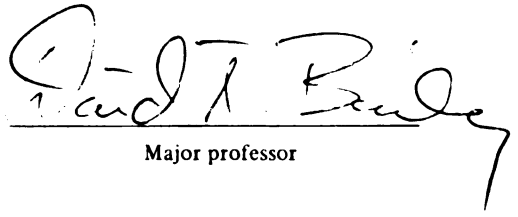
A DELINEATION OF THE ETHIOPIAN OPERA IN THREE ACTS

presented by

Mark Morris

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

M.A. degree in History



Major professor

Date Oct 22, 1993

SOMETHING WICKED THIS WAY
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By

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A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of History

1993

ABSTRACT

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This essay is hopelessly post-modern in its attempt to subvert the rules of form. It subverts an authoritative academic document by becoming, itself, a creature of its object of study, rhetorically, and also structurally in for example its three acts which imitate the popular form of the antebellum minstrel show. In its debt to and relation with past writings on the minstrel show, the greatest influence comes from the reinterpretation served popular "Negro" songs in the 1950s, a reinterpretation most specifically embodied in Hans Nathan's biography of Daniel D.Emmett. From the days of their popularity up to the 1940s and 1950s, the "Negro"songs, like "Old Dan Tucker," "De Camptown Races," "Oh Susannah," "Dixie," "Jim Crow," "YellowRose of Texas," &c. were believed by many to be based on the songs of slaves. In Dan Emmett and the Rise of Negro Minstrelsy Nathan, with musicological authority, demonstrates rather that these tunes derive from English, Scottish and Irish sources. What I have done here, then, for my "Plantation Finale" is to more or less demonstrate musicologically to the contrary, that indeed the "Negro" minstrels borrowed and adapted folk songs from African American tradition, a tradition, remember, by 1850 more than a century and a half old.

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Introduction

At thirteen or fourteen, when many Negro minstrels started in the business, like for other boys, to them the year wound in a circle of peculiar months; June, filled with freckles and sunshine, for example, warmed the burnt cork boys to run off with the travelling shows. Even past these years, the Negro minstrels had their calendar. April opened the season in city theatres at the North. With populations stripped to the working classes during pestilent July and August, minstrel troupes toured New England or played to thinned audiences. October delivered a last flurry of new repertoire for faithful and fading patrons. November finished the season with a killing frost. Early December, clasping white clouds exploding upward in a pink and blue airless sky summoned expectations of traveling the Southern circuit. And, if this dim invocation of fair weather put the long distance to the South too far a minstrel might ejaculate to his friends "Iwish I was in Dixie's Land."{1}

To minstrels, Dixie meant Southern States south of the Mason-Dixon, or, possibly, Negroes.{2} Going to Dixie's land afforded an opportunity for character study of Southern blacks according to biographical and autobiographical portraits of Negro minstrels in the New York Clipper. No one living knows how deeply these studies touched. Regardless the veracity either the Negro characters or these reports, such statements always flattered the minstrel. The Clipper, for example, wrote of R. Bishop Buckley in July 1864, "During all their peregrinations, particularly in the Southern States, R. Bishop Buckley has ever been a quiet, close and philosophical observer of the Negro character, and being gifted with great imitative powers and facial elasticity, his delineations are irresistibly

effective."

Like other adventures of boys and men, fair and dark made cardinal schemes for the minstrels. Negro minstrels put a blackface over white skin. Sometimes they put on this character a black hat, fitting for Fu Manchu or Dr. Faustus, in such a character as the vain and idle Sambo Johnson of Oh Hush!. And, sometimes a white hat, like Uncle Ned,—in honor of St. Thomas and Buddha. Their circus, yet, knocked aside the different values of white and black. Not decisively, but in the enactment of the burnt-cork "Negro" character, the identities and boundary lines of black and white became obdurately entwined and tangled.

A person living in the United States during the 1840s or 1850s had a better chance of seeing a minstrel show than most other types of entertainment. Itinerant and imitated, the minstrel show was the only the theatre many towns knew. And, the minstrel show cast a spell over audiences, especially young boys. Something in the mix of bones rattling, clowning and burnt cork drove their imagination. When a boy in the 1840s, Negro minstrel George Thatcher often awoke from dreaming holding an imaginary tambourine believing he was blacked up.

The minstrel shows assembled a rich and authentic facsimile of a nascent national culture. The Americans borrowed some old, some new for their "Ethiopian" theatre. Pieces came from medieval folk culture, Elizabethan theatre, colonial English drama, African slavery and American patriotism, to name a few. Tumbling from the carousel with all of his prizes, the blackface entertainer walked in an irreducibly American milieu with a gait as timeless as his journey. A carnival freak, this painted man moved in animation. Color, motion, and sound made the essence of the Ethiopian character.

The author, here, presents several vignettes of Negro minstrelsy. A thumbnail depiction of the artistic traditions of the blackface figures of the "Ethiopian" theatre appears in the first part. Part second features the equivocal "Ethiopian" figure within the fiction of Negro minstrelsy created by professional historians. In the closing act, a new tale in this story unfolds. Music was an essential trait of the burnt cork "Negro" body. For a long time, Americans believed this too minstrels borrowed from blacks at the South. The Clipper tales of character study, for example, include anecdotes of minstrels and African Americans sharing music. Later, the association of "Negro" songs with negroes fell out of the fiction of the minstrel shows. But, this transaction, too, created a part of this classic delineation of the body.

"Ethiopian" minstrels conquered American drama before the Civil War. Its plantation clowns, city-slicker buffoons, lively music and exciting dance, fascinated audiences across the continent.{3} Before 1843, "Ethiopian delineators" as duets or solos, performed in circuses or shared bills with drama troupes, and soloist singers.{4} Thomas D. Rice, the "original Jim Crow," marked an exception by his ability to carry a whole evening's entertainment.{5} The first minstrel show, the "Virginia Minstrels," appeared in New York City in 1843. A quartet, with Dan Emmett on violin and William Whitlock on banjo, the "Virginia Minstrels" created enormous success in New York, inspiring the classic form of the minstrel show and a score of imitators.{6} When Emmett returned from England in 1844, lead-men like E.P. Christy, who later won a patent for the minstrel show, had troupes roaming the country or established in theaters in almost every Northern and Western city.{7} During the 1820s and 1830s, a burgeoning popular culture awoke in the United States; in the midst of

this blackface minstrelsy became a genuinely national amusement and art.{8} At a time when middle class Americans trumpeted woman's virtue and denounced the theater, families of all ranks came to the minstrel shows to see and hear Sambo's, Jim Crow's and Zip Coon's grotesque songs, dances, and antics.{9} Minstrelsy grew in the garden of Jacksonian America.{10} Its tunes turned that "Music for the Millions" which gave Americans their first popular music.{11} Minstrel shows captured the hearts and imaginations of 19th-century Americans. In the autumn of his life, the great American humorist, Mark Twain, wrote, "If I could have the nigger show back. . .I would have but little further use for opera. . .In our village of Hannibal. . .it burst upon us as a glad and stunning surprise."{12}

As history, the United States' blackface entertainments looks like a fine can of worms. In bits and smatters, African culture found its way into the "Ethiopian" theater. Blackface minstrelsy belied its African influences with racism's and amusement's hallucinations. Blackface acts distorted, scandalized and degraded the African in America, but they also diffused aspects of African culture throughout the population. Early "Africans" made extravagant claims of the authenticity of their acts. History shows many of these claims lie. Within the lies, though, hides some truth. In turn, some historians' proofs against the minstrels' boasts, project more lies. The problem remains, in America, so far constant. Racism and caste belie the African's history on this continent. Lies breed more lies, twisting and curling, all in confusion, the chaos itself making a design;{13} within the buzzing and blooming, colors of the rainbow sift into coherent patterns. These rainbow fractals crystalize on the cold windowpane of caste, race and class in the United States; they coalesce in the exchange and blending of culture at the margins of the oppression

decreed by the Jacksonian ideology.{14} In "Ethiopian" entertainments white Americans found an honest expression of their culture within an expanding multi-racial caste society.

An attempt to delineate the character of the "Ethiopian" entertainments favored among the United States, during the years 1820-1867, risks portraying the genuine article little better than these entertainments depicted Africans and African Americans. Albeit, the two acts wield a mutual power; the representations dominate understanding of the "real." Presently, journalistic and academic writings on blackface minstrelsy almost exclusively interpret and evince the antebellum "Ethiopian" show. Modern academic writings, particularly, enjoy a wide latitude constructing organized meaning for blackface entertainments. This literature articulates an extensive landscape; racism, sexuality, misogyny, carnival, class politics and social criticism color the canvas, enunciate the chiaroscuro. Pale, impotent, feeble, to borrow Fanny Kemble's words for the minstrel show, however, illustrate the power of the academic discourse over blackface minstrelsy in contrast to the tremendous influence of "Ethiopian" entertainments, and "Negro" minstrels on African identity in the United States, Afro-American culture and, most of all, the discourse on African Americans in the United States. Through its enormous popularity and broad acceptance, blackface minstrelsy defined, internationally, not only the Negro image, but also Negro language, music, dance, and mentality. Thus, from its antebellum heyday until the Great War, and lingering since in legacy, this, the minstrel fiction, determined what was and what wasn't African, Negro, black competitive with other "organic" and "fictional" discourses.{15} Academic delineations of the "Ethiopians" shade into a similar fantasy in attempts

to reach beyond the already impossible, "what" and "how" of blackface minstrelsy to "why?" The fiction circulated in accounting of the impetus for the origin, growth and success of blackface minstrelsy bears importance because these explanations depend, largely, upon the semantics, semiotics, and iconography of black skin in the United States. This history, then, not only bears the mark of the these entertainments, but strongly derives from them. Given this context, it becomes necessary to concede that the most important question about this "African" art, "why?," remains, fundamentally inexplicable.

Exotic or economic? The puzzle of minstrelsy's catalyst grieves in proportion to familiarity with the art. "Ethiopian" entertainments, as an entity, carry the axiom that it looks preposterous to accurately reconstruct its cultural style from the odds and ends' understanding of negritude and Africaness in the United States. The "Ethiopian" theater could be many things, least of all reduced to one viewpoint of its impetus. Except for its ambition to charm audiences, little in it remained consistent; ribaldry, sentimentalism, fascism and freedom all cut their capers.

Accounting the abstruseness of blackface performances, perhaps the instability of the form that Eric Lott avows, one simple perspective grounds minstrelsy with its referent population; "Ethiopian" minstrelsy must sit against the backdrop of the contemporaneous lives of Africans in the United States. Moving from the postulate to a specific, though, means everything. Take this riddle, please. What discursive formations marched along with the "Ethiopian" drama in a city such as Philadelphia? Here on the public stages actors portrayed, primarily, Southern negroes of places like Louisville or Richmond, in a city whose African American population

of 20,000 in 1827 almost matched the population of either other city. Here, also where Africans had almost no rights as citizens or human beings; where they were ridiculed in the press, oppressed by law, and brutalized on the streets, in their churches, and their homes to an extent, moreover, less severe than any major city except Boston. Did this arise because fair Philadelphians esteemed free Africans too high, or feared making another Belfast too much, to cast them as Pierrot; or were they just not interested in B'er Rabbit across the avenue?{16}

In any case, C. Vann Woodward lays out a tempting line of thought when he posits the New South borrowed Jim Crow from the North. The following essay abjures pursuit of these themes. The three reasons deciding that balance action and reaction. At top, the direction of this thesis lays outside of the discourse of the three horsemen of the Apocalypse—race, class and gender.{17} At middle, academic delineations of "Ethiopian" theater cover these issues more thoroughly than any others. In the "crisper," sits this notion that very serious epistemological dilemmas perplex reconstitutions of racial semantics in the antebellum United States; they are too much and too little like those of the present, and set in a too volatile milieu to warrant the moral generalizations which suffuse post-modern writings on blackface minstrelsy.

ACT I

"Attenshun all de Univarse, My Kingdom's rite weel,
Tan by to jump 'Jim Crow' Pon de toe and heel."

The traditions which indirectly propagated the "Ethiopian" of the American stage reach back many centuries. Properly placed in context, the paradoxical salamungundi of minstrelsy's "Ethiopian" characters becomes more understandable. In Dan Emmett and the Rise of Early Negro

Minstrelsy, Hans Nathan cites "the Greek phallophoroi who used soot; the demons, goblins, savages, Indians, Turks, Moors, and Negroes of the lavish entertainments at the courts of the Renaissance and the early Baroque; and Pulcinella and Arlecchino of the Commedia dell'Arte . . ." as earlier examples of the blackface art, but abjures connection between these and American entertainment. However, the circuitous route of a extensive and powerful aegis binds, in a genuine and almost linear relationship, American blackface minstrelsy with at least one of these antecedents.

The tale of this relation tenders itself perhaps, on one hand, as funny as one of the minstrel show's best one-line screamers, or, on the other, as convoluted as America's racial history. In Europe during the middle ages, carnivals and fairs held a prominent place in life and culture. In France, the southern city of Lyons, fore example, sponsored fairs on feast days four times a year, each lasting fifteen days. Enormous, chaotic, hedonistic, the several major yearly festivals very literally ordered the whole year. Piece meal like this, medieval men and women, dedicated three months of the year to Carnival. Punctuating Mikhail Bahktin's description of the medieval carnivals, it might be said in France in the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries one did not toil until carnival time, but one toiled in between carnival time.

The jumble of pagan revelry and Christian repentance created its own language and order. The carnivals were a time of hedonism, of feasting, drinking, fucking and fighting; a time for gratifying and glorifying the "lower strata," a time when, indeed, shit was noble. The carnival's hedonism simultaneously upset, or rather inverted, society's hierarchy. People became mixed, blended, and set free.{18}

In the 16th-century, a former monk, Francois Rabelais wrote a series

of tales imbued with carnival scenes, but, moreover, with the language and spirit of the carnival. In Rabelais' day, the carnivals had become a pale shadow of their former glory, if not a memory. Yet, they remained vivid enough in fact and legend to give inspiration to his expansive, ribald, humanist narratives. Specifically, two motifs of the carnival's hedonism exerted cardinal influence upon Rabelais' Gargantua and Pantagruel: utopia and the grotesque. Gargantua, the giant protagonist, unexpectedly names Paris when, as an offertory to the Bishop, he so fiercely bepisses a crowd that he drowns two hundred sixty thousand four hundred and eighteen, exclusive of women and children. His very hugeness is anti-hero, anti-hierarchical; he is, perhaps, the peasantry transfigured as a knight.{19}

Not properly a travelogue, Rabelais' stories are designed to present new scenes and sites to the reader. Like other books of this time, Rabelais' Gargantua and Pantagruel doubled as a compendium of world knowledge.{20} The catchpoles, Gastrolaters, Dingdongs, and Chitterlings of the fourth book of Pantegruel, for example, imitate the exotic peoples described in John Mandeville's Travels, or Jacque Cartier's Navigations.{21} As in the Baroque and Renaissance courts,Europe's burgeoning contact with Islamic countries, India and the Americas initiated representations of people of different lands, of different customs, habits and appearance into the carnival and Rabelais' tales. In a limited sense, people of all classes in Europe's major countries (France, Italy, Spain), in Rabelais' day, became absorbed with pondering, discussing, delineating, acting out or seeing acted out, the appearance and manners of "exotic" characters.{22}

In the works of Rabelais' kindred authors, Saavedra Miguel Cervantes and William Shakespeare, an enlarged interest in Moors and "blackamoors," meshes in the grotesque and utopian motifs of the carnival. From the

eddies of the antique, grotesque ocean rolls the realism of Cervantes and Shakespeare. Degradation, of magisterial divine order or official ideology set above folk timelessness, follows this impulse, this impulse of "coming down to earth" in Cervantes work. Such is the character of Sancho in Don Quixote. Sancho's fat belly, his appetites, and abundant defecation, as Bakhtin argues, convey a powerful carnivalesque spirit. He lies in the gay bodily grave, in the ever laughing lower stratum (belly, bowels, earth), opened for the "abstract and deadened idealism" of Don Quixote.{23}

Masters and slaves caught in illicit and inverted alliances also shape Cervantes' grotesque carnivalesque realism. In Don Quixote appears a story resurrected from the Commerce of Algiers. In Commerce of Algiers, two Moors, the King of Algiers, Izuf, and his wife Zara fall in love with their Spanish slaves. Zara is stricken with desire for Aurelio; unsated, she appeals to the witch Fatima. Izuf, on his own, buys and becomes enamored with Aurelio's wife, Silvia. Izuf and Zara lament their fate, unrequited and rejected for their Mahometan faith. Their personas as "slaves of slaves" capsizes power with the gay inspiration of sexual desire. Yet, while wicked, the blackness of Izuf and Zara little inflects the polyphon ic voice of Cervantes' utopic and carnivalesque Christian narration.{24}

In the novella, El Celoso Estremeno, Cervantes intertwines these two carnivalesque motifs. Luys, a Moor, enacts a ribald impetuous slave; his free, droll manners, love for music, and affection for wine ties him to the medieval grotesque bodily images of the vernacular languages.{25} He taunts and damns his master, Don Diego. Diego, the jealous husband, keeps his wife locked in his house. Luys contemptuously twists Diego's jealousy by invoking mysterious young gentlemen who lay Diego's wife in his

absence. Carnivalesque utopia floods the boards, here, as Diego's possession preys upon his possessiveness.{26}

Shakespeare staged his carnivalesque themes within a milieu dangled between the carnivals, fairs, pilgrimages, church ales and maypoles of festive medieval culture and the orgiastic masquerades of the 17th and 18th centuries. Shakespeare's drama shows many outward signs of carnival; such as, blunt "flesh and belly" images, ambivalent obscenities and banquet scenes.{27} Elizabethan theatre emanated, as Michael Bristol argues, from the low culture of the Renaissance.{28} Unlike the typical middle child, it enjoyed itself fully. Although Richard Wilson detects a creeping "official" ethic in the theatre's organization, the Elizabethean theatre housed a "theatre of misrule" like that of the English masquerades and the early American theatre.{29} In figures like Falstaff, Feste or Strumbo, the audience laughs at itself in the image of the plebeian mind. Simultaneously, these clownish lords of misrule defy the external social hierarchy which shade in the drama's meaning.{30}

Like the masquerades, Elizabethan drama revelled in the confusion of identity. Travesty and other disguises composed a dramatic subculture of carnivalesque inversions and uncrownings The carnival uncrownings, for example, created by Prince Edwards and his companions, as theydonned disguises in Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay, presage the intention ofthe masquerades. A more convoluted ethic emerged in the multipletransvestitism of boy actors playing Rosalind or Viola, which like all gender and status inversions undermined fixed personality.{31}

The English masquerades invited a commingling of the erotic and exotic in a utopian carnival of lost identity. In this age, Turkish, blackamoor, and occupational costumes became standard fare. Inheritors of the Carnival "misrule" ethic, the masquerade figures burlesqued proper order, and commingled

with subterfuge, seduction and the erotic. Thus, merchants impersonated mechanics, and footmen lords; transvestites found themselves in unsympathetic hands; women came with uncovered breasts and legs. In this context Miss Pleham disguised herself as a "blacamore" with artificially darkened legs entirely exposed in 1768.{32}

Miss Pleham's interest in "blackamores" followed a long tradition, especially among ladies. In 1605, when Queen Anne asked Ben Jonson to write a masque in which she and her ladies impersonated "Black-mores," she spoke within fashion and reason.{33} Titled Masque of Blackness, Jonson's first masque struck new ground in several other ways, including the use of perspective scenery and blackened skin.

Nowhere does the contrast between carnivalesque and official ideology surface sharper than in Shakespeare's Othello (1604) and Jonson's Masque of Blackness. Jonson's fable tells the story of Niger's daughters who seek to become pure and beautiful, to become white. Despite Niger's protestations that "in their black the perfect'st beauty grows," they desire nothing but whiteness. The sun, the King of England, alone has the power to restore to them their beauty.{34}

Othello seduces its audience by upending the stereotype of the Moor. Blackness is a vehicle of Shakespeare's grotesque realism. Shakespeare manipulates its moral conventions, and in doing so, heightens its appeal. The Moor's exoticism and wickedness furnish Shakespeare a means to plumb human will and human consciousness. In Othello, he farms out traits traditionally the Moor's to all the principal characters; venery and wickedness become Othello's peril rather than his weakness. But, it is in Othello's blackness that he is a tragic figure. In Shakespeare's unorthodox allegory of good and evil, Othello becomes tragic by surrendering to the

stereotype.{35}

Othello created perhaps the most influential representation of a black man until the twentieth century.{36} At heart, it projected a utopian vision by sanctioning the love of Desdemona and Othello; and, moreover, by sabotaging it with the Moor's transplanted vice. Thus, with grotesque realism, Shakespeare placed a carnivalesque image of blackness as a model for later generations. The other vision of blackness, of Jonsons' Masque of Blackness, persisted in English culture.

In the United States, these competing images reappeared. In genteel culture, two tropes came to blackness: the tragic and the corrupt. In many abolitionist sets, for example, the African slave tended to be either noble and tragic or savage and treacherous. Tom and Topsy became the most human of these fictions. The "Ethiopian," in his context, by contrast, recreated the carnivalesque rebelliousness of Shakespeare's Othello. Like the Moor, the Ethiopian inverts and disorders the mores of blackness. He, however, has no calling as a tragic human character; a clown better suits his natural aptitude.

Charles Dibdin's The Padlock, (1768) initiated the most influential of these figures. Luys, transfigured as Mungo, became a more specifically Negro character. Toward the end of the 18th-century, the West Indian slave replaced the Moor in the English theatre. In this spirit, Isaac Bickerstaff wrote Mungo's part in West Indian dialect—originally for John Moody who toured Barbados, although he never played the role. Mungo portrays a gayly insolent operatic servant. Like Luys, his soul aches for music. Dibdin, who wrote The Padlock's music and played Mungo, sang "Let me when my heart a sinking hear the sweet Guittar a clinking." The Padlock opened at the John Street theatre in New York in 1769. The

younger Lewis Hallam became affiliated with the role in the States. Reputedly, he far surpassed Dibdin's performance. Dunlap says, by Laurence Hutton's report, "In The Padlock Mr. Hallam was unrivalled to his death, giving Mungo with a truth, derived from the study of the negro slave character, which Dibdin, the writer could not have conceived."{37}

Cervantes' grotesque Renaissance novella reborn as a comic opera with a West Indian droll, inebriate slave as a showpiece presaged that something strange loomed on the dramatic horizon. When Dar's de Money, Desdemonum et. al became the favorite pieces of the large Minstrel Troupes in the 1850s, it told that indeed Renaissance humanism and the history of laughter took a wrong turn at Alberquerque. Othello lost his renegade tenor over the centuries. In the minstrel theatre, misrule, although camp, animated the staid and faded English dramatic icon. The damn, despicable clown broke the Moor's tension held by his transcendence above the evil of blackness. And, people laughed. But, the laughter of the Carnival was never washed snow white.

The rambling legacy of uniting personal "blackness" with the utopian and the grotesque imbued the distinct American "Ethiopian" character of the 19th-century. Blackface acts aimed only partially to fit the free and slave Africans in the United States; concomitantly, black stage characters embodied a theater inherited from early modern England and Europe. The United States' unique genre of "Negro" entertainer had a history stretching back to the eighteenth century. In New York, in 1767, Mr. Tea performed at the end of The Enchanted Lady and the Grove's third part, "a Negro dance in character."{38} This performance may represent a perceptible harbinger of "Ethiopian" minstrelsy. It was this the simple, vivid, grotesque representation of blacks in utopian space which became the hallmark of

the "African" character. In the American theatre, the complexity of Othello and Oroonoko fell away for the ebullience and ribaldry of music and dance. While both tragedies played successfully in the colonies and republic, neither stood against the fetish caught in the United States for very simple, comedic performances by Negro characters. The pensiveness, heroism, and humanity of Othello and Oroonoko presumably repulsed Americans; similar to their distaste for the renowned Othello of early 19th-century Europe, Ira Aldridge, the expatriate African American.

Until the 19th-century, most musical or dance Negro performances remained within plays. In addition to song performances in popular English and Continental pieces, (The Padlock, Inkle and Yarico, The Prize, Obi, and Paul and Virginia) native productions, like The Yorker's Stratagem, (1792) The Triumphs of Love, (1795) and General Burgoyne's Boston Blockade (1776) brought Negro dance and song to theatre audiences. Simultaneously, the genuine predecessor of Ethiopian acts, the entr'actes in Negro character, periodically took a place in evening performances. Mr. Tea's performance in 1767, ostensibly, fell in this category, as well as "A Comic Dance, in Character of a female Negro," presented in 1796.{39}

In 1815, a hallmark of blackface minstrelsy appeared on an Albany stage in The Battle of Lake Champlain as "The Seige of Plattsburgh" sung by a comic character, a "Black Sailor." Although not printed as sheet music until 1837, as "Backside Albany," the song, became a favorite in local oral repertoire. It took the Irish "Boyne Water" for its tune, while its text, by Micah Hawkins, appeared in the Columbian Harmonist (1815). Hawkins molded the "Black Sailor" from the Anglo-European heritage of dramatic blackness.

As an American "black," the chap became a different

sort. The war with Britain technically began over the widely publicized impressment of five sailors, including three African Americans, from the Chesapeake in 1807. Blacks, also, comprised between ten to twenty percent of the eight hundred and twenty-man American Navy at the Battle of Lake Champlain. William J. Mahar sets an argument, against this context, that the conspicuous role of black sailors in the war and the victory, cast the character of a "Black" a particularly adept patriotic mouthpiece.{40}

Hawkins failed to generate enthusiasm for a similar song, "Massa Georgee Washington and General LaFayette,"{41} he composed on the occasion of General Lafayette's visit to America in 1824, but "Backside Albany's" large popularity made it a favorite of the minstrel shows in the 40s and 50s.{42}

"The Siege of Plattsburgh" and "Massa Georgee Washington and General LaFayette" mark a step toward an indigenous "African" stage character, drawn from Africans within the United States. Its use of American argot, and, perhaps, real aphorisms of American slaves, distinguishes it from the British Negro characters drawn from the language and lore of the West Indies. "The Siege of Plattsburgh" uses slang like "vittle," "tea party," and characteristic sayings such as "Catch fire too, jis like a tinder." "Massa Georgee Washington and General LaFayette" employs phrases, if not originating with Africans, then associated with and popular among, like "bymeby," "Ole Furjinnee Nebber Tire," and "What a dat?" The basic dialect Hawkins uses incorporates the voiced labial stop substitute /b/ for the voiced labiodental fricative /v/ as in "ebber," "debble," and "nebber" more extensively than British transcriptions of West Indian language. He also uses, in "nudder" a voiceless apicoalveolar stop /d/ for

the voiceless apicodental fricative /th/. While both these patterns characterize all African based English creoles, the orthographic depiction Hawkins chose was, and remained, characteristic of the United States.{43}

The cover of "Massa Georgee Washington and General LaFayette" identifies the actor in blackface as "Mr. Roberts" (James Roberts) a Scottish vocalist who died in 1833 and "legend" associates Pot Pie Herbert, and Sam Tatall with "Backside Albany." Yet, accessible documents seem mute about the stage representation of these songs in character; what if any of their style of motion or mannerisms imitated African slaves is unknown. As a point of fact, the records of this era of blackface acts at once are more plentiful and irrereparably muddled. Writing on this period of minstrelsy, Laurence Hutton, in 1887, remarked, "When historians disagree in this confusing way who can possibly decide?" and, "That Sir Walter Raleigh, losing all confidence in the infallibility of human testimony, should have thrown the second part of his History of the World into the flames is not to be wondered at!"{44}

The distinct trend toward blackface performances which drew their songs, dances, and "folk lore" if not their language and mannerisms from Africans in the United States, in the formative decade of "Ethiopian" minstrelsy, however, is unmistakable. African and Negro characters endured as bit parts in plays, and as entr'actes. These enactments became training fields for comic actors. The popular demand for "Ethiopian delineations" created a specialty among the theatre crowd by which a handful of men won reputations in the late 1820s.

Although possessed of an unstable, and raspy tenor, George Washington Dixon became well known for singing, in character "Zip Coon" and "Long Tail Blue." Alternatively, minstrel and theatre manager, Charles White,

and Col. T. Allston Brown, credit Robert Farrell with popularizing the song and character of "Zip Coon," and grant first performance rights of "The Long Tail Blue" to Barney Burns. Allston and White also give George Nichols composer's title for "Zip Coon." A clown with Purdy Brown's Theatre and Circus, South and West, Nichols also laid a "first users" claim, against Thomas D. Rice's, on the "Jim Crow" act. Allston reports Nichols first sang "Jim Crow" as a clown, later as a black. His inspiration came "from a French darkie, a banjo player known from New Orleans to Cincinnati as Picayune Butler. . ."{45}

By and large, T. D. Rice receives credit both for originating and popularizing "Jim Crow"—"Weel about and turn about and do jis so, eb'ry time I weel about I jump Jim Crow." Rice began his acting career as a supernumerary at the Park Theatre (circa 1827). In Samuel Cowell's recollection, Rice attracted so much attention by his comic eccentricities in a bit part of Bombastes Furioso that the leading men, Hilson and Barnes, registered a complaint which caused his dismissal. Rice moved West in 1828, joining briefly, as property man, with the Mobile Theatre before landing in with Samuel Drake's company at the Columbia Theatre in Cincinnati. The New York Times of June 5, 1881 published the reminisces of an actor of this company, Edmon S. Conner. He recalled Rice as "a young fellow (who) played small business'. . ." "Small business" amounted to singing and dancing in the entr'acte, frequently in blackface. Conner explains, "It was customary then always to have a song or dance between the play and the farce, and young Rice was very good in either. Negro minstrelsy was then in its infancy and attracted little attention but Rice was particularly happy in little Negro bits.'"{46}

After a season in Cincinnati (c.a. 1830-1831), Rice travelled with a

branch of Drake's company under Noah Ludlow to Louisville. Edmon Conner and Sol Smith also numbered in with the troupe. The company adopted the Louisville Theatre, the city's first regular theater, as home. According to Conner and Ludlow, the rear of the Louisville Theatre opened to a livery-stable owned by a man named Crow.{47} From their dressing rooms, the actors watched with amusement the capers of an elderly black man who did odd jobs for Crow. Rheumatic, or otherwise crippled, this gentleman's right shoulder bent up to his neck and his left leg crooked in at the knee. In his grotesque gait he shuffled out the steps of a dance which accompanied a song he sang while cleaning and rubbing down horses. The song and dance in its queer execution fascinated Rice. Seeing potential rendering this song and dance as an act, Rice hired this gentleman to teach it to him.

Near this time, Drake produced The Rifle, a local play, for which Rice was cast as a "Kentucky corn-field negro." Rice requested and earned Drake's permission to present his new character act as part of the play. He wrote new verses, changed the tune, (with the help of Sol Smith by Smith's account), quickened it, and presented his new song "Jim Crow" to a delighted Louisville crowd.{48}

This tale represents just one of several "Jim Crow" creation stories. Courtney Wemyss, in Theatrical Biography, places the stable story in Pittsburgh, while Robert P. Nevin offers a somewhat outlandish tale in a piece in the Atlantic Monthly of November, 1867.{49} The accounts of Noah Ludlow and Edmon S. Conner, however, tip the scales in favor of Louisville, and most scholars who write on blackface minstrelsy accept the Rice, stable-hand, Louisville origins of "Jim Crow."

Within a span of several months, Rice accumulated a fantastic

following in the Western theatre audiences along the Drake circuit. The rumbling of this success brought Rice, cresting on a wave, toward the East taking, one by one, the major cities by storm. On November 12, 1832, Rice first "jumped Jim Crow" in New York city on the stage of the Bowery Theatre. The working class patrons of the Bowery Theatre welcomed Rice with fervor. Night after night, the Bowery boys, in red shirts and soaplocks, with their not-too-respectable seamstress partners jammed the theatre's pit and gallery to watch Rice jump "Jim Crow." Rice's popularity drove him to pen full length Negro farces like Long Island Juba, or Love by the Bushel and Oh! Hush! or, the Virginny Cupids. These hit the Bowery audiences' craving for comic "Ethiopian" songs like magic. In 1833, Oh! Hush! with the "blood and thunder" melodramas like Mazeppa, provided the big guns for the Bowery's repertoire.{50}

Although staged a decade before the beginning of the minstrel show, Rice's farces enunciate the most durable ingredients of "Ethiopian" minstrelsy's popularity. Loosely based on the song "Coal Black Rose," popularized by George Washington Dixon, Oh! Hush! won tremendous acclaim in the theatres for over three decades. Revolving around two boot blacks' competition for Miss Dinah Rose, Oh! Hush! is a working men's allegory which presents concomitantly a monument of Rice's theatric brilliance and a barometer of the world view of New York's white working-men. Rice, as Gumbo Cuff, plays a work boss who has run-ins with a lottery winner, Sambo Johnson, who affects airs around his erstwhile colleagues. The plot and theme run on the humiliation of Cuff by Sambo, both at work and with Rose, and Cuff's successful verbal and physical abuse of Sambo. In essence, the farce expresses a performance at the root of "Ethiopian" minstrelsy's fantastic popularity: the articulation of

working class (or frontier, anti-genteel) perspective through "Negro" characters—set in motifs taken from African American life and emulative of African Americans.{51}

With "Jim Crow," Rice became a landmark; his fame exceeded any other American performer, but he also embodied a new type of performer, the union of character and actor. Rice's "Jim Crow" character not only drove little boys crazy, but it also opened opportunities for a handful of entertainment-prone men. In mid-30s, the vocation of "Ethiopian" delineator expanded to the circuses and many dramatic companies. In this flush of blackface vogue, a score of rebellious souls with a love for the grotesque, and the utopian enlisted as willing hands in the venture.

Of this crowd, which numbers include P.T. Barnum, Frank Lynch, and John Diamond, the most conspicuous are the four original Virginia Minstrels (Frank Brower, Dan Emmett, Dick Pelham, and William Whitlock) and Joel Sweeny.{52} Emmett, the best known among these, was neither the best musician nor the best acquainted with African and Afro-American culture. By contrast, Joel Sweeny grew up on a plantation, where, ostensibly, family slaves taught him to play the banjo. Sweeny's virtuosity on the banjo placed him, according to Robert Winans, in a position with "Ethiopian" banjo playing "analogous to Earl Scruggs' relationship to bluegrass banjo." Sweeny travelled widely in circuses in the United States and Great Britain. Along his way, he inspired countless imitators in addition to personally introducing several of minstrelsy's best players to the banjo (e.g. William Whitlock, George Swaine Buckley, and Fred Mather).{53}

Frank Brower held a name in the profession for able portrayals of African Americans at the South. The New York Herald of December 5,

1842, for instance, called Brower "the perfect representation of the Southern Negro characters." Born in Baltimore in 1823, he made his debut in blackface song and dance acts in Philadelphia in 1838. He gained a reputation as a master of "Ethiopian" dance artistry, specifically for his jumping and leaping which he putatively imitated from elderly African Americans, and by which he set a new trend in blackface performances. Nathan submits that the wording of a letter of C. J. Rogers to the New York Clipper (June 20, 1874) strongly implies that Brower introduced the bones to blackface performances in 1841 while with the Cincinnati Circus Company. According to the first sheet music edition (Boston 1844), Brower also "wrote and composed" the popular song "Old Joe."{54}

Joel Sweeny's student William Whitlock, a compositor by trade, had the best name in blackface acts along the East among the early founders of the minstrel show. Within a year of Whitlock's introduction to the banjo by Sweeny, P.T. Barnum hired him to accompany his "Negro" dancers John Diamond and Frank Lynch. Whitlock's talents won him his own billings both as a musician and a dancer. Whitlock had a reputation for owning "accurate knowledge of the peculiarities of plantation and cornfield negroes" which he supposedly gained while on tour in the South. On this, a New York Clipper article (April 13, 1873) drawn from Whitlock's autobiography reports: "Every night during his journey south, when he was not playing, he would quietly steal off to some negro hut to hear the darkies sing and see them dance, taking with him a jug of whiskey to make them all the merrier. . ."{55}

Dan Emmett learned to play the fiddle while growing up in Mt. Vernon Ohio. At eighteen, he signed on for three years in the United States Army, underage, while in Cincinnati on May 2, 1834. At Newport Barracks,

Kentucky, he took on the duties of drummer and fifer under the instruction of John J. Clark (Juba) and Sandie McGregor.{56} He joined the Sixth Infantry at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri on March 3, 1835 and became its "leading fifer." On July 8, 1835, the Army discharged him "by process of civil authority by reason of minority," listing him as a musician by vocation. For the next four years, Nathan speculates Emmett split two careers, working as a printer in Cincinnati in the winter and traveling with the circus in summer.{57}

Emmett began playing banjo and singing in the circus ring in 1841 while with the Cincinnati Circus Company. C. J. Rogers, its manager, reports Emmett learned the banjo from a West Virginian named Ferguson who traveled with the circus in 1840. Ferguson, who Rogers describes as "nigger all over except in color," joined the circus on Emmett's behest for ten dollars a month after the circus owners refused to hire him outright. Emmett took Ferguson's place playing with Brower in 1841. At Lynchburg during the week of Fourth of July, Brower introduced bones playing to an audience while accompanying Emmett in the new song "Old Tar River." In 1842, Emmett travelled with Spalding's North American Circus, appearing at Detroit, Mount Clemens, Utica, Pontiac, and Farmington in late September. Shortly after, Emmett and Brower journeyed to New York. By November, they were performing at the Franklin Theatre on Chatham Square.{58}

By mid-January 1843, neither remained with the Franklin. Out of work and restless, Emmett fell in with Whitlock who was also between engagements. Later in life, Emmett and Whitlock provided The New York Clipper their accounts of the Virginia Minstrels' beginnings. Their stories differ well beyond their prominent slant toward assigning formative

genius to the teller. The ensemble Emmett and Whitlock got together, with Brower and dancer Dick Pelham, however, definitely appeared at the Bowery Amphitheatre on February 6. The New York Herald advertised this show as the "First Night of the novel, grotesque, original and surprisingly melodious Ethiopian band, entitled the Virginia Minstrels. . ."{59}

The name the performers chose marks the official beginning of "minstrelsy." The inspiration came from the popularity of a group of Tyrolese Minstrels, the Tyrolese Family Rainer, who came to the United States in 1838 and whose fame triggered a spate of emulators, the Hutchinsons being the most successful.{60} The New York Herald advertisement of February 6, continued to pronounce the Virginia Minstrels exempt from vulgarities etc. which "hitherto characterized negro extravaganzas." In retrospect, one wonders what fell in this category. In fact, the Virginia Minstrels exceeded previous blackface acts in freneticism and grotesqueness. A plausible fiction Nathan constructs of the group's stage appearance emphasizes chuckles, hoarse shouts and laughter, rolling eyes, unruly poses with the legs and body, instrument theatrics, vigorous and incessant motion, and spontaneous "breakdown" and boot thumping "trucking" by the end men. Indubitably, the Virginia Minstrels earned the grotesque essence the New York Herald advertised and the pleasure of many audiences.{61}

The tangible evidence of the aura of the band, sheet music and playbills, reveals a habit of featuring hideous caricatures of Africans to an extent singular in "Ethiopian" entertainments. Artistically, these illustrations are often enormously humorous. For example, the Virginia Minstrels playbill for the Adelphi Theatre in London advertises an "Ethiopian Concert" in letters made of oddly contorted and primitively

caricatured "Ethiopians."{62} Yet, despite specifically lampoons of African features, the Virginia Minstrels' caricatures, especially on sheet music, barely resemble humans let alone Africans. One wonders what the band, the artists or the music publisher intended with these pieces. Was the goal grotesque caricature for the sake of amusement, or were the illustrations representations of Afro-Americans as they conceived them?

The "Ethiopian" caricatures bring on a question about the Virginia Minstrels relative Afro-American culture. Emmett's and Brower's familiarity with African Americans, with slaves, rests beyond question, and Whitlock's is practically assured. Pelham at least knew dances and songs borrowed from slaves well enough to rank first among white "Negro" dancers, and Sweeny, a "Virginia Minstrel" in Great Britain in the spring of 1844, of course, grew up on a plantation. All the Virginia Minstrel's instruments except the fiddle emanated from African American music traditions, and a lengthy and robust African American fiddling tradition existed years before Emmett ever picked up the instrument. Their playbills always stressed the southern slave origins of their music, usually in wildly prevaricating claims, but sometimes quite specific in the sources of the band's music. The playbill for their appearance in Worcester, Massachusetts March, 1843 describes their music as the "songs, refrains, and ditties as sung by the southern slaves at all their merry meetings such as the gathering in of the cotton and sugar crops, corn huskings, slave weddings, and junketings."{63} The band's program of March 7th and 8th at the Masonic Temple in Boston consists, probably, of five songs from folk tradition (three from African American), one "nigger" parody of an English song written by Emmett, and—if consonant with custom—two others ("Dan Tucker" and "Lucy Long") borrowed from folk

tradition.{64}

The Virginia Minstrels, their roots, their performances, and the spark they set in theatres reflects a solid investment in the music, dance and lore of African Americans. Little doubt contests if the minstrel show had even a minor impetus toward authentically representing Africans on stage the entertainments would have taken a completely different shape. For example, "Ethiopian" minstrels, probably, excluded the multiplicity of African American dialects, most significantly French creole, in favor of one canon contrived by 1820.{65} Reciprocally, if the entertainments had not been based on Afro-American culture, not only would the antics, and dialect, but also would the music and dance have been completely different.

African American music and dance adapted and rendered by talented musicians, mostly of Anglo-European stock, underpinned the minstrel show's archetype, the Virginia Minstrels.{66} Brower, Emmett etc. arrived at their glory as creatures of several centuries of an appetite for impersonations of black men in England and America. The eruption of popular culture, popular entertainments in the United States and T.D. Rice's fame account as their immediate progenitors. These contexts imbued the dialogue in which their acts and imaginations spoke. Despite the context, the act, art, and actions of the Virginia Minstrels just furnish bait for fishing for answers. For what purpose did the "Negro" delineators undertake these grotesque performances? Why did white men arrogate Afro-American words, music and dance; why did they "hang out" with black people; and why did they blatantly and vigorously degrade African Americans? Inside this circus tent, rests a remnant, perhaps a rekindling, refiguring of carnival.

A piece of carnival comes with the capers and tunes "Ethiopian" delineators borrowed. The parts of Afro-American culture adopted were drawn from, outside the Place Congo and Mardi Gras in New Orleans, the nearest thing to carnival for Africans in the United States. At harvest, plantation owners all over the South held corn shuckings for which they sent invitations to neighboring plantations. At these the year's corn crop was piled up into heap. Customarily a song leader or a fiddler took a high perch and fed the workers song while they shucked. Many of the songs sung probably embodied a shoot of a large family of corn shucking songs epitomized in "Roun the Corn Sally" and the children's song "Liza Jane." Lewis Paine reports, in his area of Georgia, after the shucking it was a tradition for the slaves to capture the host and carry him to the house. There, everyone sat down to a lavish feast, after which an Afro-American fiddler accompanied the whites' dancing until they relinquished him to the slaves gathered out in the clean-swept yard.{67}

Corn shuckings paint a pretty picture; ex-slave Joseph Holmes Prichard aptly remarks, "My goodness, I would just love to be dar now."{68} Their atmosphere failed to reappear on the minstrel stage, but maybe, here, a little residual spirit in the tunes came to life. Regardless, those tunes the minstrels borrowed from African Americans showed little resistance to enlivening theatre audiences. In the carnival space of theatres and circuses, altered slave songs took on new identities; they became the leitmotifs of the white citizenry, of rowdy Bowery crowds, of striking cordwainers, of business men and republican mothers.{69} The art which injected this craving into the national bowels, as Eric Lott points out, epitomizes Marshall McLuhan's shibboleth "the medium is the message."{70} The message, then, was grotesque rendering of poached Afro-American

music and dance in the carnival space of a free republican citizenry.

Spaces like the Bowery Theatre sheltered the carnival's spirit as it had been passed down to the theatre in Shakespeare's time. Theatre goers toasted the lower strata; it was an essential feature of an evening's performance. Favorite rituals of munching roasted peanuts and scattering the husks or creating huge pools of tobacco "juice" ensconced the value of bodily gratification; physical danger and physical pain celebrated in fistic fighting expressed the value another way. As well, from a box or balcony, one might see wobbly drunks, a gentleman vomiting, nursing babies, and as well the customary stomping of feet and throwing of vegetables.{71} New York's, Washington's and the Western theatres, particularly, housed this popular culture. Francis Kemble wrote of the Washington Theatre, "The proprietors are poor, the actors poorer; and the grotesque mixture of misery, vulgarity, stage-finery, and real raggedness is beyond anything strange and sad, and revolting."{72}

The sui of the United States' sui generis theatre culture measured out as galvanized politics. In the early19th-century, the United States witnessed a current of popular and working-class politics not fully appreciated in Britain until Benjamin Disraeli's prime ministry. Theatre crowds bullied orchestras to substitute patriotic and popular songs for planned airs and sonatas with the threat of "apples, stones, and other missiles."{73} The urban populace lionized favorite native entertainers, such as Rice and Edwin Forrest, and bitterly resented the criticisms of Mrs. Trollope and Kemble. The heat of working-class, nativist political fervor periodically exploded into violence in the theatres. The jeering crowds which greeted Charles Mathew's second visit to the United States foreshadowed the Astor Palace riot, triggered by popular antipathy toward Charles MacReady, in which

shots from a force of two hundred police and three hundred militia guarding the theatre killed thirty-one rioters and spectators. Nine years later, a crowd from one to four thousand kicked off a week of anti-black nativist rioting by storming the Bowery in search of its foreign-born stage manager George Farren.{74}

Blackface minstrelsy, by being political in content and form, enacted a kind of utopian carnival. The Negro "mask," the racist mien, allowed splices of misogynism, homosexuality, social and political satire, and "low brow" anti-elitism to transmit with staged impersonations as a kind of omnipotent double-entendre. Through this process, "Ethiopian" minstrelsy evinced an identity reciprocal with the national identity of its audience. Thus, because of the unique republican political structure of the United States, the aegis of the carnivalesque had become attached to the nation state, and transfigured into an ambivalent celebration of caste.

"Ethiopians" gave more than a front for the common man's nationalism; Afro-Americans figured as an integral part of it.{75} This feature was a constant impetus in "Ethiopian" entertainments. The first glimmer of "Ethiopian" popularity sprung from a performance of a patriotic song by a comic "Black Sailor;" and from at least T.D. Rice, "Negro" delineators advertised the folk origins of their acts. The custom evinces an equation of Africans with American distinctiveness; they were an unique and essential part of the United States. Hence, their caricature became a point of national pride. For example, on June 5, 1840, Whitlock's playbill for the National Theatre in Boston boasted ". . .Dis very partic'lar nigga will jump, dance, and kick his heels in a way dat Mademoiselle Fanny Elssler never did, neber can and neber will do."{76}.

In 1845, during the ascendancy of the minstrel craze, J. Kinnard Jr.'s

capriciously titled "Who Are Our National Poets?" appeared in the Knickerbocker Magazine. The several irreconcilable readings ascribed Kinnard by the minstrel show's academic interpreters illustrate the hazards of Kinnard's heavily comically inflected essay.{77} Regardless the instability within Kinnard's article, a sensible viewpoint surfaces. He looks at the indictment laid upon the United States by Britain and Europe, that it has no poetry, and he advances the position that the songs and poetry of Afro-Americans, which are somehow represented in the recently popular minstrel shows, are analogous to the Scottish poetry collected by Burns. He advises, hence, those who aspire to national poet, the Homer of the fiftieth century, should follow the example of "Jim Crow," "Dandy Jim" and "Zip Coon" and look to our negro slaves. Voices which compete with Kinnard's tongue-in-cheek express some ambivalence of minstrelsy's seemliness, and his tribute to African American genius may evince an unaffected condescension. Albeit, all the humor and prejudice works inside the major ingenuous argument.

E.P. Christy's Plantation Songster (1854) exalts Christy as the poet of Kinnard's conception. Its preface explains ". . .the next cry was, that we had no NATIVE MUSIC;. . .until our countrymen found a triumphant vindicating APOLLO in the genius of E.P. Christy, who. . .was the first to catch our native airs as they floated wildly or hummed in the balmy breezes of the sunny south."{78} If Christy's publicists came to their conclusions, without Kinnard's inspiration, at least such thought lay consonant with other writers of the day. Increasingly, the ties between Negro folk music, national art, and minstrelsy became worthy of comment.{79} Eric Lott italicizes that, like Whitman's Leaves of Grass, a Herderian notion of folk underlay these tips to and trumpets of "Negro"

songs.{80}

In the Northern antebellum United States, outside of debates over slavery, blackface minstrelsy was its white citizenry's main discourse of Africans. Few Euro-Americans except, perhaps, North Star subscribers sensed or fretted the minstrel show's perversion of African identity. Yet, like the "Rolling Stones," "Ethiopian Minstrelsy" invited multifarious responses. As it offered an attractive "racist" counterfeit of African American music, it also conveyed a goad to explore the real. "Ethiopian" minstrelsy provided the language and outlet for this exploration. For example, in the Civil War, several music publishers adapted their minstrel idiom to embrace songs collected among freed slaves. Two years after George Swain published Lucy McKim's arranged transcriptions of "Roll, Jordan Roll" and "Poor Rosy," Lee & Walker published C. Everest's arrangement of "Roll, Jordan Roll," as ".. .one of the oldest Ethiopian Melodies. . ." In the same year, Oliver Ditson published "O Lord, remember me," with added hymn verses, as "A Shout Song of the Freedmen of Port Royal;" from Ditson, in 1867, came "I'se a travlin' to de grave"—"A Southern Melody" with accompaniment by Gustave J. Stoeckel. This sheet music betokens one direction interest in "Ethiopian" songs and melodies took after the Civil War. Apparently derived from McKim's, the publication of Everest's arrangement of "Roll, Jordan Roll" especially accents that some music publishers perceived a market for authentic Afro-American songs within the genre of "Ethiopian Melodies."{81}

McKim's renderings of the Port Royal songs, the dialect and arrangements, minimally stem from the "Ethiopian" craft. The same relationship extends to William Allen and other contributors to Slave Songs of the United States. Yet, conventions of stage "Negro" dialect, the

"de" and "ob" helped the collectors make their transcriptions. As well, the genesis of the project lay within the a larger interest of African American music and culture, in which the "Ethiopian" tradition exerted a heavy influence.

The quick disappearance of Slave Songs of the United States indicates the enthusiasm for Freedmen which waxed in sheet music between 1864-1867, had a shallow mooring. The volume met ample attention when published, but quickly fell to the wayside in favor for the many volumes of harmonized Fisk and Hampton song books.{82} Its familiarity within Abolitionist circles presumably piqued the curiosity of the first Congregational audiences to witness the Fisk Jubilee Singers. It also sits possible Allen's book encouraged the initial insertion of two spirituals into the Fisk Singers' programmes. But, basically, Slave Songs created the first collection of songs profiling the slave in the post-Emancipation decades.{83}

The Fisk Jubilee Singers launched the immense popularity of the Spiritual. On their first tours, the public hooked them with or mistook them as Negro minstrels. The review of an early Jubilee program in Cincinnati, headlined "Negro Minstrelsy in Church—Novel Religious Exercises," in the Cincinnati Commercial reported a gentleman leaving in disgust grumbling, "no bones, no end man, no middle man." When the Jubilee Singers performed at Henry Beecher's Plymouth Church in Brooklyn, the World and Herald had a field day. In contrast to the Tribune's review which applauded this alternative to the labored fun and dubious sentiment of burnt-cork "Negroes," the World complained the singers "had the air of well-trained monkeys when put upon scientific." Conceding the singing shone when it "touched a wild darky air," the reviewer rued the

absence of more camp-meeting songs on the program.

The Herald subtitled its review "The Great Plymouth Preacher as an 'End Man'—a Full Troupe of Real Live Darkies in the Tabernacle of the Lord—Rollicking Choruses, but no Sand Shaking or Jig Dancing." Twice, the review posed Beecher and the singers as a threat to Hooley's and Bryant's minstrels, suggesting, for example, "If some of our crack minstrels desire to hear singing that will take them down a peg, let them go and hear Miss Maggie Porter." Given over, in bulk, to "dialogue" with audience members, the Herald's review allows a precious insight into the crowd more attuned to "Ethiopian" minstrelsy than the readers of Greeley's Tribune. The comments of one respondent included:

> Now this is a precious humbug, to see all of these people come here and patronize these poor niggers, who ought to be home in their beds. People of a superior race—or who fancy they belong to a superior race—like to patronize those whom they fancy to be of an inferior or docile race.{84}

In England, where natural dark skin had greater appeal than burnt-cork, the Jubilee Singers encountered a more earnest confusion. Audiences acclimated to the "Christy's" viewed the Fisk singers' performances through the image of blackface acts. A Liverpool reviewer noticed, "Our association of the negro minstrelsy with what is grotesque and comical often made the audience laugh when such a display was not in keeping with the spirit of the song."{85}

The effect of these receptions on the Jubilee Singers further pushed their music in the direction it began when they took a gamble on camp-meeting songs in late October 1871. In a few years, the bleached Negro spiritual became welcome fare even in countries where "Negro" minstrelsy never took root as well as where it did. Accompanying this success

followed the spate of Spiritual song books. Like the Fisk performances, these almost completely effaced the African distinctiveness of the music. Properly harmonized, and proper in every way, on the piano stands of Anglo-Europeans, these spirituals represented little better African American culture than the popular "Ethiopian" airs of the 30s, 40s, and 50s. In many collections, the two genres merged. Typical of these, especially those aimed toward a popular white audience was the easy intermingling of spirituals with old minstrel songs under titles like "The Most Popular Plantation Songs" or, later, "Rolling Along in Song."{86}

J. Rosamond Johnson and J. Weldon Johnson put together "Rolling Along in Song" in 1937, a late year for the 19th-century, but this piece so fervently exemplifies what took place within the printed body of American "folk" music during the previous hundred years, from at least the printing of "Jim Crow," that it perhaps serves better than a piece more temporally apropos. Rosamond puts about half his collection in three chapters of African American religious songs, "Ring Shouts," "Spirituals" and "Jubilees." In chapters four, five and six, he interjects twenty-six songs from "Negro" minstrelsy headed under "Plantation Ballads," "Plantation and Levee Pastimes" and "Minstrel Songs." These include songs by James Bland, Stephen Foster, and Dan Emmett. But, like the "Ethiopian" theater, "Rolling Along" uses songs with strong folk connections which hold traditions in "Ethiopian" and folk music. "Chicken Reel," "Shoo Fly, Don't Bother Me," "Turkey in the Straw," "Short'nin Bread" and "Carve Dat 'Possum" inhabit this class.{87}

Johnson's collection is a emblem of how easily fiction and folk mixed in popular music. Sources stand good enough to expose Johnson's free mixing. In earlier times, this sort of intermingling, as in the work of E.P.

Christy, becomes harder to fix.

Eclipsed by religious music, collections of secular African American folk music surfaced first in the 1920s. These three, Thomas Talley's, Dorothy Scarborough's and Newman White's, establish that "Ethiopian" songs of the 19th-century burrowed deep within Afro-American culture. Although these songs became folk songs at least in practice, as Scarborough pointed out, their dual lives kindles a chicken and egg question of their ultimate origins. Scarborough termed the problem of the interrelation among folk and minstrel song worthy of a doctoral dissertation. Surely she summons a doctoral scholar with patience.{88} The convolution achieved in the search path by the combined effects of prejudice, cultural borrowing, and popular culture matches the past twelve seasons of Guiding Light sure. Dena Epstein and Bruce Jackson echoed her thoughts in their works, respectively, on black and Negro folk culture. Epstein terms the issue "a knotty one, still to be disentangled," and offers two leads in the Driscoll Collection at the Newberry Library in Chicago: "Aunt Milly: A Popular Virginia Melody" (Boston: H. Prentiss c. 1844) and "Come Back, Steben, A Negro Cavatina, as sung by a Kentuckian" (Philadelphia: Lee & Walker, c. 1848). Jackson takes a sane line by asserting songs travelled in both directions, yet most from the dominant culture. He speaks fatalistically, though, of the prospects of disentangling the music's history. "We'll never know," he says, whether Dan Emmett lied in claiming authorship of "Old Dan Tucker" or Y.S. Nathanson completely missed the mark by claiming it authentic.

As E. P. Christy's songster shows, people conceived music as an important part of "Ethiopian" entertainment. It sounds fair to call it its foundation. A song, "Backside Albany," not a persona or a skit, was the

oldest piece of the minstrel tradition. The original minstrels, the Virginia Minstrels, performed almost nothing but music. Early minstrel programs carry the same aura. The best authority of early minstrel music, Robert Winans, juxtaposes "musical theatre" against "theatrical music" to describe the early shows.{89} The typical early minstrel show opened with a "Negro" medley and finished with a popular "Negro" song or a musical burlesque. Indubitably, music furnished an indispensable element of the minstrel show. However, it was not the minstrel show.

But, "Negro" songs lived a life outside of the minstrel theatre. They became part of the first surge of American popular music. The birth of this music makes a whole other tale. The adoption of lithography, for example, played an instrumental role. Of its salient features, its place in early national culture looms notable. Popular music helped articulate and disseminate a common culture through the states. Like the free press, it put a diverse population in touch with the same ideas and events. Indeed, the historical perniciousness of "Ethiopian" songs lies in their favored place within this homogenizing art.

At the minstrel shows, some folks mistook the "Negroes" for real ones. The confusion extended wholesale to the songs. In journal and newspaper articles, writers consistently blurred the "Negro" songs with Afro-American music. Writing for the Dial in 1842, Margaret Fuller avows American art, music and dance radiates from Africans. She confesses having watched "Jump Jim Crow," "not on the stage, where we have not seen it, but as danced by children of an ebon hue in the street;" the words of J. Kinnard Jr. and Y.S. Nathanson evince an almost identical mind.{90} Led by playbill advertisements and popular rumors, other patrons of "Ethiopian" performances who came to hear black music at minstrel shows

followed a sensible impulse.

If not in performance, in sheet music the "Negro" songs fit well with other folk based popular songs like "Old Colony Times" and "Pesky Sarpent" from white Anglo-Saxon protestant tradition. If confections, "Negro" songs like "Lucy Long" and "Jim Along Josey" uncannily imitated folk song style.

Most of this music was arranged for the piano-forte. Through the thirties and forties arrangements of "Negro Melodies" as quadrilles, polkas, and country-dances remained popular. E. Riley printed a series arranged by John C. Scherpf with the title "African Quadrilles."{91}
In 1848, Firth, Pond & Co. published an attractive series called "The Dark Sett" arranged by S.O. Dyer. Dance instructions accompany this set. "Zip Coon," for example, bids:
Right & left, Set to your partner, Turn your partner, Ladies chain, Half promenade, Half Right & Left to your places. The other four dancers do the same.{92}

Even though widely accepted, "Negro" songs rubbed against politeness and genteel conventions. One owner of a revised version of "Coal Black Rose" (Boston: D.J. Johnston 184?) felt compelled to substitute "Cuffee handled me rough" for "Cuffee too d-n tough," although he let "d-n nigger Cuff" of the previous stanza be. This new version, (a violent one) of "Coal Black Rose" shows the tenor of the city. The ethic of ungentility also emanated from other sources. As Hans Nathan avers, early minstrel tunes came from the West and upper South, the "backwoods." Specifically, many came from the Anglo-Afro jig and reel tradition of the old-time breakdowns.{93} As such, they carried an energetic, ribald spirit, the spirit of "Forked Deer," and "No Balls at All."

NOTES

{1} Daniel D. Emmett, letter to New York Clipper April 6, 1872 reprinted in Hans Nathan, Dan Emmett and the Rise of Early Negro Minstrelsy (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 286-87.

{2} ibid. Nathan, 265.

{3} ibid. Appendix 275-280. This lists Minstrel Troupes chronologically 1855-1890, citing the city of the troupe's first appearance. Barbara Buchman "Dance in Denver's Pioneer Theater" Ph.D. dissertation, 105-112. Frank Costellow Davidson "The Rise, Development, Decline and Influence of the American Minstrel Show" Ph.D. dissertation New York University, 1952. 87-89, 97-102.

{4} Charles Hamm, Yesterdays: Popular Song in America (New York: W.W. Norton, 1979), 126.

{5} Davidson, 90.

{6} Hans Nathan, Dan Emmett and the Rise of Early Negro Minstrelsy (Norman: Oklahoma University Press, 1962), 143,146-147. Alvin F. Harlow Old Bowery Days: The Chronicles of a Famous Street (New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1933), 260-261. Toll, 51-52.Hamm 130.

{7} Russell Sanjek, American Popular Music and its Business: The First Four Hundred Years Volume II From 1790 to 1909, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 172-174. Nathan, 143-146. Hamm, 130.

{8} Toll, 20-21.

{9} Davidson, 39. Sanjek, 132.

{10} Alexander Saxton, "Blackface Minstrelsy and Jacksonian Ideology" American Quarterly 27(1975):3-28, 4, 23, 26. Davidson, 40.

{11} Nicholas E. Tawa, Music for the Millions: Antebellum Democratic Attitudes and the Birth of American Popular Music (New York: Pendragon Press, 1984), vii-ix, 24-25.

{12} Mark Twain, The Autobiography of Mark Twain ed. Charles Neider (New York: Washington Square Press, 1961), 64.

{13} Gyanendra Pandey, "In Defense of the Fragment: Writing About Hindu-Muslim Riots in India Today," Representations 37(Winter 1992):27-

55. 33, 50. Pandey advances a point worth accenting; that no chance stands to create an accurate account of episodes surrounded by a high degree of mass amnesia by offsetting a handful of biased accounts.

{14} Saxton, 23, 26-28.

{15} George Pullen Jackson, White and Negro Spirituals: Their Life Span and Kinship (New York: J.J. Augustin, 1943), 294. Jackson shows, perhaps, an apt example of persisting blackface minstrel stereotypes as he conflates Africa with Ethiopia in "Farewell to Africa." Yet, Negro minstrelsy reflected and projected stereotypes, or rather archetypes. Consider, for example, the image of Ethiopia in the Africanist perspective of Freedom's Journal, and the symbolic importance of the Ethiopian church for Christian Africa.

{16} For a brief depiction of early 19th-century Belfast see Patrick O'Farrell England and Ireland since 1800 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975) 165-8.

{17} I thank Lewis Sielgelbaum for lending me this elegant witticism.

{18} Mikhail Bakhtin, Rabelais and His World translated by Helene Iswolsky. (Cambridge : Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1968), Chapter 1, 80.

{19} Walter Stephens, Giants in Those Days (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989. In Chapter one, Stephens refutes the view of Gargantua as an ancient folk hero, but also sketches its historiographic genesis. He, like Jerome Schwartz in Irony and Ideology in Rabelais: Structures of Subversion, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), abrogates the Carnival interpretation of Rabelais projected by Mikhail Bakhtin.

{20} Carlo Ginzburg, The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller translated by John and Anne Tedeschi, (New York: Penguin Books, 1980), 28-29, 41-51. Roger Chartier, "Texts, Printing, Readings" in The New Cultural History ed. Lynn Hunt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 154-175.

{21} Samuel Kinser, Rabelais's Carnival: Text, Context, Metatext. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 64.

{22} Carlo Ginzburg, The Cheese and the Worms depicts the fascination of Domenico Scandella with people of other lands and cultures. Mikhail Bakhtin, Rabelais and His World trans. by Helene Iswolsky (Massachusetts

Institute of Technology Press, 1968), 345-348.

{23} Bahktin, 18, 22, 23, 37.

{24} Voyage to Parnassus (Numantia a Tragedy) (Commerce of Algiers) translated from the Spanish by Gordon Wolloughby James Gyll London: Alex, Murry & Son, 1870.

{25} Francois Rabelais, The Five Books of Gargantua and Pantagruel trans. by Jacques Le Clercq (New York: Modern Library, 1936), 6. Domenico Scandella (Menocchio) and Francois Rabelais use similar, earthy, grotesque images. For examples of the uses of a cheese, see the penultimate paragraph in "The Author's Prologue" of the First Book of Gargantua and Cheese and Worms 54-56.

{26} Nathan, 20-23.

{27} Bakhtin 275. Attila Farkas, conversation.

{28} Michael D. Bristol, "Carnival and the Institutions of Theater in Elizabethan England" ELH 50:637-654 (Winter) 1983. Bristol's thesis flat out contradicts Bakhtin's idea of Carnival [Bakhtin, 7 &c.]. see also, Michael D.Bristol, Carnival and Theater: Plebeian Culture and the Structure of Authority in Renaissance England (New York: Methuen, 1985).

{29} Wilson "Is This a Holiday" ELH 54:31-44 (Spring) 1987. 43. Wilson gives examples of theater disturbances essentially like those in the early United States. The principle of misrule, of course, extends beyond rock throwing. Terry Castle, Masquerade and Civilization: The Carnivalesque in Eighteenth-Century English Culture and Fiction, (London: Methuen, 1986).

{30} Bristol, "Carnival and the Institutions of Theater in Elizabethan England" 651.

{31} Bristol, 651-652.

{32} Castle, 41.

{33} Anthony Gerard Barthelemy, Black Face Maligned Race: The Representation of Black in English Drama from Shakespeare to Southerne (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987), 20. fn. 5 According to Hall, the Lady mary, sister of Henry VIII and later Queen of France, was one of six ladies who, in 1510, "seemed to be a nigrost or black Mores" (Hall, Henry VIII, I, 17).

{34} Barthelemy, 23-25.

{35} Barthelemy, 159-163.

{36} Barthelemy, 150.

{37} Laurence Hutton, "The Negro on the Stage" Harper's New Monthly Magazine 79:(469—13)131-145. 132.

{38} Harry Birdoff, The World's Greatest Hit (New York: S. F. Vanni, 1947), 127. cited in Molly N. Ramshaw "Jump, Jim Crow! A Biographical Sketch of Thomas D. Rice (1808-1860), Theatre Annual 17:36-47 (1960), 37.

{39} Ramshaw, 37. Nathan, 34.

{40} William J. Mahar, "'Backside Albany' and Early Blackface Minstrelsy: A Contextual Study of America's First Blackface Song" American Music 6:1-27 (Spring) 1988.

{41} Washington's title as "Massa" gives an insight into the condition of patriotic culture in the early national period.

{42} see Mahar "'Backside Albany' and Early Blackface Minstrelsy: A Contextual Study of America's First Blackface Song"

{43} Mahar, ibid. 11. "Black English in Early Blackface Minstrelsy: A New Interpretation of the Sources of Minstrel Show Dialect" American Quarterly 37:260-285.

{44} Hutton, 139, 141.

{45} ". . .—a copper colored gentleman, who gathered many a picayune by singing "Picayune Butler is Going Away," accompanying himself on his four stringed banjo" Charles H. Day, Fun in Black; or Sketches of Minstrel Life, with the Origin of Minstrelsy, by Colonel T. Allston Brown. . . (New York: Robert M. DeWitt, 1874), 5-7.

{46} Ramshaw, 38.

{47} Crow is a fairly common surname.

{48} Ramshaw, 39. On an aside, Ramshaw, it appears, takes a lot of her account (sometimes verbatim) from George Odell, Annals of the New York

Stage (see appendix).

{49} Ramshaw, 40. Hamm, Yesterdays reprints most of Nevin's story 118-121.

{50} Ramshaw, 43. This sentence for example: "By the summer of 1833, Thomas S. Hamblin, manager of the Bowery, had a double gold mine, with Mazeppa, one of that theatre's typical "blood and thunder" melodramas, supplemented by Rice's Oh! Hush! or, the Virginny Cupids. On the Bowery gals, see Christine Stansell, City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789-1860, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 89-101.

{51} Gary Engle This Grotesque Essence: Plays from the American Minstrel Stage (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978), 1-12.

{52} William Henry Lane is absented because this "crowd" refers to the white contributors to blackface minstrelsy. For a good account of Lynch see Ralph Keeler "Three Years a Negro Minstrel" Atlantic Monthly (July, 1869), 71-85. Keeler, who Hutton reports disappeared in Cuba in 1873, includes a telling account of a black, Ephraim, who began following Keeler's troupe in Marshall, Michigan as a porter. Keeler makes no reference of Ephraim in regards to the show outside of its motif's presence when he introduces him as ". . .one of the most comical specimens of the negro species." 77-78.

{53} Nathan, 140. In the spring of 1844, Pelham led the Virginia Minstrels back together without Whitlock. Sweeny took his place. When Emmett came to join them in Liverpool from nearby Bolton, he gave up his title as "Leader of the Virginia Minstrels" to Sweeny. Robert B. Winans "The Folk, the Stage, and the Five-String Banjo in the Nineteenth Century" Journal of American Folklore 89:407-437 (October-December) 1976, 417-418.

{54} Nathan, 113-114.

{55} Nathan, 151. The New York Clipper (April 13, 1878).

{56} Mr. Clark's nickname suggests an African American birthright. I have not yet established the customs governing the U.S. Army in this location. From Massachusetts to Pennsylvania, blacks did play a prominent role in Military bands. Dena Epstein, Sinful Tunes and Spirituals: Black Folk Music to the Civil War (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977.) Chapter 8 Additional Sources 5.

William J. Brown, born in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1814, tried to organize a band among his friends during his teens, modelling his plans on the "colored band, led by Henry [Frank/] Johnson," visiting Providence from Philadelphia (Life pp. 54-81). A writer in 1834 commented, "They have formed many superior bands, and are much patronized for their skill in our larger cities" (Baldwin, Observations, p. 19). And a music journal reminisced in 1883, "Forty years ago nearly every regimental band in New York was composed of black musicians" (American Art Journal 39 [May 19, 1883]: 80). Citations: Ebeneezer Baldwin, Observations on the Physical, Intellectual; William J. Brown, The Life of William J. Brown of Providence R.I. . . .

{57} Nathan, 109. Nathan draws from Charles T. White "Old Time Minstrels" The World (New York, June 23, 1889) in Charles C. Moreau, Negro Minstrelsy in New York 1891, Harvard Theatre Collection

{58} Nathan, 113

{59} Nathan, 118. fn.24 The New York Herald (February 6-11, 1843).

{60} Nathan, 158.

{61} Nathan, 123-134.

{62} Nathan, 137. Homberg and Schneider also comment on this flyer. An analogous piece title "Amalgamation Waltz" (undated) is found the Starr Collection of sheet music in the Josiah Lilly Library at Indiana University, Bloomington. (.S8 II Afro-Americans pre-1863) folder marked "collections."

{63} Nathan, 120 fn. 30. Playbills of Brinley Hall (Worcester, Mass. 20, 21, 22, 1842), Harvard Theatre Collection. This is a reasonably accurate list of the occasions of during which secular music played a prominent role.

{64} Nathan 119-120. Without proof, I have suspicions that "Uncle Gabriel or a Chapter on Tails" is the widely collected Afro-American folk song, "Tails" Thomas Talley, 5 Dorothy Scarborough, "Boil, Dem Cabbage Down" 168-169.

{65} Mahar, "Backside Albany," Nathan, 49.

{66} Some People (as a Glass might say) lean toward of reductive view of ethnic background. O'Neill, for example, in Traditional Music of Ireland includes "Turkey in the Straw" on the grounds that a well-known Irish-

American, Dan D. Emmett performed it in the last century. Emmett, whose grandfather came from Ireland around 1710, was, as the third generation, a "salad of racial genes," Irish, Dutch, and "Indian," ostensibly Iroquois. H. Ogden Wintermute Daniel Decatur Emmett (Heer Printing, Columbus, 1955) 14-31. My personal favorite offhand claim for the Irish background of the "Negro" songs appears in Charles Hamm's "Recent Research in American Music" in the International Musicological Society Report of 1977. Introducing the entrance of the first wave of popular songs in the United States, Hamm writes: "These were the minstrel songs, which stylistically, of course, (we now know), drew mostly on Irish rather than black music." 381.

{67} Lewis W. Paine, Six Years in a Georgia Prison (New York, 1851) 177-186; in Eileen Southern Readings in Black American Music (New York: W.W. Norton, 1971), 88-92, 91.

{68} Southern, Readings "The Slave Narrative Collection" 119.

{69} Bruce Jackson, The Negro and His Folklore in Nineteenth-Century Periodicals (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1967), 28; J. Kinnard, Jr. "Who Are Our National Poets?" (1845), 37-38; Y.S. Nathanson, "Negro Minstrelsy, Ancient and Modern" (1855).

{70} also, Saxton, 25.

{71} Francis Hodge, Yankee Theatre: The Image of America on the Stage, 1825-1850 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964), 23-27. Toll, 10-13. see also Harlow.

{72} Hodge, 18.

{73} Toll, 11. (David Grimstead, American Melodrama, 1800-1850, 65).

{74} Sean Wilentz, Chants Democratic: New York City & the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850 (New York: Oxford University press, 1984), 265, 358-359. Dennison, 513-514. Harlow, 290-291. Toll. 16-17.

{75} I use this term reluctantly because I can find no better phrase to capture what I mean; I specifically do not intend this to mean working or lower class; several writers on the minstrels show, Wilentz, Lott, Toll, Lumers—overemphasize the class basis of the minstrel show.

{76} Nathan 115, see Nathan on Virginia Minstrels in London, and Mahar, "Backside Albany" on African Americans in national ideology

{77} Eric Lott, "'The Seeming Counterfeit' : Racial Politics and Early Blackface Minstrelsy," American Quarterly 43:(2):223-254, 1991, 236. H. Bruce Franklin The Victim As Criminal and Artist: Literature from the American Prison (New York: Oxford University press, 1978), 73-98. Jackson, 23. "Black Musicians and Early Ethiopian Minstrelsy" Black Perspective in Music 3:(1)77-99, 1975, 83.

{78} Alexander Saxton, "Blackface Minstrelsy and Jacksonian Ideology" American Quarterly 27: 7-28, 1975, 7; from Christy's Plantation Melodies No. 4 (Philadelphia: Fisher, 1854), pp. v-vii. The preface continues to give a more realistic account, that Christy's musical genius—the minstrels—had musical talents which enabled them to harmonize the original Negro solos.

{79} Y.S. Nathanson, "Negro Minstrelsy, Ancient and Modern," "Songs of the Blacks" from Dwight's Journal of Music 9:7(Boston, November 15, 1856), 51-52. Irving Sablosky, What They Heard: Music in America, 1852-1881 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986), "Letter from a Teacher at the South" Dwight's Journal of Music February 26, 1853, 260-262.

{80} Lott, 224.

{81} C. Everest, "Roll, Jordan Roll;" "This is one of the oldest Ethiopian Melodies and is now sung by the Contrabands at Port Royal, South Carolina" (Philadelphia: Lee & Walker, 1864). The arrangement of the tune matches "Roll, Jordan, Roll" (1867) in Slave Songs rather than McKim's which puts the chorus first. Its verses also appear to be confections.

{82} John Lovell Jr. Black Song: The Forge and the Flame (New York: MacMillan, 1972), 401. Epstein, Sinful Tunes and Spirituals 340.

{83} Lovell, 403.

{84} Lovell, 412-413.

{85} ibid.

{86} The Most Popular Plantation Songs (New York: Hinds, Hayden & Eldredge, 1911).

{87} J. Rosamond Johnson, Rolling Along in Song: A Chronological Survey of American Negro Music (New York: Viking Press, 1937).

ACT II

"I heard it through the Grapevine"

In a great measure, Nathan enables and necessitates a reinterpretation of the music of "Ethiopian" minstrelsy. In 1962, University of Oklahoma Press published Nathan's Dan Emmett and the Rise of Early Negro Minstrelsy. Michigan State University apocrypha posits a large portion of the book's research emerged from a stint at the Institute for Advanced Studies in 1952-53.{94} At least six of its chapters first appeared in music, folklore and history journals. The study stemmed from Nathan's curiosity of his adopted country, his interest to know "what might be called 'American.'" It became his exploration of Americana and a confessed naive stumble outside of the serious fields of ethno-musicology and musicology. The harvest, his statement to Americana, was as cocksure as the man. In Dan Emmett and Negro minstrelsy, Nathan found a characteristicly American art and artist; he found a grotesque union of Brueghel and Mickey Mouse performed by a profane man, and he loudly applauded the rascal.{95}

Nathan's book offers a puzzle. Of two minds, one condemns Dan Emmett as the last place for unwary readers to look for an accurate impression of blackface minstrelsy.{96} The other recommends it as the only text which conveys a sense of the art. As Nathan intended, the book abides as a treasury of Americana. The one hundred and nineteen musical examples, the anthology of two hundred pages of songs, sermons and hymns, and the illustrations justify its creation. Dan Emmett is a type of book whose value is taken not just by reading the book, but by playing with its pieces.

The major liability of Nathan's work lies in his acute contempt of the African American mind, and his tangled acclimation to America's race

problem. Nathan scanned a wide polar range in his attitude toward blacks. In large portions of his writing, he extends liberal, sympathetic views toward African Americans, and frequently a judicious, perspicacious appraisal of racism. Alternately, Nathan advances views which appear blatantly and frighteningly racist.{97} Readers of Dan Emmett encounter:

> In Emmett's second and third songs written for the Bryants, parody of Negro characteristics became more and more tinged with political overtones. In "Wide Awake" or "Dar's a Darkey in de Tent," performed in early February 1859, the Negro is described as a worthless, troublesome item which the white man could dispose of at his leisure
>
> Cervantes, with his deep insight into human behavior, had made Luys a most convincing Negro slave character—extremely droll, literally burning with a love for music, by no means disdainful of a drink, and not too heroic in the face of danger. The scene in which Luys, perspiring with terror, creeps into his bed and hides under his blanket, clasping his guitar to his bosom, was the result of very astute observation.{98}

A couple of his associates avow Nathan's racial views prompted him to marginalize African Americans.{99} One, Attila Farkas, a political refugee from Hungary, stresses that Nathan requires estimation on his own terms. As a refugee emigre from Nazi Germany, Nathan came from a puzzling past, not to mention one completely alien to the United States' intricate racial politics. Extrapolating from Nathan's book, one senses that besides being a Jew, Nathan neither had a real affinity to Nazi minded politics; yet, neither was he Emma Goldman. Farkas argues Nathan embodied the old school German and European scholar. In this, he essentially means, by upbringing, Nathan was apt to consider everyone and everything not German as inferior, and took for granted the inferiority of primitive people. At the least, Nathan was as brilliant, opinionated and un-American as Farkas, himself, which underscores the portrait emphatically.

Mixing biography and history, Nathan's work does several things; "in addition, and emphatically, it is an anthology." It traces the origins of

Negro characters to 17th and 18th century Britain, to Oroonoko, and a comedic type scouted by Charles Dibdin, and later, by Charles Mathews who performed American characters. It outlines the development of vernacular "Negro" characters under the spur of national impulse. Between these two, Nathan establishes the barbarism and brutality of blackface impersonations of Negroes. In chapter five, Nathan draws out the uses the Negro Minstrel made of black dance traditions; at the outset, Nathan sets his thesis by reiterating, in the motif of the carnival, what most consider the basic impulse of blackface minstrelsy: "With utter disregard for the genteel traditions of the urban stage and to the delight of the populace, he transferred to his art the loud gaiety of a low social stratum."{100}

The chapters continue, unfolding the emergence of the first minstrel band from the entr'actes and circus performances of the 30s. In two chapters he proves the English, Scottish, and Irish roots of early "Ethiopian" music and the roots of jazz, past ragtime and Negro spirituals, to "a few dozen banjo tunes which have the flavor of the plantation." This latter chapter sets out a useful assortment of structural attributes of the "Negro" banjo tunes. In closing chapters, Nathan discusses the relationship between Emmett's walk-arounds and Negro shouts and spirituals, and, in an impressive musicological moment, sketches the genesis of "Dixie."

Additionally the two hundred page catalogue of works from Emmett's career add another full story to the seventeen interpretive chapters.

Nathan refuted a swipe James Lovell Jr. took at him in The Forge and the Flame; since his death, Sam Dennison and Paul Oliver added bites of criticism; but, by and large most people leave Nathan's work undisturbed, and his musicological conclusions unchallenged. Hence, each statement in

books by: Eileen Southern, Robert Toll, Charles Hamm, Sam Dennison, Paul Oliver, and Eric Lott's upcoming book—which posit early minstrel songs were based upon English, Scottish, and particularly, Irish, melodies derive solely from Nathan—except, the most frequently cited match of "Getting Upstairs" with "Sich a Gettin' Upstairs" which Nathan took from "Virginia Dance Tunes" by Winston Wilkinson. Almost universally, these authors use Nathan's musicology to accent the racial travesty of the minstrel show. Irony spills out of this, when seeing plainly all this derives from a man who would not even concede African Americans title to jazz or blues.{101}

The Blackface Mask

In other realms, Nathan touches upon divers shibboleth's developed by later students of "Ethiopian" minstrelsy. He anticipates the emphasis Robert Toll puts upon the refiguration of Afro-American culture in blackface entertainments and the development of a common man's culture in the United States. Erratically, he features the defamation of African Americans by Negro minstrels upon which Sam Dennison builds his analysis of minstrelsy. Moreover, he colors his narrative in the grotesque carnival motif with artistry, unction and understanding. In comparison, Gary Engle's reflections on the spirit in This Grotesque Essence, and Toll's, and Lott's comments amble like little boys' musings.{102}

The discourse on "Ethiopian" minstrelsy, the song annotations, newspaper and journal articles, book chapters, video tape—travels too broadly to center it all relative to Nathan. Dan Emmett also lacks articulation of some standards of minstrelsy's discourse. The function of "Ethiopian" entertainments, as a political and cultural actor stands as one of the more interesting and fully developed aspects of blackface minstrelsy. Constance Rourke wrote of minstrelsy as a masquerade. Its

intent ran not toward the ecstasy of lost identity, but toward a janus-faced identity. Thus, the mask allowed concomitant impugning of high-mindedness and African Americans.{103} In Shadow and Act Ellison describes the main impetus of "Ethiopian" acts as not the authentic enactment of "Africaness" or the denigration of it, but the projection of the white Americans' inner fears and conflicts through the clown's grotesque black mask. Act mixed with ritual; the "Ethiopian" clown became "a key figure in a magic rite by which the white American seeks to resolve the dilemma arising between his democratic beliefs and certain antidemocratic practices. . . ."{104}

In Blacking Up, Toll links this impulse with the "Zip Coon" family of "aristocratic niggers" which prospered for several decades. "Spruce Pink" et. al projected two identities. On one side, they inherited the monstrosity of free Africans at the North who broke caste and advanced financially beyond the lowest common labor. From their father, they inherited the stench of smug, exploitative arrivistes like Arthur and Lewis Tappan.

Citing Toll's work still in dissertation form, Alexander Saxton pulls some threads out of the "Long Tail Blue" in "Blackface Minstrelsy and Jacksonian Ideology."{105} Archetypally based on Mark Twain's recollection of the minstrel show in Hannibal, Saxton figures the appeal of minstrelsy not in its black masquerade, but in its cultural message. Hence, the blackface Broadway Dandies connoted an uncloyed celebration of city life. In full, blackface minstrelsy served as a dialogue on American culture which not only brought urban sensibility to small towns, but which permitted its audiences to feel the contours of, and adjust to their changing society through its various moments of celebration, nostalgia,

ribaldry, and white supremacy.

William J. Mahar's "Black English in Early Blackface Minstrelsy: A New Interpretation of the Sources of Minstrel Show Dialect" appeared in American Quarterly in 1985.{106} The title shows Mahar's major concern lies with a reevaluation of, basically, the authenticity of "Ethiopian" stage dialect. Yet, his essay, demonstrates how the desire to inspect the entire meaning or look for the unobvious in minstrelsy at times obscures its features. Mahar proposes the hypothesis that "Dandy Jim," instead of enacting an African dandy, represented James Henry Hammond, a congressman (1835-1836) and governor (1842-1844) of South Carolina. Such a hypothesis, then, explains why the protagonist in both U.S. versions of "Dandy Jim" dresses "Like Dandy Jim from Caroline."

Mahar's hypothesis speaks provocatively and owns a precedent. Emmett's walk-around "Billy Patterson" (1860) begins "Dar was an old nigg dat got hit wid a brick, O, Billy Patterson, He was'nt knock'd down kaze his head too thick;" As the earlier quotation showed, Nathan, even, recognized Emmett's compositions took a decided turn toward glorifying brutalizing African Americans during these years.{107} Emmett's "Billy Patterson," however, reworks a popular Irish-American story of twenty years before. Nathan found an article titled "Billy Patterson: A Story Of The Broad Street Riot" in the March 25, 1840 issue of Boston's Daily Evening Transcript. It tells of Patrick Mahonie, an Irishman, with a loud mouth and little courage. Mahonie assigned himself his friend, Billy Patterson's protector. After Billy "fell into the hands of a tall fireman. . ." and was roughed up badly, Mahonie sallied forth with the cry "Och, by my eyes, who struck Billy Patterson!"{108}

In essence, Mahar's hypothesis has a precedent and a semantic

justification. His course, however, travels a hazardous road. In light of the use made of Nathan's work, given a few more incentives in the direction Mahar points, the day may not lay far off when a historian writes, "The enactment of the ostentatious, affected "Zip Coon" and "Spruce Pink" characters embodied most often an indictment of leading white men who, in one way or another, offended the sensibilities of the egalitarian theatre crowds."{109}

It marks a prudent gesture, then, to highlight the song sung by Virginia Minstrel Richard Pelham in 1841—"The Free Nigger As Sung By R.W. Pelham." "The Free Nigger. . ." makes its object explicit. It helps to bear in mind, also, the "Zip Coons" and "Spruce Pinks" had multifarious counterparts off the stage. The editors Samuel Cornish and John Brown Russwarm of New York's Freedom's Journal or their agents and yearly subscribers, for example, gave themselves as perfect targets of the racial prejudice and/or class animosity of those so actuated.{110}

Lott recounts this junction in " The Seeming Counterfeit': Racial Politics and Early Blackface Minstrelsy," which presages his book on race, minstrelsy and working-class culture. Working with Oh! Hush!, Lott detects, in the audience's working-men's cross-racial projection to the "African" boot blacks, an acknowledgement white and colored share the proletariat. Lott argues for more complexity; specifically, the allegory retains inflection of the medium. The "African" dandy Sambo Johnson acts less as a figurative punching bag to draw off general class enmity, than he fictionalizes the real; rather than galvanizing working-class antipathy toward the classes of capital, Oh! Hush!, and its audiences, directed that anger specifically toward educated, well off Africans. The fictions celebrated genuine impulses. The terror provoked by a feared inability to

enforce caste across class fed the rumors of well-off Africans' aggressive wooing of white women which flew about just prior the New York riots of 1834. The riots and Oh! Hush!, then, share an alignment: Ritual invectives of Lewis Tappan's world, through mockeries of "African" swells operate in an almost identical current as the burning of African churches and schools.{111}

Slavery

Historiographically, slavery and the Slavery Question figure prominently in calculating the contours of "Ethiopian" minstrelsy. Nathan notices the spur the politics of slavery gave Emmett's walk-arounds for Bryant's Minstrels. Toll expands the affinity to a assertion that the prominence of the peculiar institution and the acrimony it engendered accounts for the popularity of blackface minstrelsy. Cut as laughable caricatures the Tuckahoe "Africans" acted a delightful and eclectic drama which supplemented whites' at the North thinking on slavery. "Ethiopian" acts allowed the audiences to walk away contentedly laughing about the folks whose fate was threatening to rend the nation in two. Toll concludes, "It was no accident that the incredible popularity of minstrelsy coincided with public concern about slavery and the proper position of Negroes in America.{112}"

In Scandalize My Name Sam Dennison enlarges on Toll's viewpoint. He enlarges it to a portrait in which the Euro-Americans of the free states seek refuge in "Negro" minstrelsy as respite from the overburdening moral problem of slavery. The conflict inspired whites to create caricatures of slaves and their music, dance and humor—with no grounding in the realities of slavery or the plantation—in their search for national

identity; while the conflict's proliferation simultaneously excluded almost all other character types from the stage. At its root, minstrelsy arose as an attempt to escape the moral conflict slavery inflicted. "Audiences," he writes, "were primed for almost anything except realism with regard to slavery which imposed a heavy burden of guilt in return for free labor."{113}

While Dennison unquestionably buys his historical generalizations and inaccuracies by the bushel, he at least attempts a perspective sorely lacking within "Ethiopian" minstrelsy's interpretive literature. His overarching arguments augment Toll's articulation of minstrelsy's plantation mythology. Unanimously, Dennison, Toll, Saxton and others ascertain minstrelsy as a potent advocate of the "Southern Way," by which I mean, a world in which Africans live fully, happily, and productively on farms and plantations as slaves with "massa" and "missus," who spoil and cherish their "niggers." Marlon Rigg's video production, Ethnic Notions, elaborates upon Dennison's and Toll's conclusions. It posits in the antebellum United States white Americans needed two beliefs: They needed to believe slavery benefited Africans; so they created the happy "Jim Crow" plantation "darky"; and they saw that he was good. In addition, they needed to believe Africans within their social orbit could never be like, and were inherently inferior to them; so, they created the foppish "Zip Coon" dandy; and they saw he was good. On the seventh day, according to James Lovell, they went to church and paid lip service to religion in their own narrow, hypocritical and unspiritual way.{114}

Riggs and Dennison fittingly sketch the continuity of the stereotypical images of Africans in American culture. The "Sambo," "Wirginny Wolf," "Mammy" "Yaller Gal," and "Pickininny" conventions tendered use beyond

slavery and the plantation because they laid basic with racism. The perspective which lies implicit, but lacks in Scandalize My Name and Ethnic Notions falls on the verity that the archetypal caricatures inflected a mixture of fiction and reality. The images of "Ethiopian" minstrelsy held tremendous leverage against the conception of Africans in the United States and around the world because, and a necessity remains to retain in mind, these images grew from and moved organically with their native culture. The fictions of "Ethiopian" minstrelsy blended ineluctably with Othello, Cervantes' "El Celoso Estremeno," Thomas Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, Robert Kennedy's Swallow Barn, and Joel Chandler Harris' Uncle Remus. Moreover, the fictions existed as lived stereotypes, not merely as representations.

Slavery, without a doubt, spawned "Ethiopian" minstrelsy; albeit, its importance to minstrelsy's popularity rests hazy. In regards to its genesis, from "Sambo's Address to His Bred'ren," to the dynamic "Jim Crow," to "Old Black Joe," "Ethiopian" minstrelsy seems like Americans' deliberation upon the problem of Africans and blackness which the founders of the republic left hanging. If at the root blackface minstrelsy worked as a carnivalesque debate on the place of Africans in America, its day to day career ran a different track. The basic symbiosis between the unique art and the peculiar institution lay dormant until inflamed by a stimulus. Such stimuli appeared, for example, in the wide press coverage of the periodically erupting debates and conflicts over slavery. Concerned with slavery or not, most people were aware of the issues and debates. In the theatres, these crowds must have related to the issues through the "Negroes" on the stage.

A handful of loose ends trouble the vital connection Toll, Dennison, and

Riggs draw between minstrelsy and slavery. Toll asserts that minstrelsy introduced an eclectic host of "Negro" characters and expressed divers sentiments toward Africans until the mid 50s. At this time, with the brewing sectional storm, the "Negroes" became stripped down to three or four innocuous darky types happy at home on the plantation.{115}

Impressions selected from a limited stock of evidence challenge Toll's conclusions. Nathan speaks of a general trend in "Ethiopian" entertainments away from Negro acts during the 50s.{116} Beginning with its inception, even, the minstrel show fell out of its tentative "Negro" style. As with any fashion, the dominant tastes of the majority culture shaped "Negro" minstrelsy to its liking.

By 1860, Emmett marked an anomaly, both in his prominence relative his penchant for crude satires of Africans, and his continued use of the "Negro" song genre. His Walk 'Rounds' performance setting embodies anything but an uncloyed revelry in "Ethiopianism." Touting its front seats reserved for ladies and bearing a notice of a changed curtain time, the Bryant's playbill for the evening of April 4, 1859 on which "Dixie" first appeared advertises: Part First containing eight musical selections which appear to be Irish and Anglo-European; Part Second presenting varieties including a burlesque pas seul, "Padden Mac Fadden" by the Mac Dill Darrolls, a violin solo, tambourine duet, and a favorite ballad, "We Come From the Hills," followed by a "Flutina Solo" and a "Burlesque Italian Opera;" Part Third, subtitled "Plantation" offers a "Local Banjo Solo," "The Surprise Party," and a "Wooden Shoe Dance" whereupon appears the "Plantation Song and Dance Dixie's Land;" while the whole of the performance aimed to conclude with " Our American Cousin' Bill" performed without any alterations from Laura Keene's Theatre.{117} In all,

the program marks a colossal restyling since Emmett performed with the Virginia Minstrels at Boston's Masonic Temple in March, 1843. The changes hint that the cliché affable "Negroes" Toll speaks of less reflect the influence of the Slavery debate, than the basic impulse of the shows. The "Ethiopian Opera" was, after all, a piece of popular culture, inhabiting the same house as Chinese food and Finnish saunas, and, by virtue, holding a marked impetus toward abbreviation and exaggeration.

A handful of songsters affirm and elaborate the argument against, specifically, Toll's conception of minstrelsy's reaction to slavery. Two songsters of 1857, Bryant's Essence of Old Virginny and Buckely's Ethiopian Melodies (No. 4) show a substantial use of skin color and Southern motifs. "De Nigger Legislator" in Buckley's, though primarily mockery, refutes the notion that minstrelsy simplified "Southern Negroes" to happy darkies on the plantation.

De best ob all de joke would be
For nigger stroke his chin
An' make de white man work all day
To 'tone for all dere sin
An' if dey din't slave an' work
As dey make de niggers now
Oh! wollop dem wid long tail whip
An' at 'em kick up row.{118}

In contrast to the songsters of 1857, Bryant's Songs From Dixie's Land (1861) contains considerably fewer "Plantation" songs. The A-I index shows only two recognizably "Negro" songs. Of these, "Happy Land of Canaan" by William Wray, has significant traits of African/Afro-American music, and "Gum-Tree Canoe" was a broadly known sentimental melody at least named after an African American innovation.{119} As well, the "Negro" figures in the songs "The Broadway Dandy Swell" and "Next Election Day" introduce weak caricatures. Besides being ". . .the grit, the go, the cheese"

the only bad features of "Count Jerolimus Mars Napo'eou Sinclair Brown" are his glued on mustaches and lethal effect on "darky" or "yaller" girls.

At the onset of the Civil War, minstrel troupes dropped "Plantation" and other "Negro" songs like hot potatoes. Rather than an interlude, as Toll implies, the war put a final nail in the coffin of the "Ethiopian" craze launched by T.D. Rice and boxed and rekindled by the Virginia Minstrels. The Clement collection of sheet music, which arranges chronologically, shows a dramatic decline of "Plantation Songs" in minstrelsy between 1861-1867 accompanied by a flourishing entrance of dying, parting, or returning soldier ballads, an enlargement of "Mothers'" presence, and a spate of patriotic songs including the "Ethiopian Song & Chorus," "Who Says the Darkies Wont Fight" (1861) performed by A.J. Talbott of Wood's Minstrels and the anti-Dixie "The Other Side of Dixie" (1861) performed by Bryant's Minstrels. The Other Side of Dixie" advocates letting "old massa pick and hoe the cotton," while "Contraband o' war oh! yes! fight away, T'other side o' Dixie for the Union!" Speaking from a marked Democratic viewpoint, "Who Says the Darkies Wont Fight" opens,{120}

Some white folks have been heard to say
De niggers would not fight
But I guess dat dey look at it now
quite in another light:
Hush up your mouf you "Copperheads"
dont take dat for a plea:
To keep us from de battle field
where all ob you should be.{121}

The symbiosis of slavery's political controversy and the rise of stock plantation stereotypes Toll claims falls short of plausibility by cause and by degree. The tendency of popular entertainments toward abbreviation and stagnation must needs be regarded. Moreover, Bryants' songsters of 1857 and 1861 indicate that a diversity of characters

remained in "Negro" minstrelsy through the fifties, and that, moreover, stereotype characters, such as the Swell, evolved as well. Finally, the rapid decline of minstrel material at the outset of the War suggests, perhaps, that the potency of the minstrel show as a palliative against preoccupation with the fate of slavery lacked effectiveness.

A larger concern puzzles minstrelsy's ties with slavery. Minstrelsy won intercontinental fame. Blooming in the United States, "Ethiopian" transplants thrived in Britain, Australia, India, and South Africa. The worldwide popularity of minstrelsy mutes the aegis of slavery, in favor of an accent upon an international gambit of white supremacy. "Christy's" as Britain called them, made a big hit there. T.D. Rice brought "Jim Crow" to London in 1836. At two minor popular theatres, the Surrey and Adelphi, he performed in his "Ethiopian" burlettas. As yet, the "Jim Crow" pas seul and tune attracted the most attention. J.S. Bratton terms its effect in Britain "overwhelming." The tune travelled everywhere; hats gained its name; an Edinburgh shop printed a parody; Bratton cites a Geordie version of it.{122}

In Britain, the impulse toward "Ethiopian" performances which surfaced in the United States as a toast to republican manhood through the "Negro," an abusable icon, emerged as a prided interest and concern for blacks emanating from a national anti-slavery ethic.
Thus, the patriotic "American brag," of the first "Jim Crow" edition,

De great Nullification,
  And fuss in de South, (34)
Is now before Congress,
  To be tried by word ob mouth

Should dey get to fighting, (37)
  Perhaps de blacks will rise,
For deir wish for freedom,
  Is shining in deir eyes,

And if de blacks should get free,
  I guess dey'll fee some bigger (38)
An I shall concider it,
  A bold stroke for de niggar

I'm for freedom
  An for Union altogether,
Aldough I'm a black man, (39)
  De white is calld my brodder{123}

translates in the same spirit as Rice's addenda to "Jim Crow" for the English setting,

Den I jump aboard de big ship,
And cum across de sea,
And landed in ole England,
Where de nigger be free.{124}

Like the beggars who dyed their skin and stood pad as Africans as a pecuniary ruse, "Ethiopian" delineators in England met opprobrium if exposed.{125} Resembling the curiosity of Moors projected in 18th-century masquerades, theatre audiences warmly welcomed African performers from the United States, as in the case of Ira Aldridge, and William H. Lane. The Virginia Minstrels benefitted from this sentiment during their stay in London. The London Times introduced their second week at the Adelphi by reminding readers the gentlemen were "the only representatives of the Negro that have appeared in this country. . . ." When the Ethiopian Serenaders began an English tour in 1846, they met a chorus of accusations charging them with impersonating Negroes.{126}

In time, Britain evolved its own traditions of blackface theatre as well adjusted to its audiences as the Americans'. Bratton avers this evolution ascertains, its members—the customs of English music hall and a friendly

curiosity of blacks—made the basis of the "Ethiopian Opera" in Britain, rather than an overweening interest in America. He says, "Mackney, singing about Rifle Volunteers, crinolines, taxes, and Darwin, and jumping like Jim Crow, on the platform of the Mechanics' Hall in Birmingham, is a strangely compounded, but I would suggest, a peculiarly English figure."{127}

Around the years of "Jim Crow's" first jump at the Royal Victoria, Australians made institutions of minstrelsy's "Ethiopian" caricatures and democratic ungentility. In 1836, a published account of a fight among Aboriginals identified an Aboriginal woman as "Old Mammy." In Arabin, an Aboriginal character, Warren Warren sang:

Merijig me sing,
When the birds are on de wing,
And me laugh at him whitefellow too—
Him preach and him pray
And him go de debil way
While him black fellow hunt kangaroo.{128}

As "Jim Crow" and the Christy's did in Britain, blackface music and images suffused Australian culture; proportionately contributing more, perhaps, to the nascent society. In 1853, John Pettit wrote in a letter to his father of pitching a tent in the Victorian goldfields "by de light ob de moon." Also, during the middle decades, this theatre of misrule became the accepted forum for voicing social discontent. For example, in the 1890s, inmates of insane ward of Parramatta Hospital organized the Mascotte Minstrels whose original skits included "The Doctor Shop."{129}

Richard Waterhouse proposes an admiration and interest in Americans' culture and the country's African slaves kindled Australians' appetite for "Ethiopian" minstrelsy above its white supremacy. For example, unlike many American productions, Australia's "Negro" minstrel versions of Uncle

Tom's Cabin retained all of Stowe's sentimental abolitionism. From the Goldrush to the Depression of the 1890s, Waterhouse argues, the United States served Australia as a political, social and economic model. This package contained a ritual affirmation of Anglo-European manliness, wit, and industry through a parody of black men's laziness, stupidity and wickedness. Unlike imperialist Britain, and the half-slave United States, though, Australia withheld the humanitarian sensibility of the early 19th-century several decades past either. Looking into the 1880s, Waterhouse avers,

The popularity of the Georgia (Minstrels) programmes in the 1870s, the support for the Fisk Jubilee Singers' concerts in the 1880s, and the continued drawing power of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" productions which focussed on the theme of Uncle Tom's Christian stoicism in the face of Legree's unhuman cruelty, indicated that popular sympathy for America's ex-slaves, a real curiosity about their culture, and a continuing equation of slave character and Christian values persisted in the Australian imagination.{130}

Social Character of the "Ethiopian Opera"

The aura of the rabble which surrounds "Ethiopian" minstrelsy leaves a trap in many academic delineations of the art. Men of arts favored the association long before professionally credentialed scholars began supplementing it. Frederick Douglass made the slander as vigorously as anyone in 1848; in his eyes "Ethiopian" minstrels were the "the filthy scum of white society, who have stolen from us a complexion denied to them by nature, in which to make money, and pander to the corrupt taste of their white fellow citizens."{131}

In academic writings, this assumption translates into astute inquiries, friendly analyses, or the most blithely ignorant pigeonholing. In the last category, perhaps atypical in consequence of the article's excessive stupidity, is Robert Lumer's summation: "The Minstrel Show was generally considered to be debased, unrefined, the lower dregs of music indubitably because of its lower-class origins and audience" offered in his artlessly titled "Good ol' Slavery and the Minstrel Show."{132}

Lumer's prattling rings weakly in comparison with the dulcet chants invented by Toll, Wilentz and Lott. Toll unfurls a "common man's culture" grown from a irreconcilable rift in the age of Jackson between "lowbrow" and "highbrow" aesthetic criteria which houses "Ethiopian" minstrelsy. Perry Miller spotlights a foreshadowing conflict in 18th-century Boston, epitomized by the Franklin-Mather quarrel, among "leather apron men" and Puritan ministers. The cultural battle Toll writes of, in part, extends Boston's ministerial controversy. The "leather apron men," the middling craftsmen, stand at the center of the "common man's culture" Toll pictures. Yet, he leaves these households anonymous as he features the atmosphere of a burgeoning working-class culture in New York city along the Bowery. This sub-culture promoted the first urban heroes, the Bowery B'hoy and Gal who had counterparts in the seamstresses and butchers around the low East side.

The image of the Bowery B'hoys, and the Dead Rabbits etc. as the embodiment of a "common man's culture" lingers still though Toll slides among several genres of antebellum minstrelsy in divers locations. Wilentz accentuates this collapsed portrait by equating minstrelsy specifically as a working-men's amusement. He conceives the "Ethiopian" opera as a type of carnival in which working-men ritually indicted and

lampooned their social betters through a grotesque dramatization of acceptable prejudices.{133}

Lott takes this alliance between the working class and "Negro" entertainments for granted. In "The Seeming Counterfeit," he correctly discerns the art contained a basic instability stemming from the opposition between a genuine attraction to Afro-American culture and a necessity to denigrate and control it. The instability of the voices of "Ethiopian" opera mirrored a multiplicity of attitudes toward Africans and slavery within the working class; the tangled message conveyed in the "Ethiopian" medium vocalized existing divisions among working men, epitomized in the irreconcilability of New York's 1834 anti-black/anti-abolitionist nativist riots to the Daily Sentinel's singular published defense of the Nat Turner insurrection.{134}

Lott's search for working-class sensibility in a refraction of minstrelsy's "distorted and fantastic figurations of the racial attitudes and ideologies in antebellum culture" carries an implicit prejudice. It parallels possible future investigations of the working class in analyses of adult entertainment. Besides extending a stereotypical conception, and tacitly exculpating other social strata, it provides a poor means to reach working class identity. The juxtaposition he sets with minstrelsy and abolitionism intrigues. However, the prime motive of his search martials to capture working class sensibility not politics. In regards to the material he weaves around minstrelsy, a fuller look atworking-men's or working class sexual culture in the early 19th-century behooves his ambitions better.

The "Ethiopian" acts unfolded outside of, antithetical to, and, sometimes, competitive with elite and genteel convention. For this, they

incurred a strong inflection of the backwoods, and the working and lower classes. This alignment came through other means than strictly the class of the performers and audiences. Saxton draws a composite portrait of early "African" entertainers from a sample of forty-three men born before 1838. Only five had childhood roots anywhere south of the Mason-Dixon including Baltimore; seven were born in Europe (five English, one Irish and French); of the remaining thirty-one born at the North, only five were born in New England. Eleven major cities mark the birth places of twenty-four, New York and Brooklyn accounting for nine, and Philadelphia for six.

This composite portrait compliments sketches from the lives of E.P. Christy, Emmett, Stephen Foster and T.D. Rice. All came from the North, and only Emmett grew up in a small town. Rice's family background is unknown; of Christy, Emmett, and Foster, all came from Protestant middle-class American families. Similar to vagabond waifs like Barnum, Lynch and Ralph Keeler, Christy, Emmett and Foster landed in "Ethiopian" delineation part and parcel of a rebellion against the straight ways of the Protestant middle class. Christy and Emmett both ran off with the circus, and Foster tagged after the minstrel shows from his youth. On the whole, then, the creators of "Ethiopian" minstrelsy were Americans born at the urban North who escaped from the straight life into the bohemian atmosphere of the theater and circus; and among whom, moreover, often rested a distinct fascination with African American culture.{135}

The four Virginia Minstrels brought the material for their show from the travelling circuses of the West and South. Most innovation in "Ethiopian" entertainments followed a similar pattern. The African American material E.P. Christy and others sometimes introduced to the shows, numerous dances, and the stump sermon came along these routes.

By contrast, the Bowery culture Toll and Lott cast as the forge of "Ethiopian Opera" exerted pulls in the opposite direction. The Bowery and Broadway theaters' influence on minstrelsy appeared, mostly, in the introduction of "Ethiopian" of Shakespeare, whose plays comprised the main fare of almost every theatre in the city, and burlesques of Italian opera.{136}

Despite Mechanics' Hall, where Christy housed his "Ethiopian Opera," working-class theatre of the antebellum existed more in cultural style than in institutions. The listing of "Amusements" in the New York Daily Times of September 22, 1851, for example, suggests little stratification among theatres by cost.

Niblo's Garden: Kim-Ka (Chinese Pantomime) Raoul, or the Magic Star ad. $.50 Private Boxes $5.00
Astor Place Opera House: "Grand Soirees Magique" ad. $.50
Broadway Theatre: Othello and Left in a Cab ad. Gallery $ .12 1/2, 3rd Tier .25, Paraquet .50, Private Boxes $3.00 and $6.00
Burton's Theatre: A Winter's Tale, The Rough Diamonds ad. Second Tier $.25, Paraquet .50, Orchestra $.75 P.B. $5.00
Brougham's Lyceum MacBeth, Miss Malvina (pas seul) Mr. Fletcher & Miss M. Tayleure (pas deux) $.25, $.50, Orchestra $1.00, P.B. $3.00
Bowery Theatre: Rob Roy, Ran the Riever Pit $.12 1/2, P.B. $.25, Orchestra Box $.50
Christy's Opera House: Mechanics' Hall No. 472 Broadway above Grand St. Open every night, Saturday afternoon shows discontinued $.25 [{137}]

In the West and South, the same ecumenical spirit prevailed. T.D. Rice won his fame first on the Western circuit—by apocrypha, specifically Louisville whose audiences in 1844 were described as "a sort of social exchange—a compendium of character and classes." This compendium ranged from the planters to plantation slaves. In Southern theatres, riverboatmen and mechanics substituted noisy Bowery boys and boot dangling shopkeepers. Like their counterparts, these gentlemen, also, now

and then fell into dispute with theatre managers. On separate occasions managers Noah Ludlow and James H. Caldwell took to the press to refute charges of "high brow" pretensions between 1834 and 1836.{138} In all the theatres except Charleston, blacks attended as accepted practice. Typically, managers reserved a section in the third tier. Free black, William Johnson of Natchez, also a music lover, patronized the theatre and allowed the same privilege to his slaves and apprentices.{139}

If neither the urban or national working classes fitfully incarnate the social character of the "Ethiopian Opera," what was its orientation? Twain describes "worldlings" as the first audiences of the minstrel show in Hannibal. Twain's "worldlings" signified those citizens of Hannibal, including himself, who advocated the damnation of their souls. Worldly Huck Finn in contrast to Tom Sawyer lends a cast of social demarcation to Twain's understanding of the godly and the damned; in essence his humor belies the economic character of the first audiences.{140} In later years, only the old-fashionedly pious neglected the shows. Two such, Twain's elderly mother and her friend, even enjoyed themselves immensely when led to the theater under an African Missionaries ruse.{141}

Twain liked both the riotous ungentility of minstrelsy and its nostalgic sentimentality. "Negro" songs, particularly, shaped his memory; they "were a delight to me as long as the Negro show continued in existence. In the beginning the songs were rudely comic. . .but a little later sentimental songs were introduced, such as. . ."Nelly Bly, "A Life on the Ocean Wave," "The Larboard Watch," etc." His broad identification with minstrel shows overstepped a tenuous class valence of the entertainments.

During its heyday in the antebellum, minstrelsy made a double charge on audiences. It organized a theater of disorder, an exaltation of a

grotesque body in an utopian jubilee or, a continuous mincing of the African within a powerful gravitational field—Carnival refigured in the nation state. In this, the utopia played a march of the wildest freedom. Such an appeal attracted and took its shape predominantly from the productive classes.

Concomitantly, minstrel shows became involved in the characteristic sentimentality of the middle classes. In Britain, United States, and Australia during the 19th-century, the middle class adopted a broad ethic of sentimentality as the standard of gentility. The minstrel show bowed its head to this cult as it innovated the "Carry Me Back" plantation ballad of which Stephen Foster became a masterful architect. In addition to plantation ballads, "Ethiopian" shows performed non-dialect songs expressing nostalgia for the mother and the family or a romantic love. These songs resonated with the alienation middle class people felt in urban life. For many, estrangement from a family home, or a departure from dear friends was a reality. Songs like "My Old Kentucky Home, Good Night" fed a longing genteel Americans felt for a simpler, happier past.{142}

In each case, the racial alignments audiences carried to and from "Ethiopian" entertainments formed an important part of the shows' appeal. This draw draws many opprobrious moral comments from academic writers. Twain's enigmatic "worldlings" offer a couple ideas away from this. Common race prejudices crossed the worldly/godly boundary. Believing she came to a concert by niggers, Twain's mother initially balked at the performance. To contemporaries, the moral boundaries "Ethiopian" shows transgressed concerned its dance music, graphic sexual imagery, and its decadence by definition of being theater. All these towed more moral weight than how anyone portrayed or what anyone said about a

black.

Moreover, these Methodist-style mores reigned in the African American community. During "shouts" Methodist and Baptist African Americans performed a shuffle step without crossing their legs, ostensibly as a accommodation to the Slave Codes and a compromise between African and European worship manners. Before 1860, the strength of the feeling against secular music and dance in the African (slave and free) churches rose enough to earn comment in magazines and newspapers. Harriet Prescott describes, in a piece of fiction published in Atlantic Monthly in 1865, the disdain a woman born in Africa received when she danced from slaves in the church who danced only ring-shouts.{143} As late as 1950, when Harold Courlander went poking around Alabama, an elderly man told him,

> Well, don't you know, them folks all shouting, rockin', and reelin', and me in the middle; and I ask you if it wasn't the Holy Ghost that come into me, who was it? Those feet of mine wouldn't stay on the ground in no manner, they jumped around and crossed over, back and forth, and the next thing I know they turned me out of the church.{144}

The African evangelical churches took the same approach to secular music. Favorite airs acquired Christian lyrics and became part of the church's property. Other songs, outside the pale, were condemned. In 1874, Harry Jarvis expressed sentiments often heard by slave song collectors in the late 19th and early 20th century. After asking Jarvis to sing some corn-husking or boat songs, Mrs. Armstrong and Helen Ludlow report this dialogue:

> "Not o' dem corn-shuckin songs, madam. Neber sung none o' dem sense I 'sperienced religion. Dem's wicked songs."
> "I have heard some of your people say something of that sort, but I didn't suppose they could all be wicked songs. Are there no good ones?"

"Nuffin's good dat ain't religious, madam. Nobody sings dem corn-shuckin' songs arter dey's done got religion."{145}

The fiddle, however, bore the brunt of evangelical antipathy. The instrument and its players owned a strong cast of the devil. The Journal of American Folk-lore, of 1892, recounts the belief "de devil is a fiddler" caused the dying out of banjo and fiddle playing long before the war.{146} Testimony from fiddlers through the years affirm the fiddle was anathema to the church. Willis Winn, born a slave in 1822 remarked, "When I joined the church, I burned my fiddle up." In 1930, seventy-six year old Green Harris, St. Simon's local fiddler, told Lydia Parrish he had lent his fiddle and couldn't play for her. "They're holdin' a revival this week," he said, "an' I don't want it around the house." The preacher, of course, held it first among grounds against dancing. Pressed on the subject by a New England "school-marm," Rev. Mr. Tibbs of Gordonsville, Virginia countered, "But, then, there's the fiddle you know." "But the fiddle is not wicked," replied Miss Chase. "I think it is," said Mr. Tibbs.{147}

Although these tenets held through most of the 19th-century, before the Civil War banjo and fiddle songs thrived in spite of their wickedness. Sarah Fitzpatrick recounts, "We had plenty "Nigger" fiddlers; my cousin an' brudder-in-law wuz fiddlers an' my uncle wuz a banjo picker. Co'se dey wuz all nothin' but sinners, I wuz too, but we sho had a good time." Fitzpatrick characterizes herself like Twain characterizes himself and the other sinners at the early "Ethiopian" shows. Even when using the music of the African American fiddlers and banjo pickers, the theatric aegis of minstrelsy marks it too far from folk music to pull in any direct analogy. The similarity between Twain's and Fitzpatrick's thinking, though, emphasizes a common ground and criteria for wickedness; which

suggests, contemporaries, slave and free, saw minstrelsy's sin of pride in terms very different from historians.

Without a doubt "Ethiopian" acts galled some African Americans, Frederick Douglass being one. He, at least, had some tolerance for minstrel "Negroes" when African Americans put on the show.{148} In this, perhaps, he leaned liberal. Rudolph Lapp suspects the debut of African Americans in California's minstrel theatre, in 1858, at the mining town of Columbia owed something to the frequent abuse the black leadership groups in San Francisco and Sacramento heaped upon this entertainment.{149} And, "Zip Coon," "Spruce Pink," and the other "free niggers," presumably brought the gentleman of Boston who wrote to the editors of Freedom's Journal on August 24, 1828:

> NEGRO
> Mr. Editor—With the derivation of the word at the head of this article, I am well acquainted, but how it can, with any degree of propriety be applied to us, I am at a loss to discover—I have been for years endeavoring to ascertain the propriety of applying this term to us, but without effect.{150}

—a greater piece of consternation. It seems likely the art also rubbed the slave community's ardent race pride the wrong way; if doing nothing other than reinforcing their belief Heaven had few whites. Yet, the many minstrel songs which moved into African American folk music indicates the "Ethiopian" viewpoint sat within the pale of African American understanding. The idea for consideration, then, is that the mass of African Americans would have minded less the caricature—the blackface, dialect and "African" title of the "Negroes," than the basic immorality of the shows.{151}

The motion marks just one line of inquiry oriented toward delineating

"Ethiopian" entertainment in its context—a direction antithetical to historians' all too common finger wagging tone. An unavoidable impulse against minstrelsy's provocation, and estimable in other lights, the tone embodies a brief sublimation of the grossest ethnocentrism. Blackface dialect, for example, gets either vilified or poked at for its resemblance to African American creoles. Little attempt comes to grasp its meaning in its setting. And, this context differs radically from post-modern thinking. In short, the issue of blackface dialect is complex and rife with ambiguity. Any word on the subject which fails to discern the performers' and audiences' and subjects' understanding of blackface dialect and account the aberrant voices in minstrelsy speculates.{152}

United States' racial history, in whose in-basket "Ethiopian" minstrelsy sits, severely retards accurate depictions of the art. Not only do the sources lie like tom cats, but as Catherine Ricordeau points up:

> L'analyse d'un tel phenomene prend inevitablement des dimensions racials, et meme politiques, selon qu'elle considere comme negligeable l'apport de la culture minoritaire et ne reconnaisse que la valuer creatrice des artistes blancs, ou bien qu'elle estime au contraire (opinion plus a la mode) que ces derniers ont pille saugement la culture noire. Le resultat est le shema simplificatuer et moralisant: les <<Mechants>> (Les Blancs) exploitent les <<Bons>> (les Noirs).

Above ambled a dialogue on three historiographic interests undeniably suffused with racial and political considerations. The goal situated on this seems not to shy from nor suppress such voices, but to explore and mix them. Plenty of good space remains in the minstrel theatre to encourage all of this. Particularly, "Ethiopian" minstrelsy, yet, begs for analysis from three angles: A need exists for a solid appraisal of various African American communities' response to "Ethiopian"

minstrelsy. Specifically, the subject demands: a serious investigation (not rhetorical condemnation) of how "Ethiopian" and "Negro" entertainments shaped African identity in the United States; a look at how African American culture "felt" about the black face materials it adopted; and, a study of the thoughts and attitudes of African Americans who entered blackface minstrelsy, of which Ethnic Notions and Blacking Up embody a small beginning.

Simultaneously, a good look at blackface from the perspective of Carnival waits. And, finally, a musicological inquiry which gives sustenance to the opinion of Y. S. Nathanson, Col. T. Allston Brown, William Allen, W.E.B. DuBois, James W. Johnson, Alexander Saxton, Catherine Ricordeau, Robert B. Winans and Paul Oliver, among others, who believe "Ethiopian" minstrels took their music from African Americans is needed. The remainder of the unfolding essay aims to move in this last direction.

{88} Scarborough, 287.

{89} Robert B. Winans, "Early Minstrel Show Music 1843-1852," 71.

{90} Lott, 225. Margaret Fuller "Entertainments of the Past Winter" Dial 3 (July 1842):52.

{91} John C. Scherpf arr. "African Quadrilles" 2nd ed. (New York: E. Riley, 1844). My copy of the first set comes from Gurley & Cross of Marietta, Ohio.

{92} "The Dark Sett" arr. by S.O. Dyer (New York: Firth, Pond & Co. 1848), "Zip Coon."

{93} Nathan, 188.

{94}

{95} Nathan, epigram, 247-248.

{96} The book originally came to me by recommendation of a fiddler friend, Hanno Meingast. Another, Brian Hefferan, also a banjo player, who keeps track of Elderly Instruments' books, keeps it available. Elderly Instruments, for those unfamiliar, is one of the most influential music stores in the United States, especially in the area of traditional music. It began in the basement of the 541 building on Grand River, in East Lansing as a mail order shop, in 1972.

{97} Reading Nathan's articles in Southern Folklore Quarterly drives home this perspective strikingly. "Charles Mathews and the American Negro" September, 1946.

{98} Nathan, 243, 23.

{99} Private conversations with Attila Farkas and Mary Black, June 1992.

{100} Nathan, 70.

{101} It must be taken into account Nathan was working in the shadow of Carl Wittke and G.P. Jackson. I have absolutely no doubt if Nathan's scholarship was progressing today, it would be, in my eyes, the optimum,

far exceeding anything currently written or being written. Carl Wittke, Tambo and bones: A History of the American Minstrel Stage (Durham: Duke University press, 1930).

{102}

{103} Constance Rourke, American Humor

{104} Ralph Ellison, Shadow and Act "Change the Joke and Slip the Yoke" (New York: Random House, 1964), 45-59.

{105} Alexander Saxton, "Blackface Minstrelsy and Jacksonian Ideology" cites Robert G. Toll, "Behind the Grinning Mask: Blackface Minstrelsy in Nineteenth Century America," Berkeley 1971.

{106} William J. Mahar, "Black English in Early Blackface Minstrelsy: A New Interpretation of the Source of Minstrel Show Dialect" American Quarterly 37:260-285, 282-283.

{107} The fifth verse of the previously cited, "Dar's a Darkey in De Tent, or Wide Awake," recites,

Dey gib 'im little some, keep 'im in,
keep 'im in, keep 'im in,
"What paddy gib de drum," kick 'im out,
kick 'im out, kick 'im out,

A hat was usually associated with "Wide Awake" during the Civil War, Russell, My Diary North and South.

{108} Nathan, 242

{109} Carl B. Holmberg and Gilbert D. Schneider "Daniel Decatur Emmett's Stump Sermons: Genuine Afro-American Culture, Language and Rhetoric in the Negro Minstrel Show" Journal of Popular Culture 19:27-38 1986. 36; here, Holmberg and Schneider closely parallel this thought.

{110} Nathan, 57.

{111} Harlow, 292-293. Lott, 245-247.

{112} Toll, 65.

{113}

{114} Marlon Riggs, Ethnic Notions. Lovell, 75-78.

{115} Toll, 66, 87.

{116} Nathan, 151.

{117} Nathan, 246.

{118} Buckley's Ethiopian Melodies, No. 4 (New York: Philip J. Cozans, 1857), 33.

{119} Peter Wood, Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina form 1670 through the Stono Rebellion (New York: W.W. Norton, 1974) 123, 201. The tune "Gum Tree Canoe" from a folk source appears in Thomas W. Talley, Thomas W. Talley's Negro Folk Rhymes, a New, Expanded Edition, with Music ed. Charles K. Wolfe. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991) 212. William Wray, "Happy Land of Canaan" has flatted seventh and a falsetto chorus, as well as is written in uneven measure.

{120} Saxton, 15-23. The Bryant's and Wood's were nominally affiliated with Tammany.

{121} Notable seems the dialect use of the less positive song toward African Americans.

{122} J.S. Bratton, "English Ethiopians: British Audiences and Black-Face Acts, 1835-1865" Yearbook of English studies 11:127-142 1981, 134. Geordie is an English dialect of Tyneside in Northumberland.

{123} "Jim Crow" (New York: E. Riley, 1830-32).

{124} Bratton, 135; from Mr. and Mrs. Jim Crow's Collection of Songs (December, 1836).

{125} Bratton, 131.

{126} Nathan 136, J.S. Bratton, 131-132.

{127} Bratton, 142.

{128} Richard Waterhouse, "The Minstrel Show and Australian Culture" Journal of Popular Culture 24:147-66 (Winter) 1990, 149. Cited from J.B.J. McLachlan, "Arabin, or the Adventures of a colonist,"

{129} Jules Zanger, "The Minstrel Shows as a Theatre of Misrule" Quarterly Journal of Speech 60:33-38 (1974). Zanger's phrase invokes the "Lord of Misrule" of the medieval carnivals. Richard Waterhouse, 148-149.

{130} Waterhouse, 155.

{131} Cited from Eric Lott, 223; North Star (27 Oct. 1848).

{132} Robert Lumer, "Good ol' Slavery and the Minstrel Show" Zeitschrift Fur Anglistik un Amerikanistik 33:(1) 54-61, 1985, 56.

{133} Wilentz, 258-259.

{134} Lott, 243.

{135} Saxton, 6-7.

{136} Engle, 62. also the New York Daily Times "Amusements" usually page 3, 1850-1851.

{137} New York Daily Times, Monday, September 22. 1(2):3/6. However, while sponsoring Catharine Hayes's concerts, the "Song Bird of Erin," Astor's offered tickets only between 10:00 a.m. and 4:00 p.m.

{138} James H. Dormon, Jr. Theater in the Ante Bellum South, 1815-1861, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967), 231-233.

{139} ibid. 234. B.E. Bailey "Music in the life of a Free Black Man of Natchez (1835-1851)" Black Perspective in Music 13:(1) 3-12 1985.

{140} This was written a week before press broke of Shelly Fisher Fishkin's book Was Huck Black? which advances that an Afro-American boy, Jimmy, gave the model for Huck.

{141} Mark Twain, The Autobiography of Mark Twain ed. Charles Neider (New York: Washington Square Press, 1961), 64.

{142}
Saxton, 28. Waterhouse, 151-152. The Sacks's poke through the Snowden's scrapbook (Mt. Vernon's family of black musicians) verifies 1) professional antebellum African American musicians played "My Old Kentucky Home Goodnight," 2) at least one contemporary Southerner (West Virginian) heard "My Old Kentucky Home Goodnight" as an uncloyed argument against slavery. Writing in 1855, R.C. Withrow asked

the Snowdens, "Will you be so kind as to copy the song of the old Kentucky Home for me. I want to sing it to some of these old tyrants who hold in bondage those who are endowed with much better ability than they. But I shall free my mind to them whenever I have the opportunity."

{143} Epstein, 211-216.

{144} Harold Courlander, Negro Folk Music, U.S.A. (New York: Columbia, 1963). 195; also Southern "African Retentions in Afro-American Music (U.S.A.) in the 19th Century" 88-98, African Roots in America ed. Gerard Behague IMS Report 1977. 92.

{145} John Blassingame, Slave Testimony: Two Centuries of Letters, Speeches, Autobiographies and Interviews (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977), 610-611.

{146} Epstein, 215.

{147} Epstein, 212. Lydia Parrish, Slave Songs of the Georgia Sea Islands (New York: Creative Age Press, 1942), 118.

{148} Waldo E. Martin, The Mind of Frederick Douglass (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 120.

{149} Rudolph Lapp, Blacks in Goldrush California New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977. 255.

{150} Freedom's Journal (New York) August, 24, 1828. eds. John Brown Russwarm and Samuel E. Cornish.

{151} Rudolph M. Lapp Blacks in Goldrush California (New York: Yale University Press, 1977), 255. (mentions the class valence of the minstrel shows, black folk and black leadership)

{152} That pronouncement aims no malice toward William J. Mahar's work with blackface dialect in "Black English in Early Blackface Minstrelsy: A New Interpretation of the Sources of Minstrel show Dialect" and "Backside Albany and Early Blackface Minstrelsy."

{153} see Tawa Music for the Millions and Gentle Songs for Genteel Americans for discussion of this genre of song in the antebellum United States. Blassingame, Slave Testimony 708.

{154} James Weldon Johnson, God's Trombones quoted from Orrin Suthren III "Minstrelsy and Popular Culture" Journal of Popular Culture

{155} Norris Yates, "Four Plantation Hymns Noted by William Cullen Bryant" Southern Folklore Quarterly (December 1951), 251. This statement is in Yates' rather than Bryant's words.

{156} Lazarus Ekebwemebe, "African-Music Retentions in the New World" Black Perspective in Music

{157} John Storm Roberts, Black Music of Two Worlds (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972), 5.

{158} Barbara Lambert, "Social Music, Musicians and Their Instruments in and Around Colonial Boston" Music in Colonial Massachusetts Volume II, Publications of the Colonial Society of Boston, (Boston: 1985), 134.

{159} William D. Piersen, Black Yankees: The Development of an Afro-American Subculture in Eighteenth-Century New England (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), 104.

{160} Epstein, 121.

{161} ibid.

{162} Epstein, 121.

{163} Blassingame, 641. Southern, 120.

{164} Eugene Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made (New York: Random House, 1972), 644.

{165} Jackson, 7-8. The red and white are important colors in African tradition.

{166} Epstein, 84, 130.

{167} Epstein, 150 from Yetman, 282

{168} Epstein, 153.

{169} Epstein, 159. Eddie W. Wilson, "The Gourd in Folk Music" Southern Folklore Quarterly 1951 Wilson furnishes snatches from two sources which show that the gourd fiddle became a well known instrument in the Western mountains of North Carolina.

{170} Epstein, 152.

{171} Charles K. Wolfe, notes, Altamont: Black Stringband Music From the Library of Congress Rounder 0238 (Cambridge: Rounder Records, 1989), front, c. 1 p. 3. Winans, "Black Instrumental Traditions in the Ex-Slave Narratives" Black Music Research Newsletter 1:2-5, 1982, 2.

{172} Southern, 120.

{173} The minstrel theatre adopted "Run Nigger Run." Alan Jabbour remarks the tune made its print appearance, text and skit, in Whites Serenader's Song Book (Philadelphia, 1851), 66-68. See Dennison, 136-137.

{174} Cited from Talley, (1922) 238.

{175} Talley (1922), 236-238.

{176} Epstein, 164. William Tallmadge "The Folk Banjo and clawhammer Performance Practice in the Upper South: A Study of Origins" The Appalachian Experience: Proceedings of the Sixth Annual etc. 170-179, 175-176.

{177} Nathan, 83.

{178} John Mason Brown, "Songs of the Slave" Lipincott's Magazine (1868) in Jackson, 114.

{179} Parrish, "Knock a Man Down" 205.

{180} The most prominent African features in my opinion are rhythm, antiphony, and an inflection from tonal languages. Things which are not are pentatonic, and accidentals, the "blue" notes. Of course, in the American context, these features provide good clues, I believe, of the influences and origins of music. "Performance" currently operates as the dominant paradigm for studies of African American music. Olly Wilson substantially helped lead this perspective in "The Association of Movement and Music as a Manifestation of a Black Conceptual Approach to Music Making" in the IMS Report 1977, ed. Gerard Behague. Its basic principles organize under the assumption that African Americans approach music with customs unlike European styles. For example, "standard" singing is done through the front "mask" using the sinus chambers as a resonating box. African Americans sing more from the throat, using the fatty tissues for resonance. I submit thanks to Christopher Brooks and Horace Boyer for discussing some of these aspects with me.

{181} Henry Krehbiel, Afro-American Folk Songs: A Study of Racial and National Music (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing, 1914), 52-53. Jackson, 109, 114. Allen, 89.

{182} Toll, 46.

{183} Nathan, 75. Toll, 44, 45.

{184} Epstein, 223-224.

{185} Holmberg and Schneider, "Daniel Decatur Emmett's Stump Sermons" Brudder Steben Guess requests stamps in lieu of money ninety times in forty sermons. They cite his practice as realistic on the evidence of William H. Pipe's extremely biased account of "Old-Time Negro Preaching: An Interpretive Study" Quarterly Journal of Speech 31 (1945), 16.

ACT III
A Rough Sketch of "Ethiopian" Music's Sponsoring Tradition

Now I' a good big nigger,—Oh,
I reckon I won't git bigger,—Ah.
But I'd like to see my mammy,—Oh,
Who lives in Alabamy,—Ah. (Slave Songs #111)

A gamut of representations appear in minstrelsy's catalog. The "Ethiopian" character itself resembles a diminutive Tower of Babel. Yet, the art refuses reduction even to one quagmire. Ingredients wholly outside the impersonation of negritude went into it. African American folk music, embodying issues of music and Africaness, is one. That African American music shaped "Negro" performances receives acknowledgement from most commentators. A heap of confusion often buries this verity deep. In the 19th-century writers at the North, particularly, blithely intermixed "Negro" fictions with negro particulars. The slave of the "Ethiopian Opera" enacted only one fiction. Others competed. The most sympathetic Northerners toward Africans, the abolitionists, commonly projected a romantic image of slaves. Being spiritual, sorrowful, and pure hearted, only slow, mournful religious laments passed the lips of these people. Former slaves in the abolitionist crusade reported songs like this "as specimen" of the infamous coffle songs.

Oh! fare ye well, my bonny love,
I'm gwine* away to leave you,
A long farewell for ever love,
Don't let our parting grieve you.
(Chorus) Oh! fare ye well, my bonny, &c.

The way is long before me, love,

And all my love's behind me;
You'll see me down by the old gum-tree
But none of you will find me.

I'll think of you in the cotton fields;
I'll pray for you when resting;
I'll look for you in every gang,
Like the bird that's lost her nesting.

I'll send you my love by the whoop-o'-will;
The dove shall bring my sorrow;
I leave you a drop of my heart's own blood,
For I won't be back to-morrow.

And when we're moldering in the clay,
All those will weep who live us;
But it won't be long till my Jesus come,
He sees and reigns above us.{153}

Regards to these fictions, coupled with the United States' perpetual mistreatment of African Americans, inspires a certain reticence in scholars to link "Ethiopian" entertainment and its contemporaneous African American folk music closely.

Of the roots of "Ethiopian" minstrelsy, James Weldon Johnson remarks "Every plantation had its talented band that could crack Negro jokes and sing and dance. . . .When the planter wished to entertain his guests, he needed only to call his troupe of black minstrels."{154} Aptly, half-truth applies to Johnson's scenario; half truth which looks for confirmation. It has echoes; in a chapter of Six Years in a Georgia Prison, Lewis Paine avers, "It is useless to talk about Fellow's Minstrels, or any other band of merely artificial Ethiopians;' for they will bear no comparison with the plantation negroes. The latter, by frequenting these places of amusement in the capacity of entertainers, become actors, and that of a high order, for in this way they cultivate the faculties most necessary to success in

that profession—ideality, marvelousness, and imitation. . ."

Johnson's idea makes a good guidepost for explicating a context which stresses the plausibility of an African American musical foundation in minstrelsy. Establishing the feasibility of the guidepost moves toward accepting the African American background of "Negro" songs.

In 1982, Winans drew some conclusions from his survey of instrumental music in the Ex-Slave Narratives supportive of Johnson's aphorism. The survey confirms the blackface ensemble, of fiddle, banjo, bones and tambourine, accurately captured African American instrumental tradition—the instruments ranking respectively, first, second, seventh and tenth among all references to instruments in the narratives. Moreover, of the instruments common to African slaves, "Negro" minstrelsy apparently only omitted the quills.

Quite a few accounts fed his judgement that plantations fostered analogues to the minstrel show. A number of ex-slaves indicated that owners, sometimes with their guests, dropped in on the slave junkets for entertainment, and that the slaves played up to this. In the instance of William C. Bryant's visit to a Barnwell plantation, probably William Gillmore Simms', Bryant notes his host organized a corn-shucking strictly for his entertainment.{155}

Winans also comments on the similar tune repertoires of slaves and blackface musicians. A couple of pieces obviously come from the minstrel show, such as "Dixie" and "Swanee River," but most lie within the gray area between traditional (Afro or Anglo?) and minstrel material. "Arkansas Traveller," and "Hop Light Ladies," for example, own such a strong place in oral tradition concurrent with their appearance as comic "Negro" pieces, that their origination as the latter is doubtful—(if not

elsewhere disproven).

Music took a much smaller place in the lives of African American slaves than in the lives of Africans. Traditional Africans live and die by music, colloquially "from the womb to the tomb."{156} All humans require music, all people sing; musical impulses and patterns arrange similarly across all cultures. By example, singing for religious expression takes the greatest part of British Isles and African traditions. Most African religion, however, absolutely requires its music, unlike Christianity in the British Isles. African sensibility commissions more specialization within species of music as well; on losing their first tooth, Fon children in Dahomey learn a song to sing for the event.{157}

In the United States, the influence of British Isles thinking and the institution of slavery attenuated the African music aesthetic. Exposure to other traditions in America also enriched the Africans' musical experience. British Isle or European ideas of melody, rhythm, harmony, and lyric style partially substituted, compensated and augmented their own. And yet, little of this music came from a thinking totally alien to Africans. The several centuries of contact between Europe and Africa through the Arab world rendered this untrue.

African slaves sang during work—in the fields, on the river, in the kitchen, or on the dock; they sang at camp meetings and church, illicit and condoned; they sang and had music at corn shuckings, log rollings, candy pullings, beer dances, weddings, funerals and Christmas celebrations. The events accompanied by singing and playing of the fiddle or banjo, straws, triangle, or jawbone encompassed those "Negro" minstrels, like the Virginia Minstrels in Worcester, most often ascribed as the source of their music.

From the outset, "minstrel" and African American songs felt an amount of consanguinity. For at least one hundred years, African American slaves took an active role in the balls, cotillions, etectera of whites of all classes. Eighteenth century New England boasted a strong fiddling custom in the African American community. The first week of December 1734, the Boston Gazette advertised "A negro Boy of gentle Behaviour who plays exceedingly well on the Violin."{158} Numerous ace fiddlers became known throughout the country, like: Concord's Samson, East Guilford's Caesar, Wallingford's Cato, Meriden's Robin Prinn, and Narragansett's Polydore Gardner. Many others never played beyond the neighborhood. Abiel Brown described West Simsbury's Simon Fletcher as "a second or third rate fiddler, and the same may be said of a great share of the men of color of those times."{159}

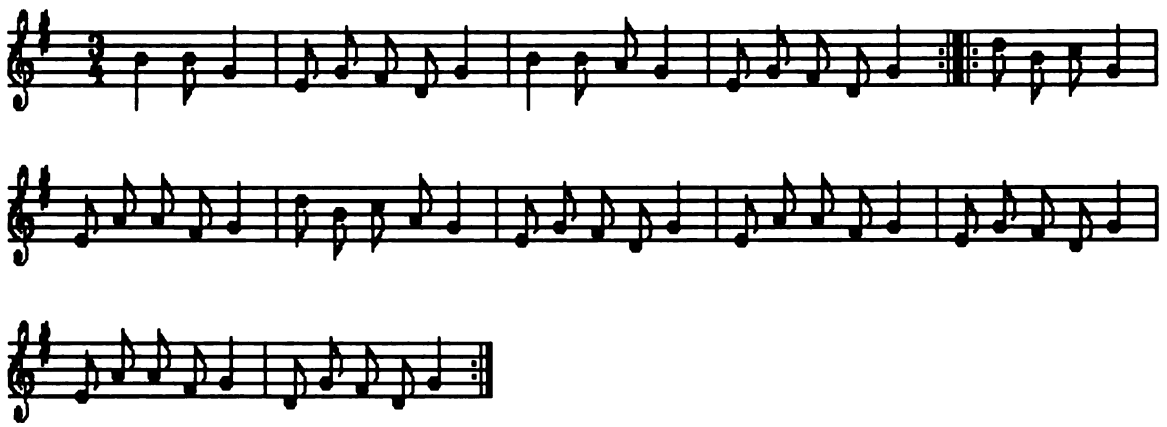
The Jeffersons contribute an intriguing example of music on a Virginia plantation. Thomas, a great lover of European music, gives only one tepid notice of Africans' music through all of his writings and correspondence. His brother Randolph, by contrast, Isaac, a former Monticello slave, calls "a mighty simple man: used to come out among black people, play the fiddle and dance half the night." Randolph's style by no means embraced an anomaly. In 1774, Philip Fithian reports finding Benjamin Carter and Harry Willis among a group of Negroes having a dance to a fiddle; he "dispersed them however immediately."{160}

The amalgamation of African and British Isles music ensued in broader forums. In a sketch of the "African Jig" Dena Epstein recounts two other reports of the African jig in colonial Virginia. In 1775, at a ball attended by roughly eighty people in Alexandria, Nicholas Creswall observed, "Betwixt the Country dances they have what I call everlasting jigs. A

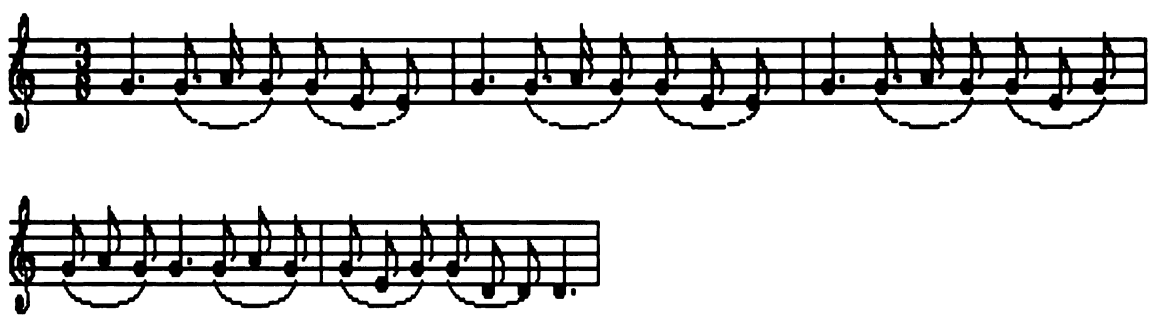
than one in a polite assembly." An account published in Dublin the next year adds generalized remarks about these "everlasting jigs:" "Towards the close of an evening, when the company are pretty well tired with country-dances, it is usual to dance jigs; a practice originally borrowed, I am informed, from the Negroes."{161}

Epstein says the three extant "Negro jigs"—"Pompey Ran Away," "Negro Dance," and "Congo—A Jig" lack distinctive African qualities. In his own Herrenvolkian idiom, Nathan pointed out one such feature in "Pompey Ran Away" some years before Epstein wrote her evaluation. "It consists," he writes of the song, "of English and Scottish folk song elements, but the frequent reiteration of a short-winded motive is the contribution of the slave." By short-winded motive, Nathan means the tonic quarter note which closes every phrase. He, indeed, correctly assigns its origin. The following examples illustrate the resemblance of "Pompey Ran Away" to African music. They fail to impart, however, the added dimension leafing through volumes of Scottish, Irish and African tunes in the same setting gives.{162} Notice the prominence of a mono or bi-tone closing quarter note among all three pieces:

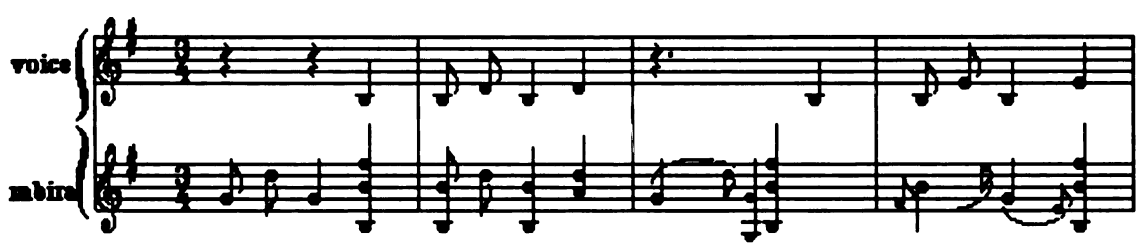
Pommpey Ran Away (Negroe Jig c. 1775; no text)

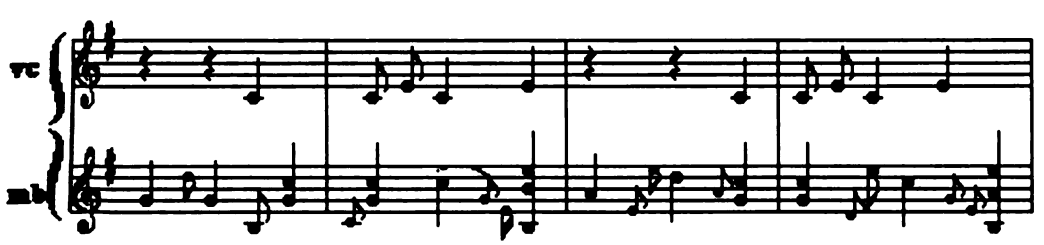


Ashantee Air trans. by Thomas Bowdich 1817



Voice and Mbira from Music of Africa (Nketia)





The fiddlers at these balls provided the music at corn-shuckings and other plantation junkets as well. In "Who Are Our National Poets?" Kinnard describes the preeminence of the Virginian "type of negro character" throughout the South; the thousands sent to the far South and southwest each year for sale brought the songs, tunes, and dances of Virginia to every part of the South, excepting parts of Florida and Louisiana, forming "a system perfectly unique." Kinnard's overgeneralization bears a lot of truth. With a little input from South Carolina, Virginia set the model for slavery across the South; the same cornshucking, ring game, and spiritual songs, for example, tended to reappear all over. Although the same kinds of junkets and celebrations and attending songs existed ubiquitously, performance styles differed remarkably from locale to locale. "Run Nigger Run" might be heard as a shucking song, as a fiddle dance song at a corn-shucking dance, as a fiddle song without dancing at a log burning, or as a banjo song, with or without singing.{163}

A large number of customs abounded in corn-shuckings alone. Jasper Battle, from Athens and Prichard, from Mobile, recalled shucking corn to the extemporized singing of a "foreman" or "cornshucking captain" who sat up on top of the highest pile of corn. James Deane from Baltimore, recounts shucking corn while a fiddler sat up on "the highest barrel of corn," while another man dished out cider when wanted and liquor once every hour.

Lewis Paine's narration of a cornshucking in Georgia describes antiphonal work songs and fiddle dance music unfolding in stages. During the cornshucking competition, song leaders up top of the piles of corn sang

the "solo" parts of songs, like "Round the Corn Sally" and "Shock Along John" while guarding the pile from stray ears coming from the other team. As recounted earlier, after dinner a fiddler performed for the whites before stepping out into the clean swept yard to lead the slaves' dances, which might last until daybreak.

Although a direct inheritor of African custom, beer dances, a distant cousin to cornshuckings, had a smaller life in the slave community. A keg of persimmon beer, made from water, sweet potato peelings, hunks of corn bread and persimmons, offered the usual article of celebration.{164} William B. Smith describes a beer dance on the lower edge of Prince Edward sound, where the "wild notes of a banjor'lured him while visiting a patient's plantation "some years" before 1839. Outside the house the slaves sang "who-zen John, who-za" as an overture to the celebration. Inside the house, a banjor player led the ceremony around the keg of beer. He "tummed" his banjor seated in a chair set on top of the beer keg, punctuating his "wild notes" with ridiculous grins to the company. On his head, he wore a three-cocked hat "decorated with peacock feathers, a rose cockade, a bunch of ripe persimmons, and . . .three pods of red pepper. . ." from under which a long white cowtail queued with red ribbon hung gracefully down his back. In time with the banjor, the company in the house patted Juba, and sang its song:

Juber up and Juber down,
Juber all around de town
Juber dis, and Juber dat
And Juber roun' the simmon vat
Hoe corn, hill tobacco,
Get over double trouble, Juber boys, Juber.{165}

At Christmas, most slaves enjoyed several days vacation. Whether two

days or a week, dancing, singing and music went on almost nonstop during the holiday. Employed as a tutor on William Allston's plantation in South Carolina, John Pierpont records on first waking Christmas morning, "the sound of the serenading violin and drum saluted my ears, and for some time continued. . ." Dancers to this music crowded the portico almost the whole of the second and final afternoons. Native born Africans staged their own dance, accompanied by clapping, in which they "distort[ed] their frames into the most unnatural figures and emit[ted] the most hideous noises," concluding with "jumping, running and climbing trees." Other plantations in South Carolina had similar celebrations. Elizabeth Coxe witnessed negroes dancing every afternoon of Christmas week on the piazza to the music of two fiddlers, a bones player, and man who tapped sticks on the floor, sometimes with singing, on Eutlaw plantation during the Civil War.{166}

Acclaimed fiddlers travelled around the "neighborhood" to perform for Christmas barbecues and dances. Gus Smith, born by Jefferson City, Missouri, at the age of ninety-two recalled "In times of holidays, we always had our own musicians. Sometimes we sent ten or twelve miles for a fiddler. He'd stay a week or so in one place and den he would go to de next farm."{167} These musicians travelled about in other times of the year. Solomon Northup did this kind of travelling, often to play a ball or festival. In 1852, he spent his holiday playing a circuit around the neighboring plantations. On his second trip all of the slaves from his plantation accompanied him to the party at Douglass Marshall's. He travelled alone, on Tuesday, to "old Norwood's place." Coming home the next morning a gentleman, William Pierce, hailed him to relate that his

master had lent him to Pierce for a party that evening. The frolic, the last ever he saw as a slave on Bayou Boeuf, lasted until broad daylight.

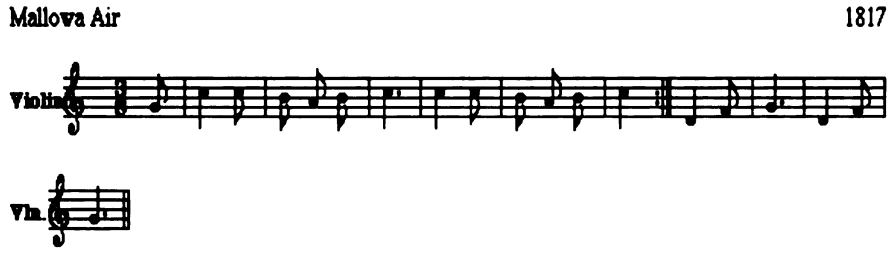
A musician before being kidnapped, Northup almost achieved a status of a professional musician as a slave. Over the centuries, numerous other slaves filled the same position. In the larger cities' newspapers, Epstein suggests nothing particularly troublesome frustrated finding advertisements such as:

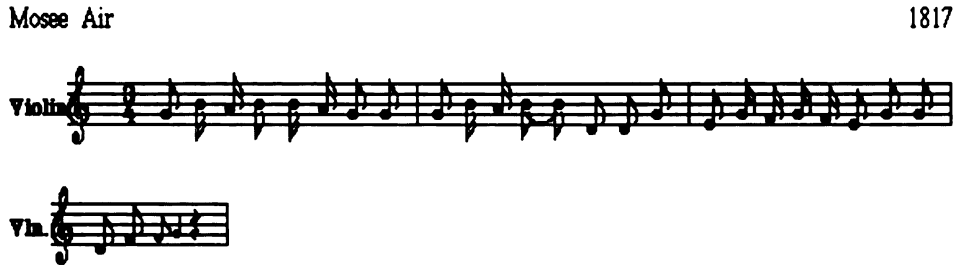
> FOR HIRE, either for the remainder of the year, or by the month, week, or job, the celebrated musician and fiddler, GEORGE WALKER. . . .—George Walker is admitted, by common consent, to be the best leader of a band in all eastern and middle Virginia.{168}

In 1921, the Richmond Times-Dispatch printed a lengthy epitaph by C.A. Bryce to "Dusky Fiddlers' of Olden Days. . ." He recalls most evening dances capered to a single fiddle. Larger affairs brought on more elaborate ensembles. A trio of banjo, fiddle, and tambourine, he credits for furnishing all the music "at the average dancing parties;" while a band of "four violins, one fiddle (or bass, I suppose they called it), two banjos, two tambourines and mandolin" occasionally surfaced.

Most of these entertainers played by ear. They were slave quarters' musicians who also provided music for master's merriments. Like their banjos, they produced their fiddles, quills, and percussive instruments domestically using African patterns. Analogous to later blues guitar players, a good slave fiddler often began playing on a self-made instrument made of a gourd or square pine box. At age ninety-nine, Henry Wright described making a gourd fiddle for his WPA interviewer:

> I made a fiddle out of a large sized gourd—a long wooden handle was used a neck, and the hair from a horse's tail was used for the bow. The strings were made of cat gut.{169}





By word of mouth, some individuals and ensembles won a semi-professional status as had Northup. In a "Slave Narrative" Andy Brice, from Winnesboro, draws some pictures of this life. One day, he saw "Marse Thomas a twistin' de ears on a fiddle." When Thomas rubbed the bow across the strings, Brice recalls he felt "Something bust loose in me and sing all thru my head and tingle in my fingers." By next Christmas he owned a fiddle which he "learnt and been playin'. ..ever since." He and his fiddle played at dances at Cedar Shades and Blackstock for whites. Like Northup, he came home from these with coin jingling in his pockets. He attributes his marriage to Ellen Watson, "as pretty a ginger cake nigger as ever fried a batter cake or rolled her arms up in a wash tub" to his fiddle and money it earned.

Master's now and again cultivated the musical abilities of one or two slaves. Three young men, Reuben, Henry and George who left the steamboat Pike, (which they travelled on as waiters and entertainers), at Cincinnati to escape to Canada stand as remarkable tokens of this genre of

musician. In previous years, the men travelled with a free Negro, Williams, who taught them music by contract with their owner, Mr. Graham. Under Williams' charge, they performed at parties and balls in the free states on several occasions. In the two years previous their escape, they made headquarters in Lexington while travelling about the countryside under their own contracts.{170}

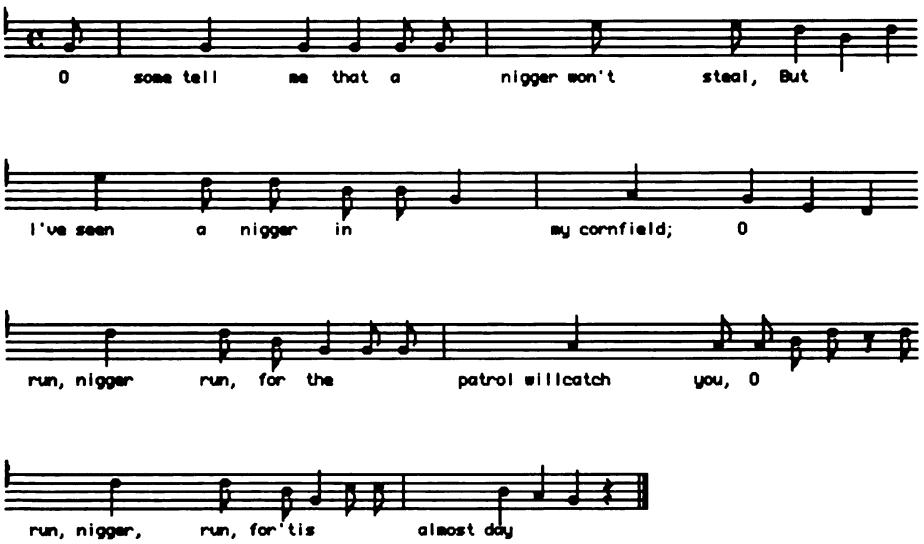
Rather than sending slaves North for musical coaching, owners in middle Tennessee presumably used New Orleans, the antebellum center of black fiddling, as a training ground for plantation fiddlers. Charles K. Wolfe, who avouches the idea, cites a post-war account of an African American fiddler trained in New Orleans who played for Andrew Jackson's dancing; this he uses to extend the background to John Lusk's story of a grandfather who learned to play the fiddle in New Orleans in the 1840s. Winans' survey of instrumental music in the Slave Narratives partially backs his conception of New Orleans as a center of Afro-American fiddling. Narratives from Louisiana tell of fiddle/banjo or fiddle/banjo & other combinations in a greater percentage than those of other states. However, on the basis of the prominence of the fiddle relative to the banjo and other instruments, Mississippi ranks first.{171}

African American fiddlers and banjoists had two distinct song styles; both had strong African features. Thomas Talley links one style with such songs as "Run Nigger Run," and "I'll Wear Me a Short Cotton Dress." Here, the fiddle or banjo played a simple accompaniment. James Singleton, a former slave, tells of log burnings in Mississippi where all sang songs, "like Run nigger run, Pattyrollers ketch you, Run nigger run, It's breaking day,'" with the accompaniment of the fiddle.{172} Robert Winans lists it as the second most oft cited, behind "Turkey in the Straw," tune in the Slave

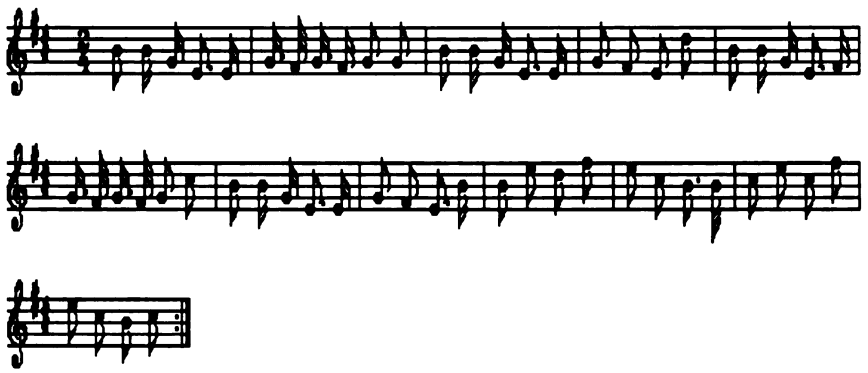
Narratives.

"Run, Nigger, Run," collected by E.J. Snow in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, shows the sung melody. The tune basically runs on a pentatonic, except with the incursion of the fourth leading into its denouement. Set in two eighth notes on an accented beat,(the first taking the accent) this fourth, produces a remarkable, blithe hook. Within the pentatonic range, the tune carries a couple of particularly elegant motives. The emblematic African American entry into the chorus over the last and first beat of two measures, in this case an octave on sol, is arresting. The close of the chorus' first phrase through its transition to the second enunciates a regal moment; more so in conjunction with the text. On the whole, the air flows gracefully, lacking awkward phrases, and balancing melodically; it fits its place in one of the most popular slave songs well.{173}

1 Nigger Run (Slave Song 110)



Run Nigger Run from Thomas Talley's "Leading Themes" Notebook



Tally pronounces this type of song "born to die," which seems a pity; the art of the old time black fiddler, which earned him the reputation for making it impossible for listeners, saints or sinners, to hold still their feet, rolled in songs like "Devilish Pigs." "The Party" by Paul L. Dunbar eulogizes this music,

Cripple Joe, de ole rheumatic, danced dat flo' frum
side to middle.
Throwed away his crutch an' hopped it, what's
rheumatics 'gainst a fiddle?
Eldah Thompson got so tickled dat he lak to los' his grace
Had to take bofe feet an' hold 'em, so's to keep 'em
in deir place.
An' de Christuns an de sinnahs got so mixed up on
dat flo',
Dat I don't see how dey's pahted ef de tump had
chonced to blow.{174}

In the opening bars, the performers sang from one to four lines of the song, then letting go, instruments alone finished the larger part of the tune; doubling back, it caught another piece of rhyme on its variations. On each repetition it touched on its variations, which evoked the prior rhymes. In full march, singing burst in at the beginning and middle; the pieces always closed in instrumental. As dance songs, the pieces lasted ten to twenty minutes. As it repeated, the tune drew into itself an air of self-will; the musicians tagged

along behind.{175}

African American rhyme and music composed on the plantation moved about the land, travelling wherever slaves traveled, and elsewhere, migrating with free men of both colors. African slaves brought their music to the factories in cities like Richmond and Lexington, and to the salt mines in Appalachia Carter Co., Kentucky and Kanawha, Virginia.{176} Free Africans leaving the South during slavery's retrenchment after 1820 carried it to northern cities such as Cincinnati and Philadelphia.{177} Along the rivers and at ports, a separate body of African American music, faster moving and further cross-bred, also wandered around the country and the world. This was the music of the renowned steamboat roustabouts who travelled up and down the Mississippi, Ohio et. al loading packets, feeding their fires, and sleeping on their decks. Crews of forty or fifty men travelled on the large steamers of the Western and Southern rivers.{78} Likewise, port and levee stevedores, routinely African at North and South, shaped and shared this music.

Like all African American music, these song shared lyrics and tunes with divers traditions. Stevedores and sailors at sea ports, particularly, engaged in a cosmopolitan exchange of vernaculars. A tune like "Blow the Man Down," likely a British Isles shanty, reappeared easily in the Georgia Sea Islands; but its basic form in call and response evokes the notion its roots are international.{179} Leaving "Blow the Man Down's" pedigree to speculation, it bears noting that while African music lacks a trademark on many of its distinctive features, the call and response is an acutely African form.{180} The songs of the ports and rivers used this part singing and several other African habits. Falsetto, like call and response, flourished in eastern and western river songs. A Georgia Sea Island version of "Ole Tar River" shares these features with "I'm Gwine to Alabamy" from the Mississippi River, "Steamboat Song" transcribed by John Mason Brown, and "Oh, Rock Me Julie" collected by George W. Cable late in the 19th-century.{181} Ostensibly, the burden of all three repeats an undulating falsetto over two

syllables, like a yodel. "Alabamy" and "Julie" sit in minor which solidly accents their African Ameican origin. Among all, the verse refrain descends gradually, "Ole Tar River" and "I'm GWine to Alabamy" carrying this further. Two also begin their second verse line lower, by a third or a fifth, duplicating, however, the same intervals.

Circus men who travelled the South during the winder, and occasionally settled down for several monthsor a year, came into the opportunity to observe slaves on farms and plantations; at least, they became familiar with slaves in the cities. While travelling--by road troupes possibly heard the singing of the coffle gangs marching south. But, on the river the songs of the firemen and deckhands were inescapable. In consequence, they wielded a strong influence on the men of the "Ethiopian" shows. When working on the riverboats, Ben Cotton recalled whiling away evenings at the front of black men's cabins, "we would," he avers, "start the banjo twanging, and their voices would ring out in the quiet night air in their weird melodies. . .I was the first white man they had seen who sang as they did."{182} In the 1850s, Dave Reed emerged from the steamboat Banjo with a new dance, his ticket to national accaim, which he asserted he learned from African Americans on the boat.{183} As well, the scatttering of adjusted African American river songs which reemerged as popular "Negro" songs in the early 40s certifies this sphere's influence.

At the North, interested whites had other venues for observing African American culture open to them. African churches furnished journalists, foreigners, and others a source of exotic fun and amusement. Visiting from England in 1820, William Faux visited an African church in Philadelphia in which he observed an ecstatic, musical service. In Cincinnati, Fredrika Bremer visited two black churches on November 27, 1850. the morning service at "a negro Baptist church belonging to the Episcopal creed" she found a "little tedious," but at the African Methodist Episcopal church she encountered "African ardor and African life."{184}

Writing from America, Charles Mathews included a negro sermon he professedly heard, in a New York church in 1823, in a long letter to James Smith. His piece offers the first example of a long series of "Negro sermons" which joke on the black preacher's greater interest in lucre than souls.{185} By the mid-1830s, variants of the species appear in Comic broadsides. Such is "Rev. Mr. Sambo's Sarmon" on the double faced Comical Songs and Comical Characters. This dialect piece implies general readers had an awarness of distinctive African American preaching.{186} Starting in the 60s, The New York Clipper published dialect sermons which, ostensibly, aped the preaching of Brother Allen, a well-known African American preacher. Emmett submitted a number of his own "Negro sermons" to the Clipper in 1872-1873. The paper published one, "Blessed am dem dat 'spect nuttin', kase dey aint a gwine to git nuttin'," on August 9, 1873.{187}

Blacks' restriction from most public houses bred an alternative class of diversions. A short lived theater, the African Grove, on Mercer Street in New York City, marks the only brief success at drama, but taverns sprung up now and again in areas like New York's Five Points.{188} Charles Dickens visited one of these, Almack's, during his stay in the United States and recorded his impressions in Notes on America. On Dicken's visit, the evening's music came from a fiddler and a tambourine man who stamped upon the orchestra's boarding as they played a "lively measure." Five or six couples led by "a lively young negro" capered on the floor. The Illustrated London News places this gentleman as the celebrated "Juba" (William H. Lane) who then was the most popular dancer of the day and the only African in "Ethiopian" minstrelsy.

By breaking into "Negro" minstrelsy, Juba stood at one end of a long tradition of African American jig and reel dancing which the circus and theatre "negroes" set to emulate. Long Island's African American dancers caught Washington Irving's attention early in the 19th-century. In the fifth chapter of Salmagundi, he extols one of the best. Marian Winter reports Juba supposedly learned the art of dancing from "Uncle" Jim

Lowe, a free black of wide repute as a dancer. Unlike the white "Negroes," and Juba, Lowe did his dancing outside the regular theatre in the saloons and dance halls.{189}

When George G. Foster sojourned on a "dark and muggy" Saturday night to Almack's eight years later, now Dicken's Place, he found the usual fiddle fortified with trumpet and bass drum. African women, "negresses" and their fair companions "bleary eyed, idiotic beastly wretches" began an ecstatic, feral dance as the orchestra struck up "Coony in de Holler." Foster writes an intriguing depiction of the orchestra's music; one irresistible to gratuitously recount:

> With these instruments you may imagine that the music at Dicken's Place is of no ordinary kind. You cannot, however, begin to imagine what it is. You cannot see the red-hot knitting-needle spirted out by that red-face trumpeter, who looks precisely as if he were blowing glass, which needles aforesaid penetrating thetympanum, pierce through and through your brain without remorse. Nor can you perceive the frightful mechanical controtions of the bass-drummer as he sweats and deals his blows on every side, in all violation of the laws of rhythm, like a man beating a baulky mule and showering his blows upon the unfortunate animal now on this side, now on that. If you could, it would be unnecessary for us to write.{190}

The sources, for history, of African American music in Northern cities before the War, are hardly picked over and short at the start. Epstein hits this note in a theme of our "sadly defective" knowledge of black secular music in Sinful Tunes and Spirituals. She avers, that, particularly, newspapers, magazines and manuscripts wait to have their secrets plumbed.{191} Mt. Vernon's Snowdens, a family band of African American professional musicians, brought to attention by Howard and Judith Sacks, gives a taste of the treasure waiting. In "The Negroes of Cincinnati Prior to the Civil War," Carter Woodson gives a taste, also, of the remarks on African American music in Northern newspapers. The Cincinnati Daily Gazette, of September 14, 1841 makes mention of the Negroes' "noisy frolics" which had aggravated racial tensions in the city prior the armed melee on Broadway between Fifth and Sixth St. in the night of August twenty-ninth.{192}

Debasing the African, by arrogating the title while mimicking a crippled old slave for the amusement of "whites only" seems as debauched as "Jim Crow's" later career. Dennison, who renders this view most acutely, emphasizes that written records contain multifarious accounts of "Jim Crow's" origins. Cincinnati, Baltimore, Louisville, Pittsburgh, as well as Nashville and Memphis hold some affiliation with the act.{193} In an earlier essay, the present writer avowed the accepted "Jim Crow" tale spurious with an argument concluding that the conflicting stories made the stable-hand in Louisville account look like a historian's best guess among tall tales.{194} Molly Ramshaw's "Jump Jim Crow! A Biographical Sketch of Thomas D. Rice (1808-1860)" later shook this faith. A further, hasty probe into the issue evokes a reaffirmation of the charge, in this case, accompanied by an original account of "Jim Crow."

It begins with a second peek at George Nichol's unconfirmed performance of "Jim Crow" before T.D. Rice, first as a clown and later as a "Negro." The earlier performance and its medium convey importance. Nichol's "Jim Crow" act as a clown hooks this consummate "Ethiopian" act onto mainstream entertainment prior to its explosion as a favorite blackface character. Nichol's source insinuates additional inferences about "Jim Crow." Picayune Butler, who purportedly taught Nichols "Jim Crow," put a large influence in blackface minstrelsy. His song, "Picayune Butler is Going Away" became a standard in minstrel acts of the 40s and 50s as "Picayune Butler is Coming to Town," a singular honor in "Ethiopian" minstrelsy to an African musician. With Butler performing "Jim Crow," the history of the routine, as entertainment, stretches back to African Americans. Butler as Nichol's source untangles why Nichol's initially

performed "Jim Crow" as a clown; ostensibly because the performance lacked the burlesque of blackness as an inherent feature.

Butler, a "French darkie," came from the West Indies. Thus, his experience included a richer heritage of Africa than most African Americans in the United States. Story traditions, in the West Indies, reflect one feature of their stronger African heritage. The West Indies' and United States' story traditions share characters and core tales. Albeit, the West Indies apparently retain a greater body of accompanying music. Here, or in the larger tradition, reposes a gentleman who makes a likely candidate for the original "Jim Crow."

Crow is a minor figure in African American animal stories collected in the United States and West Indies. Crow actually represents a conglomerate of several birds. In Jamaica, a buzzard takes his name; in the Bahamas the word crane attaches to crow to describe a bird (possibly a blue heron) with a beak useful for ripping flesh or plucking eyes.{195} Rather than a corneille, oiseau of several types surface in Elsie Parson's collections French West Indian folklore. In the United States, the Crow stories of Jamaica and Bahamas reappear in tales of a Buzzard, a Crane-Crow, and John Crow. An independent character, Hawk or Fowl Hawk, often appears in stories with Buzzard/Crow. Universally, John Crow incarnates a grotesque figure. His color, however, negligibly defines his ugliness. Whereas the stories collected by Harris specify things like his bad breath and poor song, an archetypal Jamaican tale just calls him "that ugly fellah." Crow and Buzzard play both trickster and victim usually, though, without the flamboyance of Rabbit or 'Bouki.{196}

African American tales espouse three root Crow/Buzzard stories. One explains why Crow/Buzzard has a bald head; another

relates a singing match which Crow wins by starving his opponent; a third has cautious Crow/Buzzard enjoying, corporeally, Hawk's violent death.{197} Like other African American animal stories, small songs attend John Crow tales. Harris, who usually overlooked these, includes two Crow/Buzzard songs in his Uncle Remus collections. One, sung by Bro' Terrapin, says: " I foolee, I foolee, I foolee po' Buzzud; Po' Buzzud I foolee, I foolee, I foolee'." And, the little boy and Daddy Jack sang, "T-u Tukry, t-u Ti, T-u Tukry-Buzzud y-eye! T-u Tukry, t-u Ting, T-u Tukry-Buzzud wing!" one night during Christmas time. Thomas Talley includes the latter in his Wise and Otherwise collection of "Negro Rhymes." His volume contains several other Buzzard and Hawk rhymes sung with animal stories such as "Judge Buzzard," "Hawk and Buzzard," "Hawk and Chickens," and "Hawk and Chickens Play."{198}

Some printings of "Jim Crow" contain allusions to other creatures of the B' animal stories. J. Edgar's printing of 1832 includes the common stanza, "I neeld to de buzzard, An I bou'd to de Crow, an eb'ry time I reel'd Why I jump't Jim Crow" Dorothy Scarborough agrees this stanza looks authentically folk. She includes a fragment of verse translated from Creole (New Orleans), although she surmises "I think that is probably a mistake, since it appears to be a part of this familiar old song."

Whar you gwine Buzzard?
Whar you gwine Crow?
I'se gwine down to New Ground
To jump Jim Crow
Every time I turn around
I jump Jim Crow.{199}

In 1843, William Cullen Bryant noted a corn-shucking "John Crow" song in the Barnwell District of South Carolina which parallels "Jim Crow's"

stanzas of animal motifs chorused by a refrain syntactically similar to "Jump Jim Crow:"

De cooter is de boatman
John, John Crow
De red-bird de soger
John, John Crow
De mockingbird de lawyer
John, John Crow
De alligator sawyer
John, John Crow

Unfortunately, Bryant noted only the text.{200}

The tale and tune most pressing in this "Jim Crow" discussion comes from a collection of Jamaican folk-lore put under Walter Jekyll's name in 1907. Of its two "John Crow" stories, one sets him down to dinner over Hawk's fresh corpse; the other explains his baldness in a tale of courtship. This second includes two songs. One appears a variant of the ever popular "Day Break, Light, Clean" family (alias, Banana Song, John B.). The other could be a lost cousin of T.D. Rice's "Jim Crow."{201}

Conspicuous motifs brook most of the burden of consanguinity. Specifically, "Mr. Goldman's" song captures John Crow "a wheel him gal." Regards to the context of the sample to oral tradition suggest "where there is smoke there is fire". From John Crow's "a wheel dem," the imagination tends to conceive of another John Crow story in which John "wheels about," or "jumps John (or Jim) Crow." Furthermore, the melodies, while not bearing a strong resemblance balance with each other strikingly. The precise means of this applies in fairly elusive figures. Contiguously, this disclaimer extends a vigorous recommendation for aural comparison. Listening affirms drawing a link of kinship between Jim and John on the tunes alone seems unlikely. It as well entices a poke at the congruity

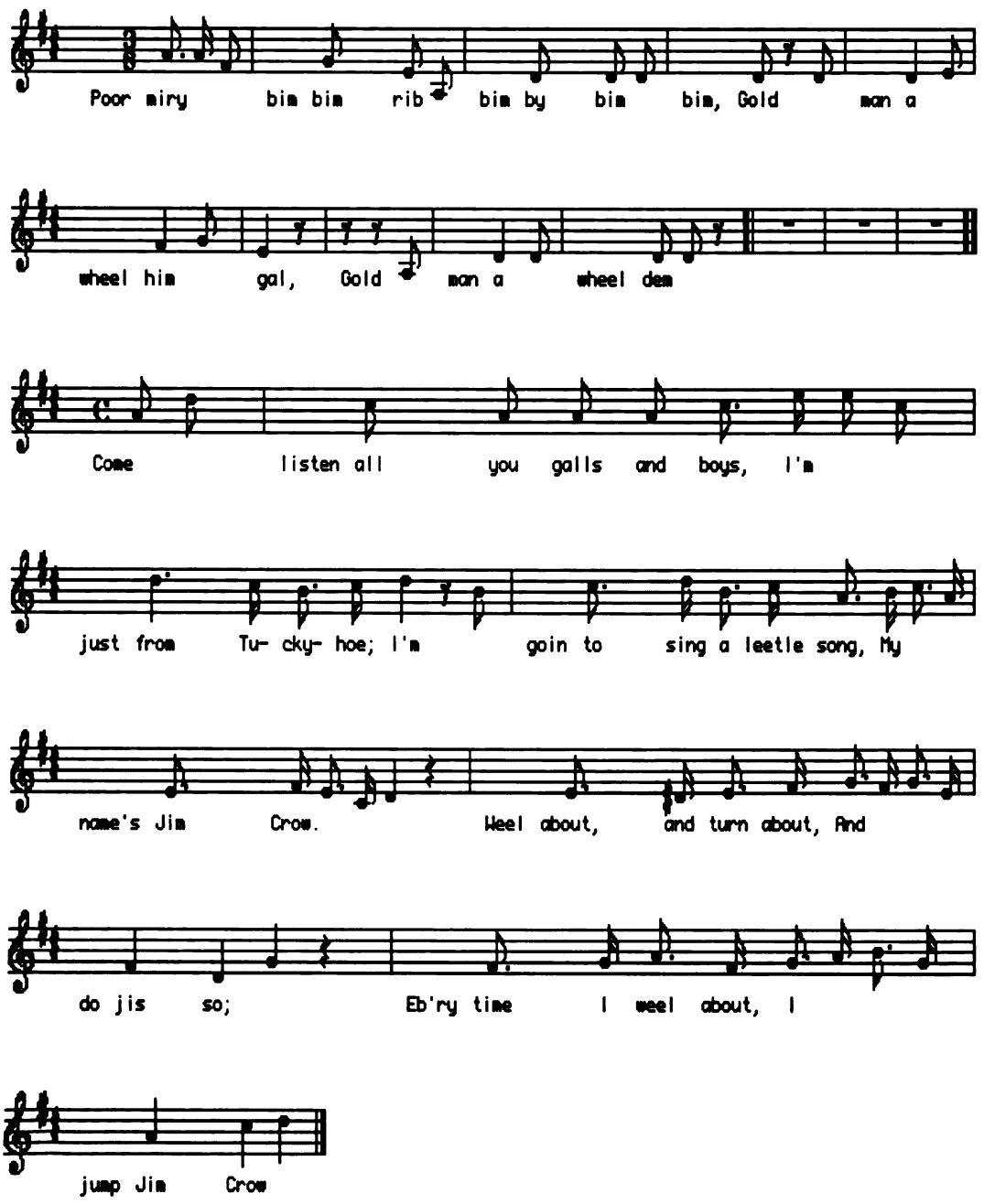
between the two.

Rice altered the tune of "Jim Crow," and Sol Smith claimed a hand in the work. Unfortunately, the "John Crow" song offers no indication of these alterations. By all means, the amendments edge toward rendering an African (or Afro-American) tune pleasing to white Americans. This entailed removing the "queerness," the "weirdness," and the "savageness" which most Anglo-Europeans found repugnant. Unfortunately, many of "Jim Crow's" features which demarcate it from "Mr. Goldman" hang in the opposite direction. For one, its reliance upon tones used seldom for a tune's skeleton (ti, sol, la, and re {octave}) tinges its D major key with an alien cast, even though the tune resists easy rotation into a minor. Within this range, it shades around its high tonic axis with minor and major seconds. Horace Boyer types this conjunct style fairly characteristic of African American melody.{202} Moreover, the refrain uses a sharp do, which although more common in European than Afro-American music, lends the piece an air of peculiarity. These incongruous features make a skeptical backdrop for a musicological comparison.

As part of fitting a new text to a tune, Rice probably embellished and extended the melodic line. It is also possible that he doubled the verse. Under these assumptions, the first phrase of "Mr. Goldman" represents "Jim Crow's" verse, embodied in its initial phrase. Setting these together italicizes the tunes' melodic similitude. "Goldman's" mi, fa, and re compliments the ti-sol design of "Jim Crow." At the phrases' end, "Crow's" ti and "Goldman's" low sol have a like valence moving to resolution in do. The second motif introduces the tonic in each. Its lone

Mr. Goldman

Jim Crow



manifestation over four eighth notes in "Goldman" leaves it fairly wide open for concurrence with other tonic oriented phrases. "Jim Crow's" second verse phrase substantially runs a variant from its first. The choruses diverge. Although the tunes share a rough contour, they sit at odds both rhythmically and melodically. Some affinity rests conceivable. For example, the descent from fa to re on "him gal" seems compatible with the closing mi-do-fa on "do jis so."

Again, aural comparison provides the best means to appreciate the unlikely affinity between the two tunes. Their melodic resemblance underscores their tie in text and context. The consummation of these domains places the "Jim Crow" pas seul and song in close alliance with African American animal stories. Despite Conner's and Ludlow's testimony, it remains extremely plausible that Picayune Butler introduced the "Jim Crow" act to the circus and theater set. Albeit, the Louisville account also leaves "Jim Crow's" folk origins open.

"Jim Crow," of course, became the favorite song of the English speaking world in the early 30s. His popularity, however, had peculiar effects in the United States. By the late 19th-century, at least, he became a standard African American folk figure. When this extraction from folk culture reentered its native tradition, he embellished and supplanted other figures of Crow. Thus, the fragment of "Jim Crow" verse Scarborough includes translated from Creole probably incarnates a mix of folk and popular pieces.

A bit more interesting example is Talley's elaborated version of a rhyme first printed in "Clare de Kitchen" (1832). In "Bullfrog Put on Soldiers Clothes," a frog goes out to a field to shoot crows. After firing a round, bullfrog does a little jig while Jim Crow fall. Before Rice's "Jim

Crow" sensation, John Crow would have been the crow's name.

The above "Jim Crow" story hinges on three tried and true techniques for demonstrating family relationship among tunes. The favorite method compares melodic similarities among tunes; Bertrand Harris Bronson, George Pullen Jackson, and Nathan, for example, use this. A second method matches song texts, sometimes only comparative and but also reductive toward an "Ur" version in the style of the "Finnish" school and Josiah Childs' work with English ballads. A third uses context to ascertain the likelihood of particular ingredients coming into a music. None of these are carved in stone. Some respected musicologists favor different means of comparison, like Alan Lomax's cantonometrics, while others feel misgivings even when using the conventional styles. Eileen Southern, for example, prefaces her match of "Pray All de Member" with an "Accra Fetish Hymn" collected by Thomas Bowdich with caveats for coincidence and inexact transcription.{203}

Like "Jim Crow" many "Ethiopian" songs had explicit and oblique links with African American culture. "Ethiopia's" vernacular faith of reason, however, leaves the proof of intercourse in bits and scraps at the bottom of the waste bin. Fetched out and pieced together, these tatters of evidence say precious little about who did what to whom, when. Boiled down, the matter hangs on the duplication, in detail or analogy or form, of virtually everything of blackface minstrelsy in records of African American folk culture.{204} The United States' historical "religion" runs such a violent current, though, that its deposits often cannot be traced to its sources. Such happens with the tangled ball of "Ethiopian" pieces and African American folklore.

The temporal, philosophical and aesthetic orientation of virtually

every record apropos the ties of African American folk culture and "Ethiopian" minstrelsy conspires to obscure the association. Two editions of Thomas Talley's Negro Folk Rhymes symbolize the myths elemental to this schema. The rhymes printed on the initial sixteen pages of the 1922 edition exhibit fourteen shared phrases encompassing at least ten blackface songs. Most of these satisfactorily trace to African American folklore; the satisfaction, albeit, lacks assurance; and, some divulge the almost frightening degree at which southern African Americans absorbed blackface material. Talley makes no mention of the previous life of any of this material. Page eleven holds a rhyme Talley titles "Negroes Never Die." At first glance it resembles a self-deprecating rolic; at a second it suggests an air of protest; and in context it emerges as a caustic parody, of the breed Lawrence Gellert collected, of the minstrel "Negro" stereotype. "Nigger!" it says,

Nigger never die!
He gits choked on Chicken pie
Black face, white shiny eye. Nigger! Nigger!

Nigger! Nigger never knows!
mashed nose, an' crooked toes;
Dat's de way de Nigger goes. Nigger! Nigger!

Nigger! Nigger always sing;
Jump up, cut de Pigeon's wing;
Whirl, an' give his feet a fling. Nigger! Nigger!

The rhyme apparently comes from Emmett's "High Daddy" (1863) which exemplifies Emmett's more bellicose racism during the Civil War. Its chorus's text harks,

Then darky, never die,
Black face and china eye;

Go down to the barnyard, boys,
owl's on the roos',
High Daddy wont come nigh,
He's chok'd on chicken pie;
'Tis all "OK," I say
and right upon the goose

"High Daddy" resembles Emmett's many other walk-arounds in status more than "Dixie," but its reappearance in African American folklore marks less than an extraordinary occasion. How popular it became and how it became so hangs cloudy. It at least appears in David Brody's Fiddler's Fakebook as "High Dad in the Morning" with nearly five hundred other "classic" American fiddle tunes.{205}

Charles Wolfe edited the expanded edition of Negro Folk Rhymes. This version has the boon of many of the one hundred and fifty six tunes Talley gathered during his search for "Negro rhymes." Wolfe makes a becoming effort to place credit to African American tradition for some of the songs and tunes Talley recorded which later surfaced as "old time" and country music standards. His serious absence of familiarity with the "Ethiopian" repertoire and African American traditions, yet, compensates his endeavor. Extreme, but indicative is Wolfe's annotation of "Big Ball Down Town" Talley recorded it as a 2/4 vocal piece of four phrases in Eb. The second to fourth he writes with a solo and chorus. When Wolfe comes to comment on the arrangement after sketching the song's luxuriant career in country, swing, and old-time traditions he proposes the musical theme, "is unusual in that it suggests a vocal arrangement, possibly for a quartet." Rather, the form marks one of the accepted forms of notating African and African American antiphonal singing. He repeats this talent consistently, usually attributing to minstrelsy pieces which have documented histories

outside this realm.

Talley's Negro Folk Rhymes shows that minstrelsy and African American folklore shared many rhymes, but it evinces no evidence of the direction of the borrowing. Wolfe lays a layer of erudition over Talley's silence which eases naught. As he points out, Negro Folk Rhymes embodies an invaluable record of African American folklore. It offered the first printed collection of the camouflaged and quickly fading body of antebellum secular music.{206} Moreover, Talley surpassed all later collectors in proximity to slave traditions and often in collecting skills. As it stands, Talley's work bears limited usefulness as a gauge of African American folklore apropos minstrelsy. Negro Folk Rhymes only epitomizes a problem ubiquitous to most records of antebellum African American music and dance. Works like Slave Songs of the United States or Slave Songs of the Georgia Sea Islands prove "Ethiopian" minstrelsy and African American folklore intermingled; on what terms comprises a monstrous historical problem.

Add to Talley's enigmatic, mishandled text Dennison's Scandalize My Name, where Dennison insensibly hammers out an image of "Ethiopian" minstrelsy utterly devoid of any trace of the "real black." Or, the established scholarship of Cecil Sharp (who elsewhere proves Morris dances have no relation to nigger music), George Pullen Jackson, Samuel P. Bayard or Alan Jabbour; it evokes frightful visions.{207} At heart, the visions constitute nothing worse than a profoundly distorted conception of African American culture and a completely wrong idea of how this culture and "Ethiopian" minstrelsy intermingled.{208}

These nightmarish dreams run counter a body of musical evidence which certifies the "Ethiopian," "Negro" and "Plantation" songs of

blackface entertainments borrowed African American music across the antebellum decades. Minstrelsy never borrowed consistently nor replicated African American song with ringing verisimilitude. It began using, the banjo, an instrument brought from West Africa, the fiddle, with which Africans, North and South, won acclaim, and the tambourine or bones, two instruments favored by African Americans. Between 1828-1867, "Negro" minstrelsy incorporated pieces of music from a variety of African American styles—corn-shucking, river, dance, and religious. The incentives propelling all this expropriation lack documentation. Noting two, on speculation, partially illuminates the context in which the recreation of African American music in "Ethiopian" minstrelsy lay.

One pull, frequently disparaged or overlooked, haunts the vigor of the music. Robert Winans avers the early minstrel bands resemble the Southern string bands recorded toward the close of the 19th-century. In this category also, is the John Lusk band which played for Stu Jamison's phonograph in the 1940s. This African American string band, these men of color, carried close ties with antebellum styles. Jamison described the band's playing as "far and away the most sophisticated square dance music we had ever heard." John Lusk played the fiddle of his grandfather who learned to play in New Orleans in the 1840s on his Tennessee owner's account. Lusk had among his tunes in 1946 "Old Sage Friend" which his grandfather supposedly used as signature piece. The piece epitomizes the old time breakdown music like "Run Nigger Run" and "Devilish Pigs" and "Old Dad" which Dunbar and Talley apostheosize. It starts high, slurring the melody and gradually tightening it with rhythmic variation. Dropping to the lower tonic at the third phrase it jigs into its lower second part. Here, Lusk saws the bow up the strings with a bounce. The melody runs a

quick rise and fall. Yet, the sawing presses home the tune's breakdown angst over the slurred melody. Like the "Ethiopian" banjoists, Murphy Gribble tuned his instrument, a store bought one (unlike the early minstrel banjos), lower, by a third. Gribble played remarkably. On a banjo alone take of "Altamont," he twines a contrapunal "broken legged" rhythmic/melodic tapestry, loosely related to the fiddle's melody, which thumps clustered bass notes and teeter totter's around the tune's rhythmic flow.{209} Gribble foreswore title of any part of his playing. He played, he said, just like the old folks. Although different from other African derived banjo styles, the "old folk's" style also, ostensibly, comes from Africa in that Gribble's thumped out bass notes have an affinity with the playing styles of Charley Patton on "Boweavil Blues" and a Muslim "War Song" from an area near Timbuktu which William Tallmadge remarks on in connection with Paul Oliver's Savannah Syncopators.{210} {211}

Winans recognizes that the "Ethiopian" bands used different orchestration from turn-of-the-century string bands. The blackface bands made their rhythm with the monotonal percussion instruments, bones and tambourine, instead of the guitar.{212} Like the early minstrel banjos, the tambourine was more resonant and percussive than later versions. With a larger surface and fewer cymbals, it resembled a drum rather than a rattle.{213} Bones make a bright, hard clatter. Typically they add fast staccato rhythms but play divers tempos and rhythms as easily. The quick rolling syncopated rhythms Percy Danforth plays on New World Record's Early Minstrel Show Music evinces this music as one of the more rhythmically complex American styles. Organized by Winans, Early Minstrel Show Music attempts an authentic reproduction of a typical 1840s minstrel show. The several instrumental pieces reconstructed

from printed sources (sheet music, instruction books, narrative accounts, songsters, and manuscripts) bring to life the simple melodies and illustrate the liveliness of songs like "De Boatman's Dance" and "Lucy Long." The instrumental accompaniment of "Old Joe," which John Lusk's band calls "Christmas Eve," has striking resemblance to current "old-time" versions which underscores tradition's conservation power. A blend of British Isles and African styles mark these tunes, particularly the banjo and fiddle solos, placing it similar to the old-time breakdown music.

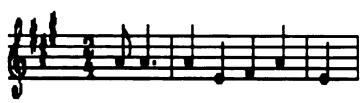
A desire to experience African American culture manifested in minstrelsy at least through the Civil War. Before the war, "Ethiopian" entertainments partially fulfilled the interest which greeted the Jubilee Singers and their ilk in the 1870s and 1880s. Dan Emmett commonly gets recognition for loosely basing his music, particularly the walk-arounds, on the slaves' music. E.P. Christy, however, apparently made a habit of assimilating authentic, or restyled, African American music into his shows.

The various styles of African American music more or less opened its own doors. The interest in this culture in excess the music's pull flowed from several wells. The curiosity of African Americans which subsequent generations of Americans evinced with an interest in spirituals and folklore initially comprised part of the blackface performances. Concomitantly, the esteem of national culture which later emerged in a celebration of Negro folk-life made an undercurrent in the shows. Other divers impulses spawned the insertion of African American music in "Ethiopian" minstrelsy. Albeit the definite reasons remain tenuous, the exchange of musical traditions indubitably created part of the experience.{214}

"Uh, let me prove it to ya."

A brief melodic comparison of the Slave Songs of the United States, Stephen Foster's "Plantation" or "Ethiopian" material and a scattering of minstrel and related songs from the William Clement collection divulge aspects of disheartening congruity among all the music. Major largely fashioned the collection, (the "New Jersey Lovers" being the exception of minstrel songs), although the Slave Songs included nine percent minor songs. Sol and do opened most songs. The rarer mi appeared about as frequently in all the styles. Moreover, a count of the motion within melodic phrases suggests the melodies of eighty-eight Slave Songs encompassed roughly the same number of intervals as sentimental minstrel songs, Foster's and other darky "Plantation" songs. Unlike Bertrand H. Bronson's melodic motion formula, the evaluation simply measures the number of tone changes in a melodic phrase. For example:

Corn Shuckin' Song from Virginia = Nine Changes



Approximately thirty-eight changes in eight bars is archetypal. The Slave Songs tend toward holding the archetype or showing less motion while Foster's stay fairly even (minus octaves) whereas the chorus of a sentimental minstrel song, such as "I'll Wait at the gate for Thee" scrapes up to fifty-nine changes in eight bars. The African American songs also have a dominating tone slightly more frequently. These tend to count for forty to fifty percent of a phrases' tones in contrast to the seventy percent reached in some minstrel songs and the more common twenty-eight to thirty-three percent.

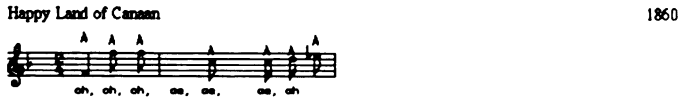
Unlike most traditional music, the Slave Songs use duple time exclusively. Only six, or less than five percent, have triple time. In this, they stand close to the "Negro" songs of blackface minstrelsy. Once again, chicken and egg march on the rainbow to chaos. The transcribers' choice of duple time exhibits something of an arbitrary decision. As a fact, triple time and duple time exchange easily. Richard Waterman stresses, that even musically trained Americans find it difficult not to situate a beat in a familiar rhythm as they do with the trains which click-clack in 5/4 or 7/8 time. Hence, it stands conceivable that the contributors and the editors of Slave Songs chose duple time to accord the music with the widely popular "Negro" songs.

Using a checklist of salient musical features offers one sound means for hunting the African American imprint in "Negro" songs. Earlier, allusions to this or that tune's prominently African or African American trait filled out its general delineation. While looking for Afro-American smatterings among early American popular music, this checklist basically extended to ten items. African music frequently uses pentatonic scales. Since all melody derives from the pentatonic form, its appearance in American popular songs usually means little. Yet, its powerful presence in a "Negro" song suggests a good reason to suspect an Afro-American source.

Most of what formerly headed under "primitive" music has descending melodies. Such is African music. African melodies, also, change little, but balance around an epicenter with two or three tones. Moreover, when an Afro-American melody uses ti it usually flattens it. This marks one feature of the "blue" tonality; a flat mi and a re broken into several smaller intervals are its other noted parts. Like other traditional musics

such as English and Sioux, African and African American melody occurs in a minor key as a routine affair. Hence, a minor tune like the earthy "I'm Gwine to Alabamy" appears in the Slave Songs at a time when an art composer uses minor only to evoke melancholy.

Today, yet, timbre sets African and African American vocals apart from European styles further than tone. In African music, falsetto is an acceptable singing voice. Africans embedded their style in a variety of solo and communal music settings in the Americas. Allston Brown's comment on Old Corn Meal's "fine falsetto and baritone voice" hints that minstrels recognized and accepted the African approach toward falsetto. Falsetto bears merit among the divers African vocal timbres because it shows up in sheet music. Thus, the sheet music of William Wray's "Happy Land of Canaan" conspicuously emulates Afro-American music at its chorus:



Early "Negro" Songs

Following comes a brief expatiation upon thirteen early "Negro" songs which obviously stemmed from folk music. Whether the tunes emanated from Afro, Anglo or other traditions sometimes lingers unknown. Given the performance customs of antebellum Southern music, from where the tunes came, the effect of both

African and Euro-Anglo traditions stands assured. The African heritage hardly ever looms patent. For many years, the "Old World" ties of Southern music afforded a fruitful occupation to musicologists. Whether deliberately, as did George Jackson, or inadvertently, these gentlemen cleft Ethiopia from the "Old World." Effecting a counterbalance compels

an imaginative leap of faith. This act alone renders the greater tone repetition in "Zip Coon" than of its supposed ancestor "Rose Tree" the impression of African music instead of the achievement of the arranger.

"Clare de Kitchen" (Baltimore: George Willig, 1832)

Samuel Foster Damon writes that T.D. Rice picked up a revised version of the nonsense animal song George Willig Jr. of Baltimore copyrighted in 1832 as a companion piece to "Jim Crow." Rice or someone else altered the tune of this later version from the George Willig printing. In Rice's rendition also, a few other scenes and animals supplement the blind old horse of the first edition. "Clare de Kitchen's" three initial stanzas epitomize ubiquitous motifs in African American folklore.

I went to de creek I couldn't git acros,
I'd nobody wid me by an old blind horse;
But old Jim Crow came riding by,
Says he, old fellow your horse will die.

My horse fell down upon de spot,
Says he "dont you see his eyes is sot;"
So I took out my knife and off wid his skin
And when he comes to life I'll ride him agin

A jay bird sot on a hickory limb,
He wink'd at me and I wink'd at him;
I pick'd up a stone and I hit his shin,
Says he you better not do dat agin.

The first two stanzas supposedly combine two distinct legends; one which addresses a horse and river and the other which addresses an old horse bound to die. The horse and river image also appears in several versions of "Jim Crow," such as J. Edgar's 1832 edition. In the annotation of Talley's "Crossing the River" which includes it, Wolfe indicates the

couplet "I went down to de river an' I couldn' git 'cross, So I give a whole dollar fer a ole blin' hoss," occurs commonly in white and black Southern traditions. In Talley's collection, it also appears in "Gray and Black Horses," which resembles the ring-game song "Mary Mack" Harold Courlander collected in Alabama in 1950. "Old man your horse will die" appears in Talley under "He Is My Horse." E.J. Snow from Pine Bluff Arkansas contributed to Slave Songs the song "Charleston Gals" which bridges the verses and chorus with "Along come an old man riding by: Old man, if you don't mind, your horse will die; If he dies I'll tan his skin, And if he lives I'll ride him agin." This scene also recurs frequently in black and white traditions. Nathan, for example, erroneously gives it an English heritage through W.B. Whall's Sea Song and Shanties.{215}

The third verse likely belongs to the "B'Rabbit" species of animal tales. The Jaybird appears in seven rhymes Talley published. Other appearances occur in the collections of Scarborough, Newman White, and Ray B. Browne. Oddly, Wolfe suggests "Br'er Rabbit's" presence in Talley's "Jaybird" implies a literary influence. More plausible is that the Jaybird inhabited a minor role in African American animal stories and songs. Toward the back of the Talley's collection, Br'er Rabbit and Jaybird have another conversation in "Speak Softly"—which confers satisfactory confirmation that the two came from one tradition.{216}

The fourth stanza probably originated in African American tradition, but little evidence marshals as proof.

A Bull frog dress'd sogers close,
Went in de field to shoot some crows;
De crows smell powder and fly away,
De Bull frog mighty mad dat day.

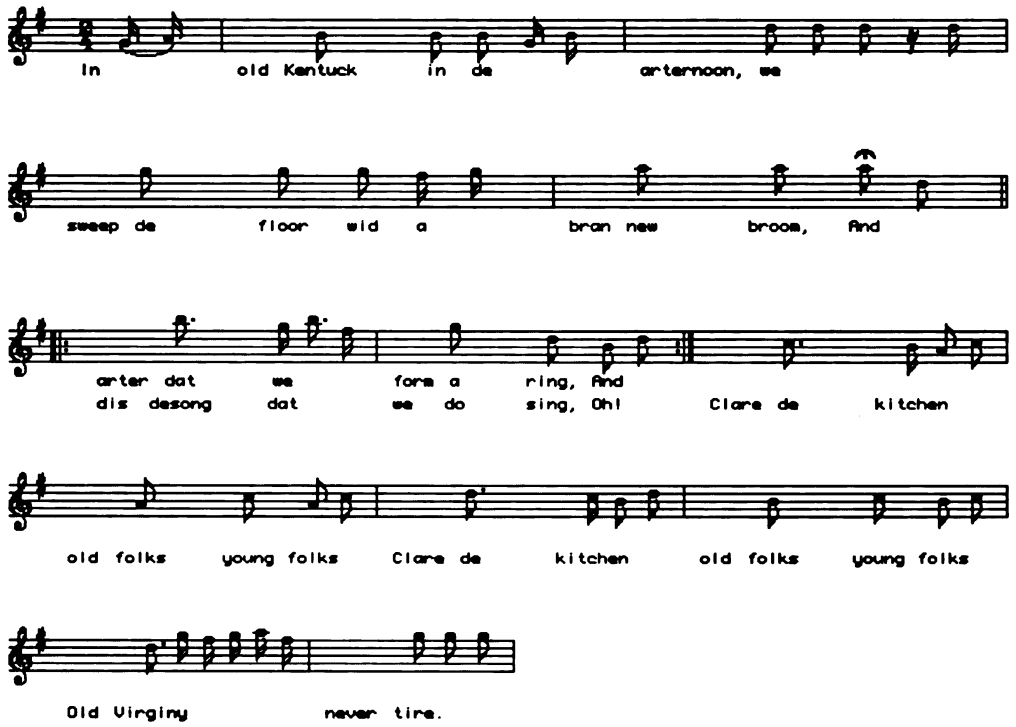
Talley includes a piece which extends this story he titles "Bullfrog Put on the Soldier's Clothes." Jim Crow's presence betrays the influence of blackface songs. Whether this extends to the main theme seems hidden. The "John Crow" song William C. Bryant collected from South Carolina announces the equation "De red-bird de soger." This at least establishes the soldier as a animal persona in African American folklore.{217}

A match for the tune of "Clare de Kitchen" may rest somewhere in recorded and transcribed collections of African or African American music. The research for this essay failed to procure one. The known alteration of the tune shakes out most likelihood of finding a companion to stand as an antecedent. However, the change creates more latitude for comparison. Accordingly, it is meet and right to contemplate the affinity between "My Body Rock 'Long Fever" and "Clare de Kitchen."

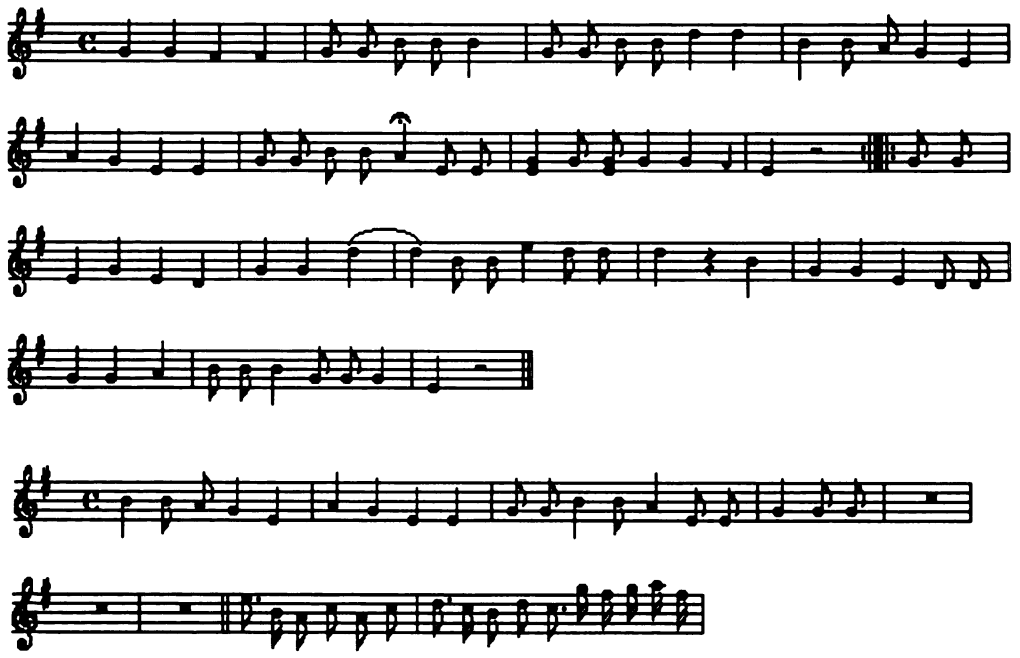
Moving from a religious to a secular song causes no disquiet, similar that it posed no problem to Africans and Anglo-Europeans at the South in the evangelical churches.During the Great Awakenings and after, both Southern traditions converted many traditional tunes to the service of the Lord. When sung at work or for recreation, however, secular couplets tended to reappear.

"Clare de Kitchen" cannot be confirmed as an African American folk-song. Its sheet music form leans heavily upon this tradition for text and melody. If not an authentic Afro-American song, it at least embodies a deliberate attempt to replicate its style.

Clare de Kitchen



My body rock 'long fever (Slave Song 45)



"Long Time Ago" (Baltimore: G. Willig, 1833)

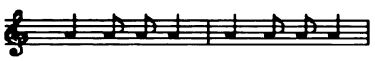
Historical folklore attributes "Long Time Ago" to African Americans at least from the Civil War when William F. Allen wrote, "It is not generally known that the beautiful air "Long time ago," or "Near the lake Where drooped the willow," was borrowed from the negroes, by whom it was sung to words beginning, "Way down in Raccoon Hollow."{218} Unfortunately, this last song absents itself from print and record.

Dennison puts up a reasonable argument against the authenticity of "Long Time Ago." Besides a textual critique, Dennison criticizes several anomalous features of Damon's annotation which convey the claim Allen made in 1867. His case against these declarations of the tune's African American pedigree is well taken on the point that accepting the tune's alleged pre-sheet music history demands an act of faith. His other arguments fall flat. For example, a large portion of the tune's credibility rests in its distinct call and response pattern. In the context of early American songs, this pattern is arrestingly singular. Given the prominence of antiphonal singing in African music, the African slave context of the song puts reason behind a faith in "Long Time Ago's" authenticity. Against this Dennison professes, "The so-called call and response' pattern cannot be cited effectually inasmuch as the device is common to many other types of music closer to Western experience." Long before, but especially when Africans became over fifty percent of the population of South Carolina, at least thirty percent of Virginia's population, and even nine percent of the population of New York City, they became a part of the Western experience, especially the American.{219}

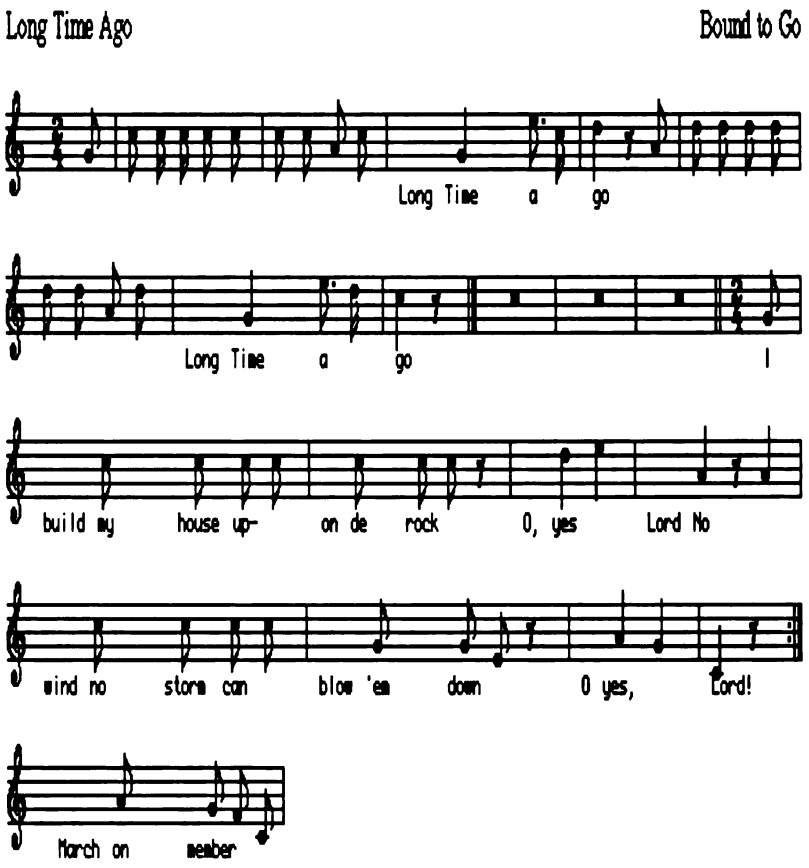
Dennison missed Nathan's better argument against the African American origin of "Long Time Ago." The Southern Harmony (1835), he notes, included an identical tune of the same name with different text. As George Morris did in 1852, William Walker conceivably adapted Willig's sheet music. However, "Long Time Ago" appearing in The Southern Harmony primarily accents its folk credentials. Of whose culture is speculative.

The tune of the T.D. Rice version of "Long Time Ago" has features related to African or African American music, but these fail to establish an alliance. Unlike most folk songs of the white people of America, the melody of "Long Time Ago" runs linearly, similar to many African songs, rather than as a wave. Moreover, within the opening single-tone phrase the notes divide into a rhythm common in the Slave Songs and other collections of African American songs. .{220}

Rhythmic Example



"Turn Sinner, Turn O," and "Rain Fall and Wet Becca Lawton" have this feature. British Isles styled songs contain these forms to a degree which prevents definitely claiming them as marks of African or African American music.{221} The close of each single tone phrase on a anthemic refrain, though, pulls close to distinctive African American styles, exemplified by "Bound to Go."



"Zip Coon:" as Sung by All The Celebrated Comic Singers (New York: Atwill's Music Saloon, 1834).

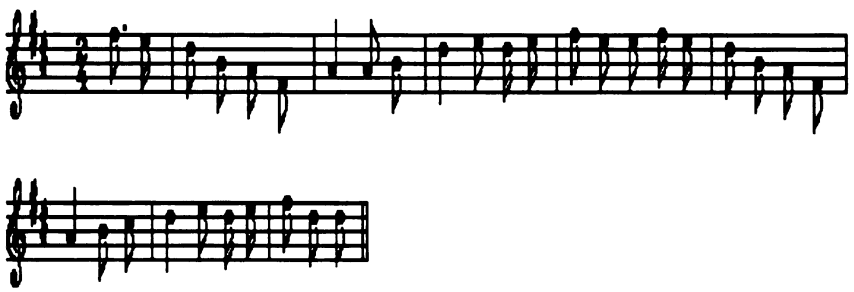
Atwill's Music Saloon printed "Zip Coon" arranged for the piano forte. Damon identifies the figure in the cover illustration as George W. Dixon; Dixon's picture in Lawrence Hutton's "The Negro on the Stage" affirms Damon's assertion.{222} Either in the 60s or the 70s, the tune reemerged as "Turkey in the Straw," according to Nathan by Emmett's aegis.{223} Nathan ostensibly errs. Winans found this variant title the most frequently mentioned instrumental song referred to in the Slave Narratives. Under this title, "Zip Coon" endures as one of the most popular American

melodies.

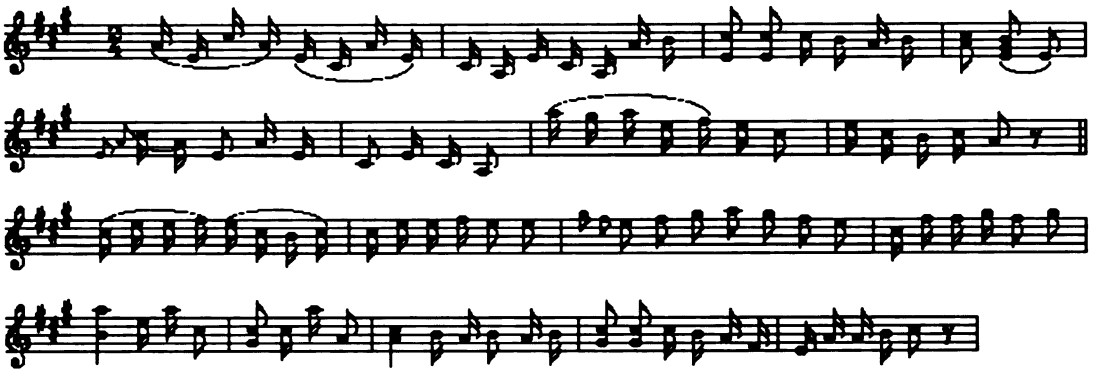
The tune existed in oral tradition before it became an "Ethiopian" hit. "Natchez Under the Hill" was its predecessor. Natchez played a key role in the trade along the Mississippi river. Like most booming riverboat towns Natchez attracted a wild crowd and acquired a wild atmosphere. T. Allston Brown depicts the tune originating "from a rough jig dance, called Natchez Under the Hill,' where the boatmen, river pirates, gamblers and courtesans congregated for the enjoyment of a regular hoe-down, in the old time." Whether Brown speaks of a specific locale or metaphorically of Natchez town lacks convenient documentation. At such wharfside hoe-downs, African fiddlers probably provided the entertainment.

Alan Jabbour claims "Natchez Under the Hill" derives from a popular Scottish-English song "Rose Tree," which like "Turkey in the Straw" and "Natchez" remains current in oral tradition. Jabbour's coupling of "Natchez" with "Rose Tree" presents a persuasive case. Still, the unlike tenors of the tunes, especially, leave coincidence an open door.

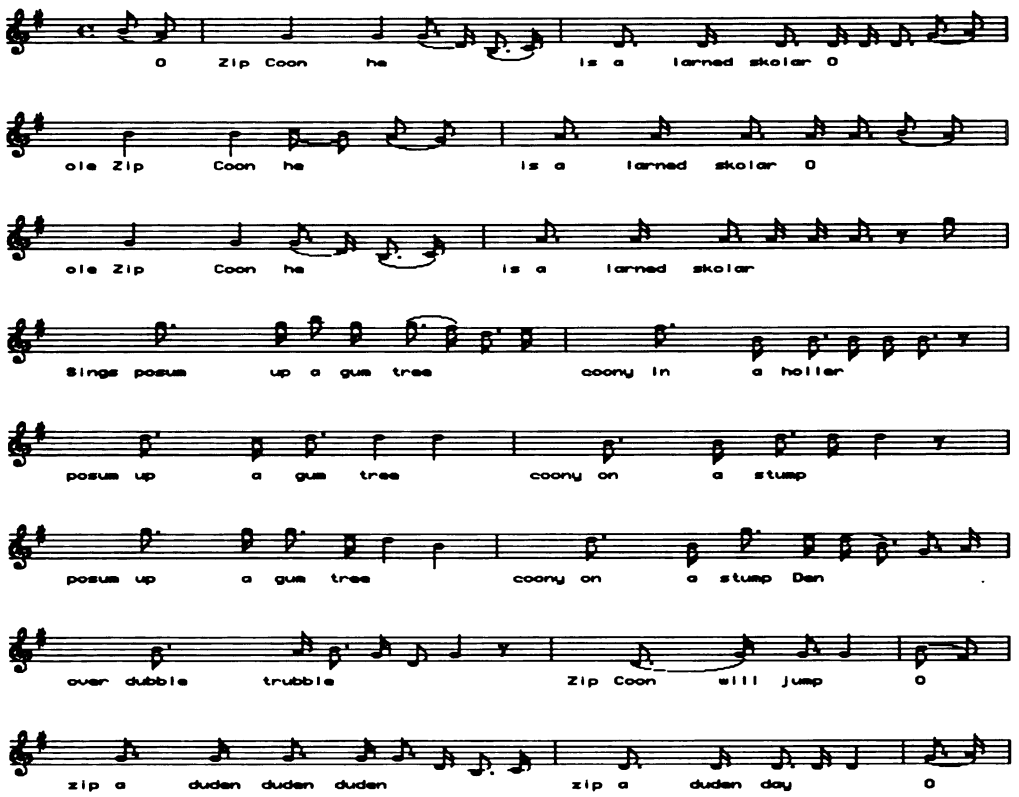
Rose Tree (1824-1826)



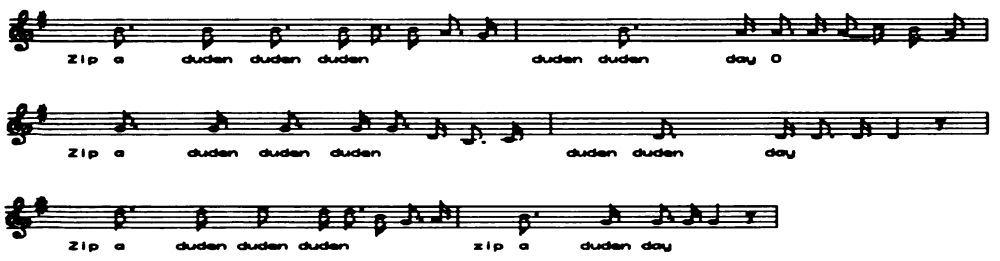
Natchez Under the Hill



Zip Coon



Zip Coon



Setting "Rose Tree" as a precedent of "Natchez Under the Hill" embodies a problem above melody. Jabbour's use of "Rose Tree" took direction from the work of Samuel Bayard, Cecil Sharp, and Winston Wilkinson. These three spent an immense effort tracing tunes in America back to the "Old World." Despite the tremendous value of their work, its purely Anglo-European perspective projects a stilted view of America's musical tradition. It states, basically, that despite the vigorous participation of Africans in America's early secular music they added practically nothing to it.

The tunes of "Rose Tree," "Natchez Under the Hill" and "Zip Coon" vary quite a lot. Part of the difference, indubitably, is the imprint of black fiddlers. Where in notable melody and rhythm apparently lies beyond knowing; mostly because, unlike British Isles and European music, the African music which came to the Americas never went outside of oral tradition. And here, is the problem of writing about the music of the United States in the manner of Bayard, Sharp and Wilkinson.

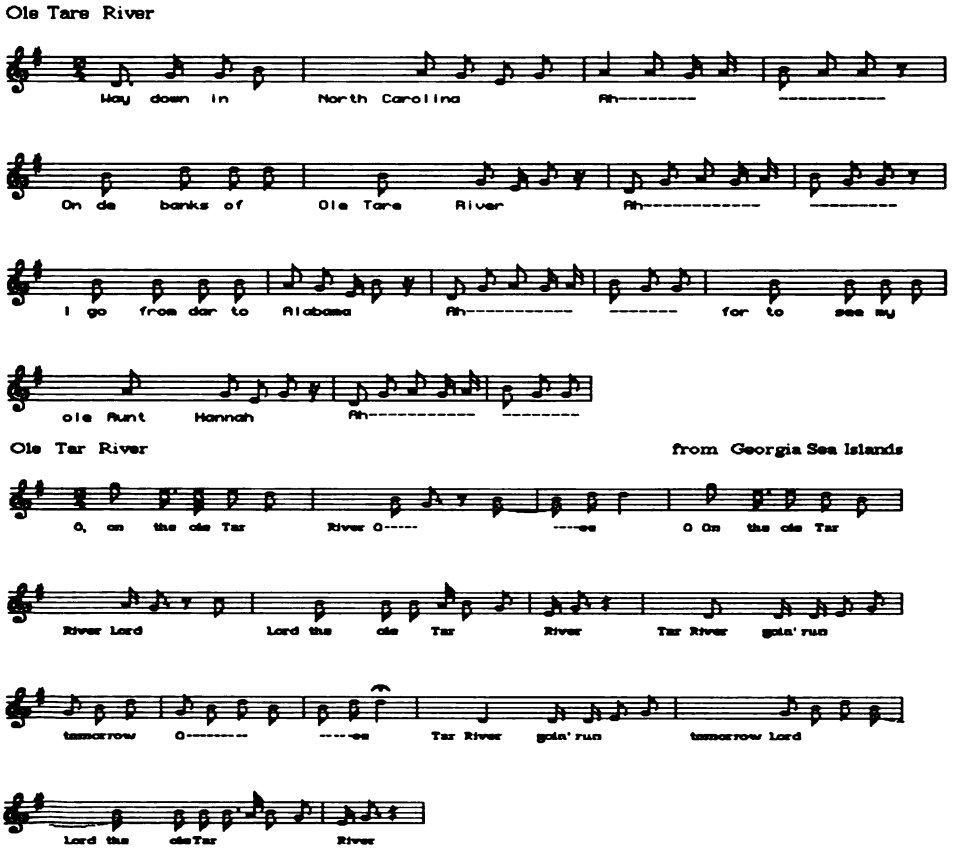
"Ole Tare River:" As sung with tremendous applause at. . .by J.W. Sweeny (Boston, Henry Prentiss, 1840)

Nathan adds to the facsimile of "Ole Tare River" in Dan Emmett, without explanation, a chorus which does not appear in the original. His model may have been the text of "Ole Tare River" in a Negro Extravaganza, Hard Times (1854). This adjustment italicizes its similarity with "Ole Tar River" as it exists in African American tradition. Regardless if "Ethiopians" sang this chorus, Nathan's assumption that the musical interludes in the sheet music replace a vocal refrain has justification. For, like the chorus of "Long Time Ago," the regular musical breaks in "Ole Tar River" beget distinctiveness.

In the version collected by Lydia Parrish in the Georgia Sea Islands, this burden becomes a falsetto whoop, O-ee-ee. Frederick L. Olmsted labels this "The Carolina Yell" or "Jodeling" in Seaboard Slave States. Its presence in African American singing embodies a continuation of African styles. Falsetto refrains, similar to "Ole Tar River" from the Sea Islands recur in "I'm Gwine Away to Alabamy," and "O, Rock Me, Julie." The sheet music of Sweeny's rendition suggests he replaced the falsetto chorus with a banjo solo, or that a long chorus on "oh" or "ah" violated admissible fashions in printed sheet music.

The melody of Sweeny's "Ole Tare River" shares a likeness with the Sea Island's "Ole Tar River," "I'm Gwine to Alabamy," and "O, Rock Me, Julie." In different figures, the two opening verse phrases of "Ole Tare River" parallel the "Ole Tar River" collected by Parrish. The opening tonic of "Ole Tar River" roughly fits the lower tonic phrase beginning with subaltern sol in "Ole Tare River." The sub-mediant (e) and mediant (b) retain the tunes'

harmonic congruity into their second motive, or tonal sense. The drop from sol to mi before the close of "Ole Tar River's" first phrase scarcely resembles the roll between re-do-la-do in "Ole Tare River," but the change adds a bit of bite which imparts an analogous feel. While sharing a closer contour line, the tones of the second phrase harmonize less. Notably, the opening tonic against a lower mediant (major sixth) and "Ole Tar's" following la against one or two of "Ole Tare's" sol disagree. Comparison of the melodies on the final "ole tar(e) river" exhibits greater concurrence. Rhythmically they match perfectly; both use the conventional method of enunciating "river" by shortening the initial stressed syllable.{224} Taking tonality primarily from mi and subaltern la, on one hand, and sol and re on the other, the two differ in melodic flavor, but basically run variations from the same pentatonic based resolution.



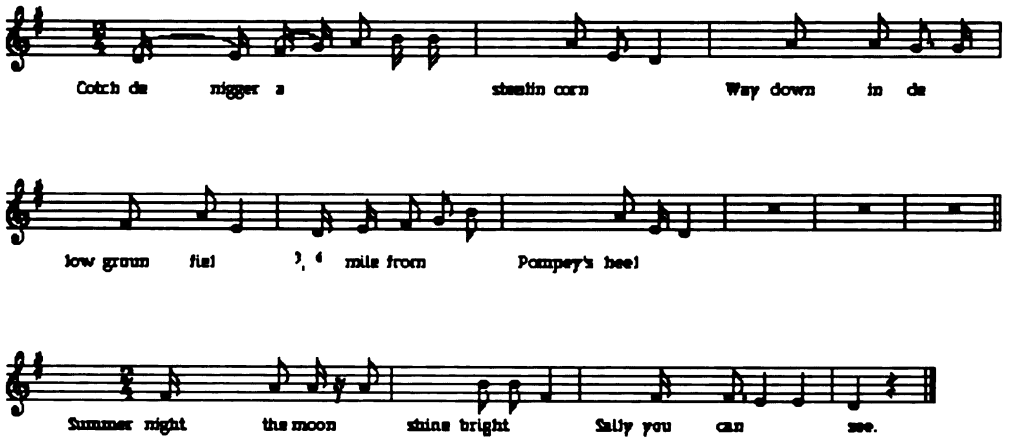
"Ole Pee Dee": Written and composed by J.P. Carter (Boston, Keith's Publishing House, 1844)

This song has one of two identities. Carter either rewrote a popular African American song, changing it considerably, or he applied the title of a popular African American song to a different tune, presumably to lend his work an air of authenticity. Two factors argue for the first scenario. The melody of the traditional dance or ring-play song, "Ole Pee Dee" sounds very beautiful. It grabbed Fredrika Bremer's attention in the spring of 1850 when she heard a man sing it in Columbia, South Carolina. She wrote, "I would that I could give you an idea, so fresh was the melody, and so peculiar the key." The stanza Bremer recalled matches the version of this song Parrish collected. Most of the difference encompasses the change of the protagonist's action from active in Bremer's to passive in Julia's and the abbreviation of the prepositional phrases around /moon and shine/. Julia's rhymes:{225}

Way down in the Ole Peedee (2X)
Summer night the moon shine bright
Sally you can see

Secondly, Carter sets "Ole Pee Dee" in mixolydian. This modality was rare. Except for Andrew Law's "The American Hero," it never appears in the fifty tunes of Damon's Series of Old American Songs. Although Henry Krehbiel finds the mixolydian mode in less than four percent of half a thousand Afro-American songs, his figure lacks relevance by virtue of its dependence upon the several refurbished anthologies put out by Hampton and Fisk.{226} Something extraordinary prompted Carter to use the mixolydian scale. Grafting a new image on a folk song offers a good source of the use's cause.

Ole Pee Dee (end)



Way Down in the Ole Peedee (end)

"Walk Along, John" (Boston: C. H. Keith, 1843)

"Walk Along, John" and "Oh, Come Along John" use motifs and stanzas common in African American folklore and "Ethiopian" songs. For example, "Oh Come Along John's"

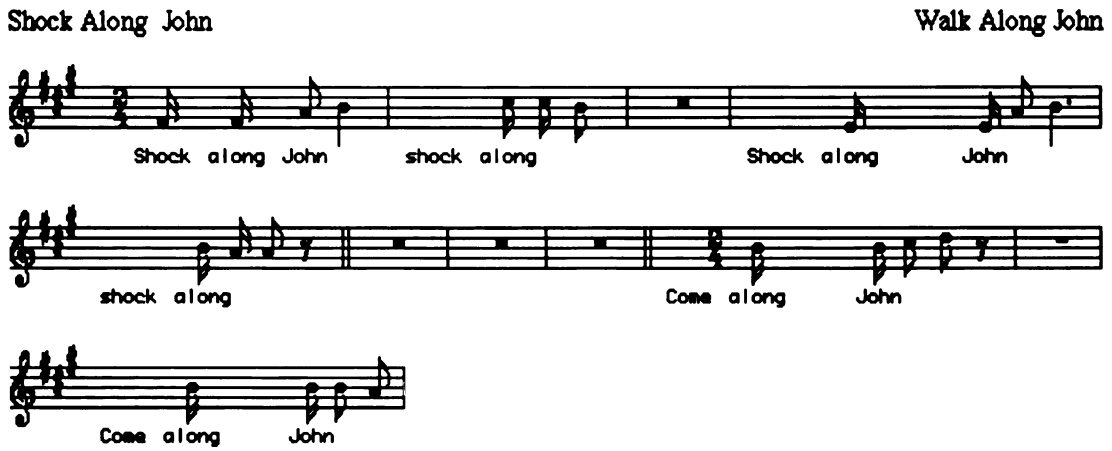
Johnny's cheese was nine years old,
De skippers gittin mighty bold;
A long tail rat in a bucket of souse
Jist come from de white folks house.

reappears in Scarborough as,

Milk and de veal
Six weeks old,
Mice and skippers
Gettin' mighty bold!
Long-tailed mouse
Wid a pail of souse,
Skippin' frum de kitchen
To de white folks' house!

Ubiquitous Aunt Dinah, a chunk of ember and a goose, as well as lines from other "Negro" songs materialize in the two songs. The couplet known best from "Old Dan Tucker"—"He pair'd his corn wid a rail road wheel, It gib 'im de tooth ache in de heel," shows up in the contemporaneous "Walk Along, John."

A song fragment contributed by Dr. W.A. Hammond to the Slave Songs hints that "Walk Along, John" existed on the plantation before it became a "Plantation" melody. Hammond only recalled the tune and the refrain of this corn-song Slave Songs titles, "Shock Along, John." Shock means shuck, and its refrain matches the "Come along John" formerly "Walk along, John" of Keith's printing.

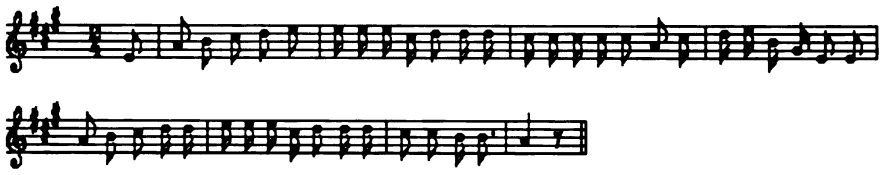


"Lubly Fan Will You Cum Out To Night?" Composed by Cool White (Boston, Keith's Publishing, 1844).

Damon cites this as the original of the multifarious "Come Out Tonight" songs rampant in 19th-century song collections, also known in upper South fiddling as "Round Town Gals." Jabbour identifies this precursor of "Buffalo Gals" as an adaptation of "Midnight Serenade" which appears in

George P. Knauff's fourth volume of Virginia Reels (1839). Chris Goertzen notes the common semantics of "Midnight Serenade" and "dance by de light ob de moon" imply a joined text and tune existed in Virginia before Cool White adapted it to the minstrel stage. Samuel Bayard, apparently, establishes the German roots of "Midnight Serenade." Whether this is true matters little in light of the absolutely ethnocentric means he used.{227} Allen points out a corollary of the tune in Slave Songs. He takes it as evidence of the unauthenticity of "Gwine Follow." Nothing guided his conclusion other than the tune's wide familiarity.

Gwine to Follow (second part)



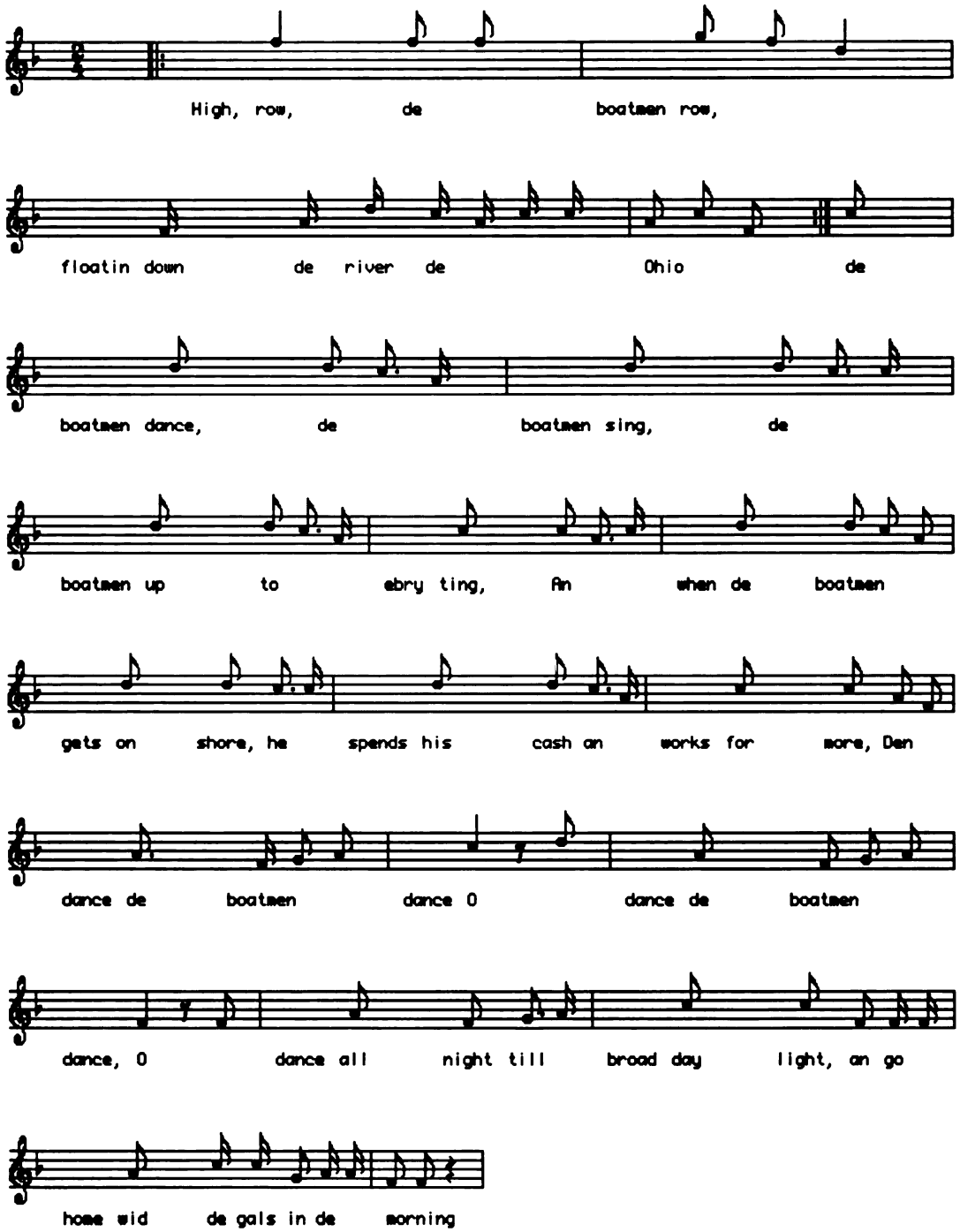
"De Boatman's Dance:" An original Banjo melody by Old Dan D. Emmit; Leader of the Virginia Minstrels (Boston, C.H. Keith, 1843).

Knauff's fourth volume of Virginia Reels also contains "Ohio River" which shares a tune with the "Boatman's Dance" the Virginia Minstrels popularized.{228} Nathan uncovered an antecedent of the song's chorus in W.P. Strickland's The Pioneers of the West. Strickland, who travelled through the West in the 20s and 30s, recalled hearing boatmen on the Ohio river sing,

Dance, boatmen, dance
Dance, dance away
Dance all night till broad day light
And go home with the gals in the morning

"De Boatman's Dance" differs only by substituting the second line with a

De Boatman's Dance



repetition of the first.

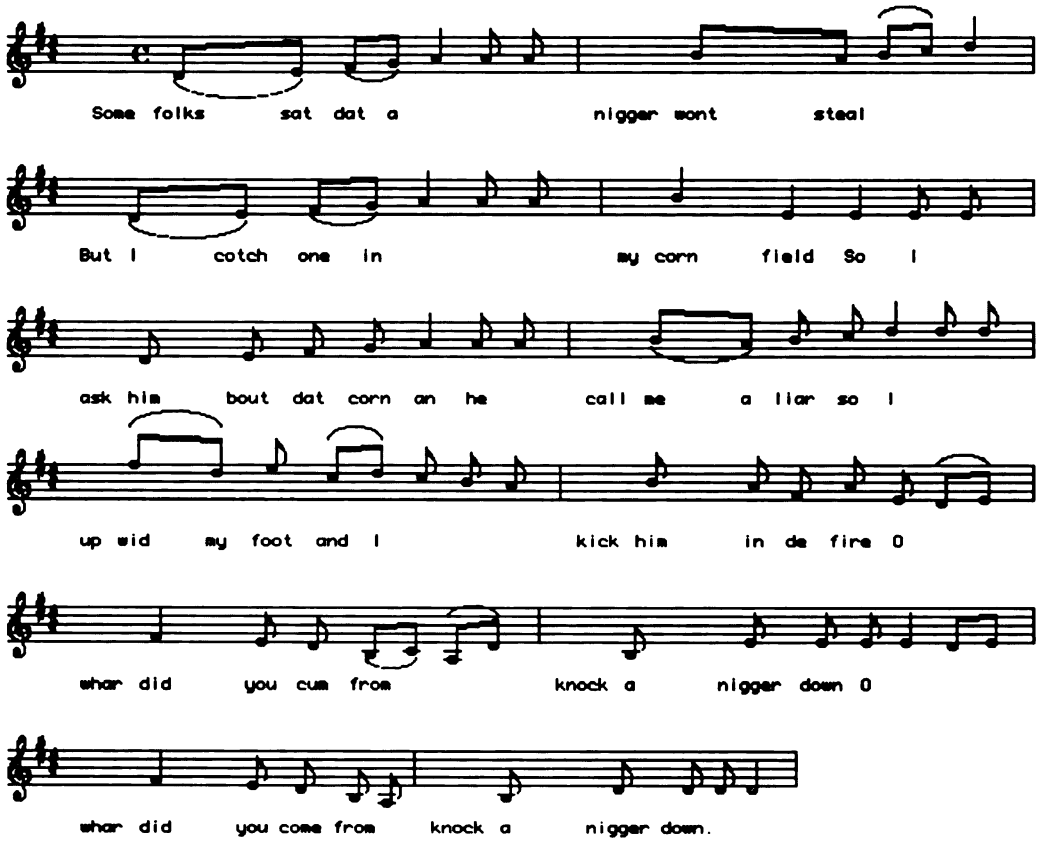
Both other melodic phrases descend. Folk melodies, especially Native American and African, typically follow these contours. In older times, musicologists typed it a "primitive" style, appearing as it does most often in tribal or ancient folk melodies. Its appearance in "De Boatman's Dance" provides evidence for the tune's folk origin.

"Whar Did You Come From?" as Sung with great Applause at the Broadway Circus by Mr. J.W. Sweeny. (New York: Firth & Hall, 1840)

This sheet music version bearing Sweeny's name runs a close race with "Where Did You Come From" published in Virginia Reels. "Whar Did You Come From" also witnesses the fight between an alligator and a "Rangaroo." Its other stanzas have the same cast as the "Jim Crow" texts. This style, in which a persona engages a series of non-sequitur scenarios, contrasts with the "higher" style in which the action occurs in the third person, such as "Uncle Ned." Emmett's work exemplifies the synthesis of these two genres of narrative.

Sweeny's habitual use of traditional material partially assuages the apprehension made by the near publication dates. Although the appearance of "Where Did You Come From" in Virginia Reels, and even its other life as "Black-eyed Daisy, Susie" &c., keeps the tune's cultural background a secret, its presence here at least confers that African fiddlers at the South played the tune. Robert Winans' survey of ex-Slave Narratives turned up "Black Eyed Susan" as representative of those songs mentioned once.{229}

Whar Did You Come From?



"Juba"

In Dan Emmett Nathan gives a text of "Juba" from White's New Illustrated Melodeon Song Book of 1848. White's version, presumably, represents the earliest printing of this classic "Negro" and African American song. Within the "Negro" genre, he found no published melody. Gauging from "Juba" given by W.C. Handy and Scarborough compared against Phil. Rice's banjo version, he posits all three genres, the folk, the banjo, and the minstrel, used the same tune.

While "patting Juba," folks sang the song "Juba"—"Juba dis, Juba dat"—which accompanied a Juba dance. Marian Winter calls Juba (simplified

from giouba) an African step dance.{230} The rhythmic "patting Juba" made the pith of the performance. Epstein, and others, suggest the practice marks an accommodation to the prohibition of drums in the United States.{231} Juba, however, attaches to divers things, giving it a status akin to "High John de Conqueror" in Afro-American folklore. Scarborough indicates African Americans associated Juba with "an old African ghost." In Jamaica, the Juba-bush (Rivina humilis L.) provides a remedy for bowel discomfort and women's pain after child-birth; Myal-song leader, William Forbes calls it a "number one medicine,—what it can't cure are hard."{232}

Epstein locates the first reference to patting Juba in the United States in the self-published narrative of an ex-slave, Henry Bibb, born in Shelby Kentucky in 1815. By January 1833, just the word Juba appears in T.D. Rice's Long Island Juba, or Love by the Bushel. However, William Smith's account of "Juba" in "The Persimmon Tree and Beer Dance" includes phrases then known in "Ethiopian" dances, and around New York at the beginning of the century. "Hoe corn, hill tobacco, Get over double trouble, Juber boys, Juber," minus "Juber", materialize in a description of a "long Island negro" in Washington Irving's Salamgundi (1807). An 1832 Philadelphia edition of "James Crow" mentions "Hop ober dubble trubble Jump Jim Crow." And, James S. French's Sketches and Eccentricities of Col. Crockett of West Tennessee (1833) depicts a black banjoist adjuring the dancers "Now, weed korn, kiver taters, an' double shuffle."{233} In the centers of "Ethiopian Opera," New York and Philadelphia, the separate terms "Juba" and "double trouble et. al." exist in the theater and circus by 1830. Eighteen thirty-seven, or earlier marks a likely date that the song "Juba" became established in blackface acts.

The tune Scarborough reprints comes from Dr. John A. Wyeth. He claims

it an African melody. Two reasons support his contention. The Juba dance has a verified African analogue. An African origin of its attendant air seems as likely. Moreover, the production of a melody with only a few tones, sometimes scarcely dulcet, takes after African traditions much more than British Isles or European.

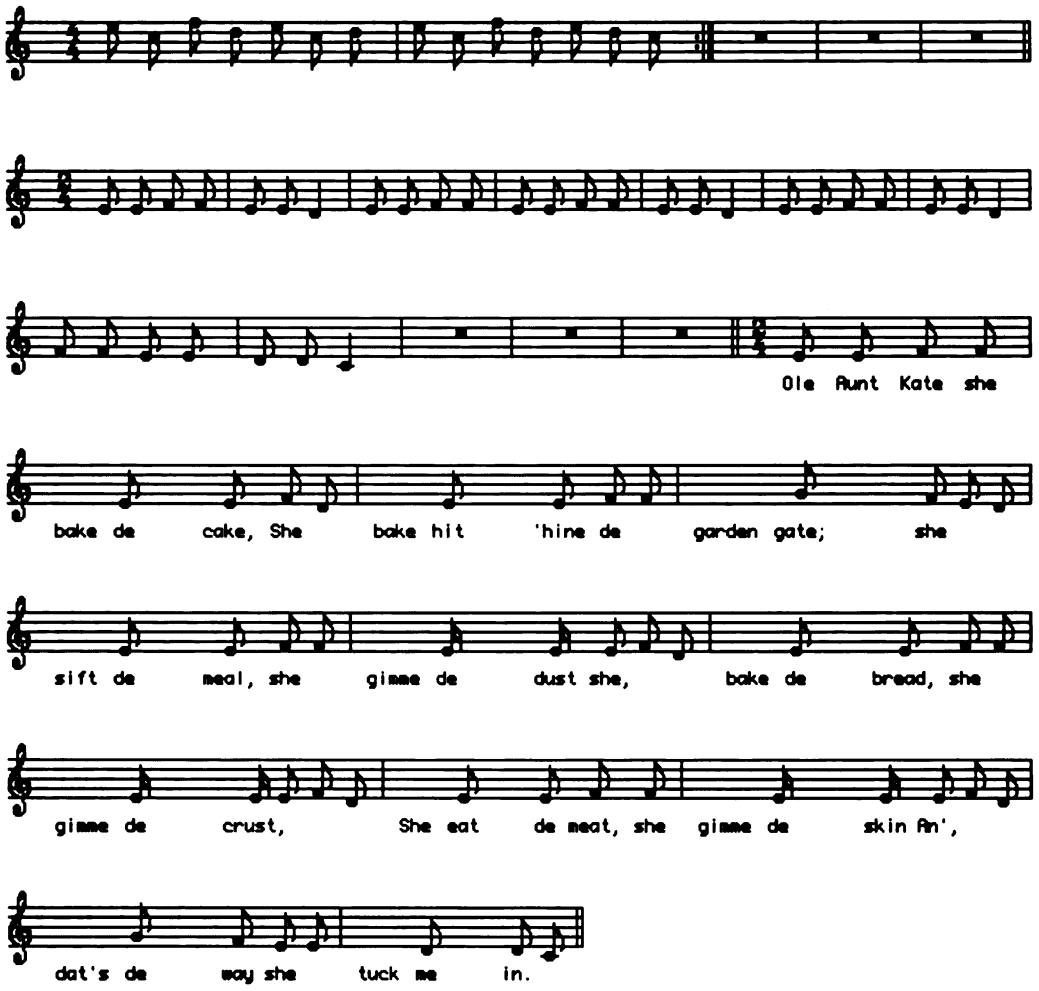
Wyeth provides Scarborough with another jig, "Ole Aunt Kate," he calls an elaboration of "Juba." This song's textual ties with the Juba verses in White's Melodeon provides further illustration of how "juba" sounded on the antebellum stage. Wyeth's "Ole Aunt Kate" includes these common Afro-American folk rhymes,

Ole Aunt Kate she bake de cake
She bake hit 'hine de garden gate;
She sift de meal, she gimme de dust,
She bake de bread, she gimme de crust,
She eat de meat, she gimme de skin,
An' dat's de way she tuck me in.{234}

which resembles White's,

Make de fire most too hot,
Fotch along de waterin' pot,
Bake de bread, gib me de crust,
Shock de corn gib me de husk,
Bile de beef, gib me de bone,
Gib me a kick and send me home,
Peel de tater, gib me de skin,
And dats de way she suck me in.{235}

Juba (trans. W.C. Handy) Juba (trans. Dr. Wyeth) Aunt Kate (trans. Dr. Wyeth)

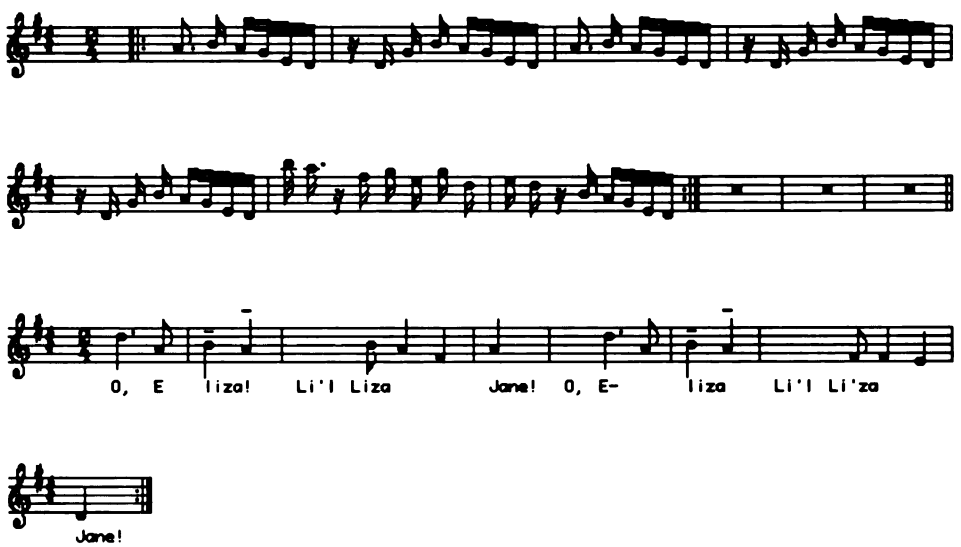


"Peter Story" (Philadelphia, 1854) and "Peter Story Jig" (Emmett Manuscript)

"Peter Story" furnishes evidence that minstrels emulated the celebrated style of black fiddlers which Talley describes in "A Study of Negro Folk Rhymes." Like the Sukey breakdown jigs and reels, "Peter Story" follows the first line of each stanza with a banjo solo. After four more lines, a line of rhyme ends on a solo. Each stanza and the tune also closes in instrumental in the style of the old-time songs.

Do little Liz (banjo solo)
De cold chills run down de back ob de chair,
Do little Lizzy do.
Slap on de linsy-woolsy,
De colored gemmen ob de town am gettin' berry tickelar about you.
Look out for little Lizzy (banjo solo)
By-an-by she like her missy, (banjo solo)
Dat's all so come an' kiss me. (banjo solo)

The character of "little Lizzy" implies "Peter Story" borrowed from "Liza Jane." At least textually this seems the case. Although the tune of "Peter Story" is not extant, Nathan found "Peter Story Jig" in Emmett's manuscripts. The jig gives a rough estimate of the banjo interludes. The tune's second part also invokes "Liza Jane." Truthfully, this resemblance only extends to a basic kinship of melodic texture. Yet, Nathan labels "Peter Story Jig" a banjo tune. If this tune was the banjo part of an ensemble performance, its second part definitely seems fitting for "Liza Jane."

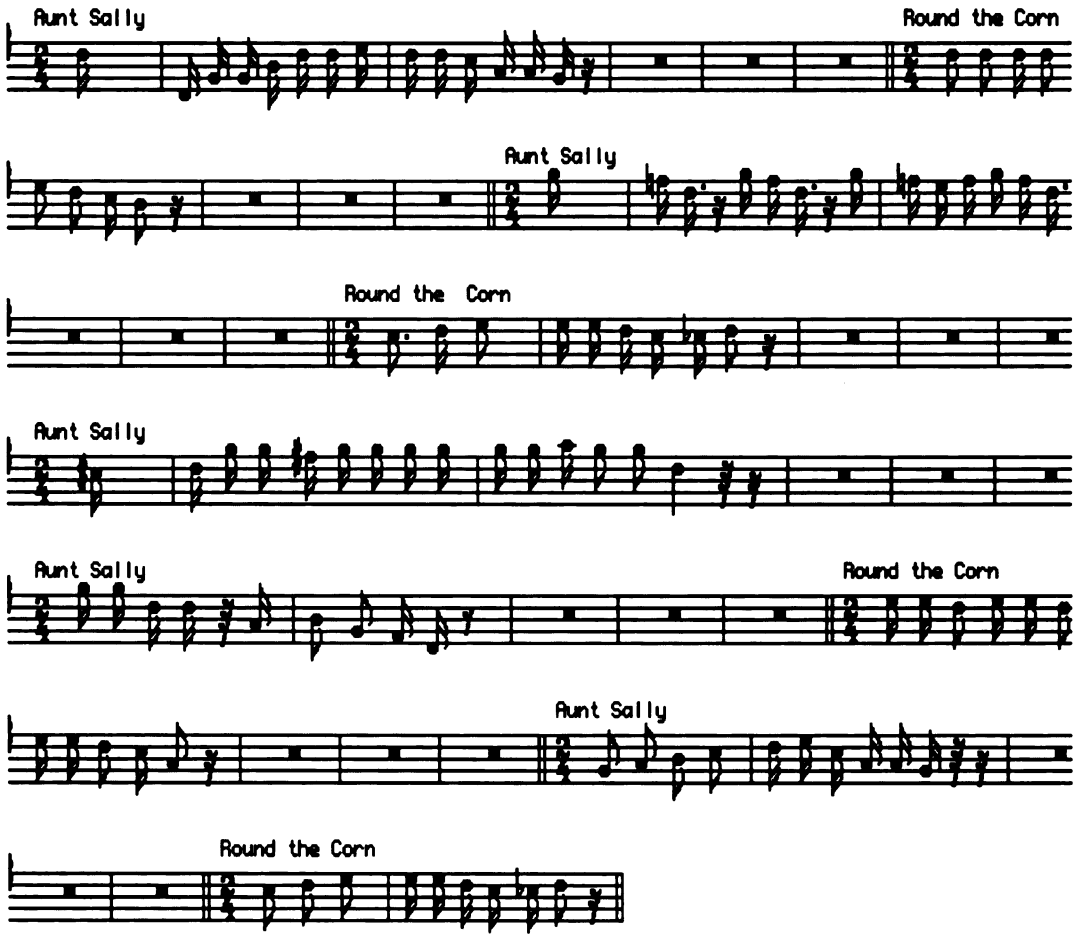


"Old Aunt Sally" Composed by Old Dan D. Emmit (Boston: C.H. Keith, 1843)

Emmett's "Ra re ri ro round de corner Sally" at the close of the chorus fairly establishes he patterned his song from "Round the Corn Sally." The apparent prevalence of "Round the Corn Sally" places it as a good model for Emmett's song. In The Old Plantation &c., James Hungerford claims he heard it in a Maryland plantation in 1832. Allen includes a similar song in Slave Songs which he collected in Virginia. He types it as a song mixed of barbaric and other passages. Barbaric, to Allen, usually indicated conjunct
minor melodies, or minor melodies with little pitch variation.

A match of imitation to model looks like this:

Aunt Sally and Round the Corn Sally



Stephen Foster

Stephen Foster's "Plantation Melodies" exemplifies the cross borrowing between African American culture and blackface minstrelsy. Winan's survey of instrumental music in the Slave Narratives turned up "Swanee River" as one of the more frequently recalled instrumental songs. Slaves on the Underground Railroad learned a rendition of Foster's "Oh, Susannah," titled "I'm On My Way to Canada," which, Phillip Foner writes, "a whole party of fugitives" sang "as they followed their conductor north. . ." Abolitionists also reworked Foster's "Uncle Ned" into a ballad for Henry Box Brown.{236}

"Uncle Ned" later became a staple in Afro-American folk song. A version appears in Talley as well as the collections of White and Brown; Elsie Crew Parsons' variant in Folk-Lore of the Sea Islands, South Carolina illustrates the ineluctable buoyancy African Americans worked into old minstrel songs. Besides reworking the "So hang up the fiddle and the bow" into a distinctive African melodic phrase, the song slurs together Ned's lack of "wool" and teeth, and then, later, says also his wife "have'n' got ha'r by de top of de skull,"{237}

A lively apocryphal canon attributes Foster's work with a foundation in Afro-American music. In Souls of Black Folk W.E.B. DuBois states the belief that Foster based "Old Folks at Home" and "Old Black Joe" on black airs. On the printed page, C. Coons, Edward Lueders, and N. Clifford Page also contend Afro-American song, especially spirituals, shaped Foster's work. Even less hesitant beliefs putatively abide in oral tradition. Emblematic of Americans' sentiment is Pittsburgh's bronze statue in

Foster's honor which depicts an African banjo player seated beside his feet.

Although Foster had little contact with the South during his short life, his contact with Afro-American music reached deep. Foster only made two trips to the South; in his youth he travelled to Louisville and Augusta. As an adult, he took a trip to New Orleans, although a brief one. When he lived in Pittsburgh and Cincinnati, the packet crews of the Ohio River brought Southern Afro-American music within earshot. Foster came in contact with these songs through other sources in both areas. His family employed a "bound boy" Thomas Hunter, and a "bound girl" Olivia Pise. Olivia, called Lieve, introduced Stephen to religious shout songs. These so impressed him that he pressed Lieve to take him to her Southern style African church.

In addition to the transient roustabouts, Cincinnati held a growing African population in the last decades before the war. Between 1830-1850, the African population of both Cincinnati and Ohio increased an average of little better than three percent a year. For example, the population of Cincinnati swelled from 690 in 1826, despite the riots of 1829, to 2,255 in 1840, and increased to 3,237 in 1850. Even through the 1870s, this community retained the culture of the plantation. In the "ball-rooms" of Sausage Row and Bucktown, free Africans and freedmen danced "the old slave dances" to a fiddle, banjo, and string-bass.{238}

Given Foster's good grounding in its traditions, disappointingly few of his tunes disclose adaptations of African American music. Doubtless, more exists than this survey found. The course of the search partially explains its failure. It used the tenable assumption that Foster borrowed early during his career before expertise and confidence allowed him to pen

"Southern Melodies" off the cuff. It also took direction from textual and melodic clues suggestive of authenticity. Using these, the search basically encompassed only a handful of likely tunes; a task of some hours itself. With a little more time and planning, proceeding by computer offers to produce more fruitful results.

Foster's "Gwine to Run All Night" is the big find. Its identification as a borrowed song reinforces the search's assumptions. Published in 1850, it stands within the first flurry of Foster's "Plantation Melodies;" yet, neither has it first place in the long index of Foster's compositions. Unlike much of Foster's work, it uses a solo/chorus structure similar to Dan Emmett's emulation of Afro-American music. It is one of Foster's few truly pentatonic tunes. Foster makes staggering use of this scale in the mi-re of the chorus. Firmly supported in sol's register, these notes capture a perfect tension struck between sol and do. In the long chorus, Foster twines another piece into the song's balance. The chorus, "Gwine to run all night" rises from do to its octave. From this phrase, Foster repeats the melody of the verse, here, tapering it down to do.

Foster rolls two African American songs into "Gwine to Run All Night." The initial section takes after a family of corn-shucking and ring game songs epitomized by "Round the Corn Sally," and "Liza Jane." None of the many folk-song variants match the line of "Camptown ladies sing this song" exactly, but the affinity rests beyond question. "Liza Jane," collected by Natalie Curtis Burlin, particularly, easily confuses with "De Camptown Races." Foster's differs from the other tunes mostly by basing mi as the strain's main pull. "Liza Jane," by contrast, spreads this out between mi, do and sol. "Gwine to Run All Night" also most closely resembles"Liza Jane" in rhythmic structure. In many Afro-American songs, African

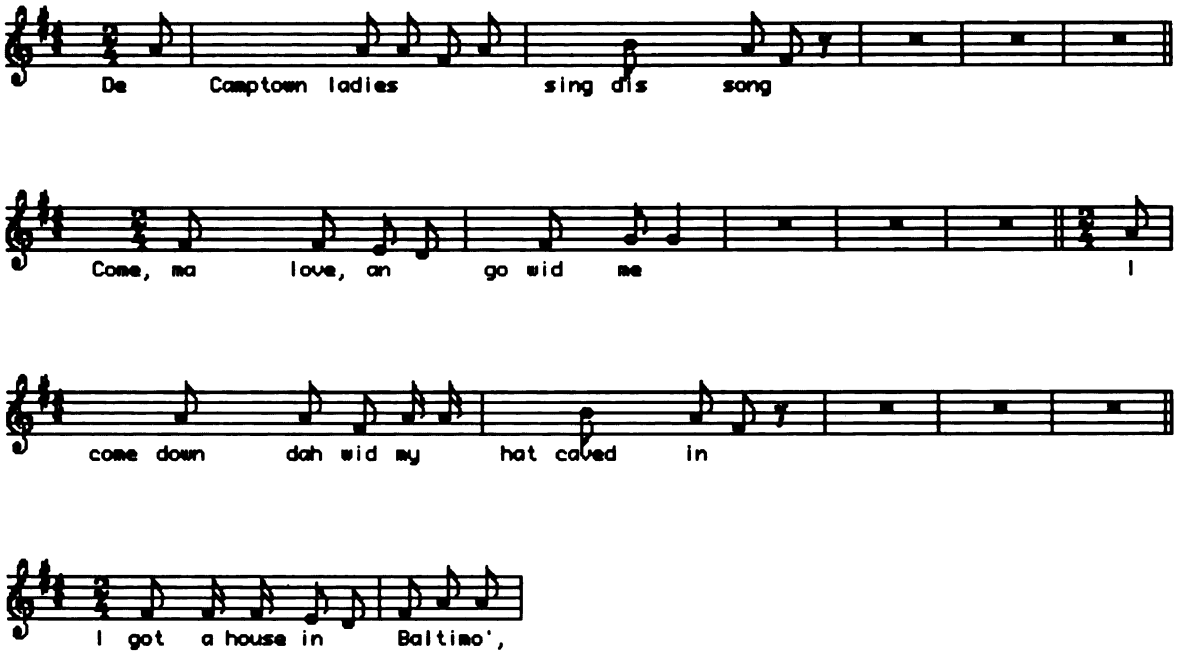
sensibility bends the lyric into odd cadences. This includes the application of African meter, or the disregard of meter for tone, and the subjugation of text to rhythmic sense. In contrast, both "Gwine to Run All Night" and "Liza Jane" run on straight eighth notes through the main phrase except where the text demands a different rhythm.

Krehbiel points out the similarity between "Camptown Races" and "O, Lord Remember Me," in Slave Songs, in the second chapter of his study. Krehbiel suspects Afro-Americans borrowed the melody from Foster, citing the myriad snatches of other traditions in Afro-American religious songs as evidence. Charles Edward's collection of songs from the Bahamas refutes his doubt. These songs roughly reflect the condition of Afro-American religious song at the close of the 18th-century.{239} Although substantially different from American versions, the chorus of "Lawd, Remember Me" uses the suspect melodic passage as one of its phrases.{240}

The likeness Krehbiel notes extends to the fifth bar of the refrain of "O, Lord Remember Me." The accuracy of Foster's transposition evokes a hunch he used a written copy of the spiritual. The two airs match note for note, tone and rhythm, for two lines, save where Foster reverses the tones on "run all" the second time.

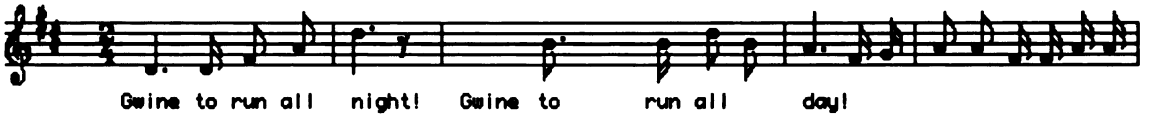
The "bob tail nag" clising refrain embodies an illuminating instance. Here, Foster injects into an AFro-American spiritual a popular corn shucking or ring game regrain. By splicing so, he produces a synthetic Afro-American song, publishes as a "Southern Melody," and adopted by folk tradition. Returned to the "folk," it joined Anglo-European and African tradition; thus, this confection became an agent within its native culture. "Gwine to Run All Night," illustrates Charles Seeger's maxim that plagiarism is basic to all culture, but, moreover, what a snarl of fiction, folk and fusion everythin in "Negro" minstrelsy is.

Camptown Races and Liza Jane

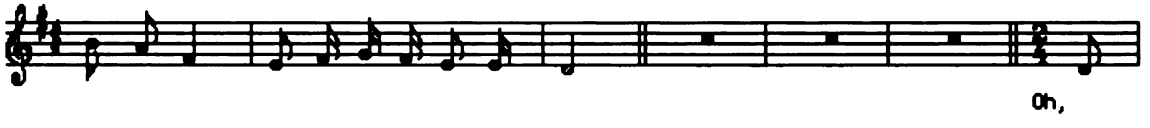


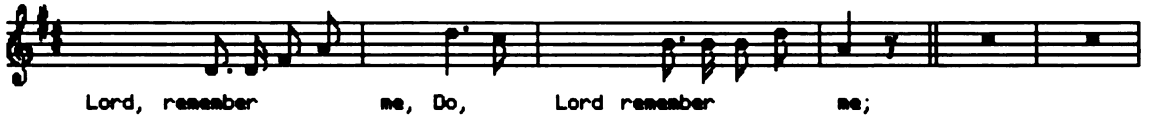
Rhythmic variations of Camptown Races and Liza Jane

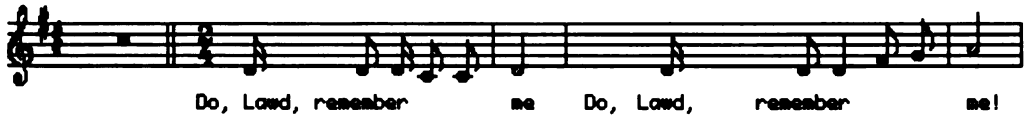
Gwine to Run All Night



Lord, Remember Me (Slave Songs 15)







Lawd, Remember Me

"Way Down in Ca-i-ro" gives an even better illustration of the mess. "Way Down in Ca-i-ro" attracts attention to itself with its ominous chorus, "I hear by true lub weep, I hear my true lub sigh, 'Way down in Ca-i-ro dis niggar's guine to die." It counts as one of Foster's mildly anti-slavery songs like "Long Ago Day" which T.D. Rice bought but set asidein deference to Southern audiences. Its fourth verse appears frequently in AFro-American folklore:

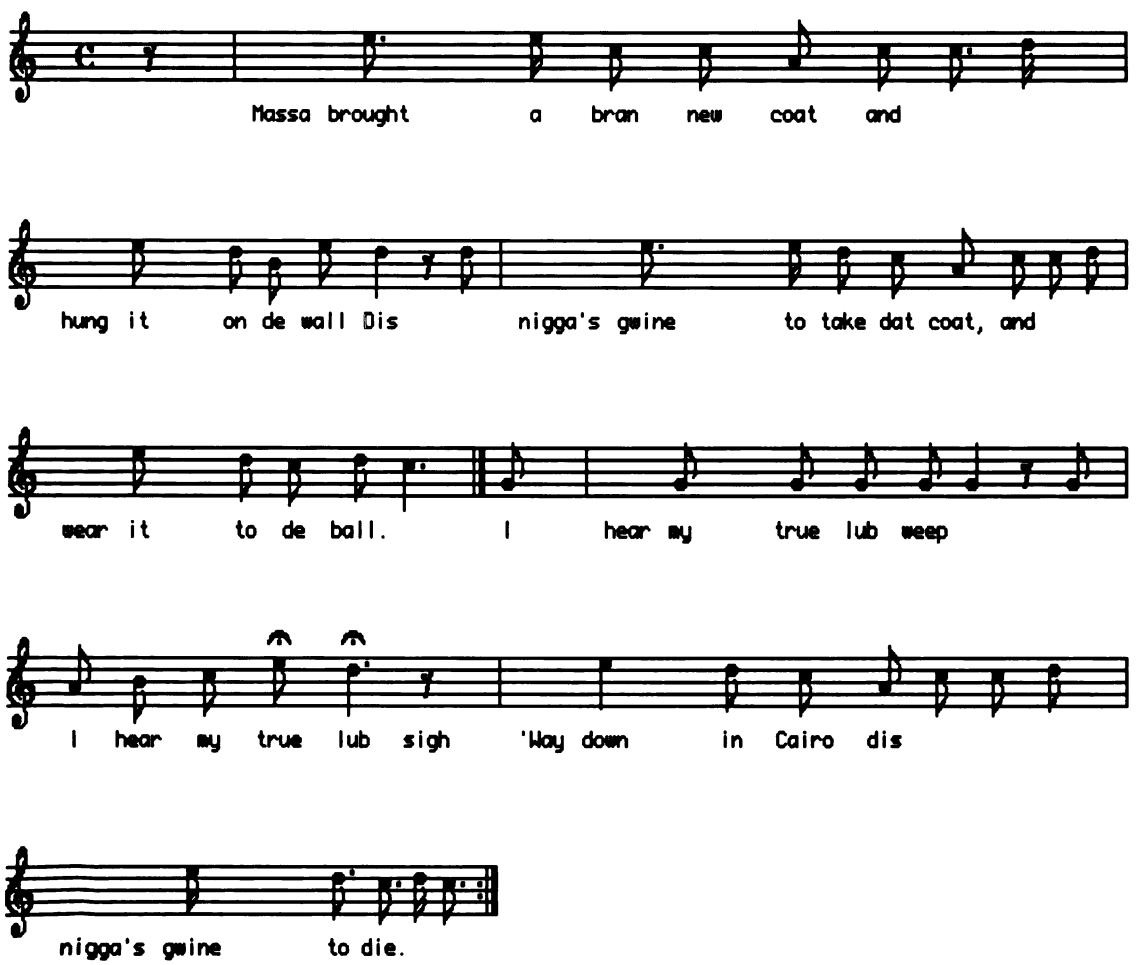
Massa bought a bran new coat and hung it on de wall,
Dis nigga's guine to take dat coat, and wear it to de ball.{241}

A variant of this accompanied by "Ca-i-ro's" chorus Lt.-Col. Trowbridge collected in Georgia for the Slave Songs. With this, a folk precedent for Foster's tune seems likely. Textual and melodic issues trouble the notion. The melodies of "Way Down in Ca-i-ro" and "Away Down in Sunbury" deviate entirely. Farkas ranks the chorus of "Sunbury" traditional, but its verse suspect because of an unusual rise of an minor sixth in the first bar; he suggests these two pieces came together from separate histories.

If a separate, possibly borrowed tune, the verse of "Away Down in Sunbury" certainly has no debt to Foster's "Away Down in Ca-i-ro." Foster's, indeed, looks much more like what one might call a folk melody. On the whole, though, looking for a composed antecedent of "Sunbury's" verse follows a wrong direction. The suspect interval of a sixth occurs in eleven, or eight percent, of the one hundred thirty-six Slave Songs. These happen in several fashions, of which some parallel the incongruous minor sixth of "Sunbury." Yet, although Farkas errs in his classification, he is right that the two parts noticeably differ in mood and style. And, he is almost certainly right that the pieces came together from separate pasts. What route they took to their meeting makes just one more confusing part of the "Ca-i-ro" mystery.

The evidence which tilts authorship toward Foster appears in On the Trail. It includes "Karo Song" which Scarborough describes as a local song named for Cuero, Texas. She errs. "Karo's" life in Upper Southern fiddling tradition questions its origin in Texas. The shared chorus of "Ca-i-ro," "Sunbury" and "Karo Song" refutes it. Scarborough's version essentially repeats "Ca-i-ro's" chorus with the "live and die" also in "Sunbury." This reveals "Karo" as a perversion of "Cairo" and places "Away Down in Sunbury" as a derivative of Foster's song.

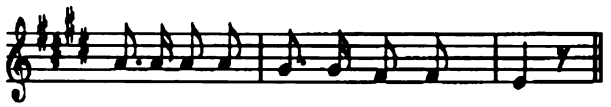
Way Down in Cairo Stephen C. Foster Firth, Pond, & Co. 1850



Away Down in Sunbury Slave Song 121

O massa take dat new bran coat And hang it on de wall
Dat darkee take dat same ole coat And wear 'em to de ball O

don't you hear my true lub sing? O don't you hear 'em sign? A- way down in



Sunbury I'm bound to live and die.

More than anything else, Emmett's work establishes that an ethic of adaptation from folk sources rather than originality dominated "Ethiopian" minstrelsy. In consequence of the immutable source impasse, definite judgments evade invention. It rests clear, yet, that despite a demonstrated ability to compose rhymes Emmett scarcely wrote an original lyric in his life. He borrowed from African American folklore often. A fairly dramatic occurrence in prose appears in "Bressed Am Dem Dat 'Spects Nuttin', Kaze Dey Aint A Gwine to Git Nuttin'!" which the Clipper published in 1873. Emmett puts in his sermon several traditional African American religious stories. At one point he repeats a fairly elusive tidbit of anti-white Christianity:

"Hearr yea! hearr yea! de white man's a buck goat; de niggar am he sheep! kase de whites had straight harr an' de niggars wearr wool! de wharfoa culled man call 'im a ram. Hallyooyer to sheep, an' free cheers for de wool!"{242}

In addition to most references of "hoss's" "jaybirds" "pigeon wings" or "whooping cough," other images and phrases rooted in African American folklore crop up in Emmett's work. "Oh, Ladies All!" epitomizes Emmett's artistic relationship with African American music while concomitantly attesting his artistic genius. The title was a well-known ejaculation at breakdowns. In the tune, Emmett sets it in an arpeggio along a triad topped by the tonic octave before closing with a camp dissonant phrase. The couplets which give rise to its first verse customarily appear with "Liza Jane."

I got a house in Baltimo'
Street car runs right by ma do,'
I got a house in Baltimo'

Brussels carpit on de flo',

which, in proper rhythm, Emmett reworks into,

I went from here to Baltimore
De long tail blue an coat what I had on,
I lay my head agin de door,
My heel work a hole right thro' de carpet.{243}

At least back to Winters, scholars recognize Emmett made an effort to recreate African American music and dance. She proposes Emmett, "made a particular effort to keep Negro elements in his work, especially in the walk-around' finales for which he was noted." Emmett, himself, drew attention to this effort. In the introduction of a "Complete sett of Walk 'Rounds" left in manuscript he wrote,

In the composition of a 'Walk 'Round (by this I mean the style of music and character of the words), I have always strictly confined myself to the habit and crude ideas of the slaves of the South.

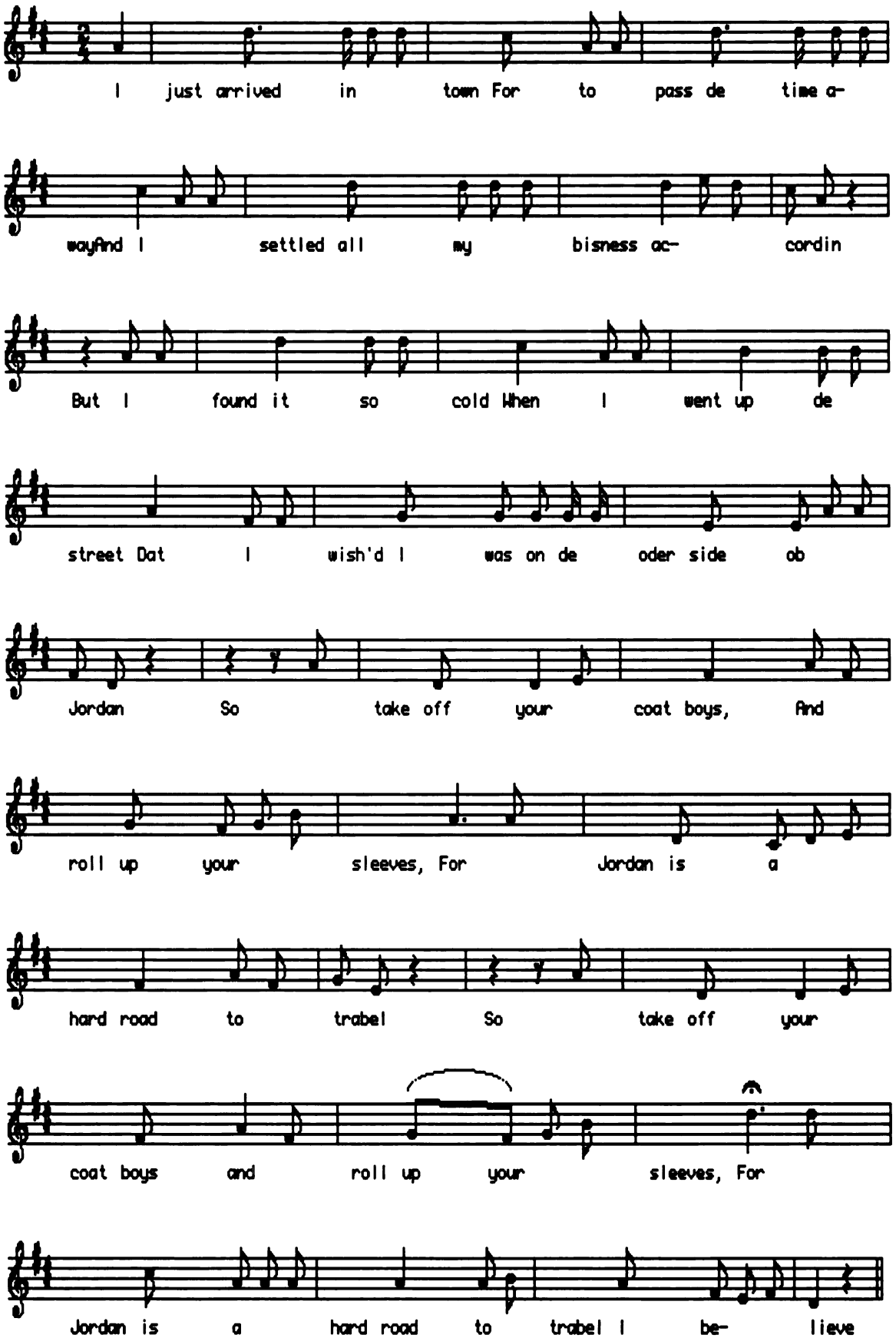
Nathan amasses an decent amount of material which verifies Emmett lifted tunes and lyrics from African American tradition. In closing remarks, after labelling him a folk artist, Nathan intensely apprehends his, and perhaps the whole of "Ethiopian" minstrelsy's, relation to Afro-American culture. "There was," Nathan says, "a naive, sinewy quality in what he did, and he preserved it as long as popular demand encouraged him." Emmett's personal relationship with this culture betokens something of a mystery; at least, he picked up its influence during his jaunts in the South, in his life in New York, maybe Chicago, and possibly from Ben and Lou Snowden back home in Mt. Vernon. Variations of black music, dance, and lore translated into his early and late work. Yet, he mispoke his custom of composing 'Walk 'Rounds; he did not strictly confine

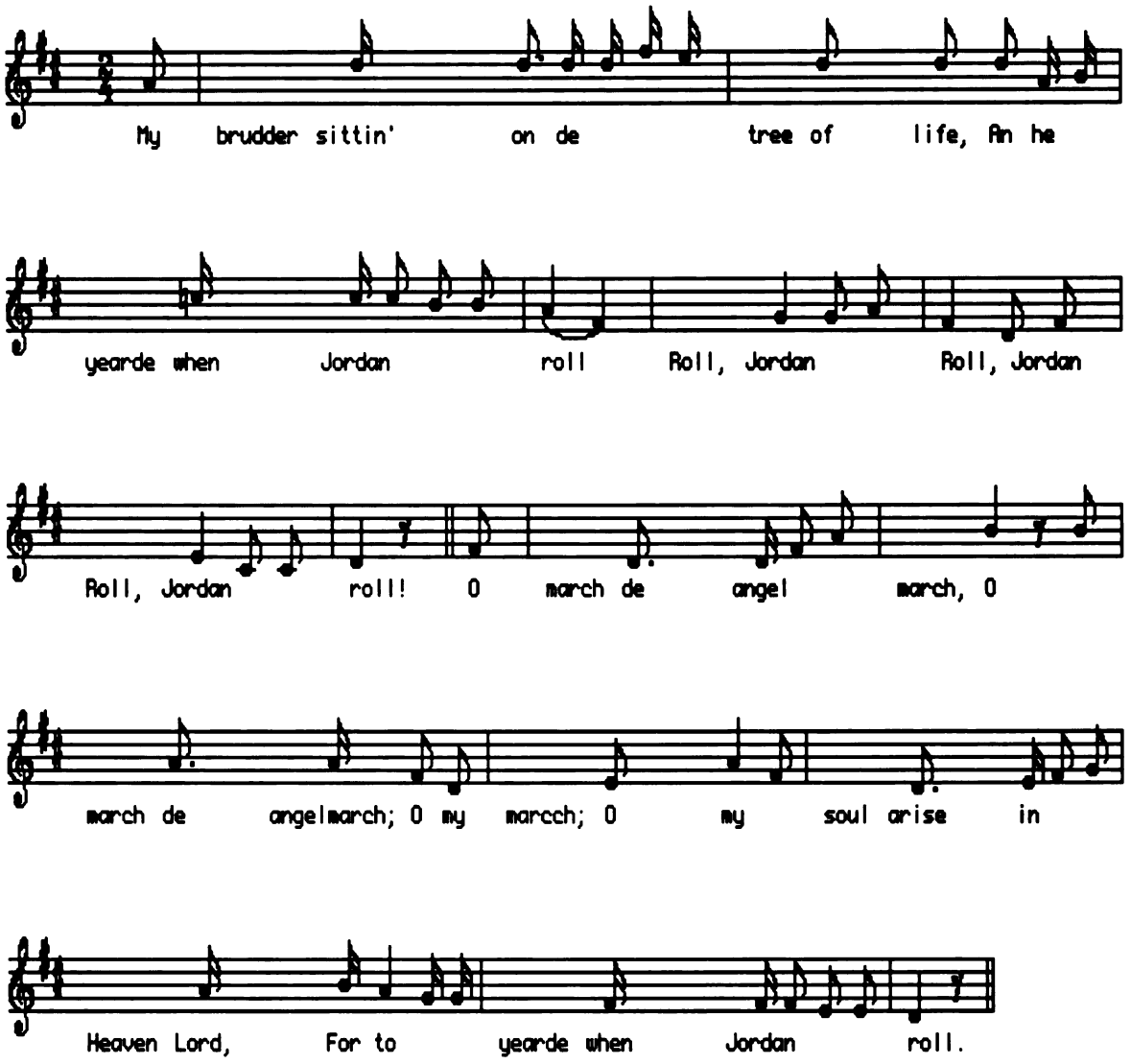
himself to the habits and ideas of slaves. Knowing Emmett's intention, though, throws his work in vivid portraiture.

"De Boatman's Dance," "Old Aunt Sally" and "Hop Light Loo" Emmett borrowed from secular traditions. Even before he began his Walk 'Rounds, which loosely enacted the "shout," he also recycled African American religious music. The title and refrain of "Jordan Is a Hard Road to Travel" (1853) betrays its debt to Afro-American hymns. Nathan claims the main motive of its first section and the refrain of "Jordan" take after "early Negro spirituals."

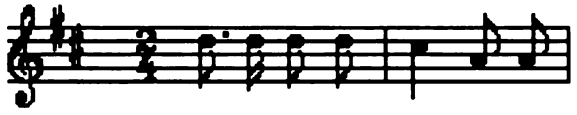
Strangely, the famous "Roll, Jordan, Roll" resembles Emmett's song much more. Strange, in regards to Allen's silence on this affinity in Slave Songs. Before the Civil War, "Jordan" became enormously popular, both in minstrel shows, and as one of the Hutchinson's popular anti-slavery songs. If, in performance, "Roll, Jordan, Roll" sounded like "Jordan," Allen assuredly knew the latter song well enough to recognize the resemblance. Albeit, the unmistakable tonal and harmonic congruence among the two strongly implies Emmett arrogated a well known African American hymn. The tunes correspond loosely, rhythmically and melodically, through the first phrase. Despite the disparity, the two stay in touch harmonically. Moreover, the difference between them may spread no farther than the variation in "Roll, Jordan, Roll" from plantation to plantation.{244} "Jordan" furnishes another example of the extension and duplication of melodic passages in "Negro" songs to fit the composer's text; this feature further sets the tunes apart.

Emmett's chorus of "Jordan" indubitably takes after "Roll, Jordan, Roll," yet it lacks some of the latter's best features. "Sleeves" in "Jordan" roughly corresponds with the first "march" of the folk song. The

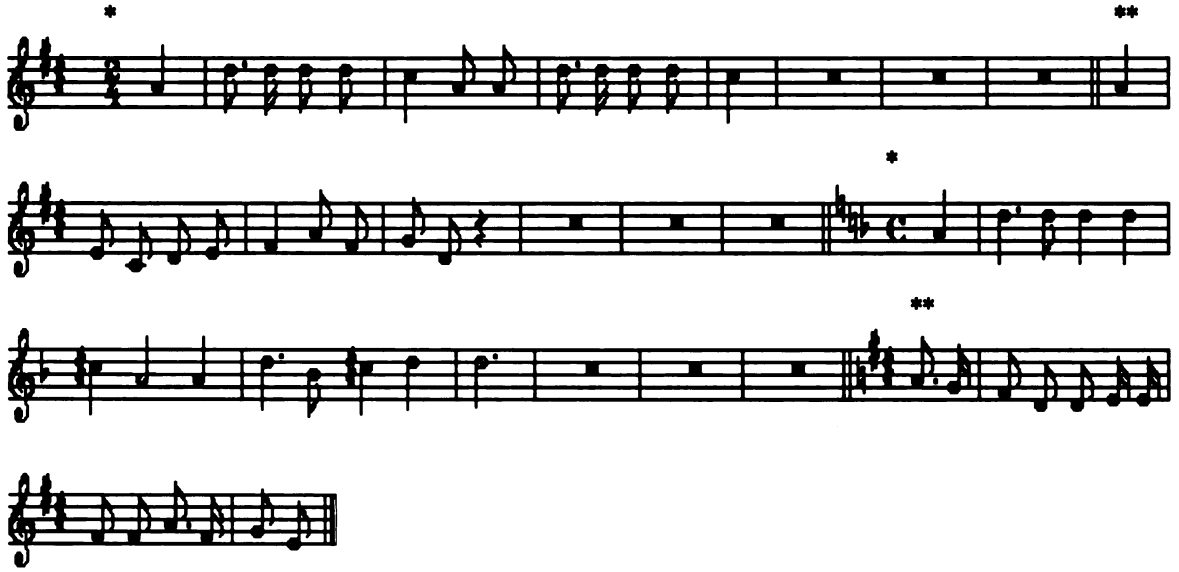

I just arrived in town For to pass de time a-
wayAnd I settled all my bisness ac- cordin
But I found it so cold When I went up de
street Dat I wish'd I was on de oder side ob
Jordan So take off your coat boys, And
roll up your sleeves, For Jordan is a
hard road to trabel So take off your
coat boys and roll up your sleeves, For
Jordan is a hard road to trabel I be- lieve



Recurrent Phrase of "Jordan Am a Hard Road to Travel"



Excerpts of "Jordan is. . ." and "O Daniel" and "Good-Bye" (Slave Songs 114 & 70)



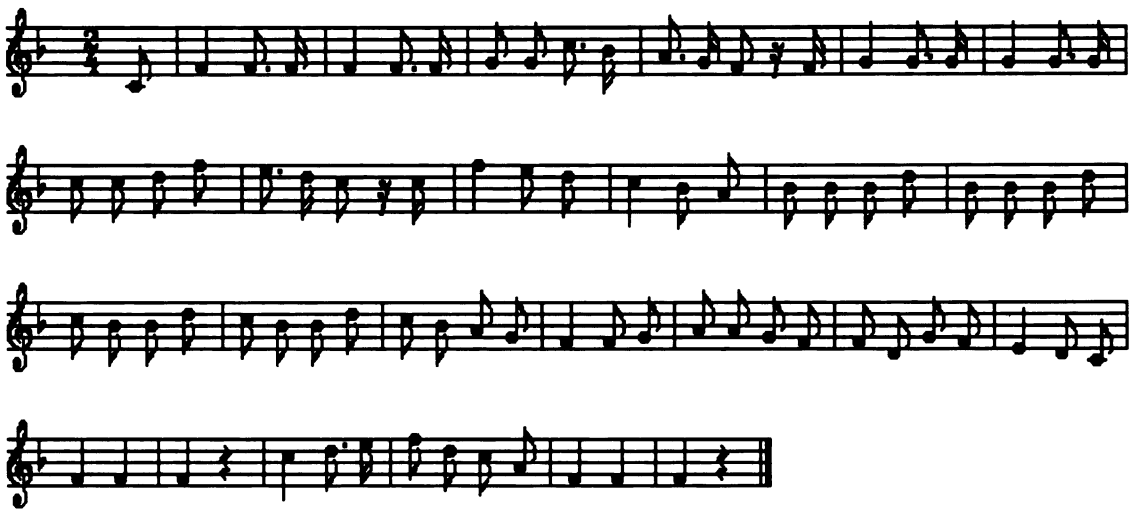
"trimmings" he adds to "roll" and the reversal of the sol and la, as it occurs in "Roll, Jordan," produces a moment much less regal than its analogue. The penultimate phrase of "Jordan" begins after a two and a half beat rest; this contrasts the distinctively African American syncopated jump into the close of "Roll, Jordan." Ostensibly, in later compositions, he began to emulate this feature also; he uses it in "Dixie" on "Look Away."

"Dixie" emulates Afro-American music beyond this, if in nothing else but its antiphony. In Mt. Vernon, three miles north of Emmett's grave, with its marker commemorating "Dixie's" composer, sits another grave marker in an obscure graveyard along an old clapboard church. Here, on the common grave marker of Ben and Lou Snowden, two members of one of the first African American families in Knox County, is carved "They taught Dixie' to Dan Emmett." The Snowden family made a living playing music for over thirty years. Their band, reduced by 1860 to Ellen Snowden and seven children, had a name from Missouri to Maryland as a matchless evening's entertainment.{245} Their handbill from these years advertise performances on "violin, triangular, and dulcimer, with castinet accompaniments!" The youngest boy, Lewis, played the banjo. By 1910, rumors flourished in the black community that Emmett learned either the words, or both the tune and the words from the Snowdens. This dying legend lacks supporting documentary evidence. It gives food for thought, though; especially in consideration that, excepting two published personal recollections, the Louisville legend of "Jim Crow" which appears in countless books and articles essentially is the same color horse.

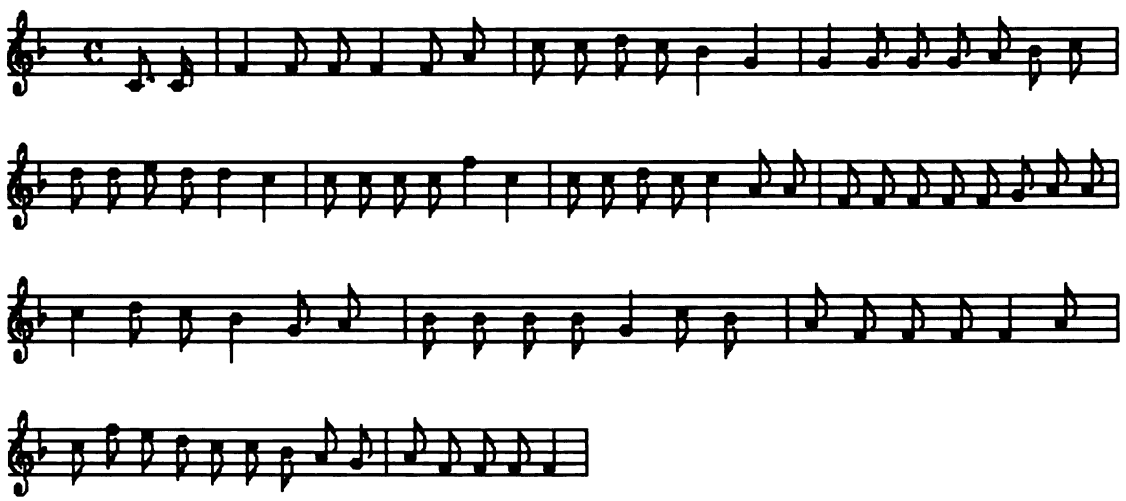
Legends of "Dixie's" black roots abound beyond Mt. Vernon. Such tales frequently emanated from the South during the late 19th-century.{246} In Dan Emmett, Nathan respectably organizes the mess of "Dixie's" musical

ancestry. He locates two antecedents of its melody which Emmett possibly picked up from Afro-Americans. The opening of Emmett's "De Wild Goose-Nation" (1844) coincides with the initial phrase of "Dixie." Nathan links this tune to an earlier "Negro" song, "Gumbo Chaff" which he avers derives from the English song "Bow Wow Wow." Nathan's match of "Gumbo Chaff" to "Bow Wow Wow" comprises one of his best examples. Despite this, it remains possible the melody entered the "Ethiopian" tradition through an African American folk song.

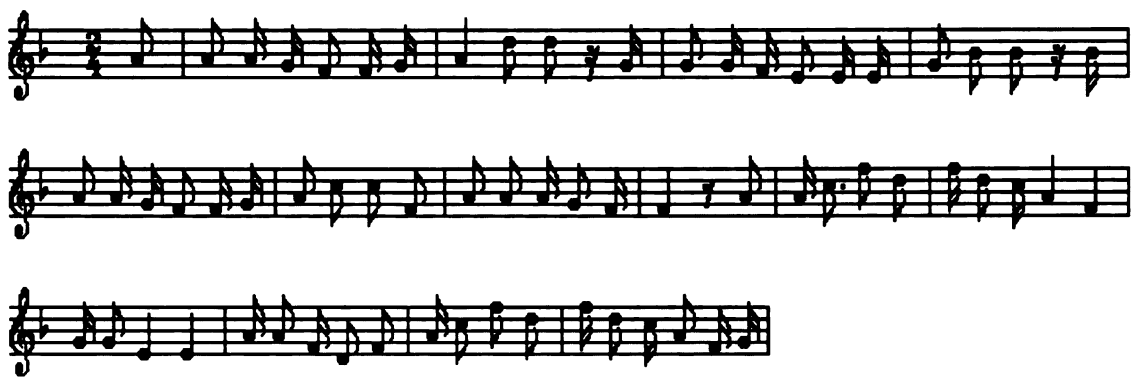
Bow Wow Wow



Gumbo Chaff



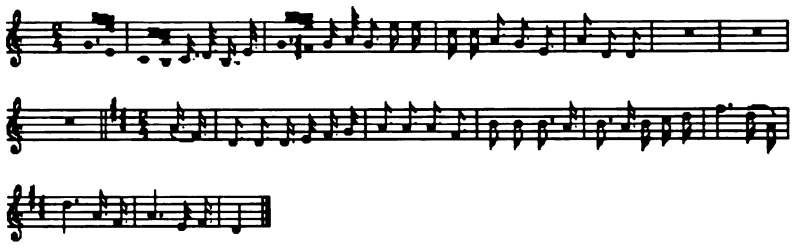
Give Up the World (Slave Song 37)



A Southern song writer, William S. Hays, who put his name on "Dixie" later claimed the air came from an old Afro-American tune. He referred to an English theater song popular in America with two texts. Both circulated in black and white folk tradition during the 30s and 40s.

If I Had a Donkey

I Wish I Was in Dixie's Land



"Dixie" also draws textually from Afro-American folksong. Nathan traces "Away down souf whar I was born" to the song "Picayune Butler" (1847) which insinuates the line comes from Picayune Butler. Unlike his previous pro-slavery Walk 'Rounds, "Jonny Roach" and "I Ain't Got Time to Tarry, in "Dixie's Land" Emmett moves into a story of "old missus" after the introductory paean to Southern life. Emmett enthusiastically marries "missus" to Will de Weaber; the ensuing story develops from this event. Emmett's practice of adapting folk materials conceivably inspired the erratic tale of Will and missus. A verse in Allen's version of "Round the Corn Sally" appears related to Will de Weaber:

I can bank, 'ginny bank, 'ginny bank the weaver.

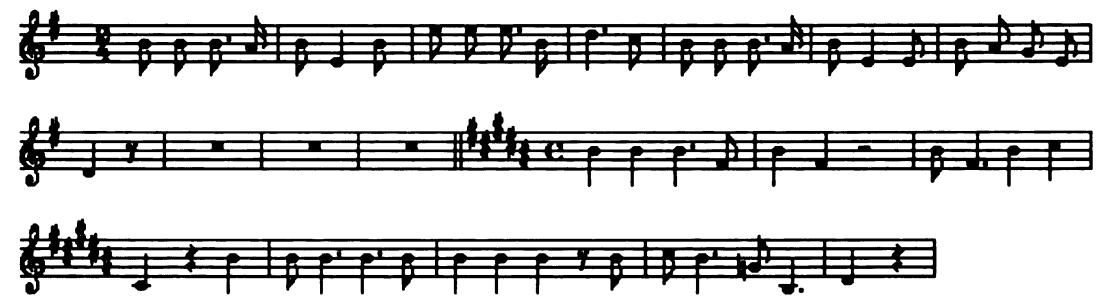
Antiphony inflected by the repetition of short word and melodic phrases placed Emmett's work much closer to African American music than most current minstrel fare. Nathan detects that the Walk 'Rounds favor the interval of a descending or ascending minor third set within a

pentatonic form, while operating formally within a hepatonic tonality in the manner of its African American models.{247}

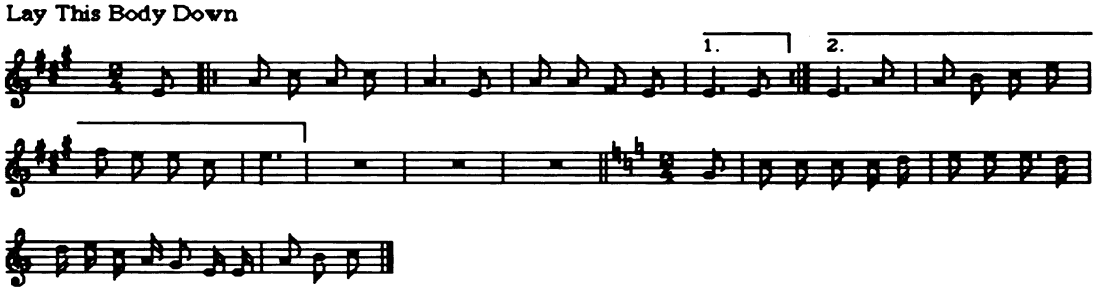
The resemblance of Emmett's work to black religious songs struck the attention of contemporaries. The Clipper's report on an African church service in late 1861 opined one of the hymns resembled "Old K.Y., Ky." Nathan tosses out "O'er the Crossing" as a likely prospect of the identity of this hymn. Unlike several of Nathan's examples, the two tunes only roughly concur. Besides the disparities in rhythm and intervals, the two tunes sit altogether unalike in their scales. In Dan Emmett, Nathan mislabels the key signature to which he transposes "O'er the Crossing," but this merely alters its coordinating tones (b and d) from sol/ti to do/mi.{248}

On the subsequent two pages, he gives analogues in Afro-American music to five other Emmett Walk 'Rounds. Two of his examples he labels white hymns, but these concomitantly abide in Afro-American tradition.{249} In the case of "Old Ship of Zion" against "Sandy Gibson's," the African American version collected in Maryland by Dr. Hammond, called the "North Carolina" version by Jackson, approximates the Walk 'Round closer than other regular Protestant versions.{250} "Road to Richmond" and "I'm Going Home to Dixie" against "The Lonesome Valley" shows the best fit. Nathan emphasizes that the short-long note closing pattern found in "I'm Going Home," and its analogue "The Lonesome Valley," carries a distinctive mark of Afro-American tradition. This instance of melodic consanguinity implies Emmett found a useful strain in his travels.{251}

Old KY, Ky

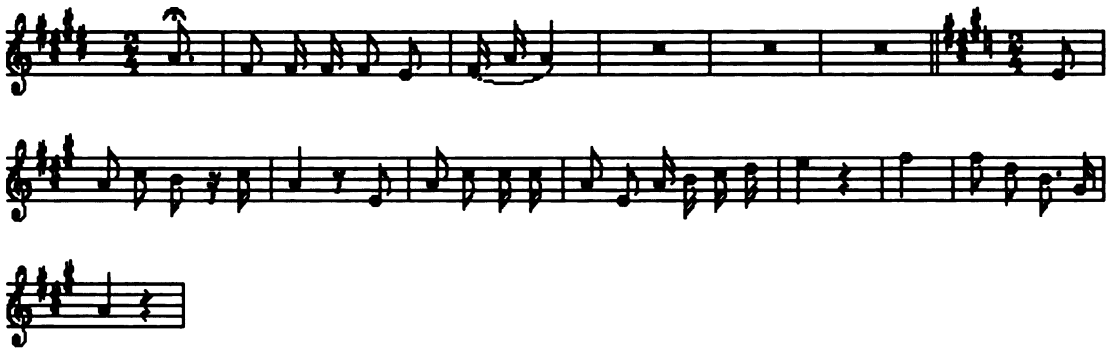


Lay This Body Down



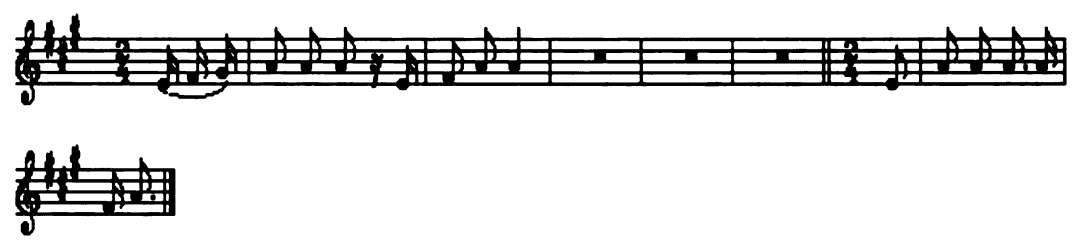
Old Ship of Zion

The Lonesome Valley



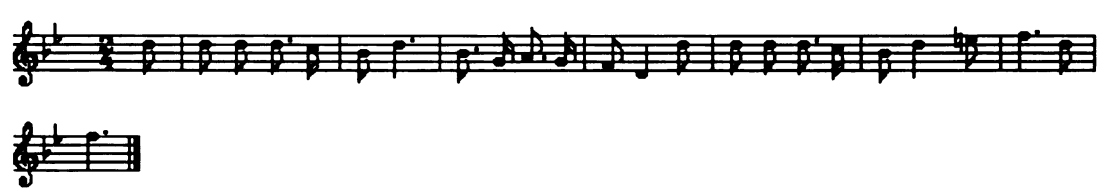
What O' Dat

Road to Richmond

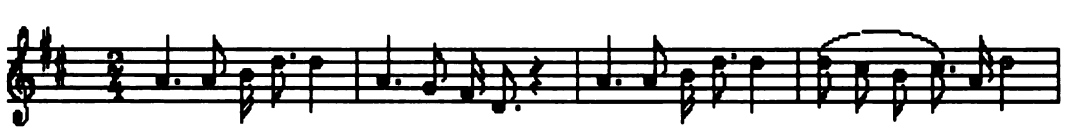


I'm Going Home to Dixie

Black Brigade



I'm in Trouble



"Road to Richmond" takes after folk songs in other aspects. Surmising the tune's key induces anxiety attacks. Marked as A major, its resolution and accidentals shade it toward B major with a flatted sixth. Its sharp a's and d's (properly do and fa) perhaps derives from military fife music. Nathan finds "Richmond's" phrase "ten to on, nebber done, jis begun" analogous to passages in Nos. 72 and 73 of Emmett's Fife Instructor.{252} With "Labor nebber done," these phrases embrace all the tune's accidentals.

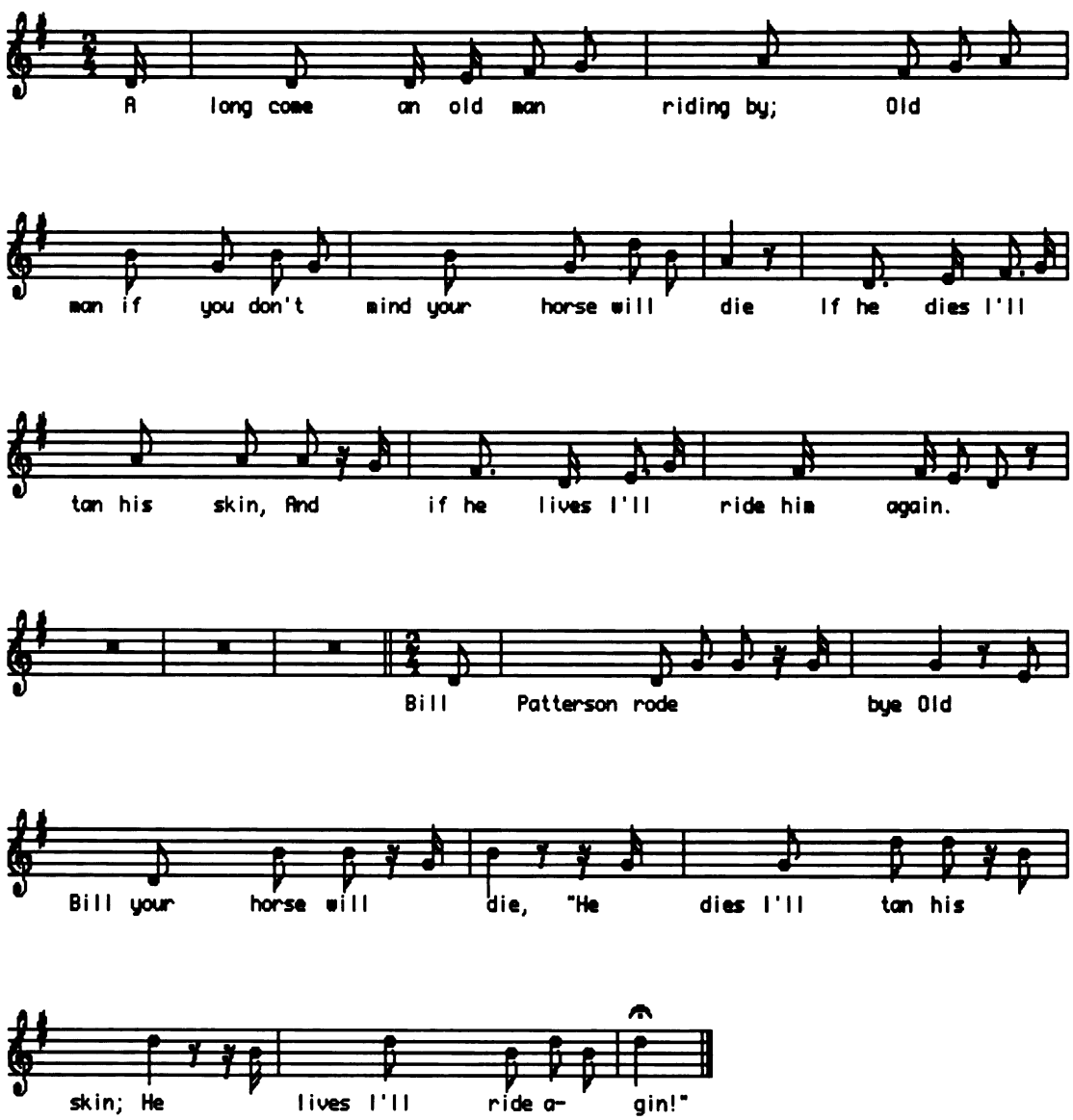
These tonal ambiguities and modulations lay more consonant with traditional music than with popular comic or art music. However, in the same year Emmett published "Road to Richmond" (1864) he also came out with "Jack on de Green." This song continued Emmett's experiment with the Slave Songs.{255}

The prior existence of the "Old Horse" story both in blackface songs and African American culture questions whether Emmett took the chorus directly from a folk song. The fuller elaboration of this story in "Billy Patterson" (1860) than in early "Negro" songs, though, indicates a new contact with folklore. Unless "Charleston Galls" (1844) uses this melodic/textual phrase, "Charleston Gals" carries precedence over "Billy Patterson" in regards to the close dates of publication.

At best, the melodies match roughly; owning different tenors, and agreeing fully only in harmonic sense. "Billy Patterson" unwinds very neat and evenly with a martial sound. "Charleston Gals" carries the laziness and stirring beauty of a folk song. Especially, rhythmically the two deviate. "Charleston Gals" demonstrates the traditional pattern of dividing four notes as this:

Rhythmic Example

Charleston Gals Billy Patterson



This works within a context of subordination of the English text to an alien rhythmic sense. By contrast, "Billy Patterson" fits its melodic rhythm to the conventions of spoken English.

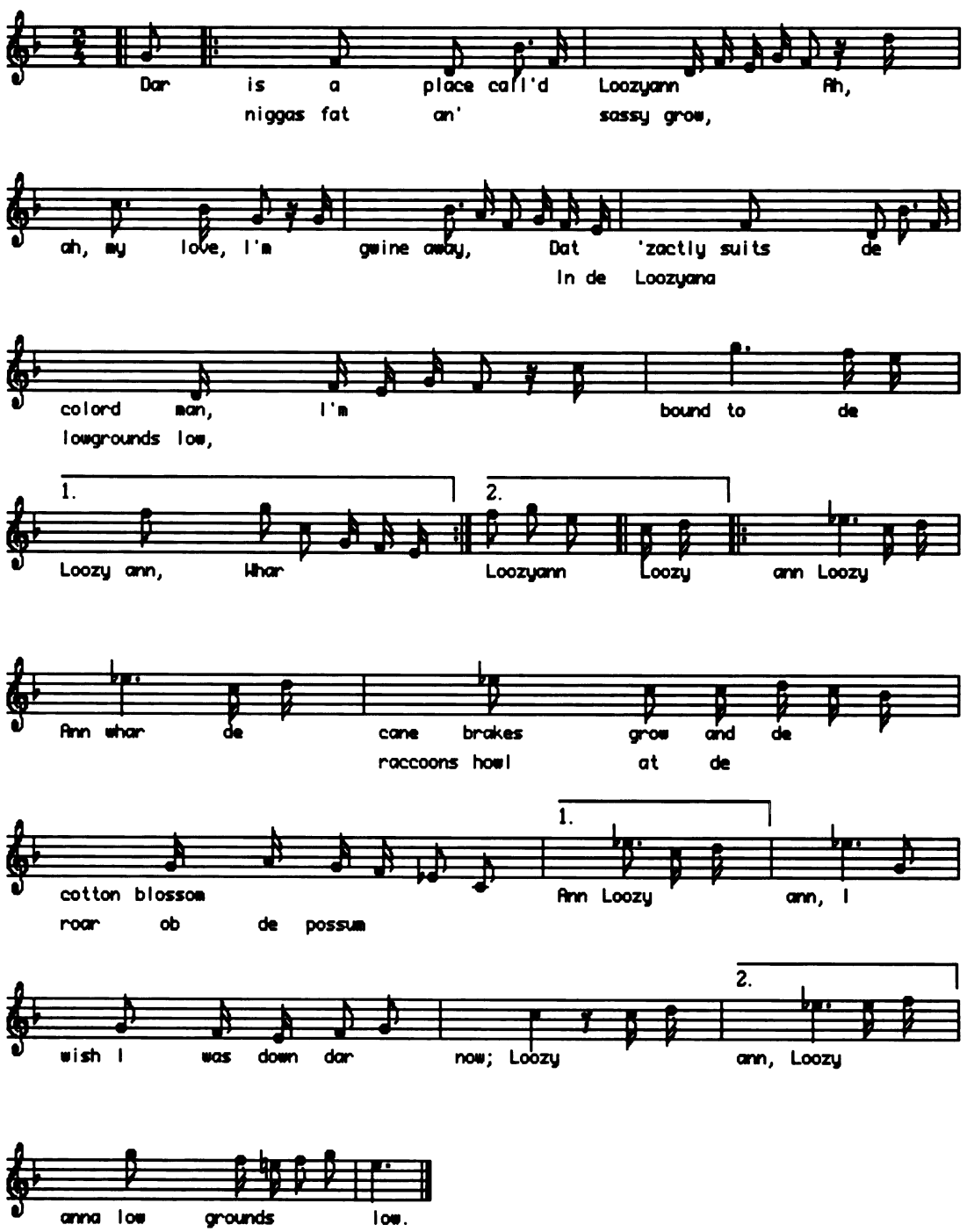
Assuming Emmett took "Charleston Gals" as a pattern for his chorus, he transfigured the most ostentatious motive of its melody into a facsimile of its whole. Varying this phrase, he followed the basic contour of the original—resolving low, resolving high. His touch abbreviated and regularly ordered the original tune and accentuated its brightness.

"Loozyanna Low Grounds" perhaps embodies the pinnacle of "Ethiopian" music. It is a salad of folk and theatric material. Martial patriotism raised in the paeans to Andrew Jackson and Winifield Scott invokes the best American style. If nowhere else, its title has a precedent in the variants of "The Golden Vanity." Emmett's statement of the popular image in, "Whar de cane brakes grow and de cotton blossom," compares with "Whar de corn-top blossom and de canebrake grow" in Foster's "Away Down Souf." The chorus "Ah, ah my love I'm gwine away" on a straight melodic descent comes from African American music. And, the tune's flatted seventh further accents its reliance upon this tradition.{256}

Emmett was, as Nathan describes, a folk artist. He took the poetry of the folk, particularly of blacks, for his muse. In this, he stood with the bulk of the "Ethiopian" performer/songwriters. William Clifton or G.W.H. Griffith or other "poetasters," of course, put a significant accent on the music. But, their work stood far and away from the heart and soul of "Negro" minstrelsy.

By adapting folk material Emmett, Sweeny, Whitlock, Rice, & Co. worked within the most common approach to music. Traditional music considers making up things bad form. When Chuck Berry came to Chess

Loozyanna Lowgrounds (manuscript 1859)



Records in 1954, to record "Mabelline" as a variant of "Ida Red" he brought a similar attitude. In Steamboatin' Days, Mary Wheeler tells of her informants' curiosity of song transcription, which they called "composin'." In fact, she says, they believed a song only became composed when written down or printed. Not much indicates whether "Negro" minstrelsy etc. shaped these African Americans' commonplace attitude. The "Negro" minstrels, though, definitely brought the attitude to their art.

Edwin P. Christy

In the land of high-stakes showmanship, Edwin P. Christy situates between Barnum and Emmett. Ostensibly, he grew up in Philadelphia the son of respectable parents. Saxton, the source of this information, places Christy's year of birth as 1815. Toll, albeit, on the basis of an "Authentic Memoir of E.P. Christy" in the New York Age, describes Christy as a supervisor of a ropewalk in New Orleans in 1827. Regardless, as a young man Christy moved to New Orleans. Saxton suggests his parents arranged a position there for him in a counting house. The ropewalk story Toll recounts aims to account for Christy's knowledge of African American music. While on the ropewalk, Christy heard singing, but he also witnessed dancing and drumming at Place Congo. Place Congo became a refuge for African music and dance while the French controlled New Orleans. After the United States took control of the city, the tradition continued. Christy reportedly turned into a frequent visitor of "Congo Green;" here he studied the "queer words and simple but expressive melodies" of the blacks.

From New Orleans, Christy joined with the circus as a blackface performer. In the late 30s, he came to Buffalo and ensconced himself as

the leader of a band of "Negro" impersonators. On the word of the Virginia Minstrel's success, Christy moved his band to New York city. He settled in Mechanics' Hall which became the "Ethiopian Opera," seven days a week. On the road in 1843, he called his troupe "Christy's Original Band of Virginia Minstrels." He later effaced the arrogated name, and advertised his band as "The Oldest Established Band in the United States." In the late 40s, the New York Supreme Court ruled for his claim and granted him a patent for the minstrel show.

Like other contemporary entertainers and songwriters, Christy claimed authorship of songs not his own. His title on "Old Folks at Home," the consequence of a legitimate deal, marks the most famous example of his custom. His genteel approach to caricature emerged part and parcel, but dissimilar with his cutthroat practices in the trade. While broad-mouthed, bony kneed, inhuman caricatures filled the covers of Emmett's songs for the Virginia Minstrels, Christy's sheet music showed dusky cherubim, pirouetting sable ladies, and orderly "colored" musicians in bow ties and plaid cotton shirts; emblazoned with his handsome countenance overlooking each setting. A Hartford correspondent to Dwight's Journal of Music pictured him as a prince as he drove down Broadway. Dedicated "to the Prince of Ethiopians," the sheet music of "Lilly Clyde" bore out the description.

Christy's mannerly image presages his approach to "Ethiopian" entertainment. Several pieces in the collection of Christy Minstrels contrast the affiliations Foster and Emmett had with folk music. The songs suggest that Christy took representation of African American music as an aim of the shows. The Christy sheet music of Henry C. Work's "We Are Coming Sister Mary," for example, advertises "Founded on the

Superstition of a portion of the Colored Race that the approach of Death is forewarned in Dream Song." Henry Clay, son of underground railroader Alan Work, was near escaping slaves all through his childhood. Work probably composed the melody of "Sister Mary," but it seems derivative like its theme. Like African American religious songs, and unlike 19th-century denominational songs, it uses a minor key. It differs from Work's other compositions by setting the chorus higher. Not terribly indicative of African American styles, this form appears in songs like "Bound to Go" and "Pray All De Member." Given the setting, the similarity and the uniqueness imply Work patterned "We Are Coming Sister Mary" after songs he heard from escaping slaves.

Near this time, "Uncle Gabriel the Negro General" became part of the Christy's song collection. Y.S. Nathanson celebrates it in "Negro Minstrelsy, Ancient and Modern" (1855). He contributes a version from a banjo songster as a representative of folk poetry. "It's genuineness," he says, "no one at all familiar with negro literature will presume to question." Comparing it to Gil Maurice and Sir Charles Bawdin, he argues that his compatriots who look forward to the coming of a national poet should take up a subscription and buy song's author.{257}

His judgement of its authenticity rings true. One glance at "Uncle Gabriel" among a collection of minstrel songs betrays it as the proverbial red ear of corn. Except for its one or two distinctive African features, "Uncle Gabriel's" text stands as candidate for either a white or black folk song:

Oh, my boys I'm bound to tell you
  Oh! Oh!
Listen a while and I will tell you

Oh! Oh!
I'll tell you little bout Uncle Gabriel
Oh! boys I've just begun
Hard times in Old Virginy.

Oh dont you know Uncle Gabriel
Oh! he war a niger General
He war de Chief of de Insurgents
Way down in Southampton
Hard times in Old Virginy

It war a little boy betrayed him,
A little boy by the name of Denel,
Betrayed him at de Norfolk landing,
Oh! boys I'm gettin done.
Hard times in Old Virginy

Says he how de do my Uncle Gabriel
I am not your Uncle Gabriel
My name it is Jim McCullen
Some dey calls me Archey Mullin
Hard times in Old Virginy

The whites dey fought him and dey caught him
To Richmond Court House dey did brought him
Twelve men sot up on de jury
Oh! boys I'm most done.
Hard times in Old Virginy

Dey took him down to de Gallows
Dey drove him down, wid four grey horses
Brice's Ben, he drove de wagon,
Oh! boys, I'm most done.
Hard times in Old Virginy

And dare dey hung him an dey swung him,
And dey swung him and dey hung him,
And that war the last of the Niger General
Oh! boys I'm just one.
Hard times in Old Virginy.

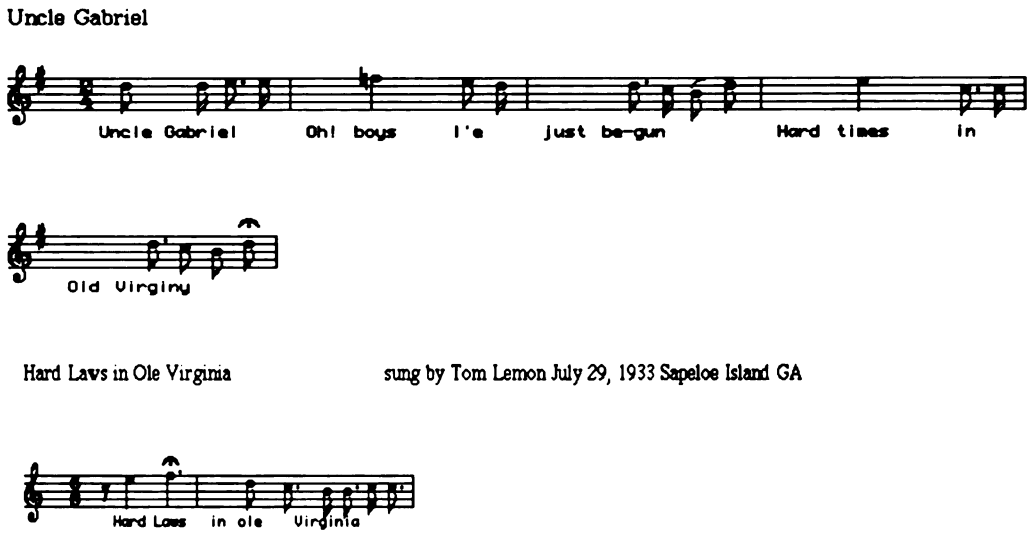
The first stanza shows a lyrical form predominant in African American folk narratives. Here, as in blues lyric, the emotive power tumbles out in

the third line, pushed on by the mounted pressure of the previous two. Christy's version likely took some changes being adopted to the minstrel stage. Yet, the narrative's loose, abstract progression favorably compares with traditional ballads. The image of "four grey horses," has a patent folk character. Its use of rhyme in small bursts of successive rhymes rather than in a consistent rhyme scheme invokes folk forms.

The cover of "Uncle Gabriel" tells it performance stood above typical minstrel routines. "Uncle Gabriel" stands out from most of Christy's "Gems" by labelling E.P. Christy, himself, as the song's singer. This hints that the melody, or its performance, embraced aspects which closely imitated African American music; for Christy's familiarity with the music of Place Congo gave him a grounding the New York area members of his troupe lacked. Indeed, besides using a flatted seventh, "Uncle Gabriel's" melody patterns in the style of conjunct melody which Horace Boyer types as characteristic of African melodies. Notice, in its excerpt, below, that the melody centers on an axis, rising slightly above, or falling scarcely below, but, mostly staying near one pitch.

A good argument of "Uncle Gabriel's" traditional origin comes from Lorenzo Turner's tape recorded in the Sea Island. Tom Lemon of Sapeloe Island, Georgia sang a song with roots in the 1840s called "Hard Laws in Ole Virginia" for Turner in the summer of 1933. Its title echoes its main phrase. Although Lemon makes "hard laws" the song's burden, he breaks off the song on "Hard times." If not here, Lemon shows his song's debt to the music which appear in the minstrel shows by the couplet "Missus promised me; when she died she set me free." The transcribed melody gives an idea of the affinity of "Uncle Gabriel" to Lemon's performance. The songs may share a direct relation. Obviously, neither Lemon nor

Christy made up either.



Hard Laws in Ole Virginia sung by Tom Lemon July 29, 1933 Sapeloe Island GA

One last example contains pure speculation. "What Shall A Darky Do?" (New York: William Hall & Son, 1850) lists "Harry and Lucy" as its composers. Appellation by first name only rarely, possibly never, occurs on other antebellum sheet music. Its diminutive cast, and impotence for copyright enhance an idea that Harry and Lucy occupied an unique social station. Suppose that an African American couple Christy knew wrote the song. Unlike "Old Folks at Home" which Christy bought and put his name on, "What Shall a Darky Do?" lists Christy only as its singer, but the song probably came into his hands through a similar deal.

Overall the song speaks fairly defamatory of blacks. Its plot uses the age's popular story of a rural boy who finds fortune and ruin in the city.{258} In this "dark's" case, he comes to New York, Broadway, and finds a pair of "dandy" boots and a buys a brand new hat with a shiny crown. If written by African Americans, a few features of its text gain conspicuous meaning.

Oh! when I was a little dark' I used to
lib at ease

I used to peel de 'taters and I used to
shell de peas (first)
But when I grew older I went to work on
de plantation
Where dis lament would draw de tears from all
de darky nation
(Chorus) What shall dis darky do? What shall dis darky do?
I'd like to leave dis cotton work and be a gemmen too.

Dey took me to a gentleman who sent me
to a college
Whar I got an education and warious
sorts ob knowledge (final)
I learned to make and pick a lock,
I learned to make a shoe
And I used to boil de homminy
when I'd nuffin else to do
(Chorus) What shall dis darky do? What shall dis darky do?
He's got his Sing Sing larnin' and he's a gemmen too.

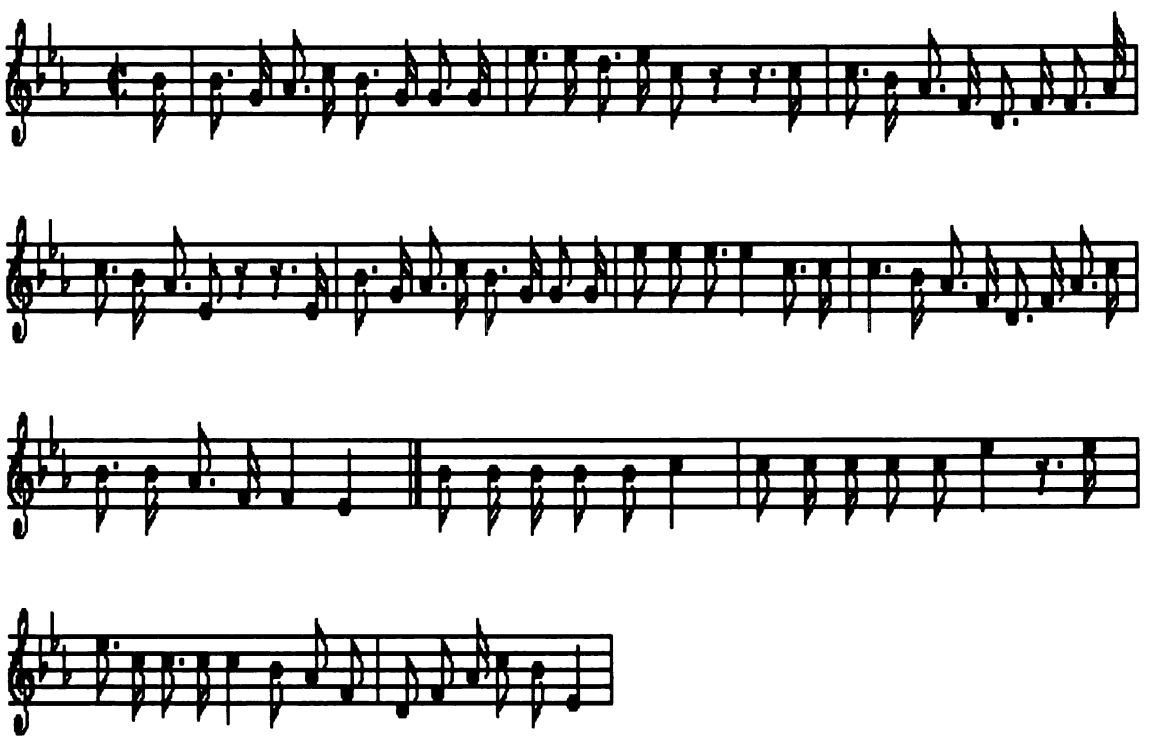
The image of joyless toil on the plantation arises occasionally in "Ethiopian" songs. However, its unexpected introduction, as a categorical accompaniment of plantation work, adds an accent. The phrase, "darky nation," possibly marks a singularity. It obviously had wide enough use to hold coherency, but it definitely does not appear frequently in minstrel songs.

The chorus, also, broaches a familiar "Negro" image. In the late 50s, its tone became common.{259} Yet, it sounds anomalous in the context of 1850. Guessing toward the song's African American authors, the desire to leave low work seems to speak with more directness than other contemporary songs.

The gentleman of the final stanza presents another curious feature. Not universally, but typically, "Negro" song composers poked fun at white characters almost as thoroughly as black. These songs had little room for gentlemen, and it becomes harder to find one accompanied by a "gemmen."

The Bryant's also invoked Sing Sing in both the songsters cited earlier. In the case of "What Shall A Darky Do?" the punchline Sing Sing extends into a performance double-entendre.

What Will This Darkee Do?



Curiosity of Negro music paid Christy, Emmett, and Foster in spades. Each, at a fairly young age, ostensibly made an excursion into genuine Afro-American music. In turn, they proffered a thin imitation of it to audiences who flocked to their art basically out of the same interest. This impulse made the core of the "Ethiopian Opera." A spirit of rebellion abetted the business. Across the decades, from George Nichols to Sam Sharpley, "Negro" artists met Afro-American song and dance tangential with free-spirited adventure.

In 16th-century Italy, a similar curiosity eventually led another rebellious soul, Domenico Scandella, to the stake. Scandella never blacked up nor ever really ran off to the circus. But, his curiosity of people of different cultures and customs, of unorthodox ideas, or the whole world outside of his, resembles the mind of the blackface entertainers in the United States. In his liminality, Scandella embodies the Zeitgeist of Renaissance Europe. When the vernaculars heaved forth into dominant culture, they imbued discursive figurations with a reconditioning, revitalizing, renewing carnivalesque laughter.

The "Ethiopian" delineators of the United States inherited from Scandella's world a tradition of exotic curiosity and carnivalesque rebelliousness. These ancient spirits shaped the "Ethiopian Opera" and pulled audiences toward it. The United States, however, bore an unique cultural milieu. Its turbulent, energetic soul and its multi-racial countenance fed into its art a strain of African American material. The young vagabonds who founded "Ethiopian" minstrelsy borrowed from black culture offhand. Neither an ethic to avoid the manners of slaves and free blacks nor render them accurately swayed their enterprise. The

minstrels, instead, created acceptable fictions of Africans. Fictions which worked a pretty cruel trick on African Americans. Historians of the minstrel theatre paint this in different ways. But, Ricordeau speaks the truth; the topic inevitably takes a racial and political tenor.

Like the minstrels, historians make acceptable fictions of the "Ethiopian Opera." So clear is it fiction that the United States' changing racial politics shows through as easily as the contours of the minstrel show. The incredible amnesia, duplicity, and fascism grown from the racial traditions of the United States just makes Negro minstrelsy historically a fine can of worms. As such, it resembles the rest of life. The art of living lies in adeptly remembering and forgetting. So it is with history. Fiction allows a multiplicity of perspectives. Looking at the popularity of blackface minstrel clowns as emanating from a gnawing appetite to ridicule Afro-Americans or from a callous curiosity remains largely a matter of free choice.

Rose tinted glasses seldom produce blindness. On hazy, Indian summer afternoons on the country highways of Iowa rose lenses abet a serene, carnivalesque sense. Cutting a fading, narrow ribbon through the prelapsarian corn fields, the road closes to a point, evoking an uneasiness beyond the horizon the corn closes in and envelops everything. Behind the eyes, that cheese shaped organ conjures a fear that in the jungle of corn there lurks a tribe who ritually sacrifice and cannibalize captives from the highway. But, at least it would be a carnival.

{186} Starr collection, .S8 II Afro-Americans pre-1863; folder marked "A".

{187} Nathan, 278, 410-412.

{188} Odell gives the best account of this. I really have no records of other spots, both MSU and IU Bloomingotn lack Jacob's index to antebellum black papers so I haven't scanned any for advertisements. I base the sentence on the assumption that Almack's only appears in historical record because Dickens visited it; thus, many went unnoticed. The Freedom's Journal ran an advertisement of Nicholas Pierson, proprietor of Mead Garden, No. 13 Delancy Street, stating his establishment opened the first of June (1827) for "the accommodation of genteel and respectable persons of color." Mead Garden refused admittance to unprotected females.

{189} Marian Hannah Winter, "Juba and American Minstrelsy" 39-64 in Chronicles of the American Dance ed. Paul Magriel, (New York: Henry Holt and Co.), 42.

{190} Southern, 129; from George S. Foster New York by Gas Light (1850), 72-76.

{191} Epstein, 189.

{192} Carter G. Woodson, "The Negroes of Cincinnati Prior to the Civil War," in Free Blacks in America, 1800-1850 ed.John H. Bracey, August Meier, and Elliot Rudwick, (Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing, 1970), 77, 83.

{193} Dennison, 45, 47.

{194} Mark Morris, "The Early American Minstrel Show" unpublished paper, Michigan State University, 1992.

{195} Charles L. Edwards, Bahama Songs and Stories (Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society) 3: (1895), 71-72. Joel Chandler Harris, Told by Uncle Remus: New Stories of the Old Plantation (New York: McClure Phillips & Co., 1903). 127.

{196} Walter Jekyll, Jamaican Song and Story (London: 1907), 132.

{197} Joel Chandler Harris, "Mr. Crow and brother Buzzard" in Seven Tales of Uncle Remus ed. Thomas H. English (Atlanta: Emory University,

1948), 13-15.

{198} Harris, Nights With Uncle Remus Talley, (1922) 6. see also Richard M. Dorson, "Black Legends of Calvin" in C. Kurt Dewhurst and Yvonne R. Lockwood eds. Michigan Folklife Reader (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1987), 152.

{199} "Jim Crow" (Philadelphia, J. Edgar, 1832) Dorothy Scarborough, On the Trail of Negro Folk-Songs (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1925), 127.

{200} Yates, 252.

{201} Walter Jekyll, 132-135.

{202} Horace Boyer, notes from telephone conversation, July, 11 1992.

{203} Eileen Southern "African Retentions in Afro-American Music (U.S.A.) in the 19th Century" 93.

{204} Two interesting examples: Yates, 253;
After the actual work of husking the corn was done the slaves adjourned to a "spacious kitchen," where, after some dancing, they staged "a mock military parade, a sort of burlesque of our militia trainings," following which the Negro "commander" parodied the stump speeches of white orators. Once could wish that the poet had noted down more of this last effort than a few scattered references to "'de majority of Sous Carolina'," "'de interests of de State'," and "'de honor of Ole Barnwell district'," even as one could desire that the tang and savor, if not the substance, of local idiom were more in evidence in his poetry.
And, at Bloomington Archives of Traditional Music, within Lorenzo Turner, United States, Sea Islands, Gullah, 1932-1933 cassette 2889, ATL 9902-3 of 87-107-F one of the selections includes an introduction which, if I am not mistaken, says "My name is James Napoleon Bonaparte, Emperor of France, (ju{?}mp) like a monkey, hop like a turkey, I dance." Mr. Bonaparte's salutation wonderfully resembles the frontier brags popular in the Davy Crockett literature and Ethiopian Opera of the Jacksonian era.

{205} David Brody, The Fiddler's Fakebook (New York: Oak Publications, 1983).

{206} see Wolfe's introduction of Thomas Talley's for a discussion of

the goad John W. Work's denial of the existence of secular music produced for Talley's collection.

{207} Cecil J. Sharp and Herbet C. Macilwaine, The Morris Book with a Description of Dances as Performed by the Morris-Men of England

{208} I don't want to paint a binary view, but I am at a loss for terms; basically I desire to shade in that there was a culture built of African and other traditions shared between white and blacks which worked with Ethiopian minstrelsy, before—you know what I mean?

{209} Wolfe, "Notes" Altamont: Black Stringband Music; Stu Jamison provides the description of Gribble's playing.

{210} Samuel Charters, Roots of Black Music in America Folkways FA2694 The following performances share a palpable resemblance—Side C: Band 1, Senegal, Wolof-Tara; Band 3, Kentucky Banjo Instrumental.

{211} William Tallmadge, "Blue Notes and Blue Tonality" Black Perspective in Music 12:(2)155-165. 159-160.

{212} Winans, "The Folk, the Stage, and the Five-String Banjo in the Nineteenth Century" 416. Winans quotes from Eric Davidson's notes to Folkways Album FS 3811, Traditional Music from Grayson and Carroll Counties, Guitars were unknown there (Virginia mountains) before 1900 according to every local informant asked. The guitar is a chorded instrument. . . .Only very skillful guitar players can fit their instrument to traditional Grayson and Carroll Counties {modal} banjo and fiddle music. it was simpler to adapt the older music to the attractive, easy-to-learn new instrument. . . .Chording appeared on the banjo soon afterward, along with fingerpicking. Wade Ward states that when he was a boy there was no chording and no fingerpicking use by Grayson County banjo players.

{213} Winans, "Early Minstrel Show Music, 1843-1852" in Musical Theatre in America 71-97. ed. Glenn Loney, (Wesport: Greenwood press, 1984), 73-75.

{214} The ensuing attempt to verify the replication of African American folk music in "Ethiopian" minstrelsy embodies a weak shot. One acute handicap comes from the writer's limited musical skills. This encompasses deficiencies like an inability to transcribe music, hear a melody from sheet music, or count written rhythm proficiently. Even more grievous is the lack of access to materials necessary for the study. In the context of Michigan State University this includes an absence of sheet music, songsters, relevant musical documents and recordings,

periodicals, and computer support. In compensation, a fair chunk of the investigation proceeded at Indiana University's Bloomington campus. Although Indiana University operates the required facilities, this time failed to procure the computer analysis the study requires. In addition to a more knowledgeable researcher, the investigation absolutely needs a structural comparison of at least five hundred songs from the British Isles, Africa and America and a computer operation capable of

enumerating similarities among individual pieces.

{215} Nathan, 242.

{216} Talley, 214.

{217} Talley, 20. Yates, 252.

{218} Allen, *, i.

{219} Mechal Sobel, The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987) 100. Wilentz, 48. Wood, 142-153.

{220} See for example, Allen #38, "Jesus on the Water-Side" and Parrish p. 233 "Peas and Rice."

{221} John Harrington Cox, Folk-Songs of the South: Collected Under the Auspices of the West Virginia Folk-Lore Society (Hatboro: Folklore Associates, 1963), 531, 524 & c.

{222} Hutton, 139.

{223} Nathan, 300.

{224} see "Old Colony Times"—mishap.

{225} Julia was Parrish's cook on St. Simon's Island.

{226} Krehbiel, 42-43.

{227} Jabbour, 24. Goertzen and Jabbour, "George P. Knauff's Virginia Reels and Fiddling in the Antebellum South" 133.

{228} Chris Goertzen, "George P. Knauff's Virginia Reels and Fiddling in the Antebellum South" American Music 5:121-144 (Summer) 1987. 134.

{229} Winans, "Black Instrumental Music Traditions in the Ex-Slave Narratives," 5.

{230} Marian Hannah Winter's article is a dramatic enigma. It is probably the best article written on American Minstrelsy, presaging the work of Toll by almost thirty years. I assume her information on "Juba" is taken from Courlander's Haiti Singing (1939). Winter includes many other "elusive" pieces of information such as the supposition that William Henry Lane learned to dance from "Uncle" Jim Lowe. However, the "Notes and Bibliographical Data" appendix of Magriel's compilation mysteriously omits Winter's references.

{231} Winters, 40.

{232} Epstein, 141-144. Elsie Parsons, Jamaican Folklore, Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society 21, 1928 (New York: G.B. Stechert & Co.), "Notes on Jamaican Ethnobotany" 20. Scarborough, 98.

{233} Nathan, 85.

{234} Scarborough, 99. Genovese, 581; from Life and Times of Frederick Douglass 146-147. Talley, (1922), 179.

{235} Nathan, 441.

{236} Winans, "Black Instrumental Music Traditions in the Ex-Slave Narratives," 5. Philip Foner American Labor Songs of the Nineteenth Century (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), 90-91.

{237} Lorenzo Turner song which copies froggy went a courtin and has the um hmm real low, a lower tone n artifical voice as Parson's seems to suggest last part "Old Cow Died" different from other versions I believe, different text from what appears elsewhere

{238} Nathan, 83; cites Laficadio Hearn, Levee Life (1876).

{239} see Parrish, 5-9.

{240} Edwards, 59.

{241} Allen, #121. Foster, vs. 4 "Away Down in Ca-i-ro" "Written and Composed for James F. Taunt of the Empire Minstrels" (New York: Firth, Pond & Co., 1850).

{242} Nathan, 410-412: Dan Emmett, "Bressed Am Dem Dat 'Spects Nuttin', Kaze Dey Aint a Gwine to Git Nuttin'! A Negro Sermon (New York, 1873. Genovese, 265-266.

{243} Nathan, 332-333.

{244} Allen, xi.
{245} Howard L. Sacks and Judith R. Sacks, "Way Up North in Dixie: Black White Musical Interaction in Knox County, Ohio," American Music 6:409-427 (Winter) 1988, 413.

{246} Nathan, 256.

{247} Nathan, 236.

{248} Nathan, 238. {[n] 72 [a]} Nathan apparently transposes "O'er the Crossing" from Ab to B, which requires moving from four flats to five sharps, but he places his example in E with four.

{249} George Pullen Jackson, White and Negro Spirituals 170-171.

{250} "What Ship Is This?" Samuel Hauser (?) c. 1800 Thomas W. Carter, arr. 1844 American Hymns Old and New ed. Albert Christ-Janer, Charles W. Hughes, Carleton Sprague Smith, (New York: Columbia University press, 1980.), 300. Thomas E. Barton, Old Plantation Hymns 27. (this version resembles the melody in question a little better than the one arranged by Carter) The "North Carolina" version Jackson speaks of should not be confused with the "variant" of "Old Ship of Zion" in Slave Songs, which has no claim to this title except by thematic likeness. This last song appears to be a perfect example of the "boring" Methodist hymn. The "Old Ship of Zion" in Barton shares the first verse of "I'm Don't Feel Weary" (Allen, #90).

{251} Nathan,

{252} Nathan, 237 n. 54. Fife Instructor: Being &c. (New York: Firth, Pond & Co., 1862). Nos. 72 & 73.

{253} Yates, 251. The South Carolina song resembles the song "Sold Off to Georgy" James Hungerford included in Georgia Plantation and What I Learned There & c.

{254} Nathan, 242.

{255} Nathan, 304. Not to be confused with "De Old Banjo" for which most of the words are in manuscript under the title "Charleston Galls" Seven of the stanzas also appear in a song of the same title (Boston, C.H. Keith, 1844) without mention of the composer or author.

{256} Helen H. Flanders, Ancient Ballads Traditionally Sung in New England (Philadelphia: Philadelphia University Press, 1965). Stephen Foster, "Away Down Souf" (Louisville: W.C. Peters, 1848). J.H. Kwabena Nketia Music of Africa (New York: W.W. Norton, 1974), "Anhemitonic Pentatonic Form" 118.

{257} Y.S. Nathanson, "Negro Minstrelsy Ancient and Modern" Putnam's Monthly 5:72-79, 1855; in Jackson Negro etc. 39-41.

{258} "Dicky Dash" Freedom's Journal Friday April 27, 1827, 26.

{259} Bryant's 1857, 1860.

APPENDIX I

Diagnosis of the Structure of Songs including:
Slave Songs, Minstrel Songs, and Stephen Foster's
Plantation Ballads, by means of my own system using a
novel and infinitely practical procedure for measuring melodic motion

Slave Songs

Roll, Jordan, Roll
D major, 2/4 two parts, or phrases

	begin	end	dominant	motion
1.	V	I		
2.	III	I	III (33%)	

Jehovah, Hellelujah
F major, 3/4 3 phrases

1.	III	II	V/III both (33%)
2.	7	I	
3.	5	I	

I Hear From Heaven to-Day
F major 2/4 2 parts

1.	III	I	I (43%)
2.	I	I	

Blow Your Trumpet, Gabriel
G major 2/4 2 parts

1.	I	I	III (33%)
2.	III	I	

Praise Member
G major 2/4 4 phrases

1.	V	5
2.	V	I
3.	V	II
4.	II	I

Wrestle on, Jacob
Bb major 2/4 2 phrases

1. IV I I (33%)
2. IV I

Lonesome Valley
F# minor 2/4 2 phrases

1. V I
2. III I I (30%)

I Can't Stay Behind
Bb 2/4 2 phrases

1. III I
2. VI I

Poor Rosy
E minor 2/4 2 phrases

1. VII I
2. I I

The Trouble of the World
G major 2/4 3 phrases, (verse and chorus)

1. V I
2. 5 IV I (47%)
3. III I

There's a Meeting Here To-Night
Eb major 2/4 2 phrases

1. V I
2. I I III (44%)

Hold Your Light
D major 2/4 2 phrases

1. V II VIII (29%)
2. V I

Happy Morning
G major 4/4 2 phrases

1. III I
2. III I

No Man Can Hinder Me
C major 2/4 5 phrases

1. I I I (33%)
2. I 1 I (33%)
3. III I
4. III 1
5. I 1

Lord Remember Me
F major 2/4 2 phrases

1. I I III (36%)
2. I I

Not Weary Yet
Eb major 2/4 2 phrases

1. V V V (48%)
2. II I

Religion So Sweet
C minor 2/4 4 phrases

1. I I I (66%)
2. I I I (84%)
3. I 5 I (78%)

Hunting for the Lord
Eb major 2/4 2 phrases

1. I III I (44%) 16 (5 bars)
2. I 6 III (33%) 14 (5 bars)

Go In the Wilderness
G major 2/4 2 phrases

1. III I 28 (8 bars)
2. 6 I 31 (9 bars)
2. 6 I

Tell My Jesus "Morning"
G major 2/4 4 phrases

1. III I II 43% 6 (2 bars)
2. 5 II 6 (2 bars)
3. II I II 41% 6 (2 bars)
4. 5 I I 42% 5 (2 bars)

The Graveyard
F major (or A minor with a flat VII) 2/4 2 phrases

1. III I III (38%) 37 (8 bars)
2. III IV III (50%) 12 (2+ bars)

John, John of the Holy Order
Eb major 2/4 3 phrases

1. V I IV (52%) 44 (13 bars)
2. V I 38 (10 bars)
3. V I 21 (8 bars)

I Saw the beam in my Sister's Eye
G major 2/4 1 phrase

1. V I V (44%) 31 (8 bars)

Hunting for a City
Ab major 4 phrases

1. 5 5 I (57%) 11 (3 bars)
2. 7 I II (57%) 6 (2+ bars)
3. I II III (46%) 17 (2+ bars)
4. V I 9 (3 bars)

Gwine Follow
A major 2/4 2 phrases

1. I I 40 (9 bars)
2. 5 I 32 (8 bars)

Lay This Body Down
Ab major 2/4 2 phrases

1. I 4 20 (6 bars)
2. I 4 6 (1+ bars)

Heaven Bell A-Ring
G major 2/4 2 phrases

1. V I I (44%) 17 (
2. 5 I III (43%) 38 (

Jine 'Em
G major 2/4 2 phrases

1. V V V (44%) 8 (2 bars)
2. V 5 V (38%) 16 (6 bars)

Stars Begin to Fall
F major 2/4 2 phrases

1. I	I	25 (8 bars)
2. III	I	22 (8 bars)

King Emanuel
G major 2/4 2 phrases

1. IV	I	17 (9 bars)
2. III	I	18 (9 bars)

Satan's Camp A-Fire
A major 2/4 1 phrase

1. III	I	39 (8 bars)

Give Up the World
F major 2/4 2 phrases

1. III	I	26 (8 bars)
2. III	VI	52 (8 bars)

Jesus on the Waterside
Eb major 2/4 2 phrases

1. V	I	V (50%)	26 (7 bars)
2. III	I		45 (8 bars)

I Wish I Been Dere
G major 2/4 2 phrases

1. 5	I	49 (8 bars)
2. 5	I	33 (8 bars)

Build a House in Paradise
G major 2/4 3 phrases

1. III	III	III (32%)	19 (4 bars)

2. III I 18 (4 bars)
3. I I I (50%) 4 (4 bars)

I Know When I'm Going Home
D major 2/4 1 phrase

1. VIII I V (48%) 41 (16 bars)

I'm A-Trouble in De Mind
Eb 2/4 2 phrases

1. I I 26 (6 bars)
2. 5 VII 19 (7 bars)

Travel On
G minor 2/4 2 phrases

1. I I 32 (7 bars)
2. II I 34 (9 bars)

Archangel Open the Door
F major 4/4 2 phrases

1. V I 44 (8 bars)
2. V I 32 (8 bars)

My Body Rock 'Long Fever
G major 4/4 2 phrases

1. I 6 I (44%) 36 (8 bars)
2. I 6 I (38%) 32 (9 bars)

Bell Da Ring
G major 4/4 3 phrases

1. I 5 19 (4+ bars)

2. III I 16 (4 bars)
3. V I 14 (4+ bars)

Pray All De Member
G major 4/4 3 phrases
1. V V V (60%) 19 (4 bars)
2. V V V (41%) 20 (4 bars)
3. II V 23 (4 bars)

Turn Sinner, Turn O!
G major 4/4 1 phrase

1. V I III (45%) 20 (4 bars)

My Army Cross Over
G major 4/4 1 phrase

1. I I 25 (7 bars)

(variation)
G major 4/4

1. I I I (40.5%) 35 (12 bars)

Join the Angel Band
A major 2/4 1 phrase

1. I I 35 (8 bars)

I An' Satan Had a Race
F major 4/4 2 phrases

1. V II 15 (4 bars)
2. VII I 14 (4 bars)

Shall I Die?
C major 4/4 1 phrase

1. I 5 I (33%) 22 (8+ bars)

When We Do Meet Again
G major 4/4 2 phrases

1. I	I	26 (4+ bars)
2. I	I	32 (5 bars)

The White Marble Stone
F major 4/4 2 phrases

1. I	IV	15 (2 bars)
2. I	7	17 (2+ bars)

I Can't Stand the Fire
G minor 2/4 1 phrase

1. I	I	31 (8+ bars)

Meet, O Lord!
Bb major 2/4 3 phrases

1. III	I	18 (3+ bars)
2. V	6	14 (3+ bars)
3. 5	I	33 (8 bars)

Wait Mr. Mackwright
A major 2/4 1 phrase

1. V	I	50 (13 bars)

Early in the Morning
F major 2/4 4 phrases

1. I	I	I (50%)	10 (2+ bars)
2. VI	5		10 (2 bars)
3. V	5	V (50%)	22 (4 bars)

4. V 5 28 (4 bars)

Hail Mary
A major 2 phrases 4/4

1. 5 I I (40%) 15 (8+ bars)
2. I I 16 (9 bars)

No More Rain Fall For Wet You
Eb major 2/4 4 phrases

1. I VIII 11 (2 bars)
2. III VIII VIII (50%)
3. VIII II 12 (2 bars)
4. I V 6 (2+ bars)

I Want to Go Home
Bb major 4/4 1 phrase

1. III I 10 (7 bars)

Goodbye Brother
G major 4/4 1 phrase

1. I I I (36%) 26 (8 bars)

Fare Ye Well
G major 2/4 4 phrases

1. 5 I I (33%) 21 (6 bars)
2. III I 12 (4 bars)
3. V III V (43%) 18 (5 bars)
4. V I 14 (4 bars)

Many Thousand Go
G major 4/4

1. V I 33 (7 bars)

Brother Moses Gone
Bb major, (F major with flat VII)

1. 5 5 18 (3 bars)
2. I 5 10 (3 bars)

Some Valiant Soldier
G major 2/4

1. V I 28 (9 bars)
2. I I III (33%) 18 (9 bars)

Hallelu, Hallelu
Ab major 2 phrases

1. V I 12 (5 bars)
2. IV 5 12 (4 bars)

Children do LInger
Ab (unusual modality) 2/4

1. 5 3 5 (47%) 19 (5 bars)
2. 5 7 15 (4 bars)

Good-bye
C major 2/4 2 phrases

1. VIII V 30 (7 bars)
2. II I 35 (9 bars)

Lord make Me More Patient
F major 6/8

1. V I V (40%) 41 (11 bars)

The Day of Judgement
F major 2/4

1. I I III (39%) 28 (14 bars)

The Resurrection Morning
Bb 2/4 F major (flat III & VII)

1. I I

Nobody Know the Trouble I've Had
Bb 4/4 4 phrases

1. 5 II I (40%) 19 (6 bars)
2. V I II (40%) 3 (2 bars)
3. II I V (46%) 24 (9 bars)
4. V I V (45%) 16 (4 bars)

Who Is on the Lord's Side
g major 4/4

1. I I I (50%) 40 (8 bars)
2. V I I (33%) 41 (8 bars)

Hold Out to the End
G major 2/4

1. I I I (50%) 24 (8 bars)
2. VIII I 24 (8 bars)

Come Go With Me
C major 2/4 three phrases

1. V I V (66%) 8 (4 bars)

2. I IV 18 (4 bars)
3. VIII IV 43 (8 bars)

Every Hour in the Day
E minor

1. I 1 39 (8 bars)
2. III 1 III (60%) 27 (8 bars)

In the Mansion Above
C major 4/4
1. VI V 39 (5 bars)
2. VIII I 35 (4 bars)

Shout On, Children
A major 2/4

1. I I 32 (8 bars)

Jesus, Won't You Come By-and-By?
D minor 2/4

1. V I V (51%) 26 (8 bars)
2. VIII I 15 (4 bars)

Heave Away
C major 4/4

1. I I 101 (13 bars)

Wake Up, Jacob
G major 2/4 two phrases

1. V I I (33%) 32 (8 bars)
2. I I I (58%) 36 (8 bars)

On to Glory
A major 3/4 2 phrases

1.	5	I	28 (4+ bars)
2.	III	5	26 (4+ bars)

Just Now
F major 3/4

1.	III	I	39 (11 bars)

Shock Along John
Bb 2/4 4 phrases

1.	1	5	I (45%)	7 (2 bars)
2.	VI	II		5 (2 bars)
3.	IV	6		7 (2 bars)
4.	5	I		5 (2 bars)

Round the Corn Sally
F major (C major with a flat VII) 4/4 2 phrases

1.	I	I	I (47%)	10 (4 bars)
2.	II	I	II (35%)	13 (4 bars)

Jordan's Mills
F major 3/4

1.	VI	III	11 (4 bars)
2.	III	III	12 (4 bars)

Minstrel Songs

Nigger Will Be Nigger
Ab major 3 phrases

1.	5	I		30 (4 bars)
2.	5	I		35 (4 bars)
3.	III	I	V (50%)	33 (8 bars)

I'se a Travlin' to de GRave
F minor 4/4

1.	6	5	22 (8 bars)
2.	II	II III (71%)	41 (15 bars)

Old K.Y., Ky.

1.	5	VI	56 (18 bars)
2.	III	VI	88 (16 bars)

Dar's a Darky in De Tent
F major 2/4

1.	5	5	101 (15 bars)
2.	I	I	65 (15 bars)

We Are Coming from the Cotton Fields
E major 2/4

1.	III	I	87 (17 bars)
2.	III	I	85 (16 bars)

Happy Land of Canaan
F major 2/4 2 phrases

1.	I	I V (33%)	56 (8+ bars)
2.	I	I	58 (8 bars)

The Yaller Gal that Winked at Me
A major 4/4 2 phrases

1.	III	I	92 (16 bars)
2.	III	I	68 (15 bars)

Ephraim's Lament
Bb major 2/4

1.	5	III	65 (16 bars)
2.	V	I	40 (12 bars)

What's De Matter Uncle Sam?
C major 2/4 2 phrases

1.	V	I	80 (16 bars)
2.	V	I	65 (16 bars)

Happy Uncle Joe
G major 4/4 2 phrases

1.	5	1	I (34%)	62 (16 bars)
2.	V	I		32 (8 bars)

Make My Grave in the Lowlands Low
A major 4/4

1.	5	I	47 (8+ bars)
2.	6	I	32 (8 bars)
3.	5	I	50 (8 bars)

Roll, Jordan Roll
C major 4/4 4 phrases

1.	V	V		12 (4+ bars)
2.	III	I		18 (4 bars)
3.	I	I	III (33%)	26 (8 bars)
4.	V	I		31 (8 bars)

Tapioca
F major 4/4 3 phrases

1. I I I (47%) 81 (17 bars)
2. V I 48 (13 bars)
3. VIII VIII 21 (10 bars)

Jack on De Green
Bb major (F major with flat VII) 2/4 2 phrases divided into 5

1. 3 5 16 (4 bars)
2. 7 5 29 (4 bars)
3. 3 3 15 (4 bars)
4. 7 III 37 (4 bars)
5. 5 I 91 (16 bars)

O Lord, Remember Me: A Shout Song of the Freedmen of Port Royal
Eb major 2 phrases

1. I I II (43%) III (30%) 24 (8 bars)
2. I I 29 (8 bars)

Who Says De Darkies Won't Fight?
C major 2/4 2 phrases

1. I VIII 80 (16 bars)
2. IX VIII 47 (8 bars)

High Daddy
C major 2/4

1. III II 18 (2 bars)
2. III V 16 (2 bars)
3. III II 19 (2 bars)
4. III VI 19 (4 bars)
5. III VI 39 (10 bars)
6. V I 78 (16 bars)

Pleasant Dreams of Long Ago
Bb major 3/4

1. 3		168 (23 bars) 7.3 av.
2. V	I	45 (8 bars) 5.6 av.

O, Would I Were a Fly
F major 4/4 4 phrases

1. V	V	32 (8 bars)
2. V	VIII	31 (8 bars)
3. II	V	25 (8 bars)
4. V	VIII	30 (8 bars)

Ella Clay
Eb Major 4/4 2 phrases

1. I	VIII	49 (16 bars)
2. I	VIII	49 (8 bars)

The Mother's Blessing
C major 2/4 2 phrases

1. 5	I	60 (20 bars)
2. 5	I	102 (20 bars)

Jennie Lives But For Thee
Bb major 3/4 2 phrases

1. III	I	61 (16 bars)
2. III	I	50 (16 bars)

My Beautfiul Lizzie, A Cushra Machree
Bb major 3/4

1: 5	I	134 (32+ bars)
a. 5	I	57 (16 bars)
b. V	I	77 (16 bars)
2. 5	I	73 (20 bars)

Hast Thou Forgotten Fanny Lee?
G major 4/4 2 phrases

1. V	I		77 (16 bars)
2. III	III	V (39%)	28 (8 bars)

Twinkling Stars are Laughing Love
G major 4/4 2 phrases

1. V	I	63 (16 bars)
2. V	I	34 (8 bars)

I'll Wait at the Gate for Thee
Eb major 4/4 2 phrases

1. V	IV	57 (12 bars)
2. III	I	59 (8 bars)

Bonny Mabel
G major 3/4 4 phrases, no chorus

1. III	II	20 (8 bars)
2. III	III	28 (8 bars)
3. III	I	53 (16 bars)
4. I	I	30 (8 bars)

How Long the Hours Seem Love!
A major 4/4 3 phrases

1. I	I	41 (8 bars)
2. III	III	49 (12 bars)
3. III	I	31 (8 bars)

If Your Foot Is Pretty Show It
D major 3/8 3 phrases

1. V	V	V (50%)	41 (12 bars)
2. I	VIII		58 (29 bars)
3. V	I		(40 bars)

Weep Not Comrades for Me
Bb major 12/8

1. I	5	46 (8 bars)
2. 5	I	25 (4+ bars)

Hold on Abraham-to Abe Lincoln
D major 2/4

1. I	III	V (36%)	64 (16 bars)
2. VIII	V	VIII (53%)	16 (8 bars)

Pleasant Dreams of Long Ago
Bb major 3/4

1. 3	V	109 (16 bars)
2. 5	I	49 (8 bars)
3. V	I	44 (8 bars)

Myself and Polly Carter
G major 6/8 2 phrases

1. 5	5	38 (8 bars)
2. V	I	59 (10 bars)

Loved One, Wake!
Ab major, 6/8 4 phrases

1.	5	II	42 (12 bars)
2.	6	7	45 (12 bars)
3.	5	I	32 (8 bars)
4.	III	IV	30 (8 bars)

When Fenians Fight for Freedom
F major 6/8 2 phrases

1.	V	I	97 (16 bars)
2.	V	I	65 (16 bars)

Bonnie Belle
D major 2 phrases 3/4

1.	III	III	V (27%)	50 (16 bars)
2.	V	III	VIII (27%)	36 (8 bars)

Pride of My Heart Farewell
Db major 2 phrases 4/4

1.	V	V	V (27%)	14 (8 bars)
2.	V	VIII		54 (8 bars)

The Jersey Lovers
D minor 2/4 2 phrases

1.	II	I	48 (8 bars)
2.	II	I	49 (8 bars)

Mother Is the Battle Over?
C major 4/4

1.	3	I	V (30%)	108 (16 bars)
2.	3	I		53 (8 bars)

Whack Row De Dow, or Hunky boy is Yankee Doodle
C major 2/4

1. 5 5	72 (16 bars)
2. I I	38 (8 bars)

Darling Jeannie
G major 4/4 2 phrases

1. V V	56 (16 bars)
2. V I	16 (8 bars)

Up the Hudson
F major 4/4 2 phrases

1. I I	103 (16 bars)
2. VI V	12 (4 bars)

I'd Dream Forever More
Ab major 6/8

1. 5 I	121 (20 bars)
2. III I	41 (8 bars)

Minnie May
G major 3/4

1. III I	57 (16 bars)
2. 6 I	23 (8 bars)
3. III I	57 (16 bars)

Katy Darling
Bb major 4/4 4 phrases

1. I	I	60 (8 bars)
2. III	I	52 (8 bars)
3. I	III	6 (3 bars)
4. I	I	60 (8 bars)

Memory Bells
A major 4/4

1. III	I	83 (16 bars)
2. 6	I	57 (8 bars)

Oh, Mary Jane!
A major 2/4

1. 5	5	88 (16 bars)
2. III	6	23 (8 bars)

The Other Side of Dixie
C major 2/4 3 phrases

1. 5	I	46 (8 bars)
2. 1	I	55 (8 bars)
3. 3	I	38 (8 bars

Stephen Foster's Plantation Ballads

Away Down Souf
G major 2/4 3 verses, 1 chorus

1. V	I	V (39%)	18 (8 bars)
2. II	I		37 (8 bars)
3. V	I	V (46%)	18 (8 bars)
4. V	I		18 (8 bars)

Massa's in de Cold Ground
D major 4/4 4 phrases 3 verses, 1 chorus

1. V I	66 + [28 of octaves] (16 bars)
2. VIII I	40 (8 bars)
3. V I	55 + [21 of octaves] (16 bars)
4. V I	74 + [28 of octaves)] (16 bars)

Oh! Boys Carry Me 'Long
F major 6/8 3 phrases

1. V I	51 (16 bars)
2. VIII I	25 (8 bars)
3. V I	52 (16 bars)

Dolly Day
A major 2/4 2 phrases

1. 5 I	85 (16 bars)
2. I I III (31%)	42 (8 bars)

Don't Bet Your Money on de Shanghai
C major 2/4

1. I II	57 (8 bars)
2. V I	55 (8 bars)

Dolcy Jones
F major 4/4 2 phrases

1. 5 I	67 (8 bars)
2. VI II	27 (4 bars)

Farewell My Lily Dear
C major 2/4

1. VI VIII	62 (16 bars)
2. V VIII	56 (16 bars)

The Glendy Burk
G major 2/4

1. 5	I		97 (16 bars)
2. V	I		44 (8 bars)

Gwine to Run All Night
D major 2/4

1. V	III	V (63%)	8 (2 bars)
2. III	II		3 (2 bars)
3. V	III	V (63%)	8 (2 bars)
4. II	I		3 (2 bars)
5. V	III	V (63%)	* (2 bars)
6. see 2			
7. V	III	V (63%)	8 (2 bars)
8. see 4			
9. I	I		32 (8 bars)

The Abolition Show
Eb major 6/8

1. 5	I		53 (8 bars)

Oh! Lemuel
G major 2/4

1. 5	II		80 (16 bars)
2. I	I	I (28%)	37 (8 bars)
3. 5	I		46 (8 bars)

Nelly Was a Lady
A major 4/4

1. I	I	14/34	36 (8 bars)
2. 5	I		22 (4 bars)

Nelly Bly
C major 4/4

1. III VIII 62 (8 bars)
2. X VIII 52 (8 bars)

My Old Kentucky Home Good-Night!
G major 4/4

1. V I 99 (16 bars)
2. VI III IV & V 34 (8 bars)

My Brudder Gum
G major 2/4

1. 5 I VI (33%) 26 (8 bars)
2. V III 26 (8 bars)

Angelina Baker
C major 2/4

1. III I 80 (16 bars)
2. 5 I 26 (8 bars)

Oh Susanah
G major 2/4

1. I I 60 (16 bars)
2. IV I 23 (8 bars)

Old Folks at Home
D major 4/4

1. III I 52 (8 bars)
2. VII I 46 (8 bars)

Ring, Ring de Banjo!
F major 2/4

1. V I 63 (16 bars)
2. V I 23 (8 bars)

(more atavistic appendations)

APPENDIX II

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