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Who We Are and er nain Where We Came From in Early Sound Recordings

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Eric Byron

Crank Up the Phonograph: Who We Are and Where We Came From in Early Sound Recordings

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Table of Contents

Introduction: 5-22

Chapter I: 23-66

Sales Promotion, Immigrant Theaters, Immigrant Restaurants, and Immigrant Phonograph Outlets

Chapter II: 67-189

The Utilization of Stereotypical Language and Image to Define Ethnic, Racial and Rube Boundaries in Early Sound Recordings

Chapter III: 190-228

English Acquisition by Immigrants (1880 - 1940): The Confrontation as Reflected in Early Sound Recordings

Chapter IV: 229-260

The Impact of Technology as Revealed in Recordings about Groups: Strange People, Strange Technologies

Chapter V: 261-275

Comfort in America: The Ramifications of a Diminished Trait List

Appendices: 276-301

Bibliography: 302-329

Acknowledgments: 330-333

Image Acknowledgments: 334-335

Index: 336-347

Preface

Demographic and technological upheaval greatly characterized the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It was a time when American people said what they thought, and much of what they thought made it onto the early sound recordings. These recordings provide us a pathway for understanding how people viewed themselves, others, and the world they encountered.

This work is in no way the definitive study. The author asks that the reader continue the examination. Finally, a significant portion of the recording data comes from the Ellis Island Discography Project.

Introduction

Old, worn, and often severely scratched phonograph records unearthed in basements or flea markets can give us much insight into the time in which they were made. Known as sound recordings, these socio-anthropological and historical treasures were produced for the mass market. Before political correctness became a concern, people made records, millions of them, containing skits and songs that they thought would sell – with amazing results. As James Deetz stresses in his book *In Small Things Forgotten: An Archeology of Early American Life*, "material culture may be the most objective source of information we have concerning America's past." Deetz further emphasizes that "it is terribly important that the 'small things forgotten' be remembered." Among the small things forgotten are the contents of these recordings. And as with archeological deposits, one can glean information not only from specific recordings, but even more so from the recordings within their historical context. In the process we gain insight into the way a people, in this case the American people, viewed the world around them during the period when these recordings were made.

Sound recording companies began to produce commercial sound recordings during the 1890s. From the very beginning, the companies made a significant number of recordings about people who were not part of the urban, technologically sophisticated "white" American mainstream. These groups consisted primarily of immigrants, rural folk, and African Americans. Around the same time, recording companies began introducing recordings by immigrant groups. African Americans and country folk did not fare as well. William Howland Kenney comments in his *Recorded Music in American Life: The Phonograph and Popular memory, 1890-1945* that companies generally determined recording context of African Americans. Kenney states, "Not until Berry Gordy, Junior established Motown Records in 1959 did a Black owned record company seriously challenge white hegemony." He notes that they were a bit more flexible with country people.

At the time the majority of these sound recordings were made (1890s –1930s), most Americans viewed ethnicity and race differently from the way we currently do. In 1900, Webster's Dictionary did not contain the word "ethnicity" and defined "ethnic" as "heathen" or "pagan." Race" and "people" were applied interchangeably. For example, steamship manifests after 1903 have a category for "race or people," and under that heading one sees Italians, Hebrews, Irish, Germans, and Poles, among others. As the years passed, the very concept of who belonged where – and who was white – changed. Before political correctness, all of this was expressed on phonograph records.

The recordings tended to be very conservative in nature. A great deal of information had to be conveyed in two to four minutes, the length of most records. To achieve maximum impact, the authors would reduce a stereotypical feature to a single word or phrase. With each new skit/song, the feature would take on greater weight. This accumulated level of expectation and comprehension allowed the listening audience to appreciate in fewer and fewer words what the author of the work was trying to communicate. We could even say

that a recording language developed as an ever-decreasing number of words acquired an ever-increasing history.

No single sound recording covered everything. The composer, the performer, and the intended audience restricted each recording to a miniscule portion of the entire story. An individual recording can be compared to one of the dots of color that make up an image on a monitor or a photo in a newspaper: the more dots in the image, the clearer the picture. The more recordings one hears, the clearer the time period becomes.

In the course of examining commercial sound recordings, especially the more successful ones, the researcher learns that they were not accidental events in history. Rather, for the listener, the recordings functioned as what William Howland Kenney calls "collective memories," frozen at a specific instant in time, which then served to inform, awaken, preserve, reify, interpret, and reinterpret everyday life, often by describing the simplest acts, such as making a telephone call.

This work will focus primarily on the variety of commercial sound recordings from the earliest days of sound recording through the early 1930s about and by people outside of the urban, technologically sophisticated "white" American mainstream. In the chapter titled "Comfort in America," the book will also address how recordings by immigrants and for immigrants dramatically changed during the 1940s and 1950s. The bulk of the data comes from the cylinders and 78 rpm records analyzed in the Ellis Island Discography Project.⁹

The first chapter, "Sales Promotion, Immigrant Theaters, Immigrant Restaurants and Immigrant Phonograph Outlets," deals with the distribution of phonographs and records to the general American public and the immigrant community in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The chapter utilizes *Antique Phonograph Advertising: An Illustrated History* by Timothy C. Fabrizio and George F. Paul as its chronological base for presenting the material. ¹⁰ Juxtaposed to this historical outline are the theoretical considerations of Nathan David Bowers, ¹¹ Rebekah Burchfield, ¹² and William Howland Kenney. ¹³ All three authors came to the realization that in the American home, women were key people in the acquisition and sale of phonographs and records. They maintain that this involvement was neither haphazard nor accidental. Rather, it reflected the role women initially played in the Victorian home and the changes that followed through the 1920s.

To better understand how the companies marketed their machines, the author goes over record and phonograph advertisements from the *Sears Roebuck Catalogue* and *The New York Times* from just before the turn-of-the century through the early 1920s. He then examines how the companies promoted the product to phonograph retailers. From this point the analysis becomes more immigrant oriented with the examination of *The Jewish Daily Forward* (in Yiddish *Forverts*) and the Italian *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*.

A number of factors contributed to the decision to concentrate on Jews and Italians in discussing immigrants and the early history of the recording industry. Italians and Jews

constituted the two largest groups to come through Ellis Island during the time Ellis Island operated as our main immigration station. The immigration of these two groups overlapped greatly with the development of the phonograph from scientific novelty to beloved American furnishing. Even though Italian immigration exceeded Jewish immigration by more than two to one, the author has elected to emphasize Jews. Jews became involved in the sale of phonographs years before Italians. The advertisements in *Il Progresso* suggest that Jews controlled much of the distribution and sale of machines and records to Italians, at least in Lower Manhattan's "Little Italy." More data appears to be available in connection with Jews in relationship to this business. Information relating to Jewish restaurants and theaters, two industries closely tied to the sale of phonographs and records, is also much more readily available than information relating to Little Italy.

The second chapter, titled "The Utilization of Stereotypical Language and Image to Define Ethnic, Racial and Rube Boundaries in Early Sound Recordings," sets the stage for much of the rest of book. It studies the conceptual units employed in the recordings to create and maintain ethnic, racial, and rube boundaries in the United States. It also discusses crossing over boundaries and boundary denigration. William Howland Kenney's concept of the collective memory¹⁴ and Fredrik Barth's discussion of boundary maintenance function as the basis of inquiry. Kenney further asserts that the recordings were not casual but rather spoke to consumers so strongly that the intended audiences felt they had to have the recordings. Barth stresses that, in general, boundary lines have less to do with "a bellicose ignorance" of one's neighbors than with certain expectations that help establish boundaries, and thus a dialogue of expectations develops.

Most importantly, Barth downplays cultural trait lists as being the base of identification. Cultural trait lists may change, but a boundary persists as long as a group identifies itself and is recognized by others as comprising a category of membership. For the purposes of this work, his statement about how certain situations result not from a "major aspect of structure" but "rather from historical events" proves extremely helpful in the examination of the ethnic/racial and rube identity in America. People migrated to and within the country and discovered that they did not, at least initially, form a "complementarity of ethnic identities." They found that they had to live in a world constructed by the mainstream population.

The vast majority of immigrants entering this country during the peak years of immigration (1880-1924) had to learn English once they arrived. They came to a land in which, unlike many of the places they had left, only one language predominated and, to a great extent, was tolerated. As the records that play humorously on immigrants' accents and misuse of English demonstrate, the mainstream society expected these newcomers to acquire and use English correctly. The difficulties the immigrants experienced in their attempts to be successful in this new land all made it onto the records. "English Acquisition By Immigrants (1880 – 1940): The Confrontation As Reflected In Early Sound Recordings" investigates the role of English on primarily non-English records to illustrate the frustrations, anxieties, and humor with which immigrants had to deal in their acquisition of English. This section also explores the way popular American songs were

reworked by immigrants and concludes by analyzing the deterioration of the immigrants' native languages.

Social and technological upheavals characterized the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These technological advances propelled immigration, mostly from Europe. Steamships became larger and faster, thus reducing fares and increasing passenger loads. The development of the gasoline engine and the building of roads made travel in this country more accessible and people less isolated. The possibility of increasing one's income by moving to a more urban area drove migration. The phonograph, movies, and most certainly the radio enticed people to cities. In the process, America went from being a primarily rural country to an urban one. "The Impact of Technology as Revealed in Recordings about Groups" examines how the recording companies juxtaposed in skit and song two of the new technologies, the telephone and the automobile, with what the general public viewed as an onslaught of strange and foreign people. Eventually, the strangeness of both people and technologies diminished, and by the late 1920s listeners rarely heard skits and songs that matched alien technologies with alien peoples.

The work concludes with a chapter titled "Comfort in America: the Ramifications of a Diminished Trait List." Three groups – Italians, Jews, and Scandinavians – generated songs from the late 1940s through the 1950s that strongly suggest these peoples had become comfortable in America. The compositions tended to ridicule or play on both immigrant and American stereotypes. Many of the recordings parodied the hits of the period. Often these writers/performers utilized English, or English with an ethnic accent along with a few ethnic words designed to show ethnic affiliation. Sometimes they would restrict designation to barely an ethnic name or two. This chapter speaks to the amazing success of these recordings. The Italian works, especially, managed to crossover to the general population.

Migrants to and Within America

Between the years 1820 and 1930, more than 37,000,000 people immigrated to the United States. ¹⁹ Most of them fled an industrializing and often overpopulated Europe. They came seeking new lives, lives free from economic deprivation and religious persecution. However difficult life was in America, many immigrants considered it to be better than the places they had left.

Historians describe those who entered United States in the wave prior to 1880 as the "old immigrants." For the most part, these people came from northwestern Europe. 3,092,116 Germans made up the greatest number. They were followed by 2,829,398 Irishmen and 1,949,391 people from England, Scotland and Wales. 409,675 Scandinavians immigrated making them the fourth largest group to come to this country prior to 1890.²⁰

Starting in 1880, emigration from southern and eastern Europe began increasing. By 1900, these immigrants exceeded the numbers arriving from northern Europe. During the period 1880-1930, approximately 5,000,000 Italians entered the country. A population

consisting of roughly 2,000,000 Jews formed the second largest contingent. Poles numbering over a million made up the third biggest group.²¹

Some 1,000,000 Hungarians, 400,000 Greeks, 233,000 Portuguese, 105,000 Czechs, and between 70,000 and 80,000 Armenians, 22 among many others, joined these immigrants. At the same time, nationalities from the first wave continued to leave their homes. In the 1920s alone, another 400,000 Germans and 160,000 Scots landed on our shores. 23

Until the end of the nineteenth century, most African Americans lived in the southern part of the United States. Starting around War World I, oppression in the South, along with economic



Where bread is sold on the street. Mott Street, New York City, ca. 191-

Courtesy of the Library of Congress, reproduction # LC-USZ62-72440

opportunities in the North, fueled an internal migration of African Americans to northern cities. During this "Great Migration," approximately 1,500,000 people made their way to cities, New York and Chicago among the largest. In addition to this massive resettlement, more than 300,000 West Indians entered this country between 1900 and 1930. Almost half settled in New York City. By the 1920s, these people comprised about

a quarter of Harlem's black population. ²⁵ The United States Bureau of the Census reports that in 1900 there were 60,666 African Americans living in New York City. By 1930, the figure had jumped to 327,706. ²⁶

Industrialization, technological advancement, and urbanization not only brought the movement of immigrants and southern blacks into the northern cities, but these factors also altered the relationship between rural and urban America. In 1880, 71.8% of America's 50,189,209 people lived in rural areas. By 1930, the percentage had decreased to



Peddlers – New York's "Little Jerusalem," ca. 1908-1916

Courtesy of the Library of Congress, reproduction # LC-USZ62-95683

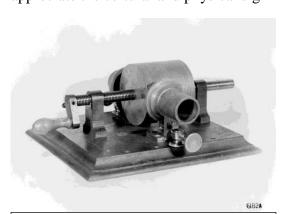
43.9% of a population of 123,202,624.²⁷ Even though the rural population during this time continued to increase, the separation between the rural and urban sectors of the country decreased. Expanded rail service, gasoline powered vehicles, along with the telephone, phonograph and radio, to mention a few, bound people who had previously been much more removed from each other.

Immigrants tended to settle in urban neighborhoods populated by their own kind, frequently forming areas that were then called "Little" plus the name of the group or nationality. Often they and their descendants lived in the same neighborhood for generations. Many attempted to restrict their social interactions to people within their own community. Others realized that they had to interact, especially for economic reasons, with an outside world much different from the one they understood and in which they found comfort.

Amidst this great upheaval, several other overlapping cultural phenomena occurred that encouraged the development of the phonograph. America started to become a consumer nation based upon marketing. People demanded leisure time and began participating in mass entertainment. The tensions arising from this incredible movement of people and changes in lifestyle became one of the basic themes of the phonograph record. Finally, many immigrants came with the expectation that they would make money and return to their homeland. Nearly 90 percent of Balkan people went back to Europe. Between the years 1908 and 1914, immigration records state that 6,703,357 people arrived and 2,063,767 people left the United States. The people who left included more than half of the Hungarians, Italians, Croatians, and Slovenes. Generally, the people who returned were single men, and their stay often depended upon the availability of jobs.

A Brief History of the Phonograph, the Phonograph Record, and the Significance of the Recordings.

Although this work focuses on early sound recordings, the creation of sound recordings and the devices to play them did not occur in a cultural vacuum. People had to learn to appreciate the cultural and physical significance of hearing as part of a larger dynamic



Edison's Original Tin-foil Phonograph

Courtesy of Thomas Edison National Historical Park that included the sound, as well as the physicality of the ear and significance of the nerves. This appreciation grew slowly and was associated with various technologies, such as the phonautograph, which transmitted sound into a visual form. Jonathan Sterne's *The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Reproduction* analyzes in detail the cultural and technological understandings that made a recording device possible.³⁰

Thomas Alva Edison invented the phonograph in Menlo Park, New Jersey in 1877. By the 1890s, "phonograph parlors"

and "penny arcades" featured these novel machines. In 1896 Edison developed a cylinder machine for the home. ³¹ Flat records first showed up in the late 1890s, and by 1903 phonograph technology had so improved that Victor was able to launch its "Red Seal" label that featured prominent performers, Caruso being the most significant among them. ^{32,33}

In the early days the price of phonographs, cylinders and discs varied. Recording companies produced recordings and phonographs for all kinds of people. In *Look for the Dog; An Illustrated Guide to Victor Talking*



Phonograph Arcade

Courtesy of Thomas Edison National Historical Park

Machines, one gets a sense of phonograph price range. A Victrola IV, which was produced in the years 1911-1926, cost in the neighborhood of \$15.00 to \$25.00.³⁴ However, during the years 1915-1916, a customer could also purchase a Victrola XVIII, which ran \$300.00 to \$400.00.³⁵ The book contains many other examples that indicate that Victor was trying to attract the largest consumer pool possible.



Estelle Berman, the author's grandmother, stands in front of a cabinet [possibly tapestry or drape] and next to her phonograph in her house in Brooklyn. The author contacted the 78 chat group at 78-1@78online.com. Bruce Young returned his e-mail with the following information:

"Just wish it showed more of the Victrola. I would say it is definitely a Victor, probably either a VV-111 or VV-130. It was a special order one, because it has a Japanese Lacquer finish on it. Victor did not supply matching cabinets like that one. The Victor would have been ordered separately from a Victor dealer, and she probably picked out a finish that would closely match the huge cabinet... The Victor 111 came out in 1921 and continued until 1923, while the 130 was produced in the same era."

Courtesy of the author

Oliver Read and Walter L. Welch in *From Tin Foil to Stereo* cite the Victor prices that resulted during a

price war in December 1905. Seven-inch records were reduced from fifty cents to thirty-five cents. Ten-inch records were reduced from one dollar to sixty cents, and twelve-inch records were reduced from one dollar and fifty cents to one dollar. Wictor Greene says in his *A Passion for Polka*, the price eventually settled at around seventy-five cents for

ten-inch non-opera label discs and lasted until the Depression.³⁷ The Victor catalogues of 1916³⁸ and 1923³⁹ and the Columbia catalogue of 1922⁴⁰ appear to confirm this statement. The Columbia Catalogue of 1916 indicates that Columbia, at least during this time period, sold many of its popular ten-inch selections for sixty-five cents.⁴¹ According to Timothy C. Fabrizio and George F. Paul in *Antique Phonograph Advertising: An Illustrated History* the price shot up to eighty-five cents in 1918 and then receded after the Armistice.⁴²

One can get an idea about the cost of these records in today's dollars from a June 4, 2011 exchange on the 78 chat group (78-1@78online.com). In the course of the discussion, it was observed that the circa 1912 record "Lucia Sextet" (Victor 96200) had a \$7.00 price on the label. Mike Daley pointed out that "According to

http://www.usinflationcalculator.com/, \$7.00 in 1912 would be worth \$159.02 today."⁴³ Kristjan Saag corrected the 1912 date. He called attention to the fact that the record was actually issued in 1908 and then added

The pre-WW I years were probably the most expensive ones for, at least, buyers of operatic records. This was the time when record companies could charge 30 % more than regular



The \$7.00 Victor, catalogue number 96200, 1908 "Lucia Sextet" features Sembrich, Caruso, Scotti, Journet, Severina and Daddi

Image courtesy of Mike Sherman

price for a duet and almost the double for a quartet. Gelatt describes this in his *The Fabulous Phonograph*, and, indeed, mentions that Victor, by 1908, charged 7 dollars for the "Lucia Sextet" (which was recorded in February 1908, not 1912). BTW: Gelatt also quotes a statement from Victor (to the dealers), which well explains the company's price policy: "Do not underestimate the value of the Sextet as an advertising medium. This feature of the record is very much more valuable to the average dealer than the actual profit he may make of its sales. Not all of your customers can afford to purchase a 7 dollar record, but the mere announcement of it will bring them to your store as a magnet attracts steel."

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The Ellis Island Immigration Museum devotes part of a room in the gallery "Peak Immigration Years" to workers' wages circa 1910. Hanging from the ceiling in room E215, panels relate the following:⁴⁵

Cigar Makers \$2.00 per day

Piece-workers 2 cents per pair of trousers

Bricklayers \$5.00 per day

Domestics \$4.00 per week with room and board

Laborers \$1.75 per day
Bakers \$2.60 per day
Carpenters \$3.75 per day
Mill Hands \$1.25 per day
Track Workers \$1.40 per day
Construction Workers \$2.75 per day
Miners \$2.50 per day

Farm Hands \$5.00 per week with room and board

Stone Cutters \$4.50 per day
Barbers \$2.00 per day
Tailors \$2.40 per day
Steel Workers \$2.00 per day

Obviously, people did not make a lot of money, yet they bought phonographs and records. The fact that so many of the records are in immigrant languages helps to underscore this fact.

Initially, the recording principle was very basic. Sound was channeled through a horn until it hit a diaphragm, which was connected to a cutting needle via a stylus bar. The sound would make the diaphragm vibrate, and the vibrating diaphragm would make the stylus bar and then the needle vibrate. The vibrating needle would now (depending upon the process and the patents associated with the process) emboss, cut, or etch the sound onto the record.⁴⁶

Perhaps this example will help illustrate the process. Someone would say or sing the word "hello" into a horn, which would set up a column of air vibrating the word "hello." These vibrations would in turn make the diaphragm vibrate "hello." The "hello" would be transmitted via the bar to the cutting needle. The cutting needle vibrating the word "hello" would (and again, depending upon the process and the patents associated with the process) emboss, cut, or etch the "hello" onto the surface.

The listener would hear the sound by reversing the procedure. The scratched "hello" made the needle vibrate "hello." The vibrating needle transferred the sound through a stylus bar to the diaphragm, which set up a column of air in a horn that would amplify the "hello" into audible sound.

At first, each record had to be made separately. Every recording required the performer to talk or sing into a horn, and at times recording artists performed before many horns, each one connected to a different machine. The number of performances determined the number of recordings. In order to create a quantity of records, a person had to replicate his or her performance all day long. Additionally, one could not make any mistakes. Any sound, including most ambient sound, found its way onto the record. Unlike today, there

were no sound mixers or other devices that modified, amplified, or erased an unwanted sound. For example, many people, including the author, claim that they can hear Geraldine Farrar distinctly declaring to Caruso on the March 10, 1908 Victor 89017 recording of Puccini's "Madame Butterfly" "He had a highball." According to the story, Caruso had been drinking.

By the turn of the century the situation improved somewhat. The nascent recording companies figured out how to mass-produce phonograph records by making reusable molds. Nevertheless, whatever was recorded remained on the master. A new master had to be made for any alterations. This basic technique did not radically change until about 1925 when the companies developed a method of recording electrically. Initially, some people elected to buy the new Orthophonic acoustic phonographs to hear these electrically made recordings. These newer machines reproduced the electrically recorded sound more accurately. Over time, electrically amplified machines replaced acoustic ones.

Record companies manufactured records in other languages from the very beginning of commercial recorded sound. Victor Greene describes in his book *A Passion for Polka* that in 1889 the Edison Company produced a two-minute cylinder of Tyrolean airs performed by Henry Giese. He also points out that in 1895 the Berliner Company manufactured Hebrew songs. A Nevertheless, in the early days most of the popular recordings that concentrated on rural, ethnic, and racial themes were about, and not by, the various groups. In the tradition of minstrelsy and vaudeville, these recordings mimicked the outsiders' characteristics and speech.

Realizing the potential of the ethnic market, the companies increasingly issued recordings for that market. On May 9, 1904, The *Forverts*, the major Yiddish newspaper in the United States, commented satirically in its editorial section about the popularity of the phonograph. A small portion of the piece has been translated below:

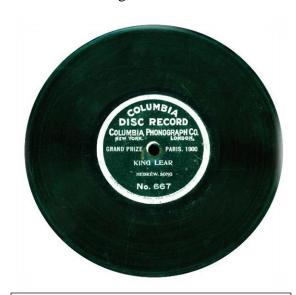
The Phonograph Plague, Our Luck, Is Here"
It is here and everywhere – no one is safe and although you cry to the living and everlasting One you cannot even have a respectable quarrel with your wife.

The phonograph season has already arrived. Just in case at one time a person could at least enjoy a little quiet in the night, this now is impossible. Night quiets the child in the street, the knocking of the expresses you don't hear and it was worthwhile to live, but God sent us the phonograph and from it escape is difficult – wherever you are, in the house, on the street – you cannot be free of it, unless you flee ... in a park or into a neighborhood which is not musical. Otherwise you must listen to the phonograph.

Lord of the universe – what do you want from us with this phonograph? Wasn't it enough that you inundated us with cockroaches? Wasn't it enough that you embittered our lives with the neighbors' pianos? Wasn't it enough that you cursed us with the nighttime cries of children? After the phonograph, can there be something else? We, who have so few troubles.

What help will come our complaining? The phonograph is here. We'll never be rid of it unless it goes out of style and this can take a pretty good couple of years. Meanwhile it has spread everywhere in the tenements as it has in the restaurants, ice cream parlors and candy stores. The phonograph fashion is similar to the bicycle plague a few years ago, when people were simply not safe with their lives on the street. This phonograph epidemic haunts you wherever you are. 48

By the early 1920s, Victor and Columbia, the two largest companies, offered more ethnic recordings in their catalogues than non-ethnic ones. William Howland Kenney in his *Recorded Music in American Life* states that between 1900 and 1950 American companies produced "at least 30,000 78 rpm records aimed at foreign-born communities." Lizabeth Cohen writes that phonographs were one of the few commodities that otherwise frugal immigrant workers were willing to buy on credit in the 1920s. Interestingly, of the more than five thousand recordings for the Jewish (primarily Yiddish-speaking) audience, three out of four utilized secular themes, many of which centered on the immigrant in America. ⁵²



King Lear in Yiddish Recorded in New York in 1901 Pressed in 1903-1904

Courtesy of the author

Prior to 1920, record companies generally did not record African Americans. A few exceptions include George W. Johnson, vaudeville star Bert Williams, clarinetist Wilbur Sweatman, and James Reese Europe. 53 As a matter of fact, George W. Johnson was one of the first performers and the first black performer to record. In 1892 he recorded "The Whistling Coon," "Laughing Song," "Laughing Coon," and "Whistling Girl." 54

In 1920 Mamie Smith became the first female African-American recording artist to make a popular record. She recorded for General Phonograph Company's Okeh label

"That Thing Called Love" and "You Can't Keep A Good Man Down." The success of Mamie Smith challenged other companies, and soon numerous African-American recording artists, including Ma Rainey and Bessie Smith, were being recorded. For the most part, these performers were restricted to making gospel and blues records. Starting in 1922, recordings made by African Americans supposedly for African Americans were segregated from other types of records. The industry identified them as "race records."

In 1923 Fiddlin' John Carson started recording "hillybilly" or "old time music" for Okeh Records, ⁵⁷ which quickly became part of mass culture. The concept of hillbilly gradually developed and was generally associated with more isolated rural mountain people in the South, mainly in Appalachia. The following year Victor released Vernon Dalhart's "The Wreck of the Old 97" and "The Prisoner's Song." The Victor catalogue listed both of them as "Mountain Songs." Over fifty record labels in the United States featured "The Prisoner's Song," and it may have been the largest selling recording of the 1920s. ⁵⁸ Some sources submit that it was the biggest seller until "White Christmas." (For more information about the pairing of the "Prisoner's Song" and "The Wreck of the Old 97," review in Chapter II the section titled, "Examples of Ethnic Juxtaposition in Skits and Songs.") The Carter Family and Jimmie Rodgers epitomize well-known country performers. Just as with African Americans, the recordings did not initially reflect a general statement of country people. Rather, country music "was the product of a continuous interaction between 'folk' and commercial influences and the steady expansion of industry and technology into even the most remote reaches of the South." (60)

Conclusion

It took time, but the record companies eventually realized that all Americans were consumers and that recordings had the ability to address the displaced person, whether he/she was displaced physically and/or psychologically. The recordings gave people a voice, an identity, and a link to a larger community, one that had similar feelings about life. We can say that every recording, especially the more successful ones, is important because it connected to what people needed and wanted. However, some speak directly to being in America, and these recordings interest us the most. ⁶¹

Endnotes

- 1. James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten: An Archeology of Early American Life* (New York: Anchor Books, 1996) 259.
- 2. Ibid.
- 3. Ibid., 35. Deetz expands the significance of studying material culture with the following: "A somewhat broader definition of material culture is useful in emphasizing how profoundly our world is the product of our thoughts, as *that sector of our physical environment that we modify through culturally determined behavior*. This definition includes all artifacts, from the simplest, such as a common pin, to the most complex, such as an interplanetary space vehicle."
- 4. William Howland Kenney, *Recorded Music In American Life: The Phonograph and Popular Memory*, 1890-1945 (New York: Oxford, 1999) 111.
- 5. Ibid., 118.
- 6. Ibid., Kenney states on page 119: "As chapter 7 reveals, the record companies, contrary to their practice with African American musicians and vocalists, did pay at least a small percentage of copyright royalties to their best-selling white country music artists."

On page 136 he explains what country music actually reflected:

- "Southern white musicians, like their Black counterparts, eagerly cooperated in this highly unequal regional partnership with northern recording companies. Despite their reputed rural backwardness, most of those who became successful hillbilly recording artists were already moving swiftly toward commercialized interpretations of rural musical traditions when the recording machines began to arrive in 1923. Moreover, even if the region's industrial development had failed to match that of either the North or other western nations, hillbilly records often reflected the attitudes and tastes not of actual mountain dwellers but of transplanted rural workers in the factories and mill towns of the North and South and, of course, of record producers and phonograph company executives who eagerly catered to the popular modern fascination with 'Backward' rustics.'"
- 7. Noah Webster, *An American Dictionary of the English Language* (New York: Webster's International Dictionary, 1900) 412.
- 8. Kenney, XVII.
- 9. Staff and volunteers in the Museum Division of the Ellis Island Immigration Museum began work on the Ellis Island Discography Project in 1997. Presently, the database has more than 8,600 entries, and entries continue to be added as they become available. When complete, each entry should hold details that summarize the sound recording,

including the name of the recording, bibliographical facts about the author and performer(s), the catalog number, the matrix number (the number assigned to each master recording), the ethnic/racial orientation, the recording date, the date companies released the recording, key words, summarizing phrases, and repositories. The database often contains transcriptions, translations when possible, and pertinent anecdotal descriptions.

- 10. Timothy C. Fabrizio and George F. Paul *Antique Phonograph Advertising: an Illustrated History* (Atglen, Pennsylvania: Schiffer Publishing, Ltd., 2002).
- 11. Nathan David Bowers, *Creating a Home Culture for the Phonograph: Women and the Rise of Sound Recordings in the United States, 1877-1913,* 2007, Ph.D., University of Pittsburghhttp://d-scholarship.pitt.edu/7250/1/Bowersdissfinal.pdf>.
- 12. Rebekah Burchfield, *Advertising and Images of Female Interaction with Early Recorded Music Technology*, 1905-1948, 2006, MA, The University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia,
- http://athenaeum.libs.uga.edu/bitstream/handle/10724/8818/burchfield_rebekah_l_2006 05_ma.pdf?sequence=1>.
- 13. Kenney.
- 14. Ibid., XVII.
- 15. Fredrik Barth, "Introduction," *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference*, ed. Fredrik Barth (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969) 9.
- 16. Ibid., 30.
- 17. Ibid.
- 18. Ibid., 31.
- 19. Leonard Dinnerstein and David M. Reimers, *Ethnic Americans: A History of Immigration* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988) 15.
- 20. Ibid., 16.
- 21. Ibid., 44-45.
- 22. Ibid., 45-46.
- 23. Ibid., 46.
- 24. Thomas C. Holt, "Afro-Americans," *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, ed. Stephan Thernstrom (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1980) 15.

- 25. Carol Groneman and David M. Reimers, "Immigration," *Encyclopedia of New York* ed. Kenneth T. Jackson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995) 585.
- 26. Ira Rosenwaike, *Population History of New York City* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1972) 141.
- 27. United States Census Bureau, n.d., "Table 4. Population: 1790 to 1990 United States Urban and Rural," 22 Nov. 2009 http://www.census.gov/population/censusdata/table-4.pdf>.
- 28. Books on the development of leisure activities for the masses include:

Lewis A. Erenberg, *Steppin' Out: New York Nightlife and the Transformation of American Culture*, 1890-1930 (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1981).

Paula S. Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979).

Lary May, Screening Out the Past: The Birth of Mass Culture and the Motion Picture Industry (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1983).

Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements and Leisure in Turn-of the-Century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986).

Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

- 29. Dinnerstein and Reimers, 46-47.
- 30. Jonathan Sterne, *The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Reproduction* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).
- 31. Kenney, 28.
- 32. Ibid., 47.
- 33. Ibid., 50.
- 34. Robert W. Baumbach, *Look for the Dog; An Illustrated Guide to Victor Talking Machines* (Woodland Hills, 1996) 70.
- 35. Ibid., 90.
- 36. Oliver Read and Walter L. Welch, *From Tin Foil to Stereo* (Indianapolis, New York, 1959) 165.

- 37. Victor Greene, *A Passion for Polka* Greene (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992) 126.
- 38. Victor Talking Machine, 1916 Catalogue of Victor Records (Camden, New Jersey: Victor Talking Machine Company, 1916) 70, 76, 82, 100, among many others. The title and the copyright date may not be exact. The title page of the catalogue is missing.
- 39. Victor Talking Machine, *Catalogue of Victor Records* (Camden, New Jersey: Victor Talking Machine Company, 1922).
- 40. Columbia Graphophone Company, *Columbia Records* (New York: Columbia Graphophone Company, 1922).
- 41. Columbia Graphophone Company, *Complete Catalogue of Columbia Double-Disc Records* (New York: Columbia Graphophone Company, 1916).
- 42. Fabrizio and Paul, 166.
- 43. Mike Daley, "Price \$7.00 for Single Sided 12" 1912 Victrola Record?," 78-L list server, n.d., Cornell University in New York, 4 June 2011 <78-1@78online.com>.
- 44. Kristjan Saag, "Price \$7.00 for Single Sided 12" 1912 Victrola Record?," 78-L list server, n.d., Cornell University in New York, 4 June 2011 <78-1@78online.com>.
- 45 Ellis Island Immigration Museum, "Work in America," room E215, National Park Service.
- 46. Eric Byron, "The stylus discussion has led me to a totally unrelated terminology question," Message to 78-L list server, n.d., Cornell University in New York, 7 January 2013 <78-1@78online.com>.

The author e-mailed the group on January 7, 2013 and asked them about the kind of terminology they would use to describe the acoustic recording technique for making recordings. They replied with not only the terminology but also the copyright processes associated with the various methods.

- 47. Greene, 71.
- 48. "The Phonograph Plague, Our Luck Is Here," *The Forward* (New York: May 9, 1904). The author originally saw this article briefly described and partially translated in Irving Howe's *World of Our Fathers*, page 127. [Irving Howe, *World of Our Fathers* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976)] He then came across the article in the *Forverts* on microfilm and translated a portion of it himself.
- 49. Greene, 77.

- 50. Kenney, 67.
- 51. Lizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago*, 1919–1939 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 104–6 (Originally, I quoted Jonathan Sterne, author of *The Audible Past*, with "Lizabeth Cohen writes that, along with refrigerators, phonographs were the only commodities that otherwise frugal immigrants workers were willing to buy on credit in the 1920s." However, the Organization of American Historians informed me that although the quote was accurate, Sterne's interpretation was not correct.)
- 52. Kenney, 83.
- 53. Ibid., 111.
- 54. Ibid., 39.
- 55. Ibid., 113-114.
- 56. Ibid., 110.
- 57. Ibid., 135.
- 58. Palmer, Jack, *The Official website for Vernon Dalhart*, 2005, vernondalhart.com, 23 Nov. 2009 http://www.vernondalhart.com>.
- "Sometime during the year Dalhart heard Whitters recording of *THE WRECK OF THE SOUTHERN OLD 97...* and talked the Edison company into letting him record it. In August at Victor's request he made the record for Victor, putting an old folk song obtained from his cousin on the reverse side. *THE PRISONER'S SONG* became a runaway hit. Dalhart eventually recorded the song 18 times and it was issued on 53 labels in the USA. It also became a hit in Australia and Canada."
- 59. "Vernon Dalhart," *Answers*, Answers Corporation, 2013, Answers Corporation, 23 Nov. 2009
- http://www.answers.com/topic/inducted-into-the-hall-of-fame-1981.
- "Dalhart was an opera singer who found pop success in his early forties as a singer of what was then called hillbilly music. In 1925, he hooked up with *Victor Records* for the single "The Prisoner's Song"/"The Wreck of the Old 97" (he also recorded under pseudonyms for many other labels). It became the biggest hit of the year and reportedly is second only to Bing Crosby's "White Christmas" as the best-selling record of the first half of the 20th century in the U.S."
- 60. Anthony Harkins, *Hillbilly: A Cultural History of an American Icon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) 72.

61. Tim Brooks, "Pop Memories 1890-1954: The History of American Popular Music by Joel Whitman," reviewed by Tim Brooks, ed., Tim Brooks, 2011, *Television and Record Industry History Resources*, 23 November 2012 http://www.timbrooks.net/review-whitburn-pop-memories-1990/>.

This work will not attempt to discuss the prominence of any specific sound recording or the popularity relationship a recording has with another recording. Most people in the field do not think that accurate figures can be determined and agree with Tim Brooks' when he discredits Joel Whitburn's *Pop Memories* 1890-1954. In his book Whitburn lists popularity ratings for early sound recordings going back to the 1890s.

Sales Promotion, Immigrant Theaters, Immigrant Restaurants, and Immigrant Phonograph Outlets

This chapter basically covers the path of investigation the author followed in an attempt to understand the sale of phonographs and records. Before the research began, he already knew that some of the first theaters in New York were situated on the Bowery and that Second Avenue had been a world center for Yiddish theater. Further, he recognized the fact that Second Avenue had been the home to restaurants, a number of which had made such an impact on New Yorkers that people still read, write, and talk about them. Early advertisements and catalogues in various languages made it clear that the phonograph market not only targeted English-speaking people, but they also pursued immigrants. Additional reading helped him comprehend the importance women had in the phonograph industry, often in the selling of recordings, but especially in the role of customer. However, it wasn't until he realized that many of the major phonograph outlets were located near the theaters that he appreciated the placement logic of the outlets. Immigrant sales promotion, theaters, restaurants, and phonograph outlets to a great extent formed an economic and social unit.

Sales Promotion in General

Timothy C. Fabrizio and George F. Paul in their magnificently illustrated book *Antique Phonograph Advertising: An Illustrated History* divide the early era of phonographs and record advertising into four sections: "The First Wave: 1877-1900," "The Golden Age of Antique Phonograph Advertising, 1901-1913," "The Phonograph and The Great War, 1914-1918," and "Modern Times, 1919-1929. Although other authors might make minor modifications in their analysis of this time period, the Fabrizio and Paul summaries most certainly give us a way of viewing this timeframe.

In the first section, "The First Wave: 1877-1900," Fabrizio and Paul emphasize that 1896 may be considered a watershed in phonograph advertising because on October 1 of that year "the United States government initiated Rural Free Delivery." They also stress that in 1896 Emile Berliner's Gramophone hired Frank Seaman. Seaman, whose legal challenge four years later in 1900 prevented the Berliner from marketing any products in the United States, drastically changed phonograph advertisement from the commonly used small stylized illustration to a full page half-tone photograph that incorporated not only the machine but people listening to the machine. As Fabrizio and Paul summarize, by 1900 "visual attractions were being seriously employed to market an acoustic device."

In the next section of their book, "The Golden Age of Antique Phonograph Advertising, 1901-1913," they review what transpired accompanied by a wonderful array of pictures. The synopsis summarizes the numerous changes that eventually established the phonograph as something known and desired by the masses. It contains a discussion of the formation of the Victor Talking Machine Company, the development of a molded cylinder, and Edison's decision to make a flat record, which he called the "Diamond Disc." ⁶

In his doctoral dissertation, *Creating a Home Culture for the Phonograph: Women and the Rise of Sound Recordings in the United States, 1877-1913*, Nathan David Bowers intensively reviews this period from a cultural perspective. He spends more than three hundred pages discussing how the phonograph went from what Edison thought would be a speech recorder to "a perfected instrument, a piece of parlor furniture, a device capable of saving housewives time, labor and money." For example, in the course of examining 214 ads in the journal *Musical America* between the years November 18, 1905 and December 27, 1913, he emphasizes that 199 of these ads feature at least one and at times up to five famous recording stars. He writes that fifteen different stars show up some 226 times. "Of these appearances, 156 were women (69%) and 70 were men (31%)." His point here and throughout the paper is that during this time, recording companies appealed to women to purchase phonographs and records in the pursuit of making the late Victorian home a more perfect place.

Bowers characterizes the typical woman featured in the phonograph advertisements of this period as "The Gibson Girl," an idealized woman created by Charles Dana Gibson who remained popular from around 1890 to the First World War:

She was "an elegant, graceful, romanticized female of the age." An ideal "new woman," it was assumed that Gibson's girl had a college education, was self-supporting (or employed), did not marry young, was cautious of women's empowerment, played tennis, rode bicycles, made men swoon and dressed, in a long skirt and blouse. Illustrations that depict her with a man always display a level of self-confidence for her, while the men are depicted with sadness, knowing they could never have her.

Her likeness was often depicted in advertisements doing the very activities that set her up as an ideal woman. She promoted the very products women who wanted to be like her needed. The influence of Gibson's depiction of femininity was summed up in the New York *World*, "As soon as the world saw Gibson's ideal it bowed down in adoration, saying: 'Lo, at last the typical American girl.' Not only did the susceptible American men acknowledge her their queen, but the girls themselves held her as their own portrait." ⁹

Rebekah Burchfield and William Howland Kenney concur with Bowers that phonograph companies encouraged women to purchase phonograph equipment. They also extend the period of investigation to include the 1940s. Burchfield's master's thesis, which is titled *Advertising and Images of Female Interaction with Early Recorded Music Technology*, 1905-1948, emphasizes that "the tensions of the modern age created the ideas that the outside world, the world of industry was a masculine, dishonest place." She goes on to say that "The home, the domain of women and family, became a sacred, moral place where quality time was spent, and entertainment technologies became an important component of home and family." Advertisements built on these sentiments and "encouraged women to regard the regular purchase of records as vital to maintaining a

happy home and personal well-being." Kenney adds in his book *Recorded Music in American Life: The Phonograph and Popular Memory, 1890-1945* "the phonograph trade certainly concurred in its own belief that, for several reasons, women were its best customers. One study found that 77.3 percent of the time, women made the final decision in purchases of phonographs." ¹²

Bowers, Burchfield, and Kenney explain that the phonograph companies, realizing the role women played in the acquisition of their product, utilized them in the promotion and sale of records and phonographs. Women not only sold in retail outlets, but through door-to-door canvassing, mailings, and contact by phone, among other techniques. Since few store customers had any specific idea of what they wanted, the companies felt a woman to be a better judge of a customer's wants. Kenney gives us a specific example in the following:

Jean Moore Finley, who worked during the 1920s at Adams Music Shop in Fort Worth, Texas, was reported to have provided an excellent example of this application of "female psychology" to record sales. Finley, labeled "the record girl" in trade publications, tried to judge a customer's mood from his/her facial expression and to select records that would "intensify it rather than change it" 13

At times, a woman even supervised the office and sales force as the following article in *The Music Trade Review* illustrates:

One of the most active Victor enthusiasts in the local trade is Miss Dorothy Birns, niece of Saul Birns, the well-known and successful Victor dealer, whose establishment at 111 Second Avenue [New York City] is one of the finest Victor stores in the city.

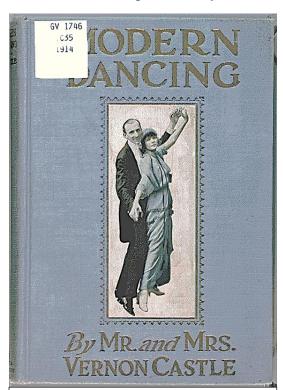
Miss Birns is in charge of the entire office and sales force of this organization, and her enthusiasm for Victor products, coupled with a thorough knowledge of merchandising, have been valuable factors in the steady growth of the Saul Birns Victor business. Miss Birns has made a detailed study of the possibilities of Victor record trade, and is a keen student of music.¹⁴

During this time period, advertisements for the general American public often packaged the phonograph with other musical instruments. Numerous promotions juxtaposed the phonograph with the piano. One of the statements being made was that women, especially the wife, no longer had to perfect their musical abilities to demonstrate Victorian sensibilities. The phonograph vicariously accomplished that task by inviting famous recording stars to perform. Kenney underscores how Victor and then the other companies converted the phonograph from a mechanical machine to a piece of furniture. Victor inaugurated this change in 1906 when it created the Victrola, a phonograph with the horn inside the cabinet. From this date until the Depression the phonograph cabinet

greatly dictated the price. Interestingly, the cheaper models contributed in driving the potential buyer away from the piano and in the direction of the talking machine. ¹⁵

The social dance craze began around 1910. Kenney indicates that advertisements just before World War I show "men in tie and tails" and women in full dresses dancing to a Victrola. The dance craze abetted record sales and the companies took full advantage.

World War I interrupted the way the various companies promoted record and phonograph



Modern Dancing by Mr. and Mrs. Vernon Castle

Courtesy of the Library of Congress, "American Memory," call number GV1746

sales. Initially the companies were determined to "maintain the status quo, particularly through the continued promotion of the 'modern' dance craze." Fabrizio and Paul explain that Victor introduced Vernon and Irene Castle "to make the point that its dance records were the only ones made under the Castles' expert supervision." In the eyes of the conservative social establishment, the Castles "danced to syncopated music with grace and decorum without stifling the fun of it. The Establishment, seeing in them an opportunity to promote the ... 'proper' model for social dancing, quickly crowned the Castles the media darlings of the 1910s."¹⁹

As the War went on, the companies appended their message to imply that patriotic Americans should secure machines and records for their servicemen. Such machines would bring elements of home to the men fighting for us. Most importantly, the use of the phonograph in the States maintained "normalcy." Fabrizio and Paul conclude with "Despite the slightly self-righteous tone

of some wartime phonograph advertisements, there is no doubt that talking machines indeed brought a great deal of comfort to a great many on both sides of the Atlantic during and immediately after the First World War."²¹

The War ended and "Modern Times, 1919-1929"²² began. "Buried in the mud of trenches, along with the sabers and plumes of nineteenth-century military glory, were the rugged societal constraints of a western civilization that had all but blown itself up. Into the limitless void of this catastrophic explosion were sucked the brittle, desiccated Victorian manners and mores of the survivors."²³ In the process, the flapper replaced the Gibson girl.

The flapper of the roaring twenties had a further positive impact on the sale of phonograph records. Joshua Zeitz in his book *Flapper* notes that by the early 1920s everything negative in America would be ascribed to the flapper, a woman "who bobbed her hair, smoked cigarettes, drank gin, sported short skirts, and passed her evening in steamy jazz clubs, where she danced in a shockingly immodest fashion with a revolving cast of male suitors." Yet it was this flapper who stimulated record demand. Kenney quotes one trade journal as saying "If it were not for the flapper, the Victor people might as well go out of business. They buy ninety percent of the records -- mostly dance records." Kenney goes on to observe that often a flapper did not have the resources to buy a phonograph. However, she usually had the ability to convince her parents to do so. Generally, she herself accumulated the necessary funds to buy records, which she did, often accompanied by her mother. ²⁵

About the same time that the flapper came into existence, ethnic record sales to immigrants began to compete with regular sales. Almost from the beginning of recorded sound, record companies distributed ethnic recordings. The realization that a market existed came from the fact that between 1865 and 1917 some 25 million immigrants came to this country, and by 1910 they read about 700 foreign-language newspapers. ²⁶ World War I contributed to the production of American-made records. Foreign recording master discs could not be brought from Europe during the War and thus the recordings had to be made in this country. 27 According to Kenney, in 1911 first Columbia, then Victor started seriously making ethnic recordings. ²⁸ At the time, Columbia offered recordings in some 28 languages. Victor Greene, in his book A Passion for Polka: Old Time Ethnic Music in America, proposes that this interest predates the years given by Kenney. He maintains that around 1905 the record companies began to appreciate the possibility of developing an ethnic market. By 1906 Columbia offered musical records in twelve languages, and within three years the company had issued two additional sets of catalogues for immigrant audiences. ²⁹ To reiterate the point presented in the "Introduction," the early 1920s saw more ethnic recordings listed in the catalogues than regular records.³⁰

The evidence acquired so far indicates that the promotion trail starts out in the late 1890s. A *Sears Roebuck* ^{31, 32} advertisement from the Fall of 1897 devotes at least two thirds of page 911 to an Edison Graphophone Talking Machine. The opening lines in bold stress that "You Can Make \$5.00 to \$25.00" and then in smaller print "EVERY EVENING BY GIVING PUBLIC EXHIBITIONS." The machine kit appears to sell for \$22.25. At the bottom of the page, the advertisement lists a series of band selections for 50 cents each or a dozen for \$5.00. Interestingly, the other third of the page is devoted to lantern slides.

Three years later in 1900, again next to the section devoted to lantern slides, a Fall *Sears Roebuck Catalogue* assigns an entire page to the sale of three different kinds of phonographs. (Though the page number is not clear, it appears to be page 215.) The underlying promotional factor of the three is that one can earn money with the machine.

On the upper left is "Our Special Concert Graphophone Exhibition Outfit," which can be had for \$45.75. Just under this ad is one headed "Coin in the Slot Talking Machine for

\$20.00." The ad explains that this machine can be used "for store, office and counter work"

The entire right hand side of the page advocates the purchase of the Columbia Grand. Unlike the other two machines, which have earphones, this one operates with a horn. The catalogue proclaims that it is "The money-maker of the age" and in a more inconspicuous section on the bottom of the page: "All for \$75.00."

Finally, they offer records for sale "For the best, latest and loudest Graphophone records... refer to the following pages, or better still, send for our free 128 page Special Entertainment Outfit Catalogue ... [the second part is not clear]." This section ends with the repetition that "you can make money with the Graphophone."

By the autumn of 1905 everything had changed in the catalogue. People now thought of the phonograph as something bought for home enjoyment. The catalogue marketed a substantial selection of recognizable phonographs with horns. Pages 363 to 367 offered five different kinds of cylinder machines running from \$7.50 to \$30.00 and seven disc machines running from \$14.90 to \$30.00. Pages 367 through 373 advertised records, including a few in German.

The 1910 fall catalogue devotes a large section to musical instruments, especially the piano. This section precedes the phonograph. As previously mentioned, many catalogues and newspapers of the period packaged the phonograph as a combination piece of furniture and musical instrument alongside the piano.



Courtesy of the author

The 1920 fall catalogue continued to feature phonographs and records, except Sears now promoted Columbia records and produced the Silvertone, its own line of machines. One advertisement spread over ten complete pages, eight in black and white and the other two in color, places the phonograph just after the piano section of the catalogue (pp. 916-925). The color visuals and text emphasize the luxurious furniture quality of the units

over the sound. This small text excerpt about the Model H machine on page 919 captures the essence of the advertisement:

Model H Mahogany or American Walnut

The Model H Silvertone is a full cabinet instrument, faithfully following the attractive lines of the famous Louis Sixteenth Period style of furniture.

It is furnished in both mahogany and American walnut. The mahogany cabinets are made with genuine mahogany and the walnut cabinets with genuine walnut in the sides, doors and top of the cover. The corner posts, side of the cover and certain other small parts are of selected hardwood, finished to look exactly like mahogany or walnut, as the case may be. Both the mahogany and the walnut cabinets are given a fine polished finish.

Just as wonderful as the finish and design of the Model H is the richness and purity of its tone and the volume of sound. It is an instrument of which you may be justly proud.

Sears Roebuck fall phonograph promotions of 1925 maintained the same kind of emphasis with two changes. Sears now had its own record label and at least one advertisement on page 699 pushes "The Glenford," a radio-phonograph combination:

Two great instruments have been combined to create this modern and remarkably satisfactory combination phonograph and radio. In its field, the SILVERTONE phonograph has long been supreme. And the carefully checked performance for the Five-Tube Silvertone Neutrodyne demonstrates that it is the most satisfactory, most convenient and economical receiver manufactured."

From what the author has been able to ascertain, *The New York Times*³³ began phonograph advertisements in 1901. Page 22 of the December 1 Sunday edition of the *Times* has two small examples. One announcement features one O. Hacker, who is selling "any make" phonograph for \$1.00 a week. Unfortunately, the print is too small to make out much more. The other has S. B. Davega at 32 E. 14th Street selling Edison phonographs. In their "new plan" they are selling the machines for \$1.00 down and \$1.00 a week.

In a Sunday December 10, 1905 advertisement (page 22), Jacot Music Box, Company, "The Oldest Music Box House in the United States," announces that it has in addition to the Mira Music Box, Edison and Victor Talking Machine phonographs. On the same

page, Siegel Cooper, one of the preeminent department stores of the early 1900s, has a larger ad with an image of a female listening to a music box. However, there is no mention of a phonograph.

On December 18, 1910 the Aeolian Company, located at Aeolian Hall, 362 Fifth Avenue, New York, placed a very large announcement on page 2. The images, along with the text, take up at least half the page. The upper part consists of three scenes of people sitting before a piano. They give the impression that they are playing the instrument. Farther down, the piece focuses on "The Greatest of All Gifts, The Pianola," or what we today call the player piano. Most of the rest of the advertisement raves about the pianola. However, they also have sections for the sale of regular pianos or, as they describe them, "pianos without pianolas" and "slightly used pianos." The advertisement contains a small section on the Aeolian Orchestrelle which, according to Answers.com, is "a reed organ of the late 19th and early 20th centuries constructed on the principle of the mechanical player piano." Finally, in a small corner on the left, the reader will notice a section on "The Victor."

Phonograph advertisements increased in number and size as the years passed. Department stores began featuring them. Gimbels, in its December 19, 1915 "The Store of Endless Christmas Delights" (page 20), lists a series of Victrolas for sale. The ad emphasizes the "largest stocks in the City."

On page 7 of the *Times* on December 19, 1915, Aeolian placed an advertisement that took up almost the whole page. The advertisement made clear that there was a machine for everyone: "Prices from \$35.00 to \$2,000."

The Phonograph of Today

Year after year with each recurring Christmas, more people have been turning to the Phonograph as an ideal gift.

Its certainty of giving pleasure - its wonderful ability to carry music into every home in which it goes, have been the secret of its rapidly increasing popularity.

Up to the present year, however, the gift of a Phonograph has been but partially complete. The instruments hitherto obtainable, wonderful as they were, have failed to give music's greatest joy – the privilege of self-expression.

Today, thanks to wonderful new developments, the phonograph has become a perfect instrument of music and a perfect gift. In the new phonograph now available – the Aeolian-Vocalion – all the limitations of the old have been completely overcome."

A random examination of *The New York Times* advertisements suggests that at least through the early 1920s the companies spent more time promoting the machines than recordings in the newspapers. One exception appeared on December 16, 1922. Brunswick announced a large sale with the words "January Records – On Sale Today." The recordings included "popular dance music," "vocal operatic and concert," "instrumental," "popular song and Russian-Ukrainian records." Why did they emphasize this specific ethnic selection? Conceivably, the company wanted the *New York Times* readership to appreciate their product diversity.

Another interesting advertisement surfaces on December 17, 1922 on what appears to be page 15. Frederick Loeser placed a half page, possibly larger announcement, about what the store had available. It starts out with "Look to Brooklyn's Great Music Center." The next line states: "For Greatest Choice: Utmost Safety: Greatest Value." Immediately following this statement they have placed two images of pianos. Between the images are the words "Pianos," "Players," and in slightly smaller letters "Victrolas." In even smaller print one sees "Other Instruments." About two-thirds of the way down the page the phonograph portion begins. It is followed on the right side by a section titled "Smaller Musical Instruments" and on the left side "Loeser's for Wanted Records." In much smaller lettering the reader sees "Most everything in the Victor Catalogue."

Promoting the Product to the Retailer

Early on, the phonograph companies began to issue directories of their ever-increasing inventory of available recordings. According to "The Sound of a Tom Show," Columbia's first catalogue came out in 1891 when the company listed "in addition to musical selections by such artists as Sousa and Foster, '20 speaking records.'" John Bolig in a September 26, 2011 e-mail writes that Victor began releasing "monthly supplements (of records) as early as 1901 and the practice continued well into the 1930s." Bolig continues: "The domestic supplements usually featured at least 30 new recordings. Most started with the newest Caruso records and then described records of popular interest."

The copyright dates and accompanying information pertaining to two Victor Records annual catalogues, one for 1916 and the other for 1923, suggest that by 1912 Victor came up with a format for their large catalogue. The introductory page of the 1916 catalogue contains the following:

Our customers and dealers continue to be enthusiastic over the Victor's radical departure – the first real alphabetical catalogue ever issued, and which is not only a catalogue, but something of a musical encyclopedia as well.

It is everywhere pronounced a very great improvement over the old form, many declaring it to be the most valuable and unique catalogue ever issued by any corporation.³⁷ By the time the companies released substantial catalogues it appears that a pattern had developed. John Bolig sums the process at Victor up in the e-mail cited above. The companies issued catalogues and many copies of the supplements about six weeks before record delivery. The dealers would not only make their record selections from these publications, they would also use the supplements as promotional devices.

In addition to the English supplements the companies published brochures in the various languages. Bolig briefly summarizes the foreign supplement history [see endnote 38]:

The ethnic supplements seemed to have been issued from about 1914 forward. Each described records in a specific language. The number of records was usually rather small and the supplements recommended previously released records in the language being promoted. The number of languages listed in the supplements covered almost every major language on earth. ³⁸

In addition to a number of earlier supplements, John Bolig kindly provided the author

(New Victor Torkish Records)

(New Victor Torkish Records)

(November, 1916) Yin 3 in the color of the color

"(New Victor Turkish Records)," November 1916

Courtesy of John Bolig

photocopies of a series that ran from June 1915 to July 1917. All editions from 1915-1917 have the same basic pattern. The upper portion of each introductory sheet employs the colors and design associated with the specific group's flag. For the French, the companies juxtapose in stripe formation the colors red, white, and blue. Records in Turkish have a crescent and a star on a reddish brown background. The Greek brochure consists of a white cross with a blue background. White over a reddish brown makes up the Bohemian motif.

The title of the French supplement is "Nouveau Disques Français Victor." Below, in parentheses, a translation informs the reader of the meaning in English, in this case "New Victor Records in French." All of the other supplements utilize an analogous formula.

Just below this introduction is a listing of the available new recordings and at times, either on this page or the back, an image of a phonograph (sometimes two phonographs), along with the amount charged in dollars. Depending upon the group, the supplement also supplies

the names and prices of up to ten phonograph models. Lastly, some of the series include images of famous performers, musicians, and bands. The February 1917 "(*New Victor Hebrew and Yiddish Records*)" has a likeness of Sholem Aleichem.³⁹

The supplement size grew as time went on. For example, Columbia issued a twenty-four page "Columbia French Records" in January 1920. The second page introduces the reader to what will follow:

By presenting to the French public this new catalogue of

French-language records, the Columbia Graphophone Company is issuing a list of all records of songs in French produced to this day. This catalogue also contains the titles of a very large selection of instrumental pieces.

The most famous artists partnered with the Columbia Company to create the most perfect records in all respects.

Ask your dealer to send you a monthly list of new recordings.⁴⁰

The third page contains a table of contents.⁴¹ Interestingly, the back of the booklet has a framed blank space, probably for taking notes.⁴²

The Victor edition devoted to Italian records from what appears to be the same year expounds in an

COLUMBIA

FRENCH

Grates

RECORDS

"Columbia French Records," 1920

Courtesy of the author

introductory segment about how "In your own home you can enjoy the songs and music from around the world." Another section titled "Rules for the use of this Catalogue" explains the way the reader should review the booklet. It also has information about various Victor phonographs, along with photographs of La Scala in Milan and San Carlo in Naples. ⁴³

Promoting the Product to the Various Immigrant Groups

To reiterate, the development of the recording industry overlaps with the influx of immigrants to this country. Since Italians and Jews made up the two largest groups to come through Ellis Island and inasmuch as they, along with Poles and Hungarians, "seem to have shown more interest in recorded music than others," this section will concentrate on the promotion of phonographs and records to Italians and Yiddish-speaking Jews. Two newspaper sources, *The Jewish Daily Forward* (or, in Yiddish, *Forverts*) and the Italian *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, will provide the base for the investigation. Considering that the advertisements first surface in the *Forverts* and then in *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, the discussion will start with the Yiddish newspaper. The *Forverts* began publishing on April 22, 1897. As of 1918, its circulation had reached 130,000. In the early 1930s, according to *The Jewish Daily Forward* website, the newspaper had become a major newspaper in the United States with a distribution of 275,000. The years that interest us start in the early 1900s and go through the 1920s.

Possibly earlier, but certainly by 1901, the *Forverts* began including phonograph advertisements. Interestingly, the advertisements built upon many of the same themes as the ones found in English sources. For example, on April 1, 1904 Perlman and Rosansky at 458-460 Grand Avenue announce that they have "The greatest and most beautiful piano and phonograph store on the East Side." Below the name is written "The wonder of the 20th Century" and under that "the greatest singer in your house." The upper right corner contains an image of a piano and the lower left a phonograph with a horn. Closer to the phonograph in large letters is "50 cents a week." Then, in much smaller letters, and taking up quite a bit of space, we find the following:

The Victor phonograph surprised all experts of music. When you hear a tenor from a Victor phonograph you will think that you hear the singer by himself. Previously you heard great singers or cantors, come visit us in the store and we will let you hear them once again. . . . Don't waste any time. For 50 cents a week you will get a phonograph by Perlman and Rosansky.

A few months later, on December 4 of that year, Perlman and Rosansky reissued a modified version. This promotion only bears an image of a piano. Nevertheless, the size of the letters that compose the word phonograph are so large that they immediately attract the reader's attention. Under the word phonograph, in bold but smaller letters, they announce that the payments will only be "35 cents a week." And immediately afterwards they state

Our phonograph and record store is the most famous in New York for honesty. All imported records that cost in other stores 2 or 3 dollars, you can get by us for 50 or 75 cents and \$1.00. We have the dearest Jewish records taken from the most famous cantors in the world. We also have the greatest selection of records from the most famous singers in the world.

On the same day, Zaks at 314-318 Grand Street, in much smaller letters and with an image of a phonograph with a horn, declares "Remember Zaks." Following this statement in large letters come the words "Edison phonograph and talking machine for only 50 cents a week and the greatest selection of records. The best songs at the lowest prices you can get by us."

On December 20, 1905, Siegel Cooper announces the sale of phonographs. The market strategy starts off with "little money." Under these words they connect the holiday season to Hanukah with "need for Hanukah." To the right of these words is the image of the "*The Republic*, a replica of Daniel Chester French's towering sculpture at the Chicago World's Fair." "Meet me at the fountain" is written in English on the base of the statue. By 1905 the statue had become a meeting point for the City inhabitants, and "meet me at

the fountain" remained part of the City's parlance for as long as the store remained opened.

Just under the fountain, in large letters, are the words "Victor talking machine for Hanukah." To the immediate left, the Siegel Cooper people placed the Victor logo with Nipper listening to his master's voice, along with the declaration "The best system for easy payments for the customers of this great store. ... No money down." On the lower left the advertisement concludes with the store's logo.

On December 2, 1910 the headlines for a phonograph promotion announce "Victor and Edison Phonographs." Below this statement the reader sees a phonograph in a circle and on either side "50 c." Beneath the phonograph in large letters one reads "we give what we promise." The advertisement continues

Our conditions are the easiest and the best. We have no relationship with any other phonograph store, each phonograph that you buy in one of our stores has a 2 year guaranty. Open evenings and Sunday all day. [In bold letters the marketing concludes with] Saul Birns, 77 Second Avenue near 5th Street and 25 E. 14th St. near Union Square.



Saul Birns was mentioned above in the context of his niece running the phonograph store at 111 Second Avenue. Tover the years, Saul Birns' companies (the Saul Birns Company, the Atlantic Talking Machine Company and the Metropolitan Phonograph Company) played a major role in the selling of machines. However, Saul Birns not only sold phonographs and records. He also swindled immigrants. A hint of this kind of deceitful behavior surfaces in an exposé on page 7 of the July 14, 1915 edition of *The New York Times* titled "Mail Fraud Arrest on Mayor's Charges." The article accuses Saul Birns or Saul Birnzweig of "Selling Talking Machines

by Misleading 'Ads'" It then goes into the charges, which the *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Industries and Immigration for the Twelve Months Ending September 30, 1915* later summarized under the caption "Phonograph Swindlers."

Saul Birns would advertise in foreign newspapers that "on payment of \$5 and an agreement to pay the balance in small installments, a machine will immediately be forwarded to the purchaser with records of your national songs in your own tongue." As soon as a payment was received, the company would send a machine "by express mail with the entire balance to be collected C.O.D." Upon hearing that the company wanted

the full amount, the recipient would refuse to take the machine. In this way, the company would manage to keep both the machine and the down payment.

According to the *Fifth Annual Report*, complaints had been coming in for quite a long time and had been received from all over the United States. (*The New York Times* states that Birns advertised in Italian, Greek, Croatian, and Russian, as well as other foreign newspapers.) Sixty-five "complete complaints" were lodged against Saul Birns alone. The report notes that "fraudulent transactions netted him about \$125,000 per year." Initially he pleaded not guilty but eventually recanted. The court fined him \$750, which the *Fifth Annual Report* describes as "absurdly inadequate punishment for a man whose swindling operations extended from ocean to ocean, and who for years had unscrupulously robbed ignorant and hardworking foreigners to the amount of over \$100,000 per year."

Saul Birns was not alone in what he did. The *Fifth Annual Report* cites Joseph Kalman, proprietor of the Adria Phonograph Company, the Pallas Phonograph Company, and Metropolitan Phonograph Company along with Joseph H. Mayers, proprietor of the International Phonograph Company and the Supreme Music Company. Kalman was fined \$100.00 and Mayers was fined \$350.00. The report observes that other cases were still pending. ⁵²

By December 4, 1915, *Forverts* promotions, such as those by Goldberg on 163rd Street and 3rd Avenue, 148th Street and Amsterdam Avenue, and in Yonkers packaged the phonograph as a piece of furniture, one among other pieces of furniture. Along with an image of a phonograph on the bottom right, the advertisement contains components that make up a dining room, bedroom, and living room. Above the images appears the following: "harmonious samples from our rich store."

In 1915 the phonograph is still juxtaposed with the piano. A long slender announcement on December 12 titled "Piano Sale" spends approximately 75% of the space on pianos. However, Goetz & Co., located at 31-87 Court Street in Brooklyn concludes with "Victrolas \$15 to \$250."

Examples of companies advertising specific recordings most likely exist prior to 1920, but at this point the years between 1915 and 1920 have not been examined. On January 8, 1920 the record company Columbia declared that it has Jewish records, "music to move Jewish hearts." A stylized likeness of a cantor with a serious expression occupies a great deal of the presentation space and sets the stage for the verbal elements. Although the image focuses on the cantor, most of the following ten recordings seem to address more secular issues:

E4321 "Ner Tomid" ("The Eternal Flame") and "Aheim, Aheim" by Simon Paskel E4322 "Odessa Bulgar" and "Bessarabia Hangi" by Abe Schwartz E4425 "B'rich Sh'mey pt. 1" and "B'rich Sh'mey pt. 2" by Cantor Moses Ganopolsky
E4426 "Die Shop Meidel" and "Sog Ze Rebeniu" by
Pinchos Jassinowsky
E4427 "Di Legioneren in Palestine" and "In Jerusholeim"
by Lieutenant Joseph Frankel's.

Simon Paskel's two songs and Lieutenant Frankel's instrumental pieces make a connection to Israel. Under the Frankel listing the advertisement reads

When you hear Lieutenant Frankel's famous orchestra playing "The Legionnaires in Palestine" you will feel as though the holy land is once more free and after a long hard Diaspora the Jews are back home. It is a heart moving music....

The Yiddish world still considers Abe Schwartz's "Odessa Bulgar" and "Bessarabia Hangi" to be wonderful examples of klezmer music. In the first few lines of the "Shop Meidel," Pinchus Jassinowsky proclaims in Yiddish that "my youth goes away." The rest of the work apparently addresses working in a shop.

The advertisement further recommends that the potential customer should "ask for the new catalogue of international instrumental records" and concludes with the following advice:

When you buy records, ask for Columbia records and mention the number. Look for the trade mark on every record.

Columbia issued at least one other advertisement that concentrated on records in 1920. In a similar layout to the January 8th advertisement is a December 11th variation. However, instead of a likeness of a cantor, a rural scene consisting of a country house with trees and farm animals predominates. In this scene, the ad promotes the following:

E4784 "Shma Isroel and Hachsidim" by Cantor Berele Chagy
E4785 "Dos Lied Der Liebe and Dos Fertribene Teibele" by
Estrella Schreiner
E4786 "A Liedendes Puur and Country Duet" by William
Schwartz and Rachel Rosenfield
E4787 "Briderlaach Aheim" by Abe Schwartz"
E4787 "By Die Thoiern Fun Bes Hamikdosh"

E4787 "By Die Thoiern Fun Bes Hamikdosh" by Abe Schwartz

By the mid-1920s advertisements for phonograph and phonograph-related items appear to taper off. A notable exception occurs with the November 27, 1925 advertisement of Victor Records. The advertisement offers four records for sale, including the comic Victor 78285 "Mendel Est Supper" (Mendel Eats Supper) and "Mendel's Honeymoon."

However, the companies generally seem to emphasize the more modern radio along with the ever-present piano and player piano. Since many of the retailers are the same ones that previously promoted phonograph equipment, the public almost certainly understood that they could still acquire phonographs and records at these places.

Il Progresso Italo-Americano started publishing in New York in 1880.⁵³ During the 1930s its circulation reached some 400,000,⁵⁴ making it the largest Italian newspaper issued in America. On December 8, 1909 the paper contained an advertisement for the Caruso Phonograph Company. The company gives its location at 152 Mulberry Street, which is in the heart of Little Italy. This promotion certainly must be one of the earliest advertisements. The fact that they do not "push" phonographs in the advertisement may not be significant, but it is certainly interesting.

The top of the advertisement proclaims "Piedigrotta! Piedigrotta!" Along the right edge is written "character sketches, selections from the opera," and along the left edge "Popular Italian songs." Between these two, the advertisement reads

O Pazziariello A Festival of Piedigrotta Voices of the Neapolitan sellers Voice and Naples

The work then describes two beautiful double-sided recordings that were winners of a gold medal at the Piedigrotta festival of 1909. The records sell for \$1.50 each: "Send letters or money orders." The piece ends with the name of the company, its address, and finally, in smaller letters, "On request one will get a free catalogue."

On November 30, 1910 Saul Birns places a small advertisement in *Il Progresso* with a likeness of a phonograph with a horn. In bold letters the promotion announces "For Sale." Below this on the left is "\$35.00" and on the right "\$15.98." Between these two amounts one reads "Talking Machine and 6 records." Beneath the amounts is "Open in the evening until 9." The promotion concludes with Saul Birns' addresses at 25 E. 14th St. and 77 Second Avenue.

Another phonograph advertisement issued on the same day is titled "First fruits of great

musical effects." On the left side of the advertisement is the upper portion of a man holding a phonograph. His cap is emblazoned with the word "Victor." A musical instrument, presumably a mandolin, stands on the right. Between these two images is a list of record selections, among them a section called "comic scenes." The scenes include "The Telephone" and "A Singing Lesson." The promotion concludes with "a hundred other songs, sketches and pieces from the



Victor Advertisement in *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, November 30, 1910

Courtesy of the New York Public Library

opera." "Victor: 75c. Ask for our Catalogue. O. Pagani and Bro. 292 Bleecker Street, New York City."

As in the *Forverts*, by 1915 *Il Progresso* advertisements tend to contain more images of furniture-style phonographs with enclosed horns and tone arms then external horns. A promotion dated Dec. 8, 1915 beginning in English with Greenhut's "The Big Store on Sixth Ave... 18th to 19th Street" covers a significant portion of the page. In the upper right corner is the logo "Meet Me at the Fountain." (Henry Siegel became financially overextended and in 1904 sold the store to Joseph B. Greenhut for \$500,000. Siegel appeared to cry during the transaction.)⁵⁶ Then, in large letters, the wording continues with "Try a Victrola for free for thirty days." This statement is followed by:

(In the size and model of your choice) This is undoubtedly the most liberal offer ever made in connection with this wonderful family entertainment. Come to Greenhut – immediately, TOMORROW – Take any pick of any Victrola. ...

The advertisement continues pushing the product for quite a few more lines and ends with "Victrolas vary in price from \$15.00 to \$300.00."

By the 1920s the Italian newspaper no longer seems to market phonographs with external horns. As in mainstream advertisements and in the *Forverts*, the retail outlets at times packaged the phonograph with the piano. For example, Harold Bersin Piano Company at 57 Second Avenue, in a long narrow column, starts off with pianos and then has images of the Sonora phonograph (November 28, 1920).

Obviously, Saul Birns did not go out of business. On November 28, 1920 in an advertisement that begins with "Happiness in Every Home" in English, Birns lists five addresses where customers can purchase phonograph equipment.

The marketing of records intensifies somewhat in the 1920s. A December 19, 1920 advertisement announces "Victrola No. 4 - \$25.00." Immediately following one sees "Dischi Di Natalie" (Records for Christmas). Ten-inch records sell for eighty-five cents and a dollar. One twelve-inch record costs \$1.35, and the company, Neapolitan Talking Machine Co. at 311 Court St. in Brooklyn, asks \$1.25 for the other one. A December 4, 1925 promotion starts out with "Nuovi Dischi Italiani Columbia" (New Italian Columbia Records) and introduces, among other recordings, a disc by the famous Italian comic Giovanni de Rosalia.

Similar to the *Forverts*, advertisements limited to phonographs and records diminish throughout the twenties. The same companies that had marketed primarily phonographs now veered in the direction of the newer radio along with the traditional piano and player piano. If an ad mentioned the phonograph at all, it consisted of only a word or two. Again, the public must already have been aware that these outlets also sold phonographs and related products.

The Neighborhoods in Which Retail Phonograph Stores Might Be Found

Jewish Theaters and Performers

The location of many, but not all, phonograph retail stores suggests that the sale of records and phonographs did not take place in an economic or social vacuum, but rather as part of a much larger exchange of goods and services. Although this part of the study does not concentrate on the financial specifics of any one record store, nor the location and significance of outlets in neighborhoods outside Manhattan's Little Italy (around Mulberry Street), the Bowery or Second Avenue, it does, especially in the section on Second Avenue, link store dominance to the location of theaters and the more prominent restaurants associated with the theaters. Given that the data proposes that Yiddish-speaking Jews dominated the sale of records and phonographs to immigrants, the analysis

will primarily cover their outlets.

The Old Bowery Theater, 1860 from *Valentine's Manual*, 1863 Courtesy of the author

A hint, and only a hint, of the dynamics can be seen in the relationship between Yiddish theaters and phonograph outlets at the turn of the century in and around the Bowery. Theater had been part of the Bowery since 1826 when the Greek revival New York Theatre, the largest theater in the United States, opened.⁵⁷ After undergoing a number of name changes and several fires, it was staging primarily Yiddish productions by 1891.⁵⁸

However, the New York Theatre, by then the Thalia, was

not the first to cater to the influx of tens of thousands of Yiddish immigrants at this time. Although ultimately unsuccessful, an attempt was made to produce a play at the Turnverein on 4th Street between Second Avenue and the Bowery in 1882. ⁵⁹ Shortly thereafter, in 1882, the same group did manage to get a production going in the Bowery

Garden, a theater right next to the Thalia. The Roumanian Opera House, originally built as the National Theatre in 1853, featured its first Yiddish work in 1886. Other Bowery theaters putting on Yiddish works included the Windsor People's, the Oriental, and Poole's. Most importantly, the Grand on Chrystie and Grand Street, the first theater built as a theater for Yiddish and just a block or so from the Bowery, opened its doors in 1903.

The New York Times announced the opening with the following:



at the Thalia Theatre, 1897 Courtesy of the Library of Congress, reproduction # LC-USZC4-4621

ACTORS OWN NEW THEATRE: Culmination of Methods Which Have Been Followed in East Side Playhouses for Several Years Reached by Building of Grand Street House.

With the possible exception of the theatres occupied by German-speaking actors, and the attempt made many years ago to establish a French theatre, the opening of the new Grand Theatre on Thursday night marked the culmination of efforts designed to provide a playhouse in this city for plays in a foreign tongue. ⁶⁴

Nonetheless, the ever-deteriorating Bowery of the late 1800s and early 1900s vied with the mainstream theater of Broadway. *The Encyclopedia of New York* explains that after



Bowery, North of Grand, New York, early 1900s

Courtesy of the author

the Civil War the Bowery ceased "to compete with Broadway as commercial thoroughfare and 5th Avenue as an elegant residential address." The erection of an elevated train line in 1876 "showered pedestrians with oil drippings and hot coals." The article emphasizes this further by citing figures indicating the decrepit nature of the thoroughfare:

In 1907 the street had 115 clothing stores for men, none for women. In the same year the nightly

population of the "flop houses," missions, and hotels on the Bowery was estimated at 25,000. No other skid row in the United States attracted so many vagrants or so much notoriety. 65

By the teens, Second Avenue between Houston and Fourteenth Street began to replace the Bowery as a center of Yiddish theater. The Second Avenue Theatre, the first to open on Second Avenue, was built for David Kessler in 1911. It was located at 35-37 Second Avenue. In 1912 Boris Thomashefsky and Jacob Adler followed with the National at 111-117 East Houston Street. The year 1926 alone saw the building of three theaters on the Avenue. Two of them, the Public (later the Anderson) at 66 Second Avenue and Maurice Schwartz's Art Theater at 181-189 on the corner of Second Avenue and Twelfth Street, featured Yiddish productions. The Commodore, at 105 Second Avenue, offered both Yiddish performances and movies. By the end of the twenties, Manhattan, Brooklyn, and the Bronx contained some dozen Yiddish theaters.

Yiddish-speaking Jews, like many other immigrant groups, considered the theater an essential part of life. Irving Howe, among others, writes extensively on the subject. He describes the theater as a "cultural passion," "the first major outlet for communal emotion." The famous performer and actor Ludwig Satz in his humorous 1927 Victor 68834 recording "Der Freilicher Chazen-Teil 2" (Der Freylekher Khazan) (The Jolly Cantor-Part 2) even proclaims that in America one goes to the theater to pray, implying that it replaces the synagogue. 73

The theaters, along with many of the stores, were open on Friday night and Saturday during the day. ⁷⁴ Tony Michels in *A Fire in Their Hearts* notes that only "12% of America's three million Jews belonged to a synagogue as of 1916." He further stresses that

OPTIMO OPTIMO

The National Theatre at 111-117 E. Houston Street, circa 1939-1941

Courtesy of the Municipal Archives, New York City (Tax Photographs)

lax. Even nominally Orthodox York City (Tax Photography Jews often worked on Saturdays, allowed themselves the pleasure of attending the Yiddish theatre, or in some way transgressed the Sabbath. 75

Sabbath observance was appalling

As an aside, Satz adds that one practice that differentiates the theater from the synagogue is that men and women sit separately in the synagogue.

People were not just devoted to the theater in general, "Each star had his own "patriotn," not the paid claque of opera, but pure-spirited fanatics who brought to the theater an order of emotion other immigrants brought to religion or revolution." When we describe these fans we are not talking about the kind of attention stage and movie stars receive today. Naïve perhaps, unfamiliar with theater decorum, emotionally and even physically, these viewers often became intertwined with the actors/characters they saw. Richard Shepard and Vicki Gold Levi give examples under the subtitle "Patryotn" in their book *Live and Be Well*:

Jacob's Adler's patryotn physically assaulted the adherents of David Kessler when he had the audacity to perform the role of Uriel Acosta, a part long associated with Adler. According to Lulu Rosenfeld's *Bright Star of Exile*, when an unknowing publicity man cheered Bertha Kalish at her curtain call after a performance in Keni Liptzin's theater, he was admonished by the latter's patryotn, "In this theater, only Liptzin is cheered." Some *patryotn* were more than

admirers – they were nuisances. One such was the man who saw Adler's every performance of *The Jewish King Lear*. When the actor delivered the line "Will no one here give me even a piece of bread?," the man, with stunning regularity, would run into the aisle, offering bread and crying, "Mr. Adler, come with me! Children are no good!"

A theater enthusiast could go to the theater and see someone famous. He/she could listen and identify with the greats: actors, composers, lyricists, recording artists, and others. They had names like David Kessler, Jacob Jacobs, Aaron Lebedeff, Louis Gilrod, Gus Goldstein, Anna Hoffman, Simon Paskel, Molly Picon, and Maurice Schwartz. Although at times it is difficult to access information, the Milken Archive details the lives of some of these people. The Archive characterizes Solomon Smulewitz as follows:

Songwriter, lyricist, bard, actor, badkhn (wedding jester and entertainer), balladeer, and early recording singer Solomon Smulewitz was born on April 13, 1868 in Pinsk, Russian Empire (now Belarus), and immigrated to the United States in 1889.

He was one of the most prolific and talented of the early Yiddish composers who fashioned a type of Yiddish counterpart to American popular song around the turn of the 19th–20th century and in the immediately ensuing years. He wrote a profusion of songs (words and music) and many lyrics for other songwriters.

His subject matter ranged from immigrant families, labor conditions, biblical vignettes, Judaic observances, Jewish historical incidents, nostalgia, immigration obstacles, and current topical subjects to wedding celebration songs. In the last decade of his life – when, to eke out a basic subsistence, he toured the United States and traveled across Canada from Halifax to Calgary and Winnipeg, entertaining local Jewish audiences with his own and similar songs – he mused on man's course through life in his song "Man Shpilt Teater" (Mankind Plays in a Theater): "We act as if we were all on the stage, each one acting out his little life to a script written and directed by Almighty God."

Throughout the first two decades of the 20th century Smulewitz recorded his songs in many of the earliest recording studios on a regular basis. Thereafter he continued to turn out melodies and lyrics for others to sing.

His legacy comprises about 150 known or traceable songs and song lyrics – of which "A Brivele der Mamen" [A Letter to Mother] is now unquestionably his most famous – although in a letter to the press he once referred to twice that number with his own tunes, in addition to 200 sets of words to melodies by others.

He died on January 1, 1943 in New York.⁷⁸

Numerous other websites discuss actors. It is possible to get data, including information on many of the earlier recordings, on Judaica Sound Archives website. For example, they have a section on Gus Goldstein and Clara Gold, two of the more popular recording stars:

Gus Goldstein, an American Yiddish actor of the early 20th century made many recordings for Columbia Records. This JSA collection features 37 of his solo songs. He also made recordings with Clara Gold that focused on immigrant issues and Yiddish humor, and featuring Litvak, Galitzianer and Italian dialects. Clara Gold played character roles in the Yiddish Theater and was known for her comedic performances. She partnered with Gus Goldstein from 1916 to 1926. Forty-four of the songs they recorded together are in this collection.⁷⁹

When reviewing websites one should not forget *Yiddish Theater: A Love Story*. The site lists a series of links that can be extremely helpful.⁸⁰

Finally, various other authors have written books about the period. *Vagabond Stars: A World History of Yiddish Theater* by Nahma Sandrow is one of the best known.⁸¹

Italian Theaters and Performers

Although the Italian theatrical world was not as large or well-developed as the Jewish one, nor were there any grand theaters built for specifically Italian-speaking audiences, Italian theater certainly existed. They generally employed other structures, many of which catered to a number of ethnic groups, including Jews. The Circolo Filodrammatico Italo-Americano (Italian American Amateur Theatre Club) staged the first Italian-American production, *Maria Giovanna*, on October 17, 1880⁸² at Dramatic Hall, East 46 Houston Street. The recently demolished Germania at 291-293 Bowery also served the Italian community. Here, in 1883 Teatro Italiano put on "L'Entrata di Garibaldi in Napoli" (Garibaldi's Entrance into Naples) in the 448-seat auditorium. Halians made use of the Windsor at 43-47 Bowery. Sand across the street the Thalia at 46-48 Bowery, which appears to have started presenting Italian shows some time after the Jews took it over in 1891. The Atlantic Garden, located at 50 Bowery next door to the Thalia, likewise put on productions. Eric Ferrara in *The Bowery: a History of Grit, Graft and Grandeur* remarks that the London Theater at 235-237 Bowery, at least by 1916, featured Italian



138 Bowery as it appears at the end of December 2012 and the beginning of January 2013

In his *The Bowery: A History of Grit, Graft and Grandeur*, Eric Ferrara writes that by 1903 the Sicilian immigrant Antonio Maiori, considered to be one of the most successful performers in New York City, ran his theatrical operations from this building.

Courtesy of the author

performances under the name Maiori's Royal Playhouse. ⁸⁷ Emelise Aleandri, however, asserts that the theater presented an Italian work in 1905. ⁸⁸ In 1924, the name of the theater changed again to the Caruso Theatre and possibly stopped presenting Italian productions by 1926, when the Chinese took over the building. ⁸⁹

Even the famous Yiddish Grand Theatre, the first theater built specifically for a Yiddish audience, put on Italian works. Intriguingly, Aleandri has a photograph of the Grand Theatre as indicative of the types of theaters the Italians used on her cover of *Images of America: The Italian-American Immigrant Theatre of New York* City. The following theaters also showcased Italian theatrical productions and vaudeville during the late 19th and early 20th centuries:

Turn Hall at 66-68 East 4th Street⁹¹ Webster Hall at 119-125 East 11th Street⁹² Teatro Italiano or Drammatico Nazionale at 138 Bowery⁹³ Teatro Italiano at 24 Spring Street⁹⁴ Maiori's Royal Theatre at 165-169 Bowery⁹⁵

Arlington Hall at 19-23 St. Mark's Place⁹⁶ Teatro at 14th Street and 6th Avenue⁹⁷

The ethnic map for 1920 suggests that all but two of the theaters named above were on the border or outside the area defined as Little Italy. 98

Most importantly, the Italian artists played the same kinds of roles in the theater and made the same kinds of recordings that spoke to the immigrant experience as the Jewish artists did. Unfortunately, far less accessible information exists for these actors/performers. Some of the people who regularly surface include Giovanni De Rosalia, Gennaro Amato, Giuseppe Milano, and Eduardo Migliaccio. Fortunately, the Internet dedicates a few sites to them. *The National Italian American Foundation Milestones of the Italian American Experience* marvelously summarizes the work of Eduardo Migliaccio, also known as Farfariello, or "Little Butterfly," and explains the need for theater:

With the mass Italian immigration commencing in the 1880s there emerged dozens of Italian enclaves throughout American cities, where inhabitants struggled with the trauma of dislocation by establishing their own institutions: newspapers, parishes, schools, societies, and theaters. The latter outlets, the theaters, had a long history in Italy wherein touring companies traveled throughout the land to perform before local audiences. Much the same pattern was to be found in Italian neighborhoods as immigrants temporarily put aside their arduous and tedious routine for entertaining diversion, especially attracted to comedy.

Without a doubt Neapolitan-born Eduardo Migliaccio (1892-1946), (his stage name Farfariello meant "Little Butterfly") emerged as the most popular and greatest entertainer of Little Italies. He emigrated to the United States in 1897 and got a job in a New York City bank writing to clients in Italy, a task that incidentally caused him to become well acquainted with various immigrant types. This became the indispensable background to his stage specialty, named the presentation of the "macchietta" - character sketches of the songs, dances and absurd



Giovanni De Rosalia Image courtesy of Orestes Arcuni

situations of a range of immigrant types with which the audience could identify. His brilliant satire of hapless immigrant types, from the braggart to the absurd, brought laughter to Italian Americans and rendered him comparable to popular American comic actor Charlie Chaplin.⁹⁹

Thankfully, Joseph Accardi has put together a very informative website devoted to the playwright, poet, and recording artist Giovanni De Rosalia. According to Accardi, De Rosalia was born in Sicily in 1864 and came to New York sometime prior to 1907. In this country he created Nofrio, "a Sicilian immigrant bumpkin who found himself embroiled in

one situation after another." In addition to writing and acting on stage, he recorded about two hundred skits that played on the Nofrio character. His creation became so popular that for a time his records came out on his own label, as Nofrio Record.



"Nofrio Got No Bananas" Nofrio Record, 1926

Courtesy of the author

There are also books that discuss the Italian theater. Emelise Aleandri summarized the entire history of New York Italian immigrant theater in her *The Italian-American Theatre of New York City*. ¹⁰¹ The work's text and numerous images bring both the performers and theaters to life. By its very nature as an encyclopedia, Salvatore John LaGumina's *Italian American Experience: An Encyclopedia* not only generates an understanding of the theater but contextualizes the theater within the larger Italian-American experience. ¹⁰²

Jewish and Italian Restaurants

Much like Broadway, the Jewish world of Second Avenue entailed far more than going to the theater. Numerous cafes and restaurants, with names such Moscowitz and Lupowitz (1909-1966), ¹⁰³ Café Monopole, and Rappaport's ¹⁰⁴ catered to those people whose social world embraced more than theater. Unquestionably, the most famous of all cafes was the Cafe Royal (1908-1952) ¹⁰⁵ at 190 Second Avenue, the southeast corner of Twelfth Street and Second Avenue across the street from Schwartz's Art Theatre. "Off The Grid: Cafe Royal" cites a 1939 *The New York Times* description of the Cafe Royal as the "Delmonico's, the Simpson's and the Fouquet's of Second Avenue":

Here, socialists, artists, rebels, writers and chess players mingled with Broadway stars and the most renowned of the

Yiddish performers. As *The New Yorker* stated in 1937, "everybody who is anybody in the creative Jewish world turns up at the Cafe Royal at least one night a week. To be seen there is a social duty, a mark of distinction, and an investment in prestige."

Vagabond Stars: A World History of Yiddish Theater by Nahma Sandrow details some of what happened in the Cafe:

When an actor arrived in America, that's where he went to make his contacts. Edwin Relkin, for decades a powerful agent and producer though he knew no Yiddish, used the telephone number at the Café Royale as his office phone. An unknown actor trying to impress big actors went outside and placed a call to himself, so that everyone would hear him paged by the doleful waiter who -

according to legend – became a secret millionaire on the tips he earned bringing people to the telephone. 107

The Site of the Jewish Cafe Royal at 190 Second Avenue, corner of 12th Street, January 2013

Courtesy of the author

Sandrow further adds that based upon the Cafe Royal, Hy Kraft wrote the 1942 Broadway play, "Café Crown." In 1964 the show was rewritten as a musical and presented at the Martin Beck Theater. Joseph Papp revived "Café Crown" in 1988 and performed it at the Public. 108

Not surprisingly, the Avenue even contained Segal's Cafe, a meeting place for gangsters. Richard F. Shepard and Vicki Gold Levi quote Alfred Fried (*The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Gangster in America*) who provides the list compiled by Abe Shoenfeld, chief investigator for the New York Kehillah: (New York Jewish communal organization, c. 1909 – 1918)

Sadie Chink, ex-prostitute, owner disorderly house; Dopey Benny, gorilla, life taker; Little Mikie Newman, gangster; Sam Boston, gambler, owner, former fagin, commission better [sic]; his wife, a pickpocket; Crazy Jake, gun (pickpocket); Little Natie (not the one from Broome St.), gun, right family name is Lubin being related to Lubin the Philadelphia Moving Film Company; Jennie Morris, alias Jennie the Factory, former prostitute and at present disorderly house owner, her mack is Henry Morris, owner 249 Broome Street; Tillie Finkelstein, gun-mol [sic] from Bessie London's School, married to Candy Kid Phil, do not know his family name 109

Just as the Jews had their cafes and restaurants, the Italians had theirs. Some of these restaurants, including the five that follow, probably also had entertainment and went under the name *caffe concerto*. Unlike the major theaters, all of those places that have been found were situated within Little Italy:

Ferrando's Music Hall at 184 Sullivan¹¹⁰
Caffe Cosmopolitan at 30 West 4th Street¹¹¹
Villa Vittorio Emanuele III at 109 Mulberry ¹¹²
Villa Pensa Caffe Concerto at 196-198 Grand Street¹¹³
Teatro Pozzo at 90 MacDougal Street ¹¹⁴

Other cafes were more traditional. One of the most famous cafes was Caffe Ronca, which still survives as Cafe Roma, 385 Broom Street at the corner of Mulberry. In its day it was the equivalent of the Jewish Cafe Royal or as Aleandri describes it, "the Sardi's of Little Italy." ¹¹⁵



Cafe Roma, the site of Caffe Ronca at 385 Broom Street, corner of Mulberry Street in Little Italy, New York. January 2013

Courtesy of the author

Location of Phonograph (Musical Instruments and Later Radio) Outlets on the Lower East Side and in Little Italy

To recap the opening paragraphs of "Promoting the Product to the Various Immigrant Groups," by November 28, 1901 the *Forverts* carried an advertisement for phonographs. Situated at 451 Grand Street in the heart of the ghetto and quite a few blocks from the

Bowery, the Standard Phonograph Company announced the "latest Yiddish records (songs) wholesale and retail."

It would be only a couple of years before phonograph stores and theatres began to be geographically linked. In the years 1904 and 1905 the *Forverts* listed six stores that sold phonographs and records. Three of them – Zaks at 314-318 Grand Street, Theodore Lohr at 286 Grand, and The Greater New York Phonograph Company at 266 Grand – were within walking distance of the newly opened Grand Theatre at 245 Grand Street. 116

The retail phonograph stores opened about the same time as the theaters and restaurants on Second Avenue. Saul Birns had at least one at 77 Second Avenue by 1910. Of the six phonograph retailers on the Lower East Side listed in the *Forverts* in December 1925 and December 1928, three were on Second Avenue. Interestingly, all three advertisements specified other outlets in addition to the one on Second Avenue. The companies not situated on Second Avenue most likely limited their operations to a single location. Finally, the specific address numbers listed below were often difficult to make out. A question mark in the address indicates that something was unclear.

Larger Jewish Phonograph Stores on the Lower East Side Between 1925-1928:

Baim Brothers and Friedberg 59 Second Avenue 1658 Pitkin (Brooklyn) 1430 St. John's Place (Brooklyn) 1525 Pitkin (Brooklyn) (Date of advertisement: December 12, 1925)

Saul Birns Music Shops
111 Second Avenue
16 Avenue B
1366? Fifth Avenue near 113th St.
310? 6th Avenue
813? Westchester Avenue (Brooklyn)
12 West 45th St. near 5th Avenue
1730 Pitkin, near Osborn St. (Brooklyn)
783 Manhattan Avenue
(Greenpoint Department Store, Brooklyn)
(Date of advertisement: December 12, 1925)

Weser Brothers, Inc. 67 Second Avenue 131 West 23rd St. near 6th Avenue 360 Livingston St. (between Flatbush

and Nevins, Brooklyn)
922 Broadway,
(near Myrtle Avenue, Brooklyn),
(Date of advertisement: December 7, 1928)

Smaller Jewish Stores on the Lower East Side Between 1925-1928:

Max Mandel 110 Delancey Street (Date of advertisement: November 29, 1925)

European Phonograph Co. (Louis Titefski sp?) Avenue A (corner 10th St.) (Date of advertisement: November 29, 1925)

International Phonograph (Joseph H. Meyer) 103 Essex Street (Date of advertisement: December 12, 1925)

As has been previously noted, *Il Progresso* started advertising phonographs in 1909-1910. The first promotion was for the Caruso Phonograph Company at 152 Mulberry Street in the heart of Little Italy. In the months of July, November, and December, 1910, *Il Progresso* listed other establishments for the Lower East Side and Little Italy. La Scala Phonograph Company at 181 Mulberry and O. Pagani & Brothers at 292 Bleecker Street joined the Caruso Company in Little Italy. Saul Birns advertised his two outlets at 77 Second Avenue and 25 East 14th Street.

Between the mid-teens and 1920, store locations varied. However, by the middle to late 1920s outlets tended to concentrate on Second Avenue, and Jews appear to have owned and managed the vast majority of those places. Additionally, all the businesses on Second Avenue that were in all probability Jewish had shops in other neighborhoods.

Larger "Italian" Phonograph Stores on the Lower East Side and Little Italy Between 1925 and 1929

Baim Brothers & Friedberg
59 Second Avenue
1658 Pitkin Avenue (Brooklyn)
1525 Pitkin Avenue (Brooklyn)
1430 St. Johns Place (Brooklyn)
(Date of advertisement: December 5, 1925)

Weser Brothers 67 Second Avenue 131 23rd Street

882 Broadway (Brooklyn)

(Date of advertisement: December 16, 1925)

Saul Birns

65 Second Avenue

1730 Pitkin (Brooklyn)

16 Avenue B

1366 Fifth Avenue (Harlem)

(Date of advertisement: December 7, 1929)

Smaller "Italian" Stores on the Lower East Side and Little Italy Between 1925-1928:

The Sorinola Factory

38-40 East 9th Street

(Date of advertisement: December 3, 1925)

Italian-American Record Co.

86 Second Avenue (5th St.)

(Date of advertisement: December 4, 1925

La Scala Di Milano

192-194 Mott St.

(Date of advertisement: December 5, 1925)

O. Pagani and Brothers

289 Bleecker

(Date of advertisement: December 19, 1925)

Phonograph Stores of Questionable Ethnic Affiliation on the Lower East Side and Little Italy Between 1925 and 1929:

New York Band Instrument Co.

111 East 14th St. (Union Square)

(Date of advertisement: December 17, 1925)

Davega

The ad lists multiple addresses, possibly including an outlet in Little Italy.

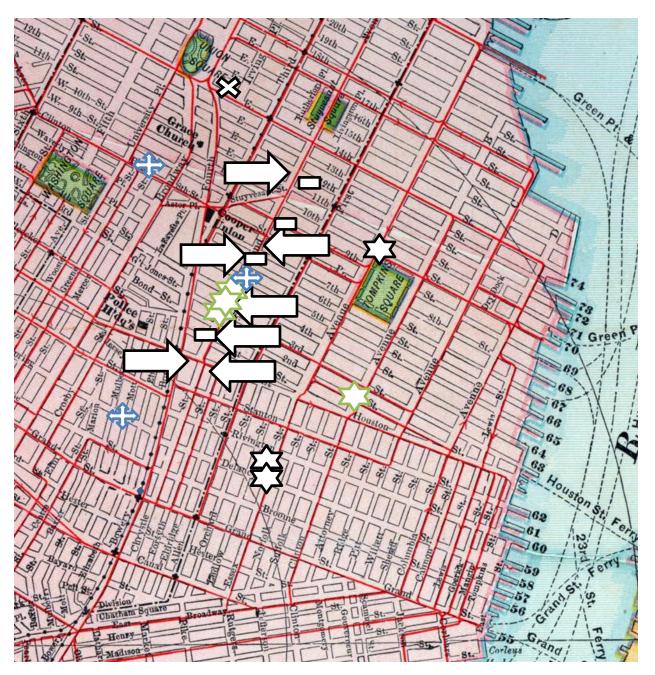
However, it is not possible to make out anything specific.

(Date of advertisement: December 6, 1929)¹¹⁷

It is worthwhile interjecting a possible explanation for Italian-American Record Co. being at 86 Second Avenue. Although the Avenue has been primarily associated with Yiddish theater, restaurants, and record stores, the street did not traverse a solely Jewish community. A rather large Italian community existed east of Second Avenue. 118, 119 To

this day the restaurants, cafes, and pastry shops – such as John's founded in 1908 at 302 East Twelfth; ¹²⁰ DeRobertis Caffe, opened in 1904 at 176 First Avenue; ¹²¹ Veniero's Café, begun in 1894 at 342 East 11th Street; ¹²² and Lanza's, established in 1904 at 168 First Avenue in a tenement that had been erected in 1871 ¹²³ – remind us of the Italian community that once resided east of Second Avenue.

Visual Summary of Middle to Late 1920s Yiddish Theaters, Restaurants and Phonograph Stores



The above map summarizes relationship of Second Avenue Yiddish theaters, phonograph outlets, and some of the more prominent restaurants/cafeterias in the late 1920s. As the facts and figures in this book indicate, the data on the theaters and eateries comes from multiple sources. The *Forverts* and *Il Progresso Italo-Americano* provided the phonograph documentation.

The arrows represent theaters that featured Yiddish performances. Stars denote Jewish phonograph stores. The ones outlined in green advertised in both papers and had many

branches. Saul Birns, one of the more prolific companies, had an outlet on Avenue B in addition to his Second Avenue location. According to the advertisements in the *Forverts*, the proprietors represented by the white stars had only a single store. The crosses highlighted in blue represent the Italian phonograph shops nearest Second Avenue. (At the time of this writing, none of them had advertisements indicating that the company had more than one location or catered to people other than Italians.) The crosses to the West of Second Avenue lie geographically in Little Italy. The one on Second and 5th in all probability served the Italian community residing east of Second Avenue. An X designates the New York Band Instrument Company at 111 East 14th Street. Although *Il Progresso* had an advertisement for this store, its customer orientation remains unclear. Did they serve as a general outlet or did they sell to a more specific ethnic clientele?

Finally, the rectangles signify the more prominent Jewish restaurants, including Moscowitz and Lupowitz, Café Monopole, and Rappaport's. Cafe Royal, the most famous of them all, stands on the southeast corner of Twelfth Street and Second Avenue directly across from the Yiddish Art Theater.

Creating a map that focuses on the Italian theaters, restaurants, and phonograph outlets generates many more difficulties than putting together one that centers on the middle to late 1920s Yiddish Second Avenue. As the chapter suggests, the larger Italian productions tended to use structures that had already been erected for other groups, many located on the Bowery. It also seems that companies utilized various venues within short periods of time. Consequently, documenting what happened when becomes very problematic.

Restaurants and cafes appear to have been spread out throughout Little Italy west of the Bowery and the Little Italy east of Second Avenue. Except where a cafe/restaurant also served as a place for performances, the association between the two doesn't seem to be as close as the Yiddish connection. Most importantly, *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*'s phonograph advertisements seem to indicate that the Jewish phonograph firms provided much of the Italian community with their records and machines. Thus, the fit among the three variables for the Italian community cannot be viewed as tightly correlated at this point as it was with the Yiddish theaters, restaurants/cafes, and phonograph outlets. Admittedly, more research would help in making any truly definitive statement.

Conclusion

Modern technology initially threw the author off and made it more difficult to recognize the relationship of the immigrant theaters, restaurants, and phonograph outlets to each other. Today, we can go almost anywhere fairly quickly. We can even find what we want online, not to mention that many larger stores carry a great assortment of goods. It was much more difficult back then.

Nevertheless, people from that time, as they do now, needed, demanded snippets/souvenirs of entertainments they had experienced. They felt they had to carry away with them something tangible that would remind and awake in them a shared memory. It

might be an object that reified something not very tangible. Given the devotion to theater, it often was a recording of some actor(s). For approximately two to four minutes an individual could relive not only the theatrical experience, but also those with whom they shared the event, in the theater or in a restaurant before or after the performance. Most importantly, the event spoke to their situation both back in the old country and here in America. For a relatively small sum, a person had the ability to bring home a part of his/her life, words and music that packaged and summed up daily existence.

Endnotes

- 1. Timothy C. Fabrizio and George F. Paul, *Antique Phonograph Advertising: an Illustrated History* (Atglen, Pennsylvania: Schiffer Publishing, Ltd., 2002).
- 2. Ibid., 9.
- 3. Ibid.
- 4. "Emile Berliner," *Answers*, 2013, Answers Corporation, 2 Nov. 2011 http://www.answers.com/topic/emile-berliner>.
- 5. Fabrizio and Paul, 11.
- 6. Ibid., 50.
- 7. 10. Nathan David Bowers, *Creating a Home Culture for the Phonograph: Women and the Rise of Sound Recordings in the United States*, 1877-1913, 2007, Ph.D., University of Pittsburgh, 9 June 2013 < http://d-scholarship.pitt.edu/7250/1/Bowersdissfinal.pdf> iv.
- 8. Ibid., 261-262.
- 9. Ibid., 74-75.
- 10. Burchfield, Rebekah, *Advertising and Images of Female Interaction with Early Recorded Music Technology, 1905-1948*, 2006, MA, The University of Georgia, 9 June 2013
- http://athenaeum.libs.uga.edu/bitstream/handle/10724/8818/burchfield_rebekah_1_2006 05_ma.pdf?sequence=1>.
- 11. Ibid., Abstract.
- 12. William Howland Kenney, *Recorded Music In American Life: The Phonograph and Popular Memory*, 1890-1945 (New York: Oxford, 1999) 90.
- 13. Ibid., 98-99.
- 14. *The Music Trade Review*, Dec. 1, 1917, 23 Nov. 2012 http://mtr.arcade-museum.com/MTR-1917-65-22/48/, 2009-2013, International Arcade Museum http://mtr.arcade-museum.com/.

International Arcade Museum introduces "The Music Trade Review" section with "The Music Trade Review was published out of New York from 1878 until at least 1956. It apparently suspended publication with the January 1933 issue. Publication was resumed under different management sometime between 1937 and 1940."

- 15. Kenney, 51.
- 16. Ibid., 101.
- 17. Fabrizio and Paul, 121.
- 18. Ibid.
- 19. "Rick Benjamin's Paragon Ragtime Orchestra," 2013

http://www.paragonragtime.com/castle.html. The author forgot to note the date when he accessed the site. As of May 19, 2013, the site no longer has the specific information on the subject.

- 20. Fabrizio and Paul, 123.
- 21. Ibid.
- 22. Ibid., 166.
- 23. Ibid.
- 24. Joshua Zeitz, Flapper: A Madcap Story of Sex, Style, Celebrity, and the Women Who Made America Modern (New York; Three Rivers Press, 2006) 6.
- 25. Kenney, 103.
- 26. Ibid., 67.
- 27. Ibid., 78.
- 28. Ibid.
- 29. Victor Greene, *A Passion for Polka* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992) 73.
- 30. Ibid., 77.
- 31. Sears Roebuck Catalogue, Historic Catalogues of Sears Roebuck and Co., 1997-2013, 1997-2013, Ancestry.com

 All the Sears Roebuck Catalogue entries come from this site. The author worked many months with these catalogues and he forgot to enter the dates he used them. It is important to note that it is not possible to get all the pages online of any one catalogue.

32. SHC Archives, Re: "I am trying to find out how many catalogues were issued in the 1900, 1905, 1910, 1915, 1920 and 1925," e-mail to author, 1 Nov. 2011.

The author contacted the Sears Roebuck Archive and asked them about the number of catalogues distributed in the years between 1897 and 1925. He also was wondering whether they had any information about the number of catalogues that the various areas in the country received. The core of the e-mail he received follows.

In response to your earlier e-mail, here is the general catalog circulation for the following years:

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1897 - 318,000

1900 - 853,000

1905 - 3,800,724

1910 - 4,634,101

1915 - 8,734,880

1920 - 9,927,403

1925 - 13,300,978
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- 33. "Timemachine," 2013, The New York Times, 9/11-9/12 http://timesmachine.nytimes.com/browser. Almost all the back issues of the *NewYork Times* come from the "Timemachine."
- 34. "Orchestrelle," *Answers*, 2013, Answers Corporation, 8 October 2011 http://www.answers.com/topic/orchestrelle>.
- 35. Stephen Railton, "The Sound of a Tom Show," 1998-2012, University of Virginia, 9 Oct. 2011 http://utc.iath.virginia.edu/onstage/sound/soundf.html>.
- 36. John Bolig, E-mail to author, 26 Sept. 2011

Dear Mr. Byron,

It is ironic that just this week I started to update a listing of my collection of Victor Talking Machine catalogs and supplements. I was recently given nearly 100 ethnic supplements that were printed between 1914 and 1917, and I own or have access to hundreds more. I am not an expert on other companies, but I can tell you a great deal about the Victor Talking Machine Company. They issued monthly supplements as early as 1901 and the practice continued well into the 1930s. You can buy a CD from Mainspring Press (www.mainspringpress.com) that has images of most of those issued in the early years. Victor also issued annual catalogs, catalogs of Red Seal (classical) records, alphabetical lists of records, numerical lists of records, lists

and catalogs of educational records, and lists of records of historical interest. They also published annual catalogs listing records made in specific languages.

The domestic supplements usually featured at least 30 new recordings. Most started with the newest Caruso records and then described records of popular interest.

The ethnic supplements seemed to have been issued from about 1914 forward. Each described records in a specific language. The number of records was usually rather small and the supplements recommended previously released records in the language being promoted. The number of languages listed in the supplements covered almost every major language on earth.

To give you an idea of how busy the print shop was, Victor published 9932 documents between 1901 and February 1928.

The supplements and catalogs were printed about six weeks before records were delivered to stores. The dealers also received many copies of supplements which they used as promotional items. The dealers were also sent order forms each month which they used to send telegrams to the distribution centers. They would indicate the number of copies that they felt they could sell in an oddly contrived code that was included in the telegram.

Since Victor released thousands of records in Spanish in Latin America, there are also many supplements that were printed in Buenos Aires starting in about 1920. Up to that point, the Spanish language supplements were printed in Camden, New Jersey.

The Johnson Victrola Museum in Dover, Delaware, has many examples of all of the types of catalogs and other documents that I listed above. I believe that the University of California at Santa Barbara also has a fine collection of Victor documents. I have also seen them in the Library of Congress, but not recently. Those may have been moved from Washington, DC, to Culpepper, Virginia.

I realize that I have only partially answered your questions. Don't hesitate to contact me for more information or for clarification.

Yours,

John Bolig

- 37. Victor Talking Machine Company, *Catalogue of Victor Records* (Camden, New Jersey: Victor Talking Machine Company, 1916). The title and the copyright date are possibly incorrect. The title page of the catalogue is missing. The page of the quote is not numbered.
- 38. Bolig, see endnote 36.
- 39. Bolig, Package of brochure photocopies sent by John Bolig on October 3, 2011.
- 40. Columbia Graphophone Company, *Columbia French Records*, Columbia Graphophone Company, January 1920, Nicolas Boyon and Joseph Small translated page 3.
- 41. Ibid., 3.
- 42. Ibid., back of supplement.
- 43. Victor Talking Machine Company, "Dischi 'Victor in Italiano,' (*Victor Records in Italian*)" (Camden, New Jersey: Victor Talking Machine Company, 1920).
- 44. Kenney, 74.
- 45, 46. Forverts and Il Progresso Italo-Americano on microfilm, New York Public Library, Stephen A. Schwarzman Building at Fifth Avenue at 42nd Street, New York, NY 10018-2788. The author printed up back editions of the Forverts and Il Progresso Italo-Americano from microfilm. Unfortunately, it was not always possible to get a completely legible printout. Page numbers were completely illegible.
- 47. Irving Howe, World of Our Fathers (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976) 523.
- 48. Ibid., 539.
- 49. The Jewish Daily Forward, 19 April 2012 http://www.forward.com/about/history/.
- 50. Gerard Wolfe, *New York: A Guide to the Metropolis* (New York: New York University Press, 1975) 174.
- 51. See endnote 14.
- 52. The Annual Report of the Industrial Commission For The Twelve Months Ended September 30, 1915 (Albany: State of New York, No. 56, April 17, 1916), 341-342. 31

Oct. 2011

<a href="http://books.google.com/books?id=ZCcaAQAAIAAJ&pg=PA1&lpg=PA1&dq=The+Annual+Report+of+Industrial+Commission+(Albany:+State+of+New+York,+No.+56,+April+17,+1916)&source=bl&ots=lnF-

HdbXfU&sig=LXLWCYpg9pQvKNvN6RPi4INgt9w&hl=en&sa=X&ei=9QRjUaebDOqP0QGZ7oCwBQ&ved=0CDAQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=The%20Annual%20Report%20of%20Industrial%20Commission%20(Albany%3A%20State%20of%20New%20York%2C%20No.%2056%2C%20April%2017%2C%201916)&f=false>.

The Annual Report of the Industrial Commission for the Twelve Months Ending September 30, 1915 states that one of Saul Birns' companies was called the Metropolitan Phonograph Company. The New York Times in an article about Birns on page 7 July 14, 1915 calls the Metropolitan Phonograph Company the Metropolitan Talking Machine Company.

- 53. Carol Groneman and David M. Reimers, "Immigration," *Encyclopedia of New York* ed. Kenneth T. Jackson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995) 581.
- 54 "Italian American," *Answers*, 2013, Answers Corporation, 11 Oct. 2011 http://www.answers.com/topic/italian-american>.
- 55. "The Piedigrotta Festival in Naples (Italy)," 2001-2013, Portanapoli.com, 21 April 2012, http://www.portanapoli.com/Eng/naples/piedigrotta.html>.

The Madonna of Piedigrotta Festival "was in the past the most important event of the year for the Neapolitans. It is considered the festival of the *'canzone napoletana'*: several of the world-famous Neapolitan folk songs like, for example, *'Funiculì Funicolà'* and *'O' Sole Mio'* were originally composed for this festival and introduced there for the first time."

- 56. Tom Miller, "'The Big Store' 1896 Siegel-Cooper Department Store," *Daytonian in Manhattan* 17 Oct. 2011 http://daytoninmanhattan.blogspot.com/2010/08/big-store-1896-siegel-cooper-department.html.
- 57. Kenneth T. Jackson, "Bowery," *Encyclopedia of New York* ed. Kenneth T. Jackson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995) 131.
- 58. "Bowery Theatre," *Bowery Theatre From Wikipedia*, 22 March 2013, Wikimedia Foundation, Inc., 12 May 2013 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bowery_Theatre.
- 59. Nahma Sandrow, *Vagabond Stars: A World History of Yiddish Theater* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977) 74-76.

- 61. Bernadette Moke, "Tour of the Bowery," *Untapped New York*, 30 Sept. 2011 http://newyork.untappedcities.com/tour-of-the-bowery/. The author can no longer access this site.
- 62. Sandrow, 78.
- 63. Nahshon, 11 November 2011.
- 64. "ACTORS OWN NEW THEATRE.; Culmination of Methods Which Have Been Followed in East Side Playhouses for Several Years Reached by Building of Grand Street House," *The New York Times*, February 8, 1903, Timemachine http://select.nytimes.com/gst/abstract.html?res=F70C14FB355414728DDDA10894DA405B838CF1D3. The author did not note when he accessed the article, but it can be retrieved on the "Timemachine."
- 65. Jackson, 131.
- 66. Barry Popik, "Yiddish Broadway or Yiddish Rialto (Second Avenue in Manhattan)," 2008, The Big Apple, 20 Nov. 2011 http://www.barrypopik.com/index.php/new_york_city/entry/yiddish_broadway_or_yiddish_rialto_second_avenue_in_manhattan/.
- 67. Ibid.
- 68. Ibid.
- 69. Peter Holowczyk, et al., "Loew's Commodore Theater," *Cinema Treasures*, 2000-2013, Cinema Treasures, LLC, 19 May 2013 http://cinematreasures.org/theaters/527>.
- 70. Emilio Guerra, "Louis N. Jaffe Art Theater Yiddish Art Theater/Yiddish Folks Theater, Village East City Cinemas," Flickr, 2013, Yahoo, Inc., 22 April, 2012 http://www.flickr.com/photos/emilio_guerra/4507782564/>.
- 71. Howe, 460-496.
- 72. Ibid., 460.
- 73. Ludwig Satz, Der Freilicher Chazen-Teil 2, rec. June 1927 78 rpm. Victor 68834.
- 74. Moses Richin, *The Promised City: New York Jews 1870-1914* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962) 147.
- 75. Tony Michels, *A Fire in Their Hearts: Yiddish Socialists in New York* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005) 13.
- 76. Howe, 484-485.

- 77. Richard F. Shepard and Vicki Gold Levi, *Live and Be Well: A Celebration of Yiddish Culture in America From the First Immigrants to the Second World War* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1982) 128.
- 78. "Solomon Smulewitz [Small] (1868-1943)," Milken Archive of Jewish Music, 2013, 25 April 2011 http://yiddishmusic.jewniverse.info/smulewitzsolomon/index.html>.
- 79. *Judaica Sound Archives*, Florida Atlantic University Libraries, 2007, Florida Atlantic University, 4 Dec. 2011 < http://faujsa.fau.edu/jsa/>.
- 80. "Yiddish Theater: A Love Story" 23 Nov. 2012 http://www.yiddishtheater.net/html/links.htm
- 81. Sandrow.
- 82. Emelise Aleandri, "Theater History," *The Italian American Experience: An Encyclopedia*, et al., eds. Salvatore John LaGumina (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 2000) 631.
- 83. "How to Research a Building Part 2, 29 July 2009, NYC Museum Tours, 2010, Tenement Museum, 23 Nov. 2012 http://tenement-museum.blogspot.com/2009/07/how-to-research-building-part-2.html.
- 84. Emelise Aleandri, *The Italian-American Immigrant Theater of New York City*, (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, Inc., 1999) 14.
- 85. Ibid., 38.
- 86. Ibid., 39.
- 87. Eric Ferrara, *The Bowery: A History of Grit, Graft and Grandeur* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2011) 96, Google Books, 23 Nov. 2012 .
- 88. Aleandri, 56.
- 89. Ferrara, 96.
- 90. Aleandri, cover of book.
- 91. Aleandri, 11.

- 92. Ibid., 42.
- 93. Ibid., 44.
- 94. Ibid., 34.
- 95. Ibid., 110.
- 96. Ibid., 70.
- 97. Joseph J. Accardi, "Images of Giovanni De Rosalia: Playwright, Poet, and 'Nofrio," *Prima Pagina di Joe Accardi*, 1996-2012. Joe Accardi, 18 Nov. 2011 http://www.accardiweb.com/nofrio/ The advertisement does not stipulate the specific name of the theater.
- 98. Eric Homberger, *The Historical Atlas of New York City: A Visual Celebration of 400 Years of New York City's History* (New York: An Owl Book, Henry Holt and Company, 2005) 136.
- 99. Salvatore LaGumina, "1900 Eduardo Migliaccio (Farfariello), and popular Italian American theater," *Milestones of the Italian American Experience*, The National Italian American Foundation, 18 Nov. 2011 http://www.niaf.org/milestones/year_1900.asp.
- 100. Joseph J. Accardi.

At the end of the website Accardi states "The full version of 'Giovanni De Rosalia' has been published in the Summer 2001 issue of *Italian* (Vol. XIX, No. 2, p176-200). *Italian Americana* is a semi-annual historical & cultural journal devoted to the Italian experience in America, and is published in cooperation with the University of Rhode Island and the American Italian Historical Association."

- 101. Aleandri.
- 102. Emelise Aleandri, "Theater History," pp. 631-635
- 103. "Moskowitz & Lupowitz," *Jeremiah's Vanishing New York*, 29 Nov. 2010, Nov. 2011 http://vanishingnewyork.blogspot.com/2010/11/moskowitz-lupowitz.html. The restaurant was located at the northeast corner of Second Avenue and 2nd Street.
- 104. "Harry Rappaport," *City Directories*. *R-*Zan-667, microfilm, reel 24 (n-z), for the year 1925. New York Public Library. Stephen A. Schwarzman Building at Fifth Avenue at 42nd Street, New York, NY 10018-2788.
- 105. Elizabeth Finkelstein, "Café Royal," 1 March 2011, *Off The Grid*, 2013, The Greenwich Village Society for Historic Preservation, 29 Nov. 2011 http://gvshp.org/blog/2011/03/01/cafe-royal/

Richard F. Shepard and (see endnote #77) state on page 34 that Cafe Royal closed in in 1953. Sandrow (see endnote 59) maintains on page 302 that it closed in 1945.

Various sources spell Cafe Royal in different ways. Based upon two images that were taken in August 27, 1938 of the restaurant the author decided to use the spelling Cafe Royal. Both images spell Cafe without the accented \(\epsilon\). One of the images spells Royal without the e. An object blocks out what might be the final e in the other photograph. However, it is very unlikely that an e existed given the available space on the sign. Images come from "Caf\(\epsilon\) Royale," The Museum of the City of New York's Collections Portal, 2013, Museum of the City of New York, 12 April 2013 http://collections.mcny.org/C.aspx?VP3=SearchResult_VPage&VBID=24UP1GVGP6IF&SMLS=1>.

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106. Finkelstein.
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107. Sandrow, 301-302.

108. Ibid.

109. Shepard and Levi, 148.

110. Aleandri, 47.

111. Ibid., 75.

112. Ibid., 76.

113. Ibid., 77.

114. Ibid., 82.

115. Ibid., 22.

116. "Grand Theatre (New York City)," *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia*, 1 May 2013. Wikimedia Foundation, Inc., 12 April 2011

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117. "Davega Stores Featuring Special Anniversary Sales," *The New York Age*, Saturday, April 16, 1949, 19 Aug. 2012

< http://fulton history.com/Newspaper % 2011/New % 20 York % 20 NY % 20 Age/New % 20 York % 20 NY % 20 Age % 20 19 49 -

1950% 20% 20Grayscale/New% 20York% 20NY% 20Age% 201949-1950% 20% 20Grayscale% 20-% 200269.pdf>.

The paper notes on page 8 that Davega is celebrating its 70th anniversary. The store opened in 1879 on Third Avenue and 34th Street in New York and at some point the business began to specialize in the selling of sports products. It eventually expanded its activities to the selling of phonographs, and later on radios and television sets. According to the article the store had by 1949 grown to 23 outlets. It is possible that there was a Little Italy location, but the addresses cannot be made out.

- 118. Homberger, 136.
- 119. Andito, "The Center of the Italian Community in the East Village: Mary Help of Christians," March 7, 2012, *Off the Grid*, 2013, Greenwich Village Society for Historic Preservation, 25 April 2011 http://gvshp.org/blog/2012/03/07/the-center-of-the-italian-community-in-the-east-village-mary-help-of-christians/.
- 120. "Local Legend 'John's of 12th Street' Celebrates 100 Years and Serves Up a Day of 1908 Prices," *PR Newswire: News and Information*, 2012, PR Newswire Association LLC., 25 April 2011
- ">http://www2.prnewswire.com/cgi-bin/stories.pl?ACCT=109&STORY=/www/story/10-21-2008/0004908424&EDATE=>">http://www2.prnewswire.com/cgi-bin/stories.pl?ACCT=109&STORY=/www/story/10-21-2008/0004908424&EDATE=>">http://www2.prnewswire.com/cgi-bin/stories.pl?ACCT=109&STORY=/www/story/10-21-2008/0004908424&EDATE=>">http://www.story/10-21-2008/0004908424&EDATE=>">http://www.story/10-21-2008/0004908424&EDATE=>">http://www.story/10-21-2008/0004908424&EDATE=>">http://www.story/10-21-2008/0004908424&EDATE=>">http://www.story/10-21-2008/0004908424&EDATE=>">http://www.story/10-21-2008/0004908424&EDATE=>">http://www.story/10-21-2008/0004908424&EDATE=>">http://www.story/10-21-2008/0004908424&EDATE=>">http://www.story/10-2008/0004908424&EDATE=>">http://www.story/10-2008/0004908424&EDATE=>">http://www.story/10-2008/0004908424&EDATE=>">http://www.story/10-2008/0004908424&EDATE=>">http://www.story/10-2008/0004908424&EDATE=>">http://www.story/10-2008/0004908424&EDATE=>">http://www.story/10-2008/0004908424&EDATE=>">http://www.story/10-2008/0004908424&EDATE=>">http://www.story/10-2008/0004908424&EDATE=>">http://www.story/10-2008/000498424&EDATE=>">http://www.story/10-2008/00048424&EDATE=>">http://www.story/10-2008/00048424&EDATE=>">http://www.story/10-2008/00048424&EDATE=>">http://www.story/10-2008/00048424&EDATE=>">http://www.story/10-2008/00048424&EDATE=>">http://www.story/10-2008/00048424&EDATE=>">http://www.story/10-2008/00048424&EDATE=>">http://www.story/10-2008/00048444&EDATE=>">http://www.story/10-2008/00048444&EDATE=>">http://www.story/10-2008/00048444&EDATE=>">http://www.story/10-2008/00048444&EDATE=>">http://www.story/10-2008/00048444&EDATE=>">http://www.story/10-2008/00048444&EDATE=>">http://www.story/10-2008/00048444&EDATE=>">http://www.story/10-2008/00048444&EDATE=>">http://www.story/10-2008/00048444&EDATE=>">http://www.story/10-2008/00048444&EDATE=>">http://www.story/10-2008/00048444&EDATE=>">http://www.story/1
- 121. "DeRobertis Pasticceria & Caffe: Vanishing? No way.," 24 Sept. 2007, *Jeremiah's Vanishing New York*, 25 April 2011 http://vanishingnewyork.blogspot.com/2007/09/derobertis-pasticceria-caffe.html>.
- 122. "Veniero's" 25 April 2011 http://www.venierospastry.com/>.
- 123. Dana, "Even More on the Mob," 12 July 2011 *Off the Grid*, 2013, The Greenwich Village Society for Historic Preservation. 25 April 2011 http://gvshp.org/blog/2011/07/12/even-more-on-the-mob/>.

The Utilization of Stereotypical Language and Image to Define Ethnic, Racial, and Rube Boundaries in Early Sound Recordings

This chapter investigates the conceptual units heard on the early sound recordings that defined ethnic, racial, and rube boundaries in the United States. It considers works by both the general society for the general society and minorities for minorities. When discussing minority recordings, the analysis, with a few exceptions, must restrict itself to European immigrants. In the early 1900s Europeans made up the bulk of the immigrants to America, producing communities large enough to support recording markets.

As stated in the "Introduction," African Americans, and to a lesser extent rural people, did not initially determine the kinds of recordings they created. It wasn't until the mid-1920s that there was any recognition of either group as potential consumers. Most importantly, until Berry Gordy created Motown Records in 1959, blacks remained under white domination.

William Howland Kenney's concept of collective memory, coupled with Fredrik Barth's theoretical framework for boundary maintenance, serves as a base of inquiry.

William Howland Kenney and the Meaning of Recordings

In his book *Recorded Music in American Life: The Phonograph and Popular Memory,* 1890-1945, William Howland Kenney analyzes at length the sociohistorical and psychological significance of the phonograph record. For the most part, he concentrates on the years 1890 to the late 1930s when the radio "began to get the upper hand." As he emphasizes, the recording process did not exist in a vacuum. A successful recording often reified something intangible for the listener, including a thought, mood, and/or time, and the market determined the success of the recording. Although in the following Kenney expounds on music, the same could be said for the numerous skits that the companies recorded:

During the period under consideration, phonograph records sounded and resounded a variety of different musical genres prepared for what were seen as relatively identifiable markets. In being exactly repeated upon command, the musical grammar, syntax and vocabulary of these styles or structures of recorded sound took on the characteristics of musical, cultural, and psychological habit, and, as such, of forms of cultural constructed and coded aural knowledge. Inevitably, then, the phonograph, not unlike the slide projector, moving picture projector, and VCR, offered a technological aid to remembering. Phonograph records "froze" past performances as engraved sound pictures: 78 rpm records offered Americans memories of memories.

Recorded music, moreover, played an important role in stimulating and preserving what has been called "collective memories." Since music recording circulated in the form of commercial commodities designed to appeal to large number of Americans, collective listening patterns arose between 1890 and 1945.⁴

This section aims to break the collective memories into components that can be grouped, contrasted, and analyzed. It then seeks to discover how these elements were implemented in the creation, perpetuation, and denigration of ethnic and racial boundaries in the United States.

Fredrik Barth and a Discussion of Boundary Maintenance

Fredrik Barth discusses boundary maintenance in his book *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*. As mentioned in the "Introduction," he argues that boundary lines between groups are not sustained by "a bellicose ignorance" of one's neighbors. Rather, it is the fact that one knows one's neighbors and has certain expectations of them that establishes a boundary. He also asserts that there is "a flow of personnel across" boundaries even though the boundaries persist. Further, he maintains that the trait list may change, and yet the boundary continues as long as an ethnic group "has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order." He writes that "some cultural features are used by the actors as signals and emblems of difference, others are ignored, and in some relationships radical differences are played down and denied."

Most importantly for purposes of this analysis he describes an ethnic situation that results not from a "major aspect of structure" but rather from external historical events:

Many minority situations have a trace of this active rejection by the host population. But the general feature of all minority situations lies in the organization of activities and interaction: In the total social system, all sectors of activity are organized by statuses open to members of the majority group, while the status system of the minority has only relevance to relations within the minority and only to some sectors of activity, and does not provide a basis for action in other sectors, equally valued in the minority culture. There is thus a disparity between values and organization facilities: prized goals are outside the field organized by the minority's culture and categories. Though such systems contain several ethnic groups, interaction between members of the different groups of this kind does not spring from the complementarity of ethnic identities; it takes place entirely within the framework of the dominant,

majority groups' statuses and institutions, where identity as a minority member gives no basis for action¹⁰

Fredrik Barth's boundary maintenance concepts speak succinctly to the kind of exchanges that took place between the people who held power and newcomers/outsiders during the peak years of immigration.

Key Elements Summarizing the Boundary Between Majority and Minority Groups

Humor is one of the most fascinating components of the asymmetrical boundary between the majority and minority groups. The recordings generated humor at the point where the groups actually or metaphorically collided, a position of tension, confusion, and/or frustration for the characters. The comic allowed for impact but reduced antipathy. Moira Smith in her fascinating article "Humor, Unlaughter, and Boundary Maintenance" addresses at length the dynamics of why humor succeeds in the creation of boundary maintenance.

One reason that a move into the humorous mode demands support from others is that such a move is inevitably transgressive, at the very least because it flouts the norms of serious discourse and usually because it breaks everyday norms of politeness, and morality as well (Veatch 1998). Thus, joking is always tinged with immorality, and any attempt to either make a joke or support it with laughter requires a temporary suspension of everyday norms and values (Mannell and La Fave 1976). Thus people who share laughter are coconspirators in playful rule breaking, and such shared transgression, like other shared guilty pleasures promotes a feeling of solidarity. ¹¹

She further stresses that the very "built-in ambiguity of the humor frame" can conceal the "nefarious uses of jocular harassment." Examples throughout this chapter will demonstrate that most recordings, even those by members of the minority, employed the comic to make a statement.

Although minority and majority performers both utilized humor, they tended to exploit it slightly differently. The majority often applied it as a backdrop to veil a harsh stereotype: African Americans lied and stole; the Irish got into fights and drank; the Jews became involved in questionable financial dealings. While the minority also exploited satirical comment about their own groups, especially the role of the greenhorn, their remarks leaned in the direction of empathy and compassion. It seemed that most of the time immigrants realized that although the ineptitude of the newcomer/greenhorn might be cause for humor, the state of being a greenhorn was not far removed from them. One might laugh when a person could not translate idioms from their own language into English, or when the police arrested someone for buying alcohol in the 1920s, but the performers made clear that the difficulties were understandable, and the portrayal of the struggling immigrant should not contain malice.

The use of English played a major part in demarcating boundaries. Minority groups, even if they used English, often incorporated it in ways that signified bewilderment, irritation, imposition, and/or the knowledge that their native language was in danger. The majority accused, mocked, and humorously ridiculed the fact that people did not speak Standard English. At times, the listener gets the impression that the lack of Standard English had been biologically determined.

The utilization of specific character names to specify ethnic and racial identity was another device. Interestingly, each side generally adopted different names for their characters.

Both groups incorporated traits that functioned as quintessential elements in portraying the other. The overriding assertion by the majority was that the minority had to adapt, even though the possibility that they could adapt was doubtful. Underlying a large part of the minority's stance, especially from the perspective of immigrants, was the question of how one lived in this great land, with an emphasis on the confusion, rejection, and pain they had unjustly experienced along with the possibilities of living here.

Most importantly, themes varied. Some works expressed sentiment much more strongly or stereotypically than others. A number of compositions, especially some of those associated with the Irish and plantation African Americans, rendered the "other" nostalgically or romantically and reduced or left out the humorous component. In so doing, they depicted yet another layer of the nuances and subtleties that made up their relationships.

Lastly, nearly all of the larger recording corporations maintained headquarters and recording studios in the Northeast, mostly in New York City. Consequently, many of the recordings that depend upon an urban setting utilized the New York area as a landscape in their compositions. This practice not only embraced an actual location, it created a stage for dissonance and consequently humor. Rubes eating in a New York City restaurant exemplify this kind of situation.

Company	Offices	Studios	Year
The Aeolian Company	New York	New York	1916-1925
Brunswick			
Brunswick-Balke- Collender Company	Chicago, New York	New York; Chicago (from 192 Los Angeles (from Other occasional locations; portable equipment	1922);
Brunswick Radio	New York	New York,	1930-1931

Corporation	Hollywood, CA	Chicago;	revived 1941

Los Angeles; portable equipment

Brunswick Record New York New York, 1931-1939

Corporation Chicago,
Los Angeles;
portable equipment

Columbia

American Graphophone New York, New York 1902-1916 Company Bridgeport, CT

Columbia Phonograph New York New York 1916-1939

Company Bridgeport, CT Chicago (from c.1916); Hollywood (from c. 1929);

sporadic locations; portable equipment

Thomas A. Edison (disc) West Orange, NJ New York 1913-1929

Emerson Recording New York New York 1925-1929

Laboratories

Okeh Phonograph New York New York; 1926-1933

Corporation Chicago;

using portable equipment

Victor

Victor Talking Machine Camden, NJ Camden, NJ 1901-1929 Corporation New York Culver City, CA (from 1929)

Radio Corporation New York; New York; records from 1929

of America Camden, N J numerous locations, (from 1930) including New York;

Camden, NJ and Culver City, CA

All the above information comes from *Directory of American Disc Record Brands and Manufacturers*, 1891-1943 by Allan Sutton.¹⁴

Boundary Maintenance from the Majority Perspective

Language

Unfortunately, the Ellis Island Discography database, the main source for much of the information about specific recordings, does not address the specific phonemic, syntactical and lexical interference patterns that determined accent/pronunciation/inflection during the time that these recordings were made. It does, however, address basics. For example, it records the accent of the characters. Speech patterns quickly oriented the listener to the ethnic and/or racial landscape.

In other words, in the event that the recording title did not instantly give away ethnicity or race, the accent employed immediately established boundary(ies). One cannot emphasize enough that the actual ethnic and racial sound construction had less to do with establishing ethnic and racial identity than the sounds and words on which the listener would focus, and thus expect and perhaps mimic. These sounds included the Yiddish immigrant's use of the "v" instead of "w" or the periodic placement of an "oy" in a sentence. Examples would also include the utilization of the "y" sound instead of the "j" with people who had a Norwegian accent and the insertion of an "a" sound after certain words with Italians. Billy Murray's 1910 Edison 10427 rendition of "Sweet Italian Love" wonderfully epitomizes the inclusion of the extra "a":

Ev'ryone talk-a how they make-a da love Call-a da sweet-a name-a like-a da dove It makes me sick-a when they start in to speak-a¹⁵

The main historical factors contributing to the development of recording dialects can be

summarized. Mark Slobin describes in his book *Tenement Songs: The Popular Music of the Jewish Immigrants* that between the 1820s and the 1840s "the major genres of entertainment crystallized, each built on an ethnic stereotype." He stresses that "much of the impetus for the creation of native forms of amusement came from traveling English actors and comedians, keen observers of the American scene." A number of these people wrote books about their observations. For instance, the 1826 *Universal Songster* breaks down into ethnic/racial thematic subunits. These subunits have titles that stipulate a specific group, including "'Irish,' 'Scotch,' [and] 'Jews." In the process the authors helped concretized "the common caricatures that shaped the New World stage."

Slobin comments that it was "not merely songs and stage caricatures which tickled the New World muse, but widely distributed publications which brought the ethnic image into the parlors of a great many American homes." He mentions a



Cooper's Irish Dialect: Readings and Recitations, Wehman Brothers, 1891

Courtesy of the author

series of inexpensive "pocket-size books for the millions," joke books that the Wehman Brothers published at the turn-of-the-century. Among the titles are "Irish Jokes," "Minstrel Jokes," "Darkey Jokes and Funny Stories," "Combination Irish, Hebrew and Dutch Jokes."

In 1902 Frederick J. Drake and Company published *Choice Dialect and Vaudeville Stage Jokes*, a work apparently very similar to the Wehman Brothers' books to which Slobin refers. This publication, which Harvard University graciously makes available online, ²¹ contains numerous examples of "side splitting stories, jokes, gags, readings and recitations in German, Irish, Scotch, French, Chinese, Negro and other dialects" or the type of language the average American associated with the various ethnic and racial groups residing in this country. An excerpt from the section titled, "Isaac Rosenthal on the Chinese Question" gives the reader a concrete example. An investigator, who is in the process of interviewing people about restricting Chinese immigration, enters Mr. Rosenthal's store. Just before Mr. Rosenthal responds, the introduction informs the reader that Mr. Rosenthal is a German Hebrew.

Gome righd in, mein liebe Herr! Don'd mind dot leedle dog. He vill not pide you. I geeb him to trive avay de bad leedle poy in de sthreed. You like to puy zome very coot clothing?²⁴

In 1903 Stanton and Van Vilet Company issued *Uncle Josh's Punkin Centers Stories: The Talking Machine Stories* by Cal Stewart.²⁵ Stewart had just started his recording career by primarily playing a rube, and in all likelihood he wrote this book as a promotion vehicle or, as Stewart says, "The one particular object in writing this book is to furnish you with an occasion laugh, and the writer with an occasional dollar." The fortune of this work, as illustrated in the following excerpt, "Uncle Josh at the Opera," is that it allows us to see how Stewart constructed his rube dialect for his recordings.

Wall, I sed to mother when I left hum, now mother, when I git down to New York City I'm goin' to see a regular first-class theater. We never had many theater doin's down our way. Wall, thar wuz a theater troop cum to Punkin Centre along last summer, but we couldn't let 'em hav the Opery House to show in 'cause we hadn't any place to put the hay.²⁷

Finally, sheet music provides the most plentiful source for how authors constructed their dialects. However, unlike the Wehman Brothers, Frederick J. Drake and Company, or Cal Stewart, sheet music combines lyrics with music.

To reiterate, all of these works not only reinforced ethnic and racial stereotypical behavior but generated language anticipation. A superficial examination suggests that what the audiences expected varied, and stereotypical hyperbole often dictated dialect usage. Skits and songs also demonstrate that some of the performers, most likely those who grew up in nonstandard-English-speaking homes, intimately understood how a specific group or groups of people tended to speak and took advantage of this knowledge when recording. Finally, the lack of a standard phonetic alphabet makes dialect description, let alone dialect comparison, extremely difficult.

Based upon the literature, it seems actors became more interested in understanding foreign dialects after vaudeville's heyday. In 1943 Lewis Herman and Marguerite Shalet Herman published the *Manual of Foreign Dialects for Radio, Stage and Screen*. ²⁸ Garson Kanin writes in the "Preface":

The fault of this book lies in the fact that it was not written sooner. As an actor, and later as a director, I have had many difficult bouts with the problem of foreign dialect. I must further report, for the sake of accuracy, that I lost almost every one. ²⁹

Kanin continues and explains how he tried to acquire a Swedish accent for the part of Chris Christopherson in Eugene O'Neill's "Annie Christie." He met a Swede working at a hamburger stand whom he used as a model. He spent weeks with the man.

Still I listened, and listened, and lived on hamburgers. During the time, rehearsals were in progress but I played my part straight, explaining to the director that I preferred to do so until I had mastered the dialect, in order that the part itself would not be affected. He agreed. At the first dress rehearsal, however, I proudly produced my authentic Swedish accent.

"Fine," said the director, "but why the lisp?"

He concludes with:

In this day of coalition with all the people of the earth who fight in the common cause, the use of foreign dialect in our literary expression – stage, books, radio, screen – becomes a delicate and an important responsibility. The superficial theatrical clichés must be abruptly discarded. Too often they tend to ridicule rather than represent.

There is more than comedy in a foreigner's use of English. There is tenderness and beauty and pathos in the attempts of newcomers to express themselves in our tongue. . . . The theatre library is enriched by its publication. ³⁰

Character Names

The name of a recording character indicated another aspect of what one was to expect on a record. Recordings not only employed names obviously associated with specific ethnic groups, but the record title often contained the name of the key character. The name directed the potential buyer to an ethnic or racial type. Authors tried to generate a following. Many of them were clearly successful, given the number of recordings they created that recycled a particular character. In some cases, as with the name Cohen, more than one writer exploited the name and the expectations associated with it. In a way, character development paralleled the manner in which an audience became involved with the actor's role. Think about the characters Ross Geller, Rachel Green, Monica Geller, Phoebe Buffay, Joey Tribbiani, and Chandler Bing in the sitcom "Friends." The more one watched, or in our case listened, the more one heard not only that specific recording but also heard all the previous recordings. The slight variation in plot of each new recording offered added delight. Skits especially incorporated names in the titles. The Ellis Island Discography database lists hundreds of recordings that signify ethnic affiliation in this way.

The writers generally assigned recognizable ethnic names to Germans, Irish, Italians, Jews, and African Americans. They were a bit more creative with Chinese and Native American names. In these cases the names built on the sounds associated with the groups.

The following examples, which were reviewed in 2012, typify ethnic and racial recording names. Parentheses signify the name is heard on the recording, but it is not part of the title. An asterisk means the recording has not been heard.

Jewish Character Names

The most popular Jewish last name was Cohen, and the database contains at least two hundred recordings with the name Cohen. A researcher can also find Einsteins, Goldbergs, Levis, and Levinskys, among others, last names that conveyed Jewishness. If the record utilized a name in the title, it generally incorporated a last name. However, within the recording, the listener heard a variety of first names. A quick review of first names infers that the authors of these skits and songs preferred the names Abe, Abie, Becky, Izzy, and Sadie.

Title	Label/Catalogue #	Performer(s)	Date
1. Einstein Talks about Ike (Levinsky)	Edison 7702	Will N. Steele	ca. 1900
2. The Original Cohens (Isaac Cohen, Rebecca Cohe		Ada Jones, Len Spencer	1905
3. Cohen on the Telephone	Columbia A-1516	Joe Hayman	1913

4. Goldberg's Automobile Troubles	Edison 3083	Dave Martin	1916
5. Cohen on the Radio (Ginsberg, Goldstein, Levi)	Regal 9328-A	Monroe Silver	1922

Irish Character Names

Likewise, Casey, Flanagan, Clancy or Clancey and, to a lesser extent, last names that began with "Mc," as in McGinty, or "O," as in O'Brien, designated Irish characters. Pat, Mike, Barney, Mary Anne, and Maggie epitomize common first names. The database lists about a hundred recordings each for Casey and Flanagan. The recordings built on the character Casey were generally issued earlier than those that centered on Flanagan.

Title	Label/Catalogue #	Performer(s)	Date
1. Casey at the Telephone (Michael/Mike Casey, Jimmy Murphy)	Columbia 9618	Russell Hunting	1897
2. Casey at the Klondike Gold Mines (Michael/Mike Casey, Murphy)	Edison 3801	Jim White 1897	7/1898
3. McGinty at the Living Pictures (Mary Ann, Dan McGinty)	Columbia A-303	Edward M. Favor	1904
4. Flanagan's Ocean Voyage (Mike Flanagan)	Columbia A-626	Steve Porter, Frank Kennedy	1908
5. Flanagan and Harrigan (Pat Casey, O'Brien)	Edison 289	Steve Porter, Edward Meeker	1909

German Character Names

The composers assigned German characters last names, with Schultz being one of the most common, and first names that were often obviously German, such as Heinie, Henny, Hilda, and Meyer. The database has some 80 recordings incorporating the name Schultz.

Title	Label/Catalogue #	Performer(s)	Date
1. Schultz's Advice to Men (Willie)	Edison 3830	Frank Kennedy	ca. 1898

2. Schultz on How to Bring Up Children (Heinie)	Edison 7434	Frank Kennedy	1900
3. Henny and Hilda at the German Picnic (Henny Klein, Krausmeyer, Schultz)	Edison 23	Ada Jones, Len Spencer	1908
4. Heinie at College (Meyer, Mike)	Columbia A-1168	Joe Weber, Lew Fields	1912
5. Wilhelm the Grocer (Lena Kraus)	Victor 17491	Ada Jones	1913

Italian Character Names

Italians comprised the largest group to come through Ellis Island. Surprisingly, the database suggests that recording companies made fewer recordings about Italians than they did about many of the other immigrants. If they did employ a name, it was likely to be Tony for a man and some variation of Marie or Mariuccia for a woman. Other names were also assigned to Italians.

Title	Label/Catalogue #	Performer(s)	Date
1. My Mariuccia (Take a Steamboat) (Tony)	Edison 9430	Billy Murray	1906
2. Mariuch-Mak-a-the Hootch-a-Ma-Kootch Down at Coney Island (Mary)	Victor 5220	Edward Morton	1907
3. Tony and Rosetta (Rosie)	Edison 9945	Ada Jones, Len Spencer	1908
4. When Tony Goes over the Top	Victor 18510	Billy Murray	1918
5. When Mariuch Shake da Shimmie Sha Wab	Emerson 9227	George L. Thompson	1919

African American Character Names

The recording authors did not give one type of name to African Americans. The names fell into a number of distinct categories, although it wasn't unusual for a name to be created from more than one grouping. Most importantly, the authors largely generated names based upon what they perceived as African-American names.

Everyday popular names shared by all kinds of people throughout the country made up the largest group. Another category contained names with biblical associations. A third category played on names of famous people, and at times a name was created by incorporating elements from several prominent individuals. The last presently identifiable kind of name consisted of pejorative appellations or names assigned by whites that did not resonate with the African-American population.

At least in the South, the allocation of names seems to be consistent with names observed in a number of African-American cemeteries and in the outstanding study *Israel on the Appomattox* by Melvin Patrick Ely.³¹ In discussing names in antebellum Virginia, Ely writes that the "overwhelming majority of free and enslaved blacks bore names from standard Anglo-American repertoire of the era – John, Margaret, Thomas, Susan and the like, or the nicknames associated with them (Jack, Margie, Tom, Sooky)."³²

Although recordings from the late 19th through the early 20th century imply that the use of names of biblical and famous people differentiated African Americans from the general white society, the data suggests otherwise. Ely emphasizes that whites also gave their children classical names preceding the Civil War.

Few whites in Prince Edward County [Virginia] or anywhere else in America during the generation preceding the Civil War saw anything odd about the presence on the political scene of such luminaries as Cassius Marcellus Clay of Kentucky, Lucius Quintus Cassius Lamar of Mississippi, and Hannibal Hamlin of Maine.³³

He comments that even in modern times "Virginia's white upper crust" has employed the practice of giving "famous family names as given names." 34

H. L. Mencken in his *The American Language: An Inquiry into the Development of English in the United States* tends to agree with Ely and gives more recent examples of southern whites fabricating some rather unwieldy and lengthy combinations. He also stresses that African Americans at times exaggerated white names in the attempt to create that which they thought was "striking and unprecedented." "I Will Arise and Go Unto My Father, Jesus Christ and Him Crucified, Matthew Mark Luke John Acts of the Apostles illustrate some of the more exotic examples he found." "36,37"

Given this information, we can probably say that what differentiated African-American names from other names had a great deal to do with relocation. As African Americans

moved north to places like New York, they brought with them their southern names. In the north, where the vast majority of the record industry was situated, authors encountered these names as part of a distinct identity. They did not need to fabricate. They only had to build on something recognizable.

As previously stated, the largest class of African-American names was shared with the general population. Popular first names like Joe, Henry, Sam, Mandy, and to a lesser extent Alexander and Lou, repeatedly emerge on the recordings. Jackson, Johnson, and Jones, and a few other recognizable last names also turn up frequently. Appendix I contains examples of some of the less outlandish names obtained from African cemeteries in the South.

Nonetheless, there was a class of names that the general public assigned to African Americans, but which African Americans generally avoided. In a number of cases, as with the names Rastus, they even found them offensive.

Rastus is a pejorative term traditionally associated with African Americans in the United States. It is considered highly offensive. The name is sometimes given as Rastus, and it is a shortening of Eratus, a disciple of St. Paul mentioned in Acts 19:22, Romans 16:23, and 2 Timothy 4:20. "Rastus" has been used as a generic, often derogatory, name for black men at least since 1880, when Joel Chandler Harris included a Black deacon named "Brer Rastus" in his first Uncle Remus book. Contrary to popular belief, however, "Rastus" has never been particularly popular as a Black name. . . . "Rastus" is also the name of the African-American character that first appeared on packages of Cream of Wheat cereal in 1890 – and whose image remains the Cream of Wheat trademark today. 38

However few and for whatever reason, some African Americans did name their children Rastus. For example, Ralph Rastus Blue was born September 16, 1924 in Marion County, Georgia, son of Simeon and Heison Story Blue; grandson of John and Henrietta Story and James P. and Mary Blue. He died September 1979.³⁹

Finally, an odd arrangement occurs when we contrast the "African-American" names the recording industry employed on the recordings with the names promoted by the food industry in the sale of their products. As has already been discussed, the name Rastus, 40 although connected with Cream of Wheat cereal, was rarely used by African Americans. The name occurs repeatedly on records as an African-American character.

Two other names associated with the African-American community via food are Uncle Ben and Aunt Jemima. We can immediately dismiss a discussion about Uncle Ben since the record industry had for the most part given up producing archetypal vaudeville characters by the time Uncle Ben arrived in the 1940s. 41

Aunt Jemima corresponds to Rastus in the sense that African Americans rarely gave anybody that name in the late 19th century, about the time she became associated with pancakes. In all likelihood the avoidance pattern partly resulted from the connection the name had with such songs as "Old Aunt Jemima." According to Marilyn Kern-Foxworth in *Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben and Rastus: Blacks in Advertising, Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow*, it was "one of the most popular songs of the day, performed by Billy Kersands, a well-known minstrel, from 1870-1900." Kern-Foxworth further states that "by 1877 Kersands had performed the song more than 3,000 times and had developed three different improvisational texts." She quotes some of the lyrics of the 1875 version:

My old missus promise me Old Aunt Jemima, oh, oh, oh

When she died she'd set me free Old Aunt Jemima, oh, oh, oh She lived so long her hair got bald Old Aunt Jemima, oh, oh, oh

She swore she would not die at all Old Aunt Jemima, oh, oh, oh

However, unlike Rastus, Aunt Jemima generally does not play the role of a recording character. The database lists only four examples of the name Jemima and all four of them are titled "Aunt Jemima's Jubilee." It seems probable that African Americans avoided the two names given their negative associations. What is not clear is why Rastus became so popular in skit and song and Jemima didn't. Perhaps chance figured into the picture, or there are other variables that have yet to be appreciated.

A sampling (Appendix II) of African-American graveyards located primarily in the South, but also in Ohio, further indicates that African Americans generally did not name their children Jemima and Rastus in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Not one person with the name Jemima was found. The death dates for about 1154 individuals approximately cover the years 1847-2002.

Examples of African-American Recording Names that Played on the Standard Anglo-American Repertoire

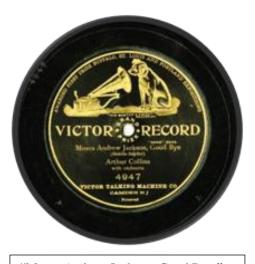
Title	Label/Catalogue #	Performer(s)	Date
1. My Lovin' Henry	Columbia 32893	Arthur Collins, Byron G. Harlan	ca. 1906
2. Happy Mammy and Her Joe	Edison 10073	Ada Jones, Len Spencer	1908
3. Henry and Hank	Edison 3230	Kaufman Brothers	1917

in Vaudeville

4. Oh, Joe (Please Don't Go)	Edison 50672	Al Bernard Frank Kamplain	1920
5. Sam 'n' Henry Rollin' the Bones	Victor 20375	Charles J. Correll, Freeman F. Gosden	1926

Examples of African-American Recording Names that Utilized a Biblical Reference

Title	Label/Catalogue #	Performer(s)	Date
1. A Possum Supper at the Darktown Church (Absalom)	Columbia A-5098	Cal Stewart, Arthur Collins, Byron G. Harlan	1909
2. Wal, I Swan (Ebenezer)	Victor 17263	Byron G. Harlan	1912
3. Rap, Rap, Rap on Your Minstrel Bones (Ebenezer)	Edison 1576	Edward Meeker	1912
4. Mrs. Rastus Johnson at the Wedding (Mathew, Luke, John, Revela	Victor 18231 ations)	Ralph Bingham	1916
5. When Ragtime Rufus ⁴⁴ Rags the Humoresque	Victor 18221	M. J. O'Connell	1917



"Moses Andrew Jackson, Good Bye," 1914 Courtesy of the National Jukebox Historical Recordings

Examples of African-American Recording Names Constructed from Those of Famous People

Although one might think that certain creations, such as the name "George Washington Henry Clay Abraham Lincoln Woodrow Wilson Jackson" must be complete exaggerations, H. L. Mencken in his *The American Language: An Inquiry into the Development of English in the United States Supplement II* cites this example of an actual name: "George Washington Thomas Jefferson Andrew Jackson." Some of these names also incorporated biblical components. An example occurs in the 1910 recording "Ebenezer Julius Caesar" by Arthur Collins on Indestructible 1242. According to the database, the character's actual name is Ebenezer Julius Caesar Washington Gray.

Title	Label/ catalogue #	Performer(s)	Date
1. Moses Andrew Jackson Good-bye*	Edison 9442	Arthur Collins	1906
2. Abraham Jefferson Washington Lee	Columbia A-296	Arthur Collins	1906
3. A Coon Wedding in Southern Georgia (George Washington Abraham)	Indestructible 885	Peerless Quartette	1908
4. Abraham Lincoln Jones or the Christening	Columbia A-736	Arthur Collins	1909
5. Nigger Love a Watermelon, Ha! Ha! Ha! (George Washington Henry Clay Abraham Lincoln Woodrow Wilson Jackson).	Columbia A-1999	Harry C. Browne	1916

Examples of Rastus, an African-American Recording Name that African Americans Tended to Shun

Title	Label/ Catalogue #	Performer(s)	Date
1. Rastus Take Me Back	Edison 2001	Marie Dressler, Edward Meeker	1909
2. Mrs. Rastus Johnson at the Wedding	Victor 18231	Ralph Bingham	1916
3. Mrs. Rastus Johnson's Joy Ride	Victor 18587	Ralph Bingham	1919
4. Emancipation Handicap (Rastus)	Edison 50306	Arthur Collins, Byron G. Harlan,	1915
5. A Coon Possum Hunt (Rastus)	Edison 3712	Billy Golden, Billy Heins	1918

Rube Character Names

Cal Stewart created the character Uncle Josh and made more rube recordings than any other performer. Of the some 770 recordings in the database that have some connection to rubes, Stewart recorded close to 500. A casual perusal of the database further reveals that the non-Stewart recordings often exploited the same character names for the rube characters.

Stewart was born in Charlotte County, Virginia in 1856 to William and Helen Stewart.⁴⁷ Both of his parents had emigrated from Scotland. In his early life he found work on trains, and in circuses, medicine shows, and vaudeville, among other places.⁴⁸

Later Stewart works as an understudy for Denman Thompson (1833-1910), who played Uncle Josh Whitcomb in an extremely popular play titled *The Old Homestead*, which opened in Boston in 1886. The Boston Theatre program for April 5, 1886, announces that The Old Homestead, written by Thompson and George W. Ryer, was a sequel to the play Joshua Whitcomb. That play, which opened in 1876, was supposedly based on a real person, Joshua Holbrook, of Swansea, New Hampshire. Though he wrote other plays, Thompson never duplicated the success of this one, and he was in productions of *The* Old Homestead for decades. The play – with characters named Cy and Reuben, among others – inspired a vogue toward the end of the nineteenth century for plays that celebrated rural America, and Uncle Josh Whitcomb was clearly the model for Stewart's Uncle Josh Weathersby. 49

Of the recordings associated with Cal Stewart in the database, as of the end of 2011, some 94 have been examined in detail with the following results. It must be noted, however, that in more than a few cases the same or a similar skit has been issued on more than one label. In the case of the Edison cylinders and Diamond Disc records, the recordings are usually identical since the manufacturers used the same matrix for both cylinders and discs. In addition, the database contains mistakes. Consequently, the following statistics only hint at patterns. The specific numbers are not definite. Given this forewarning, the names on the 94 recordings break down as follows:

The More Popular Names	Approximate Number of Times the Name Occurs on the Recordings
Joshua (Josh) ⁵⁰	75
Nancy	33
Ezra	27
James (Jim)	25
Si or Cy short for Silas	

or Cyrus roughly	15
Henry (Hank)	11
Lige for Elijah	11
Reuben variations	9

Comparing the names Stewart employed on the recordings with the names observed in both rural and urban cemeteries, the researcher quickly realizes that his rube names were neither artificial, nor were they the most common. (See Appendix III.) The usage of such names suggests that Stewart wanted to differentiate his characters, making them standout, perhaps at times pushing the dialect pronunciation, but keeping them recognizable and creditable. The audience needed to believe in the country aspect of the character, and the name of the character greatly functioned as a hook on which to rest the rube expectations.

As with African Americans, it was the ability to differentiate that probably made the less-used names more valuable in the creation of the recordings. Stewart almost cornered the market on these names by recording hundreds of skits and underlined the difference by utilizing "country" pronunciation. His recording characters often pronounce Joshua as "Joshuey" and Ezra as "Ezrey."

Examples of Rube Recordings by Cal Stewart with the Name Josh

Title	Label/Catalogue #	Performer(s)	Date
1. Uncle Josh Weathersby in a Department Store	Berliner 6007	Cal Stewart	1898
2. Uncle Josh Invites City Folks to Visit him on His Farm	Columbia A-391	Cal Stewart	1903
3. Uncle Josh in a Chinese Laundry	Victor 16068	Cal Stewart	1907
4. Uncle Josh Buys an Automobile	Edison 1583	Cal Stewart	1912
5. Uncle Josh's Birthday Party	Edison 3923 Ada Jones	Billy Murray, Cal Stewart,	1919

Examples of Rube Recordings by People Other than Cal Stewart

Other authors who produced much less than Stewart often had to state something that indicated the rube associations of the characters in the title.

Title	Label/Catalogue #	Performer(s) Date	
1. Two Rubes at the Circus (Zeb, Ezra - pronounced Ezrey)	Edison 8773	Byron G. Harlan, Frank C. Stanley	1904
2. Hezekiah Hopkins Comes to Town (Hezekiah Hopkins, Clara)	Edison 3793	Len Spencer	1910
3. The Village Barber (Jake last name?, Si [Cy])	Victor 16890	Steve Porter, Byron G. Harlan	1911
4. Old Country Fiddler on Woman Suffrage (Hiram, Si [Cy] Skinner)	Victor 18036	Charles Ross Taggart	1916
5. Sippin' Cider Thru' a Straw (Cyrus, Ruben, Sammy, Susie)	v Edison 3846	Arthur Collins, Byron G. Harlan	1919

Native American Character Names

Name association was not restricted to the groups mentioned above. In the case of Native Americans, composers also created names based on expectations. The average American connected certain types of names with Indians, and although the specific names were not likely to recur, all conformed to the general assumption of what was Indian. Some of the names encountered include Big Chief Smoke, Boxing Bear, Laughing Foot, Standing Hair, Arrah Wanna, Red Wing, Eagle Claw, Firefly, Rising Sun, Reed Bird, and Blue Feather. Periodically, one also comes across names with established Indian associations, such as Hiawatha and Minnehaha or Minne-ha-ha.

Title	Label/Catalogue #	Performer(s)	Date
1. Minne-ha-ha	Victor 1147	John W. Myers	1901
2. Since Arrah Wanna Married Barney Carney	Victor 5148	Arthur Collins, Byron G. Harlan	1907
3. Big Chief Smoke	Edison 9862	Billy Murray	1908
4. Blue Feather	Edison 10162	Ada Jones, Billy Murray	1909
5. Firefly: My Pretty Firefly	Edison 2724	Irving Kaufman	1915

Chinese Character Names

A very comparable arrangement occurred with the Chinese. The names of Chinese characters often incorporated /ch/, /ing/, or /ung/ sounds. Thus, we see in the database Sung Fong Lou, Chong, Ying Lee, Chin Chin, Ching Chang, Ching-a-Ling, and Chu Chin Chow. Every so often a researcher also runs across a Hop, Pinky Panky Poo, or Ung Sung [sp?].

Title	Label/Catalogue #	Performer(s)	Date
1. Chin Chin Chinaman*	Edison 1011	Dan W. Quinn ca.	1897
2. Beware of Chu Chin Chow	Edison 3327	Marion Evelyn Cox	1917
3. Sing Ling Ting-Chinese One Step*	Emerson 945	Fred Van Eps ca.	1918
4. Chong / He Comes from Hong Kong	Columbia A-2714	Irving Kaufman	1919
5. Ching-a-Ling's Jazz Bazaar	Edison 4074	Mack, Miller	1920

Polish, Russian, and Greek Character Names

Poles, Russians, and Greeks also came through Ellis Island in great numbers at the time these recordings were made. For some reason, the recording companies did not direct their attention to them as much as to the aforementioned groups. Consequently, very few character types have been found. For example, only one recording, Billy Jones' 1923 Edison song, catalogue number 4778, "Yes, We Have No Bananas," built a story based upon Greek stereotypes and assigned names to the characters. The names assigned – Pete, Nick, Jim, and Mary Ann – could have been given to many different characters, including mainstream Americans. Possibly, the composers of "Yes, We Have No Bananas," Frank Silver and Irving Cohn, felt that they had already established a Greek-American tone and that Greek names would divert the listener from the main theme. Conceivably, Silver and Cohn wanted to emphasize that these people now thought of themselves as Americans and not as greenhorns.

Character Traits/Associations and Their Impact

A character's accent and, to a degree, name(s) set the stage for the recording; they hinted at what the listener should expect. Traits and associations such as geographical affiliation, character behavior, holidays, foods, musical instruments, and even animals helped to define and reify stereotypes. As in cooking, certain ingredients, or in this case traits and associations, emphasized one flavor over another. At times the elements were difficult to define, but usually they stood out. It is important to recognize that these elements, like names, were sometimes assigned to more than one group.

African American Character Traits/Associations and Their Impact

The skits and songs generally presented African Americans in one of several ways. Occasionally, they portrayed them as an important feature of the white majority's nostalgic image of the romantic South. In these works, they danced, sang, and either they themselves were characterized as longing for days past or white folks directly packaged them in a description of a South that was no more. Certain words, such as the South or one or more names of southern states, were coupled with romantic connections, cotton, sugarcane, banjos, mammy, or Swanee, as in the Swanee River. The American Quartet with Billy Murray's 1919 Victor 18628 recording "Floatin' Down to Cotton Town" and Arthur Collins' 1912 "The Swanee River Bend" on Victor 17151 typify such recordings.

Excerpt from "Floatin' Down to Cotton Town"

Floatin' down, my honey, floatin' down, ...[not clear]
Floatin' on the river down to Cotton town.

Just hear that whistle (toot, toot) tootin' away,
And those darkies singin', banjos ringin' till the break of day.

Honey lamb, my little honey lamb, I'll come back to you and
Alabam';

Wild fields of sugar cane seem to welcome me again,

Excerpt from "The Swanee River Bend"

Floatin' down to Cotton town. 52

And it's the tune I know My old mammy used to croon. Those darkies go crazy when they start to dance That wonderful Swanee River tune. ⁵³

Well-known opera singers performed many of these works, including the 1915 "Old Black Joe" on Victor 74442 by Alma Gluck⁵⁴ and Geraldine Farrar's 1910 rendition of "My Old Kentucky Home" on Victor 88238.⁵⁵

Recording companies, however, were much more likely to describe African Americans negatively in what they referred to as "coon" songs and skits. The trend started with sheet music and carried over into sound recordings. According to Samuel A. Floyd:

With the onset of the "coon song" craze in the 1880s, Tin Pan Alley consolidated the production and marketing of sheet music, producing such titles as Ernest Hogan's "All Coons Look Alike to Me" (1896) and "Da Coon Dat Had de Razor" (1885). 56

In these recordings, African Americans commonly misused the English language, not so much by speaking with a black accent, but rather in their attempt to present themselves as

linguistically sophisticated. Periodically, they stuttered. The characters were likely to gamble, steal, fight, and drink. Every so often the composers presented them as dangerous, and several works mentioned razors. When the characters laughed, which they often did, the laughter was apt to be exaggerated, intimating a carefree, nonchalant person. This image was consistent with the stereotype of African Americans at that time. The recordings linked certain foods and animals, such as watermelons, possums, and chimpanzees with African Americans. Few works incorporate as many of these negative traits as the 1909 recording by Marie Dressler on Edison 2001 titled "Rastus Take Me Back," on which the singer becomes drunker as the song progresses.

Excerpt from "Rastus Take Me Back"

There's no use to talking, Rastus.
I certainly have been bad,
And I know that you wouldn't of thrown me out
If I hadn't of made you mad.
But you ... [not clear]
There ain't no wench
That has some ruling sin.
And mine,
Well, yes I confess
It's love for too much gin.
I'm sorry that
I scratched your face.⁵⁷

Nonetheless, not all "coon" songs utilized negative humor. In truth, care should be given when designating a "coon" song a "coon" song even though casual portrayal might propose otherwise. Dialect and presentation may suggest a black character, but the depiction does not always build on superficial stereotypes. Rather, in some works the listener can empathize with the character, appreciate why he/she is motivated to say something or act in a certain way. Bert Williams, an African American, managed to both humanize and develop comprehensible and likeable characters while maintaining an image the general society both accepted and wanted.

Bert Williams, who was born Egbert Austin Williams in the Bahamas in 1874, came to the United States around 1884.⁵⁸ In 1905 he composed the music and Alex Rogers wrote the words to what became his signature piece, "Nobody." In "Nobody" Williams plaintively explains how he encounters difficulty after difficulty, but nobody comes to his aid. His 1913 Columbia A-1289 variation begins with the following.

When life seems full of clouds and rain, And I am full of nothin' and pain, Who soothes my thumpin', bumpin' brain? [pause] Nobody. When winter comes with snow and sleet, And me with hunger and cold feet, Who says, "Here's twenty-five cents, go ahead and get something to eat?"

[pause] Nobody!⁶⁰

In the chorus he responds to his loneliness and inability to get help. Although he never states it outright, he could have easily been admonishing America.

I ain't never done nothin' to nobody.
I ain't never got nothin' to nobody, no time.
And until I get somethin' from somebody, sometime.
I'll never do nothin' for nobody, no time.

Bert Williams recorded other works that spoke to exploitation and abandonment. For example, in 1920 he recorded "I'm Gonna Quit Saturday" for Columbia, catalogue A-3356.⁶² In this song a black laborer describes how he came up from the South to New York to find work. He gets a job unloading circus freight from railroad cars. Proclaiming that "Well, de money is good, but don't seem to be enough of it," he decides that he will quit on Saturday since the circus will arrive on Sunday and they will need all the help they can get. The safety issue also concerns him. The circus will be arriving with live animals. As Williams says, "Because I know dat lions really love dark meat."

Both he and the listener recognize the justifiable predicament in which the circus will be left. Once again, the language and presentation proclaim "coon," but the story describes an understandable event. These elements make the piece both funny and acceptable to the general public. Listen closely, however. The story also comments on the African-American work experience of Williams' time.

Irish Character Traits/Associations and Their Impact

As with African Americans, the recording companies depicted the Irish in two different ways. From a more positive perspective, some compositions expressed a longing for the old country and the people – often a mother or a girlfriend – left behind. They incorporated words such as "green" and "colleen," along with Irish place names, among them Killarney and the Shannon River.

Given that the Irish spoke English, many of the Irish recordings either directly or metaphorically spoke to the average American. In addition, since the Irish not only constituted a significant portion of the northeastern urban population, but also in many instances held political power, ascertaining for whom the records were recorded became problematic. Consequently, recording companies may have found it difficult to determine the catalogue listing for Irish recordings.

Depending upon the performer and the type of performance, recording companies could list the style of the same composition as operatic, ethnic, or an everyday work that had been issued for the general population. For example, the recording companies listed "A Little Bit of Heaven" by Ernest R. Ball (music) and J. Keirn Brennan (lyrics) in three

different ways. Victor featured it under the one-sided red label series when John McCormack, the famous Irish tenor, performed the piece. Victor used the red label series for its most famous performers and most of the works came from operas or had an operatic quality to them. In this case, the catalogue number was 64543. Victor listed "A Little Bit of Heaven" as non-ethnic on a black label, catalogue number 17780, 4 when Charles Harrison performed it. Finally, Decca had it under its ethnic series, catalogue 12123 when William A. Kennedy sang it.

Excerpt from "A Little Bit of Heaven"

Have you ever heard the story of how Ireland got its name? I tell you so you'll understand from whence old Ireland came. No wonder that we're proud of that dear land across the sea. Oh, here's the way me dear old mother told the tale to me:

Sure, a little bit of heaven fell from out the sky one day, And nestled in the ocean in a spot so far away. And when the angels found it, sure it looked so sweet and fair, They said suppose we leave it, for it looks so peaceful there. So they sprinkled it with stardust, just to make the shamrocks grow.

Yet, just as with African Americans, consumers encountered many more recordings that exploited Irish "foibles." These foibles included words/concepts related to drinking, fighting, and asserting political and legal power inappropriately. Interestingly, unlike African Americans, the Irish were rarely portrayed as uncontrollably dangerous. The skits and songs may have portrayed them as getting into fights, either jailing somebody or going to jail themselves, but they never carried razors. Analogous in some respects to "Rastus Take Me Back," Steve Porter's 1915 "Mrs. Dugan's Discovery" on Columbia A-1940 relates what happens when a Mrs. Dugan discovers a dozen champagne bottles in her cellar.

Excerpt from "Mrs. Dugan's Discovery"

Oh, say listen. One day when I was rummaging in me cellar, I found one dozen champagne bottles going to waste. I took a look at them and I seen they was all in good condition, except that they was full of champagne water. Putting the twelve bottles to one side I went into the kitchen and got a corkscrew, the small end of which I stuck into the cork of one of the champagne bottles and give it a twist. Then be pulling upwards on the corkscrew at the same time holding the bottle tight between me knees, which I had covered with [sounds like "rosin"] to prevent the bottle from slipping. I drew out the cork, which I lay to one side and emptied the contents of the bottle down the drain,

except for a small tumbler full, which I drank. I then removed the cork from another bottle and emptied the contents down the drain, except for a small tumbler full, which I also drank. . . .

As the skit progresses, Dugan becomes progressively more inebriated. She comments about the trouble she is having holding the house down. With much difficulty, she cleans the bottles and then cuts the bottom and neck off of each bottle creating what she describes as "elegant lamp chimneys."⁶⁷

German, Native American, and Rube Character Traits/Associations and Their Impact

The database lists very few recordings that connected Germans, Native Americans, and rubes nostalgically to another time and another land in the way one finds with African American and Irish recordings. The German 1911 "By the Dear Old Rhine" by Albert H. Campbell and Irving Gillette on Edison 872 provides an example.

Excerpt from "By the Dear Old Rhine"

First person: "Oh, the river Rhine sings by the Linden tree"

Second person: "Linden tree"
First person: "Its melody"
Second person: "Melody"
First person: "Is calling me"
Second person: "Calling me"

First person: "There's a sweetheart yearning for me day by day"

Second person: "Day by day"

First person: "So far away in dreams [not clear – maybe dreams]

we stray."68

The 1915 "Good-bye Red Man" by Sam Ash on Little Wonder 305 portrays Native Americans with an unusual amount of dignity not often heard on recordings.

Excerpt from "Good-bye Red Man"

Hushed are the tom-toms on the prairie wide.

None remain.

Gone are the wigwams from the mountainside,

And the plains.

The Cherokee and Sioux

Have disappeared from view.

Let's pay a tribute to

The last remaining few.

So goodbye Redman

Oh, Redman goodbye.

You're the last of a noble race. 69

For the most part, a non-negative recording of Native Americans would center on romance, idealizing the Native American in a romantic envelope while still including stereotypes to make a point. The circa 1904 "Hiawatha" by Dan W. Quinn on Universal Zonophone, catalogue number P-5575, epitomizes this kind of recording.

Excerpt from "Hiawatha"

Oh, the moon is all agleam on the stream
Where I dream here of you my pretty Indian maid.
While the rustling leaves are singing high above us overhead
In the glory of the bright summer night
In light of the shadows of the forest glade
I am waiting here to kiss your lips so red.

. . .

I am your own your Hiawatha brave My heart is yours you know Dear one I love you so Oh Minnehaha gentle maid decide Decide and you'll be, My Indian bride.⁷⁰

The 1914 "I Want to Go Back to Michigan" by Billy Murray on Edison cylinder 2507 and the 1918 "Farmyard Medley" by Premier Quartet on Edison cylinder 3488 speak to a vanishing rural way of life.

Excerpt from "I Want to Go Back to Michigan"

I was born in Michigan
And I wish and wish again
That I was back in the town where I was born
There's a farm in Michigan
And I'd like to fish again
In the river that flows beside the fields of waving corn
A lonesome soul am I
Here's the reason why:

. . .

You can have your cabarets
Where they turn nights into days
I'd rather be where they go to bed at nine
I have been here seven weeks
And I've lost my rosy cheeks
That's the reason I'd rather have the country life for mine

My thoughts are far away That's just why I say:⁷¹

Excerpt from "Farmyard Medley"

When as a boy I used to dwell In the home I loved so well Far away among the clover Among the clover and the fields Every old familiar place Every kind and loving face In my boyhood happy home Down on the farm.⁷²

Notwithstanding, the vast majority of recordings that utilized Germans, Native Americans, and rubes as a base for the recording played humorously on all the stereotypes associated with those groups. For example, in the 1912 "Drinking Scene: Mike and Meyer" on Columbia A-1159 by Weber and Fields, ⁷³ the skit mixes together German stereotypes about beer drinking, manipulative behavior, German lack of common sense and the misuse of English. In this skit, the character Meyer, who only had enough money for one beer, cajoles Mike into saying that he does not care for a beer when and if the bartender asks him. However, everything backfires when the bartender does ask him.

Excerpt from "Drinking Scene: Mike and Meyer"

Meyer: "Mike, please, I beg of you, do me a favor, use your brain. Remember, you don't drink, and you don't smoke and you don't eat! Now we go in."

[Noise]

Meyer: "What did you say?"

Mike: "I said what you said I should said."

Meyer: "What did you say? What did you say?"

Mike: "Ooh, I don't care if I do."

Meyer: "Aw . . . and the bartender gave you the glass of beer, and I had to say, Ooh, I don't care for it. And I got a thoist that would sink a ship!" ⁷⁴

Akin to "The Drinking Scene," Billy Murray's 1908 "Big Chief Smoke" on Edison 9862 incorporates Native American stereotypes.

Excerpt from "Big Chief Smoke"

Big Chief Smoke
Was an Indian joke,
Who live in Alburquerk.
Had heap big squaw
Named Eagle Claw.
She did all the work.
In wigwam he lay around all day
And smoke and smoke and smoke.
And while he grunt and puff away,
She'd choke and choke and choke.

In the 1912 Edison catalogue number 1523 recording "Hi and Si of Jaytown" by Steve Porter and Byron Harlan, Hi and Si discuss, along with other things, Hi's trip to New York. Their conversation centers on all the hackneyed expectations that urban people had of rural people.

Excerpt from "Hi and Si of Jaytown"

Lem: "Well what I want to find out is who keeps the hotel in New York now?" [laughter]

Hi: "Why you darn fool. There is seven or eight hotels in New York now."

Lem: "Do tell. Just wanted to know. Good day." 76

Italian and Jewish Character Traits/Associations and Their Impact

With the exception of the 1925 "My Yiddishe Momme" by Billy West on Harmony 65-H, ⁷⁷ the database does not contain any recordings that describe nostalgically and in a non-comical way another time or place for Jews or Italians. Billy Murray's 1906 Edison 9430 "My Mariuccia (Take a Steamboat)," along with ca. 1907 "Becky and Izzy (A Yiddish Courtship)" on Columbia 3664 by Ada Jones and Len Spencer generally exemplify what has been found.

Excerpt from "My Mariuccia (Take a Steamboat)"

I can't tell you how I feel-a since-a she's gone away,
I look-a just like-a de banana peel-a since-a that awful-a day.
I go-a and sella de fruit stand and I give-a him up-a de house,
No more I'm goin' to sell-a de nice-a banan.
I walk-a de street-a night and day, ev'rybody look in-a my face
and say,
Mariuccia's gone and leave him all alone.⁷⁸

Excerpt from "Becky and Izzy (A Yiddish Courtship)"

Becky: "Oh, I wonder where Izzy is. Izzy is so busy." [Knock on door] "Who's there?"

Izzy: "Izzy, doll [?]. Open the door."

Becky: "Izzy."

Izzy: "Becky." [One hears kissing.]

Becky: "So why do you kiss me do you hold your head sideways, ha?"

Izzy: "Because our noses are [music signifies answer is about to come] always in the way. It is about the only way we can kiss, ain't it?"⁷⁹

Boundary Maintenance from the Majority Perspective: Ethnic Juxtaposition

Periodically, recordings juxtaposed the stereotypical behaviors of one or more ethnic or racial groups against another. The recording authors did not mix peoples casually. Rather, they based their determinations on popular conceptions of ethnicity and race, juxtapositions that often played on anticipated results of mixing certain peoples. The database suggests that the majority of the combinations had a recognizable historical grounding: rubes with urban folk and African Americans with whites. Without a historical understanding, the other combinations become more problematic to discern. As the number of ethnic/racial/rube combinations increases in a skit or song, an accurate analysis becomes increasingly difficult.

History, literature, and the database show that many groups had, to say the least, strong exchanges with the Irish. Consistent with the chronology of immigration to the United States, the database indicates that recordings in the early years tend to play on the Irish-German interaction. Later on, the pairing of Irish and Germans diminishes as Irish-Jewish mixtures increase. For example, as of November 16, 2012, of the 105 recordings that juxtapose Irish with Germans (and perhaps others), approximately 48 were made prior to 1910. About 27 were put out between 1911 and 1920. The database then notes 10 for the years between 1921 and 1928. The following chart reviews the relationship structurally. It should be noted that not all the 105 recordings had dates.

Irish and German Juxtapositions

1910 or before	48
1911-1920	27
1921-1928, 1943	11

If one compares these figures with Irish-Jewish juxtapositions, it becomes immediately apparent that as the years passed, recording companies focused more on Irish-Jewish relationships than on Irish-German ones. At present, the database lists 89 recordings and, as with the Irish-German records, it was not possible to find dates for all of them.

Irish and Jewish Juxtapositions

1910 or before	14
1911-1920	30

1921-1929 33 (Three of the recordings have no specific date but were

made during those years.)

In smaller numbers, recordings exist that reflect Irish-African American and Irish-Italian exchanges. These numbers do not appear to reflect as clearly the ethnic dynamics of the times. Additional data certainly would help clarify any trends that may have existed. Historical events not yet appreciated could probably also help.

Irish and African-American Juxtapositions

1910 or before	16
1911-1920	23

1921-1932 11 (One record was made sometime between 1922 and

1932. The next oldest was recorded in 1930.)

Irish and Italian Juxtapositions

1910 or before	15
1911- 1920	9
1921-1928	12

Although it was less common, composers matched the Irish with other groups. In the 1914 Edison 2694 recording "She Lives Down in Our Alley," Irving Kaufman juxtaposed the Irish with the French.⁸⁰ In that case the French represented cultural sophistication.

The following historical review will help explain the figures just mentioned and the actual recording samples that will be cited in "Examples of Ethnic Juxtaposition in Skits and Songs." Some Irish lived in America prior to the Revolution. During the 1840s, great numbers of Irish fled famine, and many of them came to this country. By 1900, or around the time the phonograph began to make inroads into America's leisure life, the Irish constituted about 22% of the recently consolidated New York City, or about 656,184 people. Not only did they control the political structure of New York City, but they also made up a significant portion of the police force and fire department. Even as their numbers decreased in the early 1900s, the Irish maintained their political power and their domination in the police and fire departments through institutions such as Tammany Hall. The database lists works, including the circa 1905 "Tammany" by Billy Murray on

Columbia cylinder 32775 that speak to Tammany's power. Tammany is described as "a band of Indians that will never die" and their main concern is wampum.

Excerpt from "Tammany"

Hiawatha was an Indian, So was Navaho. Pale face organ grinders Killed them many moons ago. But there is a band of Indians That will never die. When there at the Indian club This is the battle cry.

Tammany, Tammany. Big chief sits in his teepee Cheering braves to victory.⁸³

Germans began immigrating in large numbers in the mid-19th century, and as of 1880 they made up about a third of the city's population. Around 1900 they reached a peak of 748,882, and that does not take into consideration the Austrian population of 133,689, many of whom were of German ethnicity. At that time, there were 3,437,202 people living in the consolidated city. The very size of the German population and the political strength held by the Irish generated the likelihood of ethnic clash, although historical accounts do not seem to imply German-Irish friction was as harsh as that which the Irish had with Jews, Italians, and African Americans.

As the German population diminished, the Jewish and Italian populations increased. By 1915 the Jewish population reached close to 1,400,000 people, or nearly 28% of the total population. The history of the period and the recordings suggest that friction greatly characterized Jewish-Irish interactions. A number of factors played a role. Religious differences, perceptions of Jewish radicalism, and economic power exacerbated the Irish-Jewish relationship. More importantly, the massive influx of immigrant Jews displaced the Irish working and residing on the Lower East Side. As Moses Rischin states in *The Promised City: New York's Jews: 1870-1914*, this displacement contributed to the 1902 attack on Rabbi Jacob Joseph's funeral. 88

In 1886 or 1887^{89,90} a group of eighteen Orthodox congregations⁹¹ decided they wanted to establish one organization that would deal with Jewish rituals and belief. They invited Rabbi Jacob Joseph from Vilna to head the Association of American Orthodox Rabbis, the name of the new organization. He arrived in 1888.⁹² Their attempt at making him chief rabbi proved futile. Rabbi Joseph died on July 30, 1902.⁹³ As his funeral procession passed along Grand Street, the predominantly Irish workers in the R. H. Hoe and Company factory, an establishment that took up almost an entire city block, started bombarding the mourners with wood, bricks, and bottles, among other things.⁹⁴ Infuriated, a number of Jews poured into the factory seeking revenge. A police contingent

arrived led by Inspector Kevin Cross who ordered his men to "club their brains out." By the time the procession started moving again, some three hundred Jews needed medical attention.

Approximately 5,000,000 Italians came through Ellis Island, making them the largest group to come through the immigration port. Many of them settled in the city, and by 1910 the Italian immigrant population numbered some 545,000. Problems developed between Irish and Italians, as the difficulties in the Church of the Transfiguration testify.

In 1801⁹⁸ a group of Protestants erected a church on Mott Street. This was located in the vicinity of Five Points, a neighborhood that became so notorious even Charles Dickens wrote about it on a visit to America.⁹⁹ By 1853, the congregation finally felt that they could no longer remain in the edifice, so they sold the building to the Roman Catholic Diocese, and the structure began serving the Irish Catholics in the neighborhood. ¹⁰⁰

Tyler Anbinder writes in *Five Points*, "During the last fifteen or so years of the nineteenth century, religious antagonism between Italian- and Irish-Americans in Five Points became even more intense than workplace hostilities." Italians began replacing the Irish in the neighborhood. One might think that a population replacement would not threaten the Church, but church officials did not welcome these newcomers. In a correspondence between American religious officials and Rome, the following was expressed: "Nowhere among other Catholic groups in our midst . . . is there such crass and listless ignorance of the faith as among the Italian immigrants." By the 1880s more than two thousand Italians celebrated their mass in the basement of the building. The Irish would not allow them in the main sanctuary.

Anbinder makes clear that the banishment was not restricted to the Church of the Transfiguration. "Soon, the treatment of Italian Americans by the predominantly Irish-American Catholic hierarchy became a matter of international debate, referred to as 'the Italian Problem,' and discussed in the highest Catholic councils both in the United States and Rome." ¹⁰³ It wasn't until 1902 that the Italians were allowed to pray in the main sanctuary.

Recordings also paired the Irish with African Americans. Tensions with African Americans went back to at least before the Civil War. Many Irish did not support abolition. As Anbinder makes clear, "One factor that the antebellum Irish never mentioned when explaining their opposition to abolitionism was economic competition from African Americans. It is a staple of writing on the Irish that their opposition to the anti-slavery movement was based on a fear that freed slaves would take their jobs or drive down their already low wages." This fear greatly contributed to the draft riots of 1863 where "predominantly Irish-American mobs lynched a dozen or more African Americans and terrorized thousands." Hostilities continued between the two groups and resulted in many conflicts, including the "cataclysmic riots of 1901, when battles raged through the blocks between Twenty-fifth and Thirty-seventh Streets west of Eighth Avenue." 107

Examples of Ethnic Juxtaposition in Skits and Songs

Recordings pitted the rube against the urban person, and as previously stated, Cal Stewart made more rube recordings than any other rube performer. In the 1915 recording titled "The Village Gossips" on Edison 50249, Uncle Josh explains what happens when he tries to mail a letter in New York.

Excerpt from "The Village Gossips"

I'd seen a box all painted red And I dropped my letters in. Fire engines came from all around, And the bells commence to ring.

And gee, whiz, what they did to me. Squirted water all over me. I grabbed the fella and said to him, 'Pull me out, for I can't swim.' Crowd all shouted, 'Let him drown.' Darn old rube from a high grass town.¹⁰⁸

Although the vast majority of the rube sketches depict the country person as naïve in the urban rural exchange, portrayals do exist that imply otherwise. In Cal Stewart's 1908 "Uncle Josh in a Department Store" on Victor 16520, Uncle Josh tries to ask a department store employee to help him.

Excerpt from "Uncle Josh in a Department Store"

I got on the inside and went up to a baldhead feller. I said, "Mister, I'm sorta strange around here. I wish you'd show me around till I do a little bargaining."

And he said, "Are go on. You got hayseed in your hair." Well, I looked up at the bald head of his and I said, "Well now, you ain't got any hayseed in your hair, have you?" 109

Duck July Weathershy's

"Uncle Josh and the Fire Department"
The "Village Gossips" includes the section about mailing a letter in a firebox found in "Uncle Josh and the Fire Department," *Uncle Josh's Punkin Center Stories: The Talking Machine Stories*Courtesy of the author

A stronger example of a rube in control occurs in the "Arkansas Traveler." Unlike most of the other rube skits, this one takes place in the South. Published first as music in 1847 and with words in 1862, 110 the work portrays the encounter of a rube with a traveler who needs assistance. As Anthony Harkins states, "Like hillbilly characters to come, the squatter simultaneously 'plays the fool' and takes advantage of the traveler, his social and

economic 'better'." In the 1902 Edison 8202 Len Spencer variation, the following transpires.

Excerpt from the beginning "Arkansas Traveler" [Fiddle plays.]

Non-rube: "Well, how do you do boss ["boss" is not clear, perhaps it is some other word], what your name be?"

Rube: "Say, what makes you think I was boss ["boss" is not clear, perhaps it is some other word] here?"

Non-rube: "Well, I just guessed it."

Rube: "Well, just guess what my name is." [laughs]

[Fiddle repeats what it first played.]

Non-rube: "Well, eh, how far is it to the next crossroads?"

Rube: "Well, you just follow your nose and you'll come to it." [laughs]

[Fiddle repeats what it first played.]

Non-rube: "Say, but where does this road go to?"

Rube: "Why it don't go anywhere. It stays right where t'is."

[Fiddle repeats what it first played.]

The theme continues until the non-rube asks the rube to play the rest of the tune he had been repeatedly playing. The rube responds

Rube: "Now look here. I just reckon there ain't no man living smart enough to do that."

Non-rube: "Oh, yes there is. I think I can, if you let me. Ah, thank you."

The non-rube finishes the rest of the tune. The rube is so impressed that he invites the man into his house. 112

Caucasians generally functioned as a backdrop for African American's faults in skits and songs that set African Americans against Caucasians (the non-ethnic white portion of the population). At times that perspective of the

skit or song was altered, even though the basic assumptions remained the same. Occasionally, a greater level of understanding resulted from this kind of modification. In Arthur Collins' 1901 Edison (most likely 7779) cylinder "I've Got a White Man Working for Me," Jim Jackson, an African American, employed a poor white man to shovel coal. Jim was getting a dollar and a half and offered the job to the white man for two dollars just to have him work for him. Whether Collins intended to introduce empathy to the composition or not, insightfulness emerges that one does not normally see in recordings about African Americans from this period.

Excerpt from "I've Got a White Man Working for Me Now"

Well, I've got a white man working for me. I'm going keep him busy you see.
Don't care what it costs.
I'll take ... [not clear] all the loss.
It's worth ... [not clear] the money
For to be a boss.
... [not clear] the South.

In works that pair Irish and Germans the Irish usually played the role found in the 1908 "You Will Have to Sing an Irish Song" by Ada Jones on Edison 9966. The song starts off with a woman explaining that since she has left Ireland, presumably for America, a German serenades her every night from under her window. As the following lines indicate, she does not appreciate his advances.

Excerpt from "You Will Have to Sing an Irish Song"

For you will have to sing an Irish song
If you want to marry me.
Faith, I think the "Wearing of the Green"
Is the sweetest melody.
Now "Wacht am Rhine"
It may sound fine,
But goodness only knows.
Sure you wouldn't live long
If you would sing that song
Where the little shamrock grows.

114

The database contains numerous examples that play on Irish-Jewish contact, often humorously incorporating an element of friction. Some of these works depict the events from the standpoint of the Irish and others from a Jewish perspective. One also happens upon recordings that combine a mixture of perspectives.

It is Christmas morning in Steve Porter's 1908 Victor 16936 skit "Christmas Morning at Clancey's." The family has gathered around the tree and Pat Clancey gives a variety of musical instruments to his children as presents.

Excerpt from "Christmas Morning at Clancey's"

Pat: "Here Tommy, here's something for you. And here's yours, Patsy, and here's a lot for you, Danny, and there's yours over there, Mickey. Now all take your presents and enjoy yourselves."

The children begin to play the various instruments until Mary Ann, their mother interjects.

Mary Ann: "What's that thing Danny's playing on?"

Pat: "It's the Jew's harp."

Mary Ann: "A Jew's harp, take it away from him." 115

Ethnic tensions increase in the circa 1929 Victor 22352 Victor recording "Dougherty Is the Name" performed by Gus Van and Joe Schenck. The recording begins with two men meeting. Pat Dougherty explains that his son has married a Jewish woman and they just had a child.

Excerpt from "Dougherty Is the Name"

Pat: "You should have been at the Irish christening I held down at me flat."

Neighbor: "Did you invite Father Kelly, The McCarthys and O'Briens?"

Pat: "And faith have mercy on me soul, In came the Finkelsteins. And with them was a Hebrew gentleman To me unknown, And Finkelstein said Patrick, Shake hands with Rabbi Cohen."

. . .

Neighbor: "Who does the boy look like?"

Pat: "Well, it's the image of me Jim."

Neighbor: "I suppose you are going to call it Abe or Sam."

Pat: "It is going to be Jim, And there isn't anything That a rabbi can do for him." 116

And just as the background as demonstrated in the above could have been Irish, the setting could also have been Jewish. Monroe Silver begins his 1919 Emerson 10176 "Cohen on His Honeymoon" with the following:

Excerpt from "Cohen on His Honeymoon"

We all got our insurance papers. Then we all went to the fire to see who the lucky one was. One of the firemen pushed Levi away. Levi said, don't get so fresh. If it wasn't for us you wouldn't be working. I said Levi do you know your insurance runs out on the fifteenth? He said don't be afraid, the fire engines will run out on the fourteenth. Someone asked Levi if he had change of fifty cents. And he gave the fella six nickels and a quarter. I said, Levi you gave him too much change. He said I know it, wait till he tries to change that quarter. The fireman pushed him again. And Levi said show me an Irishman I'll show you a fool. The fireman said I'm an Irishman and Levi said, well I'm a fool. 117

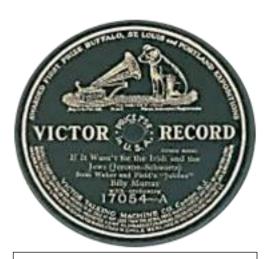
Every so often a song or a skit, such as the 1912 Victor 17054 "If It Wasn't for the Irish and the Jews," actually portrays Irish-Jewish collaboration. Instead of the usual friction, the words reveal a more workable relationship. The last two stanzas summarize the relationship. William Jerome wrote the words, and Jean Schwartz, who was Jewish, composed the music. Interestingly, the Irishman William Jerome changed his name from Flannery to Jerome when he realized that the songwriting business was becoming more Jewish. ¹¹⁸

Excerpt from "If It Wasn't for the Irish and the Jews"

What would we do for amusement, there would be no place to go If it wasn't for the Shuberts, Frank McKee and Marcus Loew K and E and Billy Brady, Hammerstein I must include I once heard Dave Belasco say you couldn't stage a play today If it wasn't for the Irish and the Jews.

Talk about a combination, heed my words and make a note On St. Patrick's Day Rosinsky pins a shamrock on his coat There's a sympathetic feeling between the Blooms and McAdoos Why Tammany would surely fall It really be no hall at all

If it wasn't for the Irish and the Jews."119



"If It Wasn't for the Irish and the Jews," 1912 Courtesy of the author

Although fewer works juxtapose the Irish and Italians, cases do exist. Ada Jones and Len Spencer perform one of the more notable examples, the 1907 Victor catalogue number 5112 "Pedro, the Hand Organ Man." In this skit Pedro, the Italian hand organ man, requests a nickel from Bridget McFadden for playing Irish music. When she refuses to pay him, he plays what is almost certainly "English" music. She then hits him and has him arrested. ¹²⁰

The examples named above represent some of the most blatant combinations, the ones that turn up continually and generated dissonance and thus humor. However, one can uncover all kinds of ethnic and racial groupings and in some cases numerous groupings. Each blend oriented the work in a specific direction. The greater the number of ethnic and racial groups, the

more likely the work did not stress the specific character of any one group; rather it packaged all ethnic groups as an alien whole.

Only a handful of recordings cite more than four ethnic/racial groups. The Ellis Island Discography database suggests that the 1920 recording "The Argentines, The Portuguese and the Greeks" performed by Nora Bayes on Columbia, catalogue number A2930, contains the greatest number of groups. It mentions Argentines, Portuguese, Greeks, Jews, Dutch, Armenians, English, French, Swedes, and Irish.

Excerpt from "The Argentines, The Portuguese and the Greeks"

There's the Argentines, and the Portuguese, and the Armenians and the Greeks.

One sells you papers, one shines your shoes, Another shaves the whiskers off your cheeks.

When you ride again in a subway train, Notice who has all the seats

And you'll find they are taken by the Argentine, And the Portuguese, and the Greeks.

In this recording Bayes sings in English without an accent, and in so doing she treats all the ethnic groups as one entity, alien.

For a much broader breakdown, consider the charts in Appendix IV as weights, one relative to the other, and not absolutes. Based upon an examination of some 1,591 recordings, the first chart focuses on one side of a record made before 1930 that only utilizes a particular group as a foil for the work. In descending order, this chart lists the

number of times the groups appear alone: African American (498 entries), the Irish (155), rube (59), Jew (52), German (49), and Italian (32). The table also has the number of times a group is employed with or without others, and lastly, the percentage of times a specific ethnic/racial/rube unit shows up by itself.

The second chart, which is also based on 1,591 recordings, examines the pairing of two groups in a recording. African American coupled with the non-ethnic/racial/rube white American comes in first (47 entries). This pairing is followed by the dichotomy rube versus non-ethnic/racial white American (46), Jew and non-ethnic/racial/rube white American (18), Irish and Jew (27), Irish and non-ethnic/racial/rube white American (18), Irish and German (15), German and non-ethnic/racial/rube white American (15).

Given the fact that only 1,591 recordings were examined, the third chart only begins to cover the packaging of three types. African American, non-ethnic/racial/rube white American, and rube mixtures have the highest number (9 entries); non-ethnic/racial/rube white American, Irish, and Jewish groupings have the same number (9); then African American, non-ethnic/racial/rube white American, and Irish (5); African American, non-ethnic/racial/rube white American, and German (5); German, Irish, and Italian (3); and at this point we have only come across one entry for non-ethnic/racial/rube white American, Irish, and Italian.

These figures **superficially** summarize the combinations that one sees in the database as of April 2014. The reader should keep in mind a number of factors when reviewing the numbers. The database contains inaccuracies and is constantly being revised and updated. Another consideration is that information has been added when available. An additional factor is that many of the more popular works were recorded on more than one label and sometimes by more than one performer. For instance, various companies issued and reissued Cal Stewart's "Uncle Josh at the Chinese Laundry" at least seven times. ¹²² Consequently, the data indicates that the work carries a great deal of weight but perhaps should not be considered as a separate entity. More discussion is still in order.

Not only did skits and songs combine ethnic and racial characters, but the records themselves sometimes called attention to a specific group of people on one side of the record and another group on the other side. For example, on its 16804 record Victor paired the Cal Stewart rube recording "Uncle Josh's Trip to Coney Island," with the "darky specialty" "Roll on de Ground." The same happens on Victor 18231 with the "darky story" "Mrs. Rastus Johnson at the Telephone" and "Goldstein Behind Bars." Another Victor recording, Victor 16015, matches "Flanagan on a Broadway Car," which is described as an "Irish specialty with orchestra," with the "darky song with orchestra" "I think I See My Brother Coming Now." Harmony Disc A383 combines the Irish recording skit "Flanagan's Night Off" and the German-based "Under the Anheiser Bush." Columbia mixes on its record A-1918 the Irish "With Her Do-Re-Mi-Fa-Sol-La-Si- and Do" and the German "Schmaltz's German Band." Finally, one periodically comes across several different ethnic or racial groups on one side of a recording that are combined with one or more groups on the other side. Banner 1315 juxtaposes the primarily Irish, but with Mexican and Italian elements, "Mickey Donohue" with the Jewish "Whose Izzy Is

He (Is He Yours or Is He Mine)." On the one hand, these ethnic, racial, and rube combinations strongly demonstrate that the mainstream audience of that time viewed the various groups analogously – as something alien. ¹²³ Nevertheless, the database indicates that they did tend to package specific peoples together. To reemphasize, much more work needs to be done, but certain patterns do prevail.

Based upon the 1,591 records that were examined in April 2014, Appendix V hints at the types of pairings one sees on a two-sided record. The most likely combinations coupled the same group: African American with African American, Irish with Irish, and Jew with Jew. Thereafter, with the exception of African American and non-ethnic/racial/rube white American, the patterns became murkier.

Often the match-ups of groups were the same on both sides of a record: a non-ethnic/racial/rube white American and rube coupled with a non-ethnic/racial/rube white American and rube. However, the combinations could be much subtler. For example, the 1903 Columbia A-391 "Two Rubes in an Eating House" by Harlan and Stanley contains rube, non-ethnic/racial/rube white American, and African American characters on one side. The other side, Cal Stewart's "Uncle Josh Invites City Folks to Visit on His Farm," just plays on the rube and everyday non-ethnic/racial/rube white American natures. 125

In view of the still limited number of complete entries in the database, a definitive analysis of pairing mixtures, mixtures such as having one group on one side matched with two groups on the other side, will have to wait.

Another strong trend that has only recently been appreciated suggests that the companies bundled certain kinds of recordings with similar kinds of recordings. For example, comedy skits and songs tended to be combined with comedy skits and songs, nostalgia with nostalgia, and romance with romance.

What generated this kind of packaging? Did the companies have individual people or departments that created these units? Were the people involved aware that certain ethnic/racial/etc. aggregates worked whereas others did not? Was it all intuitive, or did they have stereotypical lists that suggested one juxtaposition would work and another would not?

In the quest to find out more, the author contacted people familiar with the phonograph industry, including Jerry Fabris, curator at the Edison Laboratory. Although Fabris had never seen anything concrete at Edison that discussed the nature of pairing sides, he thought that the process was not a rigid one. He recommended e-mailing Sam Brylawski, the editor of the "Encyclopedic Discography of Victor Recordings" at the University of California Santa Barbara and coauthor of the study *The State of Recorded Sound Preservation in the United States: A National Legacy at Risk in the Digital Age.* ¹²⁶ On April 6, 2012 the author e-mailed him.

Mr. Brylawski explained that he had spent a great deal of time in the archives of Sony Music Entertainment, the present owners of Victor and Columbia and that he did not encounter any internal documents about decision-making connected to the releases. He thought that Victor probably did not have a formula, although he unfortunately had nothing concrete on which to base this conjecture. He concluded his letter with the thought that Sony Music Archives Library be contacted. However, Sony was not able to offer anything substantive. 127

From these gentlemen the author turned to Association for Recorded Sound Collections at ARSCLIST@LISTSERV.LOC.GOV to see if anybody there might be able to help. 128 Responses came, but nobody seemed able to address the cultural components of the pairing.

The subject continued to interest Sam Brylawski, and he contacted Niel Shell, the grandson of Victor director Nat Shilkret. According to an e-mail sent by Niel Shell to Sam Brylawski¹²⁹ and then to the author, Eddie King and his grandfather greatly determined what Victor issued on the recordings from 1912 to 1933. In the e-mail, Shell succinctly summarized the passages that dealt with the subject from his book, *Nathaniel Shilkret: Sixty Years in the Music Business*. (He and Barbara Shilkret created the book from Nat Shilkret's autobiographical manuscript.) His summary more than adequately addressed the issue. However, it lacked the historical immediacy one felt when reading Nat Shilkret's actual account.

It seems that Okeh had issued the "Wreck of the Old '97" in 1923, and it had become a tremendous hit. 130 Victor dealers wanted the same or something equivalent to compete with the recording.

Since the Okeh record had been issued about eight months before, I was worried about our chance to come out well enough to compete. I picked a singer, Vernon Dalhart, a Southerner, and asked him to learn the requested number. However, I did not want to depend entirely on the eightmonth-old hit. I asked all of the Broadway publishers to find a suitable potential hit for the B side of the record. I received about thirty songs, but they all had the Broadway flavor, and my experience with the folk melodies of many nationalities convinced me that they would not do.

In the meantime pressure was growing from our dealers; our Camden sales force demanded a quick release; and Vernon Dalhart needed money and the [recording] date. I called Dalhart in and said, "You are from the South. Don't you know any good tune that would sell on its own merits? I really must find the proper tune."

Dalhart answered, "I have a cousin living with me now, and he is always humming a tune he calls the 'Prisoner's Song."

I said "Come tomorrow and sing it to me." He came the next day, and his first remark was, "The lyric is good but the melody is bad."

I said, "Sing it." After about four bars I said, "You are right; it is a very poor melody. Now, just recite the lyric – do not sing," and as he recited the lyric I composed the melody for the "Prisoner's Song," one of the greatest selling songs (records) ever issued.

Two days later the date for recording was set. I had asked Lou Raderman, my concertmaster, to try my melody on the viola one day before the recording. I wanted the viola, instead of the recording violin, to get a mournful sound. I felt that I had a hit.

Ronnie asked, "How can you tell or know a hit?"

I answered, "It is true, it is almost impossible to predict a hit, but there is a time when a 'natural' is heard, and one can be confident of the results almost immediately." ¹³¹

Obviously, Nat Shilkret and others understood the market, a market based upon the socio-cultural realities of the early 20th century. Although these people did not have a traditional background in anthropology, they most certainly comprehended how society constructed itself.

An Out That Beckoned: Technically Traits Could Be Erased

The vast majority of works generated composites of negative traits to build boundaries. In all sorts of subtle ways, traits were packaged, repackaged, and juxtaposed against various settings to establish that which Fredrik Barth defines as "a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others." There were boundary demarcation lines that might be crossed by individuals, but not by the whole group. Rarely, however, did a majority work state outright what kind of behavior they wanted from the minority group. Billy Murray's 1917 Victor 18184 "It's Not Your Nationality, It's Simply You" patriotically declares that one must be an American. It originated from the perspective of national loyalties, but underlining everything was the belief that people should act like Americans, whatever that was. However, as a multitude of recordings show, nothing one did would ever erase his or her origins.

Excerpt from "It's Not Your Nationality (It's Simply You)"

It's not your nationality.
It's what you do.
It's not your personality
That always pulls you through.
Bismarck made his mark in Germany we know.
And Georgie Cohan was a Yankee in the growing,
But he made a bunch of dough.

. . .

And although you may be Jewish Figure how it goes Only horses win ... [not clear] by a nose. It's not your nationality. It's simply you. 133

Recordings from the Minority Perspective: The Other Side of the Boundary

To reiterate, this chapter will not examine recordings by African Americans for African Americans or rural people for rural people. In the early years of sound recordings, the recording companies greatly determined what African Americans and, for the most part, rural people recorded. Consequently, that which the contemporary listener hears does not necessarily reflect the stances of these two peoples in the asymmetrical relationship that characterized this country.

Unlike the preceding two groups, ethnic people, the majority of them immigrants, did determine recording content. They made this determination through the marketplace. Immigrants and their children had very little disposable income during these years, especially for a non-necessity such as relatively expensive records. Accordingly, the recordings needed to speak sufficiently to the immigrants in order to induce them to buy.

The resulting product superficially contained many of the same features as the recordings by the majority. Both groups were apt to concentrate on similar issues and traits, although the stance of each was remarkably different. The majority imposed and the minority reacted. Humor functioned in much the same way. Description could be conveyed less offensively when dissonance could be presented comically. Language also played a significant role, especially in its relationship to English. Chapter III, "English Acquisition by Immigrants (1880-1940): The Confrontation as Reflected in Early Sound Recordings" discusses at length the function of language on immigrant sound recordings. Most amazingly, both groups assigned specific recording characters roles and names that summarized expectations, but the relationship the two groups had with the characters was entirely different. The mainstream society distanced and mocked the other. Immigrants realized that only time and knowledge of America differentiated them from the characters being portrayed. In the process, the majority/minority juxtaposition ostensibly created a boundary line, a point where the two groups spoke to each other, but in reality they only conversed within their own group in an affirmation of position.

The ethnic recordings that called attention to the immigrant experience tended to subdivide into one small category and three larger ones, although some works combined elements of more than one type. The smallest category consisted of recordings that praised America. Old country traditional compositions made up the first big category. Generally, these works were based on songs from the homeland or pieces that suggested that they came from there. Folk songs and religious recordings for the most part belong here. For example, Jewish cantorials and old-country Christmas songs fall into this grouping. These records largely reified the ethnic group and negated assimilation. The database does not address this material.

The next large category comprised recordings that described the difficulties the immigrants endured. The subjects authors emphasized included everything from crossing the ocean, immigrant expectations, greenhorn difficulties, poverty, and corruption to longing for one's native land and the decision to return home. Here the writers spent less time on the development of specific characters and more on the basic immigrant experience. Many, but not all, of these presentations utilized music as a substrate. Quite a few of them speak straightforwardly with little or no humor. The subject on which the record focused simply could not be hidden in the comic.

The final category also dealt with the immigrant experience, but authors crafted a very different stance. Whereas the category just mentioned tended to generalize sympathetically about immigrant hardships, these recordings concentrated on specific immigrants, usually fairly unsophisticated greenhorns, and the difficulties they encountered in America. A great number employed skits to make their point and reused identifiable characters.

Lastly, it is important to state that the recordings described in this discussion only hint at what one might find. Many more records need to be found, transcribed, and translated before definitive patterns can be documented. Another element to be considered is that the database contains more transcribed and translated Yiddish and Italian recordings than any other type of ethnic recording.

Recordings That Praised America

The database reveals that although the vast majority of recordings questioned and even attacked America, listeners could also hear some that praised America. The two-sided 1923 Maloof 225-A recording "America Ya Hilwa" interweaves on both sides of the record traditional music with the following two Arabic sentences that translate into "America the beautiful my heart loves you (from inside) deeply. My heart tells me you are the highest and you keep my heart warm inside." According to Mr. Habibi, an immigrant from Syria, the song was most likely a love song that had been altered to praise America. 134

Given the racism in America during the time recording artists created these compositions, a listener would not expect people with darker skin to praise America. That is exactly what happens in the 1930 Haitian "Les Émigrés" by Theophile Salnave on Victor 46678.

All the same, the last stanza does note that the society blocks the path to success of people with black skin.

Excerpt from "Les Émigrés"

Other children of Ethiopia
Who come to New York
Will have a hard time.
They may choose one way
But be forced into another.
Whether it is night or day
Their path will be blocked.
It is a pity
For the man with black skin."135

Although we still need a better translation, the Yiddish 1918 "Columbus Ich Hob Zu Dir Gornit" (Columbus I Have Nothing Against You) by Morris Goldstein on Columbia E-4280 gives the impression that it exalts this country.

Excerpt from "Columbus Ich Hob Zu Dir Gornit"

Kolumbus ikh hob tsu dir gor nit Tsu dir mayn Amerike **shor** nit S'iz mir voyl es is mir gut Yidn zingt she mit mir mit: Kolumbus ikh hob tsu dir gor nit Un tsu dir Amerike af shor nit

Translation

Columbus I have nothing against you To you my America surely not It is nice for me, it is good for me [???] Jews sing then [?] with me with: Columbus I have nothing against you And you America, definitely not. 136

Recordings That Describe the Difficulties of Entering America and Those That Question/Criticize This Country

Many more arrangements, however, concentrate on the misunderstandings the immigrants had or the resentment they felt. Some simply professed that this place called America was confusing. Others declared that America did not live up to its reputation, the lures and promises that the immigrants had heard in the old country. People in America only cared about money and power, the immigrant voices frequently asserted, and in the quest for money Americans would do anything. Most importantly, the immigrants did not

comprehend why the Americans disliked them. What had they done wrong? The following recordings focus on being in America. They, unlike the next category to be discussed, are less likely to play humorously on the foibles of a particular green immigrant character that repeatedly turns up on recordings.

The two-sided 1930 Slovak recording "Grinhorni" by Andrej Gellert on Columbia 67017-F addresses both coming over on the boat and first impressions. It begins with a group of Slovak men on a ship heading for America. Side two has them in Pittsburgh. Unfortunately, the recording has only been summarized and not translated. Nevertheless, the summary conveys some of the initial distress they felt and their expectations of finding "dollars on the ground":

This record is about a group of Slovak men aboard ship who are emigrating to America. One says, "Let's drink wine; when we do so we forget about being poor." They are looking forward to freedom in America and someone says, "Let's dance one more time" and they do so to a cardas (fast song). Then they see all of the people waiting for them on the dock and are surprised to see so many people there. One thought that it was a market place and was amazed to see so many tall buildings (skyscrapers). . . . The men then made their way to the train station where they were to board a train to Pittsburgh. Before leaving, they sang one more song about a Slovak who leaves his country and says goodbye to his mother and father.

The men, who are now in Pittsburgh, welcome many people and friends who are recent immigrants to the United States and are coming from New York by train. One of them recognizes his grandmother among the crowd, but scolds her for dressing up like a grand lady, instead of wearing the clothes she wore back in the old country. He then tells a story about a bishop who saw his mother dressed in high style and remarked that it couldn't be his mother because she used to wear a simple dress in the old country. When the mother heard this, she changed back into her native dress and the bishop started to hug his mother and celebrate with her. At the end of the story the bishop said that his mother still carried a handkerchief with Slovak soil in it. One of the men then said that they came to America to make lots of money. He said that here you can find dollars on the ground, have lots of friends, and find lots of work. Come on over to my place and let's have a Slovak dinner with "brynzove halusky" (cheese dumplings). A Slovak song then closes this record. 137

The database lists about a half dozen recordings that take place on Ellis Island. Regrettably, only two recordings have been located. The 1922 "Ellis Island" by Sam Silverbush on Okeh 14047 tells the story of a Jewish woman who is trying to enter America at the immigration port. She has just arrived from Europe and refuses to go back. The author thinks she states that she will throw herself into the water if she has to return. Promising that she will be a good person, she describes how she was here with her groom ten years earlier. She also explains that her child is sick.

The officer assures her that he tries to help all immigrants from the "pogrom lender" (the pogrom lands). As she is waiting she hears her husband. He cries out for her and she responds. She tells him that she has a child. Until she explains that the child resulted from being raped during a pogrom he is furious. He calms down and declares that he will be a loyal husband and father to the child.

A comic scene is inserted in the middle of the record. The woman informs the immigration officer that her name is Maria. An Italian character, speaking in broken English, explains that Maria is his wife's name. He then breaks into song until the officer tells him to shut up. 138

In 1928 Victor V-62001 "Ll'isola d' 'E Lacreme-Parte 2" an old Italian woman emigrates from Italy looking for her son. The Superintendent of Ellis Island and another person discuss her situation. The Superintendent wants to send her back if her son cannot be tracked down. Eventually, the other person informs the Superintendent that her son was "locked up."

Translated excerpt from "Ll'isola d' 'E Lacreme-Parte 2

Person: "I speak, as my conscious tells me. This land owes its wealth to the immigrants, the workers. Oh, Superintendent, I am here because I found the poor old woman's son, and he is here outside waiting for me."

Superintendent: "Oh, finally! Where was he hiding?"

Person: "He was locked up."

Superintendent: "Oh, I understand, some delinquent."

Person: "No, not a delinquent, but a hero. He fought for our Star-Spangled Banner and he became blind. You see not all the Italians are criminals."

The old woman and her son meet. He doesn't make eye contact with her and she realizes something is wrong. The record concludes with an intense exchange between mother and son and a statement to both her son and the Superintendent declaring that she will remain in America.

Mother: "No, I'll stay, I am allowed. And remember that the immigrants, sacrificing everything, come here with the hope that he will be treated like a human being, not like a piece of meat. Peter, my son." ¹³⁹

The greenhorn status continuously surfaces on these recordings. Some of them even include the term "greenhorn" in the title. On these generally non-repetitive character records, the work usually speaks to the difficulties in this country and does not overtly stress the ineptitude of any one character.

Joseph Feldman in his 1922 Victor 73223 "Die Griene Kosina" (The Greenhorn Cousin) expanded greatly on what could happen to a greenhorn. In this song, a beautiful Jewish cousin comes to America. She gets a "job" from the "nextdoorke," the person living next door. In short order, she is worn out and has lost her beauty. The last lines of the recording vary depending upon the performer. In some cases, she finishes the piece with a simple statement about having trouble in America. The database lists five separate recordings of "Die Griene Kosina, suggesting that the song obviously appealed to the Yiddish immigrant community. The following short excerpt conveys the bouncy rhythm of the recording.

Excerpt from "Die Griene Kosina"

Tsu mir iz gekumen a kuzine Sheyn vi gold iz zi geven, di grine, Bekelekh vi royte pomerantsn, Fiselekh vos betn zikh tsum tantsn.

. . .

Yetst, as ikh bagegn mayn kuzine Freg ikh: Vos makhstu epes, grine? Entfert zi mir mit a krumer mine: Ikh bin af tsores do in der medina!

Translation

Is to me came a cousin
Beautiful as gold was the greenhorn,
Her cheeks as red as pomegranates,
Little feet that begged to dance.

. . .

Now, when I meet my cousin Ask I how are you? She answers me with a crooked/wry look I have trouble in this land. 140

The skits and songs portrayed America as a confusing place. The 1927 Victor 14-80651-B "Dint 'o Subway" (In the Subway) by Gennaro Amato describes the experiences of an Italian man on the subway. The two people who tried to transcribed the text were only able to summarize what happened since they were not fluent in the Neapolitan dialect.

A guy talks about his experience on the subway. He is surprised that the train goes above and below ground. He is amazed how people are squeezed in "as in a pizza." Some people are stealing wallets and others are kissing.

At one point the lights go out. The narrator of the piece describes what happens when the lights go back on. The guy who was kissing his girlfriend is now kissing him and the girl who was kissing the guy is kissing another man. The narrator talks about how tight women's clothes are and summarizes the subway experience by questioning whether it is heaven or hell.¹⁴¹

Countless immigrants faced confusion, disillusionment, and disappointment. And even if an individual overcame the state of being green, America remained a rough place. Songs and skits contain the pain the immigrants experienced. Mark Slobin in *Tenement Songs: The Popular Music of the Jewish Immigrants* cites the Yiddish "Di New York Trern" or "New York Tears" as one of the more powerful compositions. Between 1910 and 1920 Victor, Columbia, and Edison issued at least four recordings of this work. ¹⁴²

The opening lines, which have been taken from Mark Slobin's translation of the sheet music, introduce the theme.

Excerpt from "Di New York Trern"

New York bubbles like a pot! There's constant tumult and hubbub. You see a lot of people rushing around and often you see people's tears. Misfortunes happen here at every step and yet this hell is called Freeland. They put a family out on the street because they can't pay the rent on time. It rains, it pours, the tears flow and the poor things sit depressed and forlorn.

Chorus: That's the New York tears which never can stop. A sob, a scream, a sigh and a woe. That's what you hear all the time. That's nothing new; wherever you go you see the New York tears. 143

The rest of the "Di New York Trern" details the hell that makes up the ghetto and includes such things as neighborhood violence.

A similar expression of distress can be heard on the circa 1930 Brunswick 58256 "A Vigilia 'E Natale" by Amato e G. Ventrella Compagnia.

The recording is supposed to be another "comic skit" about life in America. In reality it satirizes the impoverished lives the Italian immigrants lived. The skit starts with a young son asking his mother about the Christmas presents and meal they are going to have. His mother responds that soon his father will be home with the gifts and food. He tells his mother that the night before he dreamed that "Santa Clausa" (Santa Claus) brought him some exquisite gifts, which were not at all like the excuses for presents his father gives him each Christmas.

His father comes home empty-handed, but tells the family that they shouldn't fear. He expects a friend will lend him "vente pese" (twenty dollars). "Pese" is a made-up word for dollar. In Italy dollar was *dollare*. "Pese" dates back to the Spanish occupation of southern Italy (Puies) or in Spanish "Peseta."

As the skit progresses, the son laments about another bland Christmas. The father tells him, "shut upa." The skit concludes with their furniture about to be repossessed and the friend deciding not to lend the twenty dollars. ¹⁴⁴

The onslaught of the Depression exacerbated the difficulties that the immigrants were experiencing. The 1931 Victor 25-9018 Polish recording "Popsulo Sie w Ameryce" (Times Have changed in America) speaks to the difficulties.

Excerpt from "Popsulo Sie w Ameryce"

Popsulo sie w Ameryce Duzo ludzie nie pracuja Ludzie chodza bez roboty Bo (?) duzo fabryk stawkuje Polak przeklina, (?) (?) truje (?) tabake gryzie I po trochu (?)

Nie wiem, jak zyc dalej bedzie Bo ja dlugo juz nie robie Gram rekordu, na witroli Jak mam co, to wytne sobie

Moze sie kiedy poprawi Wienczas sie człowiek zabawi Moze ta bieda ucieknie Niech przeleci, Niech przecieknie

Niech zyje kto nie moze umrzec!

(?) w sobote
Witali mnie wszyscy w domu
Teraz krzycza (?)
Choc nie mowie nic nikomu
Dawniej to (?)
I na (?) sa latalem
Teraz siedze zamyslony
(?) dostaje od zony

Translation

"Things have become broken in America"

Things have become broken in America A lot of people are not working People are walking without jobs

Polish men are cursing (?) (?) is poisoning (?)
And little by little (?)

I don't know, how living like this is going to continue Because I haven't done anything for a while

Maybe one day it'll improve Then Maybe this poverty will escape May it fly away, may it drift away. 145

Another theme that periodically surfaced was lamentation over the corruption and greed in America. Immigrants could not trust anybody here, the recordings assert. The following two Yiddish songs focus on this subject.

The 1912 Columbia E-1007 "Bisness [Business] in America" by Alex Silverstein details, primarily in Yiddish with some English and Yinglish, the corruption found here. One

does not need credentials, and a judge and a crook are interchangeable, according to the song. The following segment hints at the general pattern of the recording.

Excerpt from "Bisness in America"

Bisness in America, **Bisness** in America, Yeder veys ganz gut zayn fakh, Blofen, blofen, ales glaykh.

Bisness in America, Dus iz tif bekant: Proste poerim vern doktoyrim Do in golden land.

Translation

Business in America. Business in America. Each one knows well his trade. And bluff, bluff all equally.

Business in America, This is known well. Simple peasants become doctors Here in the golden land. 146

Morris Goldstein in 1922 on Okeh 14062 recorded a similar Yiddish work titled "America." On this recording, he bemoans what has happened to America and states that both Columbus and Washington would be greatly disturbed at what they would see.

Excerpt from "America"

Ven Columbus zol zeyn, Vos mit zayn land is gesheyn, Volt er begrubn zikh tifer in d'rerd.

Ven George Washington, Er gibt zikh a tsorn, Dos land vos er hat frayhayt geboyrn,

Translation

If Columbus would see, What became of his land, He would bury himself deeper in the earth. If George Washington, He would rage, The land where he gave freedom birth. 147

Alfred Bascetta in his 1923 Italian "Le Ragazze di New York ('E Ghelle 'e New York)" on Okeh 9089 laments that people cannot even rely on appearances. He describes how a person goes to a beautiful ball and meets a gorgeous girl. However, when he undresses her, he discovers that she has stuffed her bra with potatoes. He concludes with a warning to men that a person has to be careful even with females. The work carries such impact that the entire translation is worth noting.

Translation of "Le Ragazze di New York ('E Ghelle 'e New York")

Every night you find the most beautiful young girls from New York at every street corner. They look for guys and love.

The young girl from New York can fool you when she dresses up and puts perfume everywhere. She drives you crazy by simply looking at her.

The young girls from New York can make everybody dizzy with such provocative shapes. But when you touch them you realize that they are built up and if you marry I assure you'll find them very skinny.

I know it very well because it happened to me. Once I was at a ball and I met such a gorgeous girl and I fell in love with her. And now listen to what happened with Marianna, the girl I was in love with. She seemed to me beautiful, honest and true. Mamma mia, I feel ashamed to tell you this.

The other night while I was undressing her I found two potatoes in her bra. Can you imagine?

Guys, be aware when you meet a girl. You better touch her to avoid a bitter surprise. ¹⁴⁸

On January 29, 1920, Prohibition became the law of the land, and for the next thirteen years our country did not permit the manufacture, sale, or transport of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes. The Eighteenth Amendment impacted the entire society, and many immigrant songs and skits spoke to the new restrictions.

Immigrants, who often came from societies where people considered moderate daily alcohol consumption normal and indeed healthy, saw nothing wrong with having a drink. Caught off guard by this new restriction, quite a few had run-ins with the law. Skits and

songs produced specifically for immigrant audiences included in their themes the deprivation the immigrants felt from Prohibition. Recorded 1929 on Victor V-16091 and performed by Walter Polak, the Polish "W Amerykanskiem Miescie," relates the story of man who attended a baptism and now is incarcerated.

Excerpt from "W Amerykanskiem Miescie"

Bo ta Swieta Prohibicja Wolnosc mnie odelbrala Jam dzis zbrodniarz i. . . Bo mnie wodki sprzedala

Translation

It was the holy Prohibition Which took away my freedom Today I am a criminal because Of the whiskey I bought

The story goes on to say that he bought whiskey from a certain place he knew in order to celebrate the baptism. When he got back to the party the guests appreciated his purchase so much he returned three more times to the place to buy more whiskey. However, one of the guests turned out to be an informer.

Ten byl z nieznajomych gosci Gwiazdy mnie pokazuja "You bootlegger we arrest you" Za kraty mnie pakuja

Translation

There was one, unknown among the guests Who invited me outside "You bootlegger we arrest you" And put me behind bars 149

Homesickness/Yearning/Longing for Home and Occasionally the Decision to Return

Another theme that periodically surfaces examines yearning for the old country and in the case of "The Irish Emigrant" the longing occurs even before the person has left. Around 1911 the great Irish tenor John McCormack recorded this version on the Victor red label, catalogue number 74237. In the song, McCormack tells how he has lost Mary, his true love, and now he no longer has a reason to stay in Ireland, especially since he is poor. He will travel to another country, presumably America, where one can find "bread and work." Nevertheless, he will never forget Ireland, "were it [the other country] fifty times

as fair." For any person seeking comfort when dealing with incredible loss, McCormack's rendition of "The Irish Emigrant" must have made a huge impact.

Excerpt from "The Irish Emigrant"

They say there's bread and work for all And the sun shines always there. But I'll not forget old Ireland, Were it fifty times as fair.

Were it fifty times as fair.

As earlier stated, most Yiddish-speaking Jews had no reason to return to the old country. Czarist decrees coupled with periodic pogroms and economic deprivation eventually drove one third of all Jews out of Eastern Europe. Nevertheless, these immigrants grieved for that which they had lost. However, with the exception of a few recordings, the 1923 "Mein Thaire Kishinev" on Columbia E9038 being an example, returning to the old country was not a major theme of the work. ¹⁵²

A number of songs immortalized various Yiddish towns and villages. But just as Ellis Island symbolically represents the port of entry for all immigrants, certain old country regions tended to represent all towns and villages. In 1940 Alexander Olshanetsky composed the music and Jacob Jacobs wrote the words to "Mein Shtetele Belz," a work that perhaps more than any other encapsulated the loss of what had been left behind. One did not have to come from Belz to understand the pain upon hearing, or even more so, singing the song. To a certain extent one did not even have to know Yiddish to be moved, for Belz represented everything, and that representation made even a stronger impression once people understood what had happened during the Holocaust.

The song begins with a person asking for a description of the old house. He/she needs to know immediately. The individual answering explains that nothing is as it was. Moss and grass have covered the building. The roof is collapsing and the windows do not have glass. The building now has a lopsided porch with tilted walls. "You wouldn't recognize it."

Excerpt from "Mein Shtetele Belz"

Belz, mayn shetele, Belz, mayn heymele,
Vu ikh hobn mayne kindershe yorn farbrakht,
Belz, mayn shtetele, Belz
In orimen shtible mit ale kinderlakh dort gelakht.
Yeden shabes ikh loyfn,
Dort mit der tkhine glaykh.
Tsu zitsn unter dem grinem beymele
Un leynen bay dem taykh.
Belz, mayn shtetele Belz, mayn heymele,
Vu ikh hob gehat di sheyne khaloymes a sakh.

Translation

Belz, my little village, Belz, my home,
Where I spent my childhood years,
Belz, my little village, Belz
In the poor house with all the children there I laughed.
Every Sabbes I ran,
There with the prayer book straight.
To sit under the green little trees
And study by the river.
Belz, my little town Belz, my home,
Where I had so many beautiful dreams.

153

Although both "Mein Shtetele Belz," and Aaron Lebedeff's 1941 Columbia 8226-F "Roumania, Roumania" ache for places that were, places to which one will no longer have access, they approach the theme entirely differently. "Roumania, Roumania" brilliantly replaces the soulful longing of "Mein Shtetle Belz" with the sensual. Not only does Lebedeff rattle off various kinds of Romanian food along with wine and the suggestion of sex, he packages the whole composition in bounce. The listener wants to dance and even has the feeling that all – the food, wine, and sex – is still possible. However, it is 1941, and Lebedeff, one of the most famous performers in the Yiddish world, must have sensed the future. The juxtaposition of the reality in Europe and dance felt in one's feet make this creation truly magnificent. The song begins:

Excerpt from "Roumania, Roumania"

Ech! Rumania, Rumania, Rumania ... Geven amol a land a zise, a sheyne. Ech! Rumania, Rumania, Rumania ... Geven amol a land a zise, a fayne.

Dort tsu voynen iz a fargenign Vos dos harts glust kenstu krign: A mamaligele, a pastramele, a karnatsele, Un a glezele vayn, aha . . . !

Translation

Oh! Rumania, Rumania, Rumania...
Once there was a land, sweet and beauty.
Oh! Rumania, Rumania, Rumania...
Once there was land, sweet and fine.

To live there is a pleasure. What your heart yearns for you can get: A mamalige, a pastrami, a karnatzl. And a glass of wine, aha . . . ! ('A Rumanian food specialty) 154

A whole genre of records speak to longing to go back and in some cases planning the return. The 1926 Turkish "Nedem Geldym Amerikaya" (Why Did I Come to America) by Achilleas Poulos on Columbia 75011-F says it all.

Excerpt from "Nedem Geldym Amerikaya"

Neden geldim Amerikaya? Neden geldim Amerikaya? Tutuldum kaldim avare Tutuldum kaldim avare Simdi bin kere pismanim Simdi bin kere pismanim Fakat gecti, ah ne carem Fakat gecti, ah ne carem Aaaah! Gelmez olaydim Oooof! Gormez olaydim

Translation

Why did I come to America?
Why did I come to America?
I am stuck and exile
I am stuck and exile
Now I am regretting a thousand times
Now I am regretting a thousand times
But it is gone, there is no remedy
But it is gone, there is no remedy
No! I wish I did not come
Ugh! I wish I did not see.

155

The theme never meanders far from this inquiry. Utilizing the same repetitive format, he questions whether America has any mercy or justice. He stresses the grief he has experienced since he left Bandirma, the port from which the vast majority of Turkish immigrants set sail for America.

In the 1928 Brunswick 58073 recording "Sta Terra Nun Fa Pi Mia" (This Land Is Not for Me), the author/performer Rosina Gioiosa expresses a similar kind of response to being in this country. However, unlike "Nedem Geldym Amerikaya," she enumerates a number of specific reasons for her despondency. An Ellis Island volunteer summarized the recording.

A Sicilian female immigrant sings a song about the despair of being in America. The first verse suggests that America has much poverty. A person lacks the money to pay their living expenses even if they work day and night.

The woman wants to return to Italy, her native land. She never wants to return to America. ... The work is endless and there is never enough money for honest workers.

At some point she proclaims that she wants to leave America so badly that even death would be welcome. 156

Certain works, such as the 1929 Columbia 33382-F recording "My Heart It Is in Leitrim" sung by John Griffin (The Fifth Avenue Bus Man), described how the immigrant planned to return home even though America had been kind.

Excerpt from "My Heart It Is in Leitrim"

When I got to Castle Garden
Oh, what wonders did I see,
The Yankee girl so warmhearted
Kindly welcomed me.
And the boys too, they all gathered round
And gave me a smile.
And welcomed pretty Nora
From the famous green emerald isle.

. . .

Though Yankee land, It's been so fine To stop there I did ... [?]. My heart is still in Leitrim So you'll see I'm back again. 157

The Decision to Visit the Old Country

Returning home for a visit, or perhaps even permanently, set the stage for a very different kind of recording. The immigrant may go home, but he/she is no longer the same. Living in America has altered the immigrant and, at least initially, the immigrant remains an immigrant. The America in the immigrant makes it difficult for old country friends and associates to understand the wanderer. It also distances the immigrant from the old country. Repeatedly one hears English in the immigrant's speech, and American concepts and values disrupt the exchange. By the end of the skit, the immigrant has for the most part successfully reunited with friends and loved ones.

The 1927 Polish recording "Antek Amerykan w Karczmie (Anton in a Polish Inn)" on Victor 79480 by Stefan J. Zielinski speaks to a number of these issues. The scene takes

place in a Polish inn where the innkeeper is obviously Jewish, since he periodically inserts Yiddish words and phrases such as "oy gevalt." In the first few lines, a woman asks what language Antek is speaking when he starts to respond in English. The innkeeper explains that he is speaking the language of his home because he is very tired and then offers Antek some Polish vodka. Anton's response reflects the fact that Prohibition restricts alcohol use in America.

Excerpt from "Antek Amerykan w Karczmie (Anton in a Polish Inn)"

Antek: "That's right, a masz dobra? Bo u nas w Ameryce to mamy tylko moonshine. Dawaj dla calej susaity."

Translation

Antek: "That's right do you have a good one? We in America have just a moonshine. Give it to the whole company."

Much of the rest of the skit plays on misunderstandings and confusion that occur when English words replace Polish words. The skit then ends with the following:

Zosia: "Pewno, że cię pamietam i lubię."

Antek: "Ol rajt, to więc kupię ci szip karte, pojedziemy do Ameryki i weźmiemy slub."

Zosia: "To mój plan, Tosiu, będę ci zawsze do łóżka przynosiła kawę."

Antek: "Glupiaś, Zośka, tam się kawy w łóżku nie pija. Nosi się ją ze sobą do **szopu** w **lonczbachcie**. Ale ja takem rad, że znów jestem pomiędzy swoimi, bo co prawda to trochem zatęsknił za swoją wioską. Muzykanci, zagrajcie coś, niech z Zośką potańczę. Ale coś takiego naszego, polskiego, co to i za serce łapie, i nogom nie daje spokoju. Zośka chodź w pierwszą parę."

Karczmarz: "Oj woj, jak on ślicznie mówi, aż mi sie mokro w oczach zrobiało. Muzyka, rżnij!"

Translation

Zosia: "Sure, I remember and like you."

Antek: "All right, so I'll buy you a ship card, we'll go to America and get married."

Zosia: "That's my plan, Antek, I will always serve you coffee in bed."

Antek: "Don't be stupid, Zosia, nobody drinks coffee in bed in America. You take it to the shop in a lunch bag. But I'm so happy, to be here with my own people, cause I was truly missing my home village. Orchestra, play something, I want to dance with Zosia. Something that is ours, Polish, heart-catching and keeping legs restless. Zosia, let's dance in a first pair."

Innkeeper: "Oy voy, what a beautiful words, my eyes got wet. Orchestra, play!" 158

In like manner, the Slovak 1927 Victor 68828 "Navsteva z Ameriky" (A Visit from America) part 1 and part 2 by Andrej Gellert builds on some of the same themes, such as the incorporation of English words into native speech, that one finds in "Antek Amerykan w Karczmie." Interestingly, one of the expressions is the same "all right" that one hears in Stefan J. Zielinski's work. Gellert describes the visitor's love and loyalty for the old country. He proclaims that even if he only had one dollar in his pocket he would send it back to his friends in Slovakia. Nevertheless, in the pursuit of money he, too, will be returning to America. 159

The 1925 Greek recording "O Grecoamericanos Stin Athinaon" (The Greek-American In Athens) on Victor 56024-F also focuses on the linguistic interference that occurs when a person visits the old country. However, this time the immigrant clearly states that he left because he did not have a choice. According to Nefeli Elini Piree-Iliou, the person who transcribed and translated "O Grecoamericanos Stin Athinaon," the visitor does not have a name.

Translated excerpt from "O Grecoamericanos Stin Athinaon"

Police Officer: "Silence. Don't you know that singing songs is prohibited at this time?"

Man: "Excuse me (in English) Mr. Constable."

Police Officer: "I am not a constable."

Man: "Mr. Policeman I came yesterday from the United States."

Police Officer: "What is this United States?"

Man: "I mean, America."

Police Officer: "Ahh you came from America."

Man: "Yes sir."

Police Officer: "Are you another one of those who went over there and forgot their language. Go to hell (meaning: fuck off)."

Man: "Let me tell you Mr. Policeman. Before I left for America I saw, in my sleep, a bony old lady who I thought was my fate and she told me: If you go to America you will forget your language, if you stay here you will forget the lesson (meaning: you will not survive). And so from the two evils I chose the smallest." ¹⁶⁰

The 1922 twelve inch Victor 68586 by Ernest Balle includes both a description of going back to the old country on a steamer and celebrating in a tavern once there. The first side, which is titled "Fritz Schultzes Reise Nach der Alten Heimat" (Fritz Schultze's Trip to His Native Land), has several men talking on the boat. Fritz plans to see his mother one more time before, although it isn't exactly stated, she dies. As they are drinking real beer, Charlie becomes very sad. It has been twenty years since he left. None of his relatives are still living. His father and mother have presumably died of old age and he lost his three brothers in the war. Fritz tries to cheer him up.

Translated excerpt from "Fritz Schultzes Reise Nach der Alten Heimat"

But dear chorus brother don't be so sad. Have fun with us. There are still joyful hours in life. Steward, another round. Let's have another one, because you know 161

They drink real beer noting that in America Prohibition forbids liquor consumption.

"Froehliche Stunden im Hamburger Ratskeller" (Happy Hour in the Hamburg Ratskeller) on side two takes place in a tavern. The men drink, talk about the girls and listen to music. Fritz Schultze introduces himself to a fellow in the bar and explains what he and the others do in America. In doing so he reifies old country impression of Americans.

Translated excerpt from "Froehliche Stunden im Hamburger Ratskeller"

Waiter, bring the menu. So three times . . . (?) and three times (?). Say Mr. Neighbor, can I invite you to a drink? My name is Fritz Schultze, delicatessen-trader from New York and these two gentlemen at my side are my

friends and chorus-brothers from America too. Let me introduce them to you. This guy here with the red hair, his name is Charlie and he is an ice cream-producer and the fat one with the bald head, he lost all his hair because he was on the loose, is Heinz-Knut, saloon-keeper (original English word) and five-time tenement-house owner from . . . (?). You may wonder Mr. Neighbor that he is so fat. Well, see, he eats six times mutton and beans a day. But let's now have another drink together. Ladies and gentlemen, may I invite you all to have a drink with me? Waiter bring two bottles of wine to every table and here bandmaster, here is a new, golden American twenty dollar bill. Play something funny. So, if everyone has his drink now, I request every present gentleman to stand up from their seats and clear your glasses for the welfare of our pretty Hamburger girls (original English word). Long may they live, long may they live and over again long may they live.

He finally announces that they have to say goodbye because the boat back to America will leave the following day at 10:00. He concludes, asking the bandmaster to play one last "laendler" for us. ¹⁶²

The Repetitive Character-Specific Recordings That Describe Being in America

The last major subdivision highlights the humorous shortcomings of "green" immigrants, usually characters with names, identities, and an array of predictable unsophisticated responses to living in America. Unlike the general American society's portrayal of the alien other, the immigrant listener's appreciation of this category appears to have been directly related to the difficulties that the recording character confronts in America and the distance from those troubles that listener thought he/she had achieved. In all probability, the greater the distance from the experience, the safer and funnier was the scene. Consequently, we can say a boundary line formed between the "greener" recording character and the immigrant listener, who, although possibly sympathetic, still valued and needed confirmation of experiential distance. Although presumably not intentional, these recordings promoted assimilation. The Yiddish-speaking Jews even created a word for the process, "oysgrinen," which means "to green out."

The next section gives examples of some of the names the various immigrant authors gave to their recording characters. Where information could be found, this section also discusses the significance, associations, and history of the name. Most of the name analysis took place in 2012. Parentheses signify the name is heard on the recording, but it is not part of the title. An asterisk means the recording has not been heard.

Italian Character Names

The second chapter "Sales Promotion, Immigrant Theaters, Immigrant Restaurants and Immigrant Phonograph Outlets" mentioned the significance of the recording stars Giovanni de Rosalia and Eduardo Migliaccio. Nevertheless, a reiteration will help make the relevance of repetitive characters more understandable.

The database suggests that the Sicilian character Nofrio was probably the best known of all the Italian recording characters. According to Joseph J. Accardi, this "immigrant bumpkin" "found himself embroiled in one situation after another." Accardi writes that between 1916 and 1928 close to two hundred recordings featured Nofrio. Presently, the database has 193 entries with the name Nofrio in the title. (It must be recognized that some are duplicates since recording artists often recorded the same skit on more than one label.) The character Nofrio became so popular that eventually a Nofrio recording label was created. Unlike many of the other character names, which had associations prior to their usage on recordings, the name Nofrio appears to be a creation of the recording artist and actor Giovanni De Rosalia. Emelise Aleandri, author of *The Italian-American Immigrant Theatre of New York City*, writes in an e-mail that as far as she knows the name Nofrio, which she assumes was a shortened form of Onofrio, was never used as a character type prior to Rosalia. ¹⁶⁴

During this time period one finds other Italian characters with names such as Nofriu and Minguccio. The database lists Nofriu 27 times and Minguccio 47 times. Michele Rapanaro has the same kind association with the Minguccio character as Giovanni De Rosalia has with Nofrio. Minguccio titles recur for the same reasons that Nofrio titles reappear. On most recordings a performer played the role of a character while retaining his/her own identity. For example, Giovanni De Rosalia took the part of Nofrio, yet he remained Giovanni De Rosalia. The spot on the record label reserved for the performer(s) had his name and perhaps some other information about the people doing the recording.

In the case of Eduardo Migliaccio, one of the best known of all the Italian immigrant performers, the situation was different. Migliaccio assumed the character name Farfariello or "little butterfly." Whether on or off stage, or while making recordings, he went by this name; he was identified by this name. At least according to the database and unlike De Rosalia, he did not incorporate Farfariello in the title. He put the pseudonym next to his name in parentheses in the performer position. The character and the actor became interchangeable.

It is important to state that Farfariello did not restrict himself to any one character type. Rather, the character Farfariello encompassed many stage and sound recording personalities, including "Pazzy 'o pazzarello (also Pazzy 'o pazzo or Crazy Patsy)" that would appeal to an Italian immigrant audience. Going by the titles only, the database lists two recordings that focus on Patsy. (Most likely there are many more to be unearthed and added to the data list.) Migliaccio recorded "Patsy" in 1916 for Victor 67856. In 1928 he recorded a two sided "Pascale 'e Mulberry Stritte" (Patsy of Mulberry Street) for Victor V-12017.

Title	Label/Catalogue #	Performer(s)	Date
1. Nofrio Arriva in America (Alfano)	Vocalion 9052-A	Giovanni De Rosalia and Co.	1922
2. Nofrio Parte per L'America (Antonio, Caterina)	Columbia E-7600	Giovanni De Rosalia and Co.	1922
3. Nofrio Studia L'Inglese	Okeh 9116	Bucca E Co.	1923
4. Minguccio la Serva Americana*	Columbia 14157-F	Michele Rapanaro	1925
5. Minguccio Iceman*	Brunswick 58062	F. Fanizza	1928

Jewish Character Names

The recordings by immigrants for immigrants utilized quite a few names – many only a handful of times – that the listening audience associated with Jews. These names included perfectly acceptable Jewish names, such as Moishe, Saidole, and Khaim Sender. The recording artists also employed names derived from English but Yiddishized. Jackele is a good example. Additionally, one hears names that had become popular with Yiddish people, among them Sam or Sammy. However, of all the names used, the database notes that a couple, Yente/Yenta and Mendel Telebende/Telebenda show up more than any other name. Starting in the late teens, continuing through the 1920s, and reemerging in the 1940s, one or both greenhorn characters surface some seventy-five times, more than any other Jewish character.

The Online Etymology Dictionary, defines Yenta/Yente as a

"gossip, busybody," 1923, from *Yente* Telebende, comic strip gossip in 1920s-30s writing of Yiddish newspaper humorist B. Kovner (pen-name of Jacob Adler) in the "Jewish Daily Forward." It was a common Yiddish fem. proper name, altered from *Yentl* and said to be ultimately from Italian *gentile* "kind, gentle," earlier "noble, high-born (see *gentle*)."

Further research led to the website *what-when-how:* In Depth Tutorials and Information. This website states that Jacob Adler (1872?-1974) came from Dinov, Austria-Hungary, which is now Poland, in 1894. In 1911, Abraham Cahan of the *Jewish Daily Forward* invited Adler to join the staff, working under the pseudonym B. Kovner. "Kovner's humorous feuilletons immediately became a success and his characters, such as the shrewish busybody Yente Telebende, her henpecked husband Mendl, Moyshe Kapoyer, and Peyshe the Farmer soon became household names in American Yiddish homes." Between 1914 and 1933 six volumes of his comic routines were published. 167

In the early 1920s it seems there were other attempts to create recognizable Yiddish characters. Jacob Jacobs developed a character by the name of Chana Pesel, who paralleled the antics of Yente. So far we have only been able to locate three recordings that incorporate the name Chana Pesel.

Title	Label/Catalogue #	Performer(s)	Date
1. Telebende Furt kein Amerika (Mendel Telebende, Yente Telebende)	Columbia E-3615	Clara Gold, Gus Goldstein	1917
2. Chepe Dich Up (Mendel, Yente)	Columbia E-4094	Rose Rubin William Ziegenlaub	1918
3. Mendel Richt dem Seider (Yente)	Emerson 13056	Gus Goldstein Clara Gold	1920
4. Yente Cholemt fun a Luft-Shif (Yente Telebende, Mendel Telebende, among others)	Columbia E-7367	Sam Silverbush and Company	1921
5. Yente Telebende Chapt a Schwim	Victor 73386	Anna Hoffman, Jacob Jacobs	1922

German Character Names

The first name Nazi or Naci has been found among German records more than any other name. It had nothing to do with National Socialism but rather served as an abbreviation for Ignatz, which colloquially signified a foolish, clumsy, or awkward person. Nazi or Naci turns up in the database about 11 times. The database indicates the year 1930 was the last time a recording employed the name Nazi. People probably started associating it with the German National Socialist Party. 168

Title	Label/Catalogue #	Performer(s)	Date
Den Gedenk' Ich Margaretha	Victor 16822	Emil Muench	1906
2. Wie Man Englisch Lernt (Henreich Friedrich Wilhelm Louis August Nutzputenhein von Blitzenhausen)	1	Carl Frischer	1922

3. Fritz Schultzes Reise Nach der Alten Heimat (Heinz-Knut)	Victor 68586	Ernest Balle	1922
4. Ignaz Blasewitz von Canarsie*	Brunswick 73032	Carl Frischer	1928
5. Nazi Kommt Zurück nach America*	Victor V-56043	Franz Batis Gruppe	1930

Irish Character Names

Generally, the names by and for the Irish do not follow any specific pattern. The database lists the name Kathleen about seventeen times. However, in fifteen cases it comes from the song "I'll Take You Home Again, Kathleen." The name Molly occurs once. Danny shows up five times under two separate titles and Machree emerges four times in two different works. For the most part, the names on the recordings imply Irish but not necessarily greenhorn.

Title	Label/Catalogue #	Performer(s)	Date
1. I'll Take You Home Again, Kathleen*	Conqueror 9561	Seamus O'Doherty	1917
2. The Kelleys (Dan, Martin)	Vocalion 84069	Shaun O'Nolan	1925
3. Kathleen Aroon*	Columbia 1690-D	William A. Kennedy	1926
4. The Irish Emigrant: Part 1- Danny's Letter*	Victor 21481	Thomas Barry Hannom	1928
5. Sweet Rosie O'Grady	Columbia 33233-F	Flanagan Brothers	1928

Norwegian Character Names

Of the thirty or so Norwegian recordings listed in the database, as of May 12, 2012, only five had actually been heard. Text scripts have been obtained for seven others, but the scripts may or may not match the actual recordings. Ethel Olson made almost all of the recordings. ¹⁶⁹ At this point, no single character name prevails, although one does hear Ole, Larsen, and names that play on the mispronouncing of the letter "j" as though it were a "y."

Title	Label/Catalogue #	Performer(s)	Date
		(~)	

A Norwegian Woman Using the Telephone (Lena, Willie)	Victor 72060	Ethel Olson	1918
A Norwegian Woman at the Beach (Aggie, Dick, Miss. Smit Vallington, Mrs. Yones, Y Yoseph)		Ethel Olson	1918
At the Movies (Mrs. Larsen)	Victor 77251	Ethel Olsen	1923
The Baseball Game (Mary, Ole)	Victor 77251	Ethel Olsen	1923

French Canadian Names

The database notes that there are about fifty comic ethnic recordings that employ the name Ladébauche for a primarily French Canadian population and another ten or so recordings that focus on a character known as Baptisse. Although the database for the most part specifies only the recordings made in the United States, His Master's Voice, a non-American company, made many others. The Virtual Gramophone notes that starting in 1916, Elzéar Hamel, often working with other well-known actors, recorded several dozen of these comic monologues. The monologues spotlight the character Ladébauche, which the website defines as a "drunk or immoral" person. The first one he titled "Ladébauche au Téléphone" (Ladébauche on the Telephone).

Hamel did not have a monopoly on Ladébauche recordings. The database lists "Du May d'Amour" ("From May of Love"), the pseudonym for Joseph Dumais, as the performer of three recordings. According to the historian of Quebec music Robert Thérien, Dumais was born in Trois-Pistoles, Quebec in 1870. Both a historian and diction teacher, he studied in Paris, worked as a journalist in New England, and was involved in a French Canadian monthly magazine that promoted the French language. In addition, in 1922 he established the Quebec Conservatory and thereafter lectured at the "the École Normale Jacques-Cartier, at the Académie Marchand and the Collège de France where he set up an experimental phonetics laboratory." He started recording for His Master's Voice in 1917. ¹⁷¹

The few recordings that Ellis Island Discography volunteers have transcribed and translated appear to replicate the pattern seen with so many of the other ethnic groups. An unsophisticated greenhorn must deal with an alien America. Each entanglement generates more humor, and a displaced audience, in this case the almost 1,000,000 French Canadians living primarily in New England, ¹⁷² could conceivably identify at a safe distance with the character's antics.

During the analysis of the recordings, some interesting facts emerged. His Master's Voice, a Canadian phonograph company, also issued Ladébauche recordings for French Canadians living in Canada. The question immediately surfaces: for whom were these recordings made? In an e-mail of August 25, 2011, Robert Thérien explains that another audience consisted of people residing in the larger Canadian cities:

In the early XXth century, most people were raised in the country, with little or no formal education. Coming to the "big" city or emigrating to a "foreign" country confronted them with a lot of new situations. In the cities, they were made fun of for their clumsiness and ignorance. Ladébauche is all of them, but magnified as a clown would be, so you can laugh at situations that were frustrating and sometimes humiliating. And while making a fool of himself, Ladébauche would come up with a down-to-earth good sense reply that said "I'm not as stupid as I look." ¹⁷³

In the more recent e-mail of January 21, 2013, Thérien responded to the author's request for more clarification about the nature of the audience:

There were no mass communications in those days, except for newspaper and books, and in rural areas, most people could barely read and write. Living in the "big city" represented, for most of them, a big cultural clash. They mostly worked in factories with long hours, six days a week, and lived in poor districts. So they found comfort in getting together and sharing their common cultural heritage, especially in music. From 1910 to 1920 in Québec, the two biggest record companies that addressed French Canadians were His Master's Voice (owned by the Berliner family) and Starr Records (owned by Herbert Berliner and Roméo Beaudry), both located in Montréal. A large part of their production was targeted toward rural immigration, with folk and traditional music. Those people were in a situation very similar to the one that French immigrants in New England encountered.¹⁷⁴

One factor, though, suggests that the Ladébauche character differed from the majority of American ethnic character recordings. First of all, Ladébauche predates Elzéar Hamel and some of the other recording artists who built their skits on him. In addition, the earlier Ladébauche readership consisted of apparently literate French Canadians. Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec sent an e-mail explaining how Ladébauche came to be and the purpose for his existence:

Ladébauche was created by Hector Berthelot as an alter ego under the cover of which he was able to express ideas far too liberal for the ruling elites. He gave the character the simplest stereotyped French Canadian "patriot" and "habitant" image and character in order to appeal to the largest public.¹⁷⁵

The Montreal daily *La Presse* revived the character in 1904. Alberic Bourgeois took on the character in 1905 and continued the comic strip series until 1957. ¹⁷⁶ Bourgeois must have worked with Hamel since the database credits Bourgeois with the authorship of sixteen of Hamel's recordings. Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec further indicates that "the character kept his crudeness under the pen of Albéric Bourgeois." ¹⁷⁷ All this history generates at least one interesting question. How did the Ladébauche from the era that predated the phonograph evolve into the Ladébauche of the recordings? As time passes and additional research is done, the number of questions and answers will most likely increase.

Title	Label/Catalogue #	Performer(s)	Date
1. Ladébauche Dompteur de Lions	Columbia E-4052	Elzéar Hamel	1917
2. Ladébauche a New York	Columbia E-4302	Elzéar Hamel	1919
3. Ladébauche aux États	Columbia E-4341	Elzéar Hamel	1919
4. Ladébauche et Timothée en aéroplane*	Columbia E-7876	Elzéar Hamel	1922
5. Baptisse en auto Mme. Prégent*	Melotone M18031	Elzéar Hamel	1928

The Greenhorn Character Traits in the Character-Specific Recordings

One recording after another contrasted the greenhorn with what he/she could not understand in America. In these situations, the compositions crafted and reified a boundary between newcomers and those who considered themselves Americanized. The boundaries could be traversed, especially if the immigrant listener intuitively understood the boundary components. In the process the immigrant moved closer to assimilation.

Projection, a psychological defense mechanism, most likely contributed to this transformation. "About.com psychology" defines projection as "a defense mechanism that involves taking our own unacceptable qualities or feelings and ascribing them to other people." Projection ties in perfectly with what Moira Smith discussed in her article "Humor, Unlaughter, and Boundary Maintenance." It is also consistent with Janet Dolgin's symbolic anthropological approach of the metonymization of the condensed metaphor that will be described in "The Ability to Cross the Boundary – Part 1." In America, most people did not want the greenhorn association and when possible would

acquire the necessary baggage, including phonograph records, to establish "American" status.

The database, as has been mentioned, contains close to two hundred entries that deal with the character Nofrio. Consequently, these recordings in all likelihood emphasize the plight of the unsophisticated Italian greenhorn immigrant more than any other Italian immigrant character, and, in truth, all unsophisticated greenhorn immigrants.

At least two Nofrio recordings portray an immigrant's coming over and arriving in America. The 1922 "Nofrio Parte per L'America" on Columbia E-7600 describes getting onto the boat and leaving. Alessandro Marsili, who is Spanish and understands Italian, but is much less comfortable in English, undertook the difficult job of transcribing and translating the recording into English.

The skit starts with the ship's bell sounding and the announcement that those people who are not passengers cannot board the ship. Nofrio says goodbye to his wife and his godfather. His wife begins to cry and Nofrio points out that they had an agreement that nobody would cry. Further, he declares that as soon as he is in America he will start earning money so that his wife and godfather can come over. His godfather will only be visiting. The godfather promises that he will stay with his wife every night since she gets scared about being alone in the evening.

Once on board the ship Nofrio gets into a conversation with a sailor. They discuss Nofrio's wife and godfather. The skit concludes with the sailor pointing out to Nofrio that the relationship between his godfather and wife is not what Nofrio thought it was.

Translated excerpt from "Nofrio Parte per L'America"

Nofrio: "Because while I'm staying in America, he'll be so kind to baptize every child my wife gives me."

Sailorman: "Ah, I got it, your godfather loves your wife very much..."

Nofrio: "Yes sir."

Sailorman: "And your wife loves your godfather very much."

Nofrio: "Yes sir, they love each other like brother and sister."

Sailorman: "Yes, like brother and sister (laughing)... watch how they embrace and kiss one another."

Nofrio: "Oh but that's true!! Damnation!.. Could you wait to for be at home?!" 179

Although nobody has transcribed and translated the 1922 Okeh 9052 "Nofrio Arriva in America" (Nofrio Arrives in America), Anthony Lentini, Ph.D. summarized the work. Based upon Dr. Lentini's synopsis, we see the kind of exchange that occurred between a very green Nofrio and the sailor who hit him.

Alfano meets Nofrio at the ship. They don't recognize each other. When Alfano left Italy he had a mustache, now he doesn't, explaining that it is not fashionable in America. Nofrio doesn't look like his old self either. You're a little uglier than you used to be and you look different than you look in your passport photo, says Alfano to Nofrio, at the risk of offending him. Nofrio has a big puffy jaw (a funcia). Because of the discrepancy, they might not let him off the ship. Nofrio explains that the sea voyage was very rough. When the ship got to Mallorca, it was heaving badly. He complained to a sailor that he wanted the ship to turn back. Are you crazy?, says the sailor. Nofrio got insulted and went to sock the sailor on the mouth, but the sailor got to him first, landing a big punch on Nofrio's jaw. Since he foresees trouble with the immigration authorities (since his face is so badly mangled that it doesn't match his passport photo), he asks Alfano to vouch for him if the authorities prevent his getting off the ship. Says Nofrio, maybe they'll put me in quarantine until my puffy, mangled jaw returns to normal. Part of the humor of the piece is the repeated reference to "a funcia" which in the dialect used has the meaning of a big ugly face with a protruding jaw.] 180

The two recordings not only describe the separation from home and the coming over here, they also actually and metaphorically detail all the difficulties, frustration and hurt the immigrants experienced. The packaging of these works in humor brings out their brilliance. Doubtless, it was the only way the immigrants could relive that which they experienced and were continuing to experience. Now let us review some skits that place Nofrio in America.

In the 1920s Giovanni De Rosalia e Compagnia Nofrio label G 107? "Nofrio Padrone di Restorante (Nofrio is the Owner of the Restaurant"), Nofrio is in America and wants to set up a restaurant that will cater to Americans.

The skit illustrates with humor and sarcasm the difficulties that Italians encountered in adapting to American life. The skit begins with Nofrio's wife telling her husband he should have opened a restaurant for Italian customers rather than American customers. Nofrio, a Sicilian who has moved to New York, speaks his own dialect and knows only a few words of English. He naively thinks that the expression "Whattayuish?" (what would you like?) will be sufficient to make his business work. Things prove otherwise after the first customer enters the restaurant, and his business shows his managerial weakness. Additionally, his cook, a countryman active in the crime world, extorts money from him, making his business choice particularly challenging. The skit relies on the language misunderstandings with comedic zest, and while resorting to the typical Italian food repertoire, it also interpolates issues of gender tension and intra-community pressure in order to portray the struggles that a vulnerable immigrant would face in the new country, even within his own community. ¹⁸¹

A comparable kind of asymmetrical relationship between ethnic characters and the majority society occurs in 1921 Victor 73263 "Nofrio allu Storo 'e Cinque e Dieci" (Nofrio at the Five and Ten Cent Store). Once again the author pits an ethnic person against Americans, resulting in the diminution of the ethnic character. As in "Nofrio Padrone di Restorante," tensions between the sexes play a role, although in this skit the author strongly links the gender issue with the asymmetrical minority/majority exchange.

The skit is acted out in Sicilian dialect, with the occasional English line, and "Sicinglish," a mix of Sicilian dialect and very broken American English. It consists of four characters: Nofrio (the protagonist), his friend (Mario), a store clerk (female), and the storeowner, Mr. Roberts. Nofrio and his friend are walking near the 5 and 10 cent store when Nofrio begins to tell his friend of a beautiful girl that works in the store as a clerk, whom he believes fancies him. The friend pokes fun at Nofrio stating that a cute American girl could never be interested in him. When they enter the store, Nofrio attempts to speak to the clerk in English because he has to basically prove himself to her by purchasing a book. Their incomprehensible conversation is simply a state of confusion for all, and in the end both Sicilian men are kicked out of the store.

The skit revolves around the language barrier experienced by the Italian immigrants as they tried to function in the American society. This skit uses the common framework of a man courting a woman, and shows the power of the American woman over the ill-equipped Italian. While it treats the subject with humor, by relying on fake translations by Nofrio, it points to the immigrants' level of isolation and to their low standing among Americans. 182

The following two Yiddish recordings reflect exchanges very comparable to those found in the Italian works. The 1922 Gus Goldstein and Company Okeh 14056 "Yente Zitzt in der Opera" finds Yente and Mendel in an Italian opera. Very quickly the listener realizes that Yente does not understand what is happening. When the lights go out she asks whether they have paid their electric bill. She also wants to know who the person with the stick is. When Mendel explains that the person is the conductor, Yente thinks of the conductor on the 11th Avenue train. Mendel explains the function of a conductor in an orchestra. He foolishly lets Yente know that the conductor makes two thousand dollars a week. Gender tensions arise when Yente points out that they have a similar kind of stick in the house. For obvious reasons she wants Mendel to go out and get it. 183

The 1920 Victor 72701 recording "Chana Pesel bam Doctor" (Chana Pesel at the Doctor's) by Anna Hoffman and Jacob Jacobs similarly juxtaposes an American with an unsophisticated greenhorn. In this case a medical doctor takes on the role of the American/or Americanized Jew. The opening of the skit sets the stage for what the listener should expect. Irving Silber transcribed and translated the piece. The words in bold are said in English.

Translated excerpt from "Chana Pesel bam Doctor"

Doctor: "Come in."

Chana: "Good morning. The doctor is here?"

Doctor: "Yes ma'am. I am the doctor."

Chana: "Somehow you don't look at all like a doctor."

Doctor: "And what is a doctor? A person like all (us) little people. What are you called?"

Chana: "For what should I call?"

Doctor: "I mean, what is your name? (namen)"

Chana: "For what do you need my mother? (mamen) She is already, long dead."

Doctor: "I mean, what is your name. How does one call you?"

Chana: "Nobody calls me."

Doctor: "But for heaven's sake! ... Is a **judgment** given on a name!"

Chana: "Oh, you want to know my name. Why didn't you say so right away? My name is Chana Pesel."

Doctor: "Where were you born?"

Chana: "In bed."

Doctor: "I know in bed."

Chana: "If you know, why then (for what reason) do you ask?"

Doctor: "I mean, in what city?"

Chana: "Oh, in Makhnova (Makhneivka) Province of Kiev."

Doctor: "So, what are you lacking (what's wrong with you?)"

Chana: "What am I missing? I'm missing a husband and a **dozen** kids." ¹⁸⁴

Although Ethel Olson's Norwegian female character finds herself in predicaments that partially parallel those of Nofrio, Yente, and Chana, she, unlike the Italian and Yiddish characters, primarily speaks English with a Norwegian accent, implying more sophistication than the other ethnic characters. Her English almost certainly had a practical function. Since the listener does not have to be fluent in Norwegian in order to follow the story line, the recording had the ability to appeal to a larger audience. Such an audience would include assimilated Norwegians who could most likely appreciate the difficulties even more than those less experienced in American ways.

In Ethel Olson's 1918 Victor 72060 "Norwegian Woman Using the Telephone," the Norwegian woman confronts a number of what must have been sensitive subjects. She has to use the telephone, perhaps for the first time, which distresses her. In the course of the conversation, she explains that her daughter is outgrowing her dresses. Instead of buying her new ones, she buys material in order to put ruffles on the dresses and make them look longer. The material, which she got at a bargain, doesn't quite match, she tells Lena, the person on the other end of the line. However, she explains, several washings will make everything okay.

Additionally, she informs her friend that the dentist will remove her remaining teeth and give her replacements for only eight dollars. "Isn't that a bargain, Lena?" Finally, she invites Lena to come over to her house, even though Willie has the whooping cough.

Excerpt from "Norwegian Woman Using the Telephone"

Say Lena, can't you come over this afternoon. Come on over. Willie has got de whooping cough and ve is kvarantina [quarantined], but you can come in bakveien [the back way]. 185

Ethnic Interactions from the Perspective of the Minority

Due to a lack of information, this section of the chapter only hints at the kinds of ethnic juxtapositions found in recordings by ethnic groups and for ethnic groups other than the ever-present intimidating background of the everyday American society. Just as in recordings for the general American public, authors matched certain ethnic groups with other groups. However, on these recordings the interaction appears to have much less to do with generating comic dissonance for the pleasure of the general public than with portraying the exchanges the ethnic groups actually had with each other. An asterisk means the recording has not been heard.

The Irish played a considerable role on these recordings. As has been previously described, at least in the northern cities, they comprised a significant portion of the politicians, policemen, and other people in authority. The next two works indicate that the Irish fully appreciated their position in America.

The 1925 Vocalion 84069 song titled "The Kelleys" by Shaun O'Nolan even proclaims that the Kelleys run everything. The work starts out with an Irish man who comes to New York to locate his Uncle Martin Kelley. He looks up the name Kelley in a directory and finds so many Kelleys there "that I nearly lost my mind." He then goes to Boston:

Excerpt from "The Kelleys"

I thought I'd go to Boston,
That city of great fame.
I heard the Kelleys living there
Had made themselves a name.
The Kelleys run the statehouse.
The Kelleys run the banks.
The police and fire department,
The Kelleys fill the ranks.
Dan Kelleys fill the railroad flat,
And Kelleys rule the sea.
...[?] Kelley runs the suffragettes,
And she looks right good to me. 186

The 1927 Columbia 33180-F "Flanagan's Naturalization Troubles" by the Flanagan Brothers shares with the listener how being Irish aided the Americanization process.

An Irish immigrant by the name of Flanagan wants to get his naturalization papers. In the pursuit of locating the naturalization office he first narrowly misses getting hit by a car and then experiences an elevator for the first time. Finally, he meets the naturalization officer, who initially wants to reject Flanagan because he cannot answer any of the naturalization questions correctly. Flanagan even argues with the officer when the officer states that Christopher Columbus discovered America. He responds with "He did in me eye. How about the Irish longshoreman that threw him the rope?" The officer informs Flanagan that he will need two sponsors. It is at this moment he notices Flanagan's suitcase and asks what is in it.

Excerpt from "Flanagan's Naturalization Troubles"

Naturalization officer: "Say, by the way, what have you in that suitcase?"

Flanagan: "In this suitcase here. Oh, that's a melodeon. Would you like to hear a tune?"

Naturalization officer: "Well, yes. As long as I am not busy, give us one."

The naturalization officer hears what must be a traditional Irish tune because at the end of the performance the listener hears clapping.

Naturalization officer: "That's very good Flanagan. Just to show you how that hit the right spot here's your papers and ... [?]. You won't have to come back here anymore."

Flanagan: "Thank you, sir. Thank you a thousand times and goodbye. Well, that's easy." ¹⁸⁷

The two examples just cited were created for the Irish immigrant community. They reaffirmed views that the Irish had of themselves. Interestingly, the recordings in the database suggest that other ethnic groups viewed the Irish similarly. In the circa 1920 Yiddish recording "Prohibition" on Columbia, catalogue number E-7123, by Sam Silverbush and Sadie Wachtel, an inebriated Jake proclaims to his wife that he has been elected president of a new organization against Prohibition. He further states that Captain Murphy undersigned the constitution of the organization. And in Michael Tokarick's 1931 Slovak recording "Janko Lajdak Na Strit Kare (John Lajdak on the Streetcar)" on Victor V-22119, Janko threatens an Irish streetcar conductor with "sometime I be catching for you . . .[Slovak] you Irish" after the conductor seemingly throws Janko off the train. ¹⁸⁸

At times the Irish even represented America and that which was American. In the 1929 "Na Mugliera Airesce (My Irish wife)" – Part 1 and Part 2 by Coppia Ruby De Russo on Okeh 9486, an Irish wife basically epitomizes the liberated 1920s American

woman. Her speech and manner signify that which is American with no hint of her being Irish.

The first side of this two-sided skit starts off with Charlie, an Italian immigrant, conversing to himself in a combination of Italian, English, and Italglish.

Excerpt from "Na Mugliera Airesce (My Irish Wife) – Parte 1"

Il sangre del 'Airesce bums.' È lei va a la del mattino e ritorne a la mezzanotte ogni notte. Le giorni lo fame nervosa e sono agitato che io va amazzato e io vado a la sedia elettrica. (Spill/throw the blood of the Irish bums. Irish bum, my wife. She goes out in the morning and comes back around 12 o'clock every night. Some days it gets me so aggravated that I'm going to kill her and go to the electric chair.)

His wife enters and he confronts her. The conflict quickly escalates, and the conversation turns to who makes the money and that he is the boss of the house. She retorts that although he makes the money, she spends it and, in fact, she is the boss. He threatens, and the verbal exchange almost becomes physical. Frustrated and angry, Charlie takes out his new accordion and is about to start playing when his wife asks him where he got the instrument.

On the second side, they reconcile and, metaphorically, America and the immigrants reconcile.

[Charlie plays instrument (accordion), music begins...]

Charlie: "Mannaggia, ti amo! Sono aggravato così a America. Io ritorno a mi paese cantata e sono ballerò la Tarantella." (I love you, but damn it! I am so aggravated by America. I am going back to my country singing and I am going to do the Tarantella.)

Wife: "Come over here Charlie, oh go ahead play some more. I love to hear you play."

Charlie: "Lei piace io cantarei." (She loves to hear my singing.)

Wife: "I'm sorry poor fella. I shouldn't treat him so bad. He thinks I treat him bad. I love to go to shows, I love to go to dances of course I don't go alone, if I do go, I take my mother and sometimes my brother. What's the use of me

asking him? When I get good and ready, why I just walk out."

Charlie: "Ella non ha rispetto. Lei parla ingles. Non capisco. Lei sa non parlo inglese." (She has no respect. She's talking English like that. I don't understand her. She knows I don't speak English.)

Wife: "I'm going to make up with him now." 189

Just as in "Na Mugliera Airesce" where we encounter an Irish woman representing an American woman of the 1920s, we also have a German man who is upset with his girlfriend – who happens to be Irish – for cheating on him in the 1922 Vocalion 10037 "Wie Man Englisch Lernt" by Carl Frischer. ¹⁹⁰

As stated a few pages ago, the ethnic dynamics seem to more readily depict the reality of ethnic groups living and interacting with each other. For example, given the transcriptions and translations, it looks as if Italians and Jews incorporated each other in their works reflecting actual living patterns, as the few samples in the database propose.

Title	Label/Catalogue #	Performer	Date
Der Italiener (The Italian) (Jewish)	Columbia E-7176	Joseph Tanzman Anna Zeeman	1921
Ellis Island (Jewish)	Okeh 14047	Sam Silverbush Gus Goldstein	1922
Nofrio e L'ebreo* (Nofrio and the Jew) (Italian)	Columbia E-7765	Giovanni De Rosalia	1922

Immigrants from the Perspective of People from the Old Country

So far the author has come across only one recording, "O Gero Amerikanos," by Demetrios Perdicopoulos on a 1930s Orthophonic S-737 that examines the immigrant experience from the viewpoint of people in the old country. The database gives reason to believe that there might be a number of other works, such as the double-sided Victor V-11025 recording that focuses on the Hungarian character "Mr. Dollar Pista." Regrettably, neither the actual recording nor any information connected to the recording has been located.

As a Library of Congress brochure suggests, "O Gero Amerikanos" was "directed to a Greek (as opposed to a Greek-American) audience." The brochure further states that, given the nature of the composition, "we may assume that the recording was first issued in Greece" and only later in this country.

Coming from the mouth of a much younger, poorer, and angry Greek man, the song describes how a sixty-five-year-old immigrant returns to Greece in search of a young wife. He is using his American made money as a lure.

Translated excerpt from "O Gero Amerikanos"

Cursed a thousand times be the son Who didn't come back younger

Instead he came with grey hair And he's looking for a young wife

He powders himself and uses cologne But age cannot be concealed He dyes his moustache And pretends to be a youth

In revenge the young man hopes that when the old man returns with the girl to America (Castle Garden), the girl will leave him for somebody else. Repeating that the old man took the young girl "with dollars and pounds," the song adds that he used boiled dollars to dye his hair. Interestingly, the work concludes with the singer toasting himself, "Oh! To your health, Perdicopoulos!"¹⁹²

The Use of Music to Establish Boundaries

Composers also used music to suggest boundaries between groups. In some works, such as in Ludwig Satz's 1927 "Der Freilicher Chazen," parts 1 and 2 on the Victor 68834 recording, the music shoulders a more significant role in differentiating people. On this double-sided recording, Satz contrasts the sounds of the American 1920s with traditional Eastern European Jewish melodies in order to stress the change the Jews are undergoing in America. At one point he even includes the music to a popular song of the period, "O Katharina." Satz possibly inserted the music due to its popular acclaim. However, the piece entails much more. The lyrics describe how a man from the Netherlands comes to America and once here realizes that the values in this country differ greatly from those back home. In America people consider slender women to be pretty.

Excerpt from "O Katharina."

At home we thought a girl was fine If she was fat and plumpy, But here a girl must never look A trifle short or dumpy. 193

Andrej Gellert in his Slovak recording "Navsteva Z Ameriky," part 2, previously discussed in "The Decision to Visit the Old Country," achieves a similar but perhaps less

subtle arrangement. In the course of stating that the visitor wants to go back to America he breaks into "Old Black Joe."

Stephen Foster songs have also turned up in other ethnic pieces that juxtapose that which is American with the immigrant world. An Ellis Island Discography volunteer sums up what happens in the 1927 "Nicola Parte per L'America" by Partipilos Mandolin Orchestra.

Nicola leaves for America and he tells his crying mother that he has "businessa" (business) in America. Amid the tears they wish each other well. The sound of the ferry whistle is heard. Throughout the mother says "stati bbuone bbuone" (be well). The background music oddly enough is a medley of songs by Stephen Foster.¹⁹⁴

Unfortunately, only one intern has addressed the music in the same way the linguistic components have been addressed. The work of Alicia Bones brings to mind the incredible possibilities. The music acts as a foil, in most cases complementing the verbal, and the author assumes, in other cases contradicting it in an attempt to emphasize certain features. In many situations, the composers must have understood where their sounds originated. Did they also generate patterns of which they were not conscious is the next question.

The 1928 Brunswick 67106 recording a "A Chazend'l in America" (A Khaznd'l in Amerika) (A Little Cantor in America) by Aaron Lebedeff describes the impressions a cantor gives to three men: a Litvak, a Galician, and an American. In their descriptions of the cantor, each person employs the dialect and expressions particular to his region. Many of the expressions relate to food. Even the background music tends to emphasize each person's place of origin. Of course, the American's use of English in his Yiddish generates a great deal of humor, especially since quite a few of the foods mentioned are not kosher. More than anything, the recording comically portrays the Americanization of Eastern European Jewry. ¹⁹⁵

Alicia Bones' musical analysis of this recording is worth quoting in its entirety:

The piece commences with a solo piano playing an unhurried and languorous jazz introduction. The piece is reminiscent of Gershwin tunes, with a slower and more classically-based feel than ragtime or other popular styles of the 1920s. In particular, the opening brings to mind "Rhapsody in Blue," especially the clarinet melody that initiates the work. According to the http://aaronlebedeff.free.fr/corps-anglais.htm, this song was a parody of the popular Yiddish song "A Khasend'l Of Shabes" ("Cantor on Sabbath"). The vocal portion starts with a nearly monotone repetition of a single note with

minimal accompaniment underneath it. In the next phrase, Lebedeff sings in full voice with ornamentation returning to the ornamented style of klezmer music, perhaps. The piano mostly accompanies the voice, but occasionally the piano mimics the vocal line a few beats after Lebedeff sings a clip. After four full phrases, Lebedeff begins singing half phrases, which are answered by a piano response. These call and responses are followed by a final sounding cadence "shave-and-a-haircut, two bits" leading the listener to think it's the end of the piece, or that the singer has stated something absolute. The use of this very popular American cadence signaled that Lebedeff was adopting American custom into his songs. The second verse (side note: the form is really not so concrete as to be able to pick out an obviously separate verse, especially since there is no apparent chorus) is similar to the beginning of the piece's verse, but this time with plaintive "oy vey" and a sped-up vocal part to leave room for the "oy veys" keeping with the same rhythm and length of the piece. The rest of the verse proceeds in the same way, with Lebedeff nearly speaking a melody with simple single-note line blockchord accompaniment from the piano. The third and fourth verses continue in like manner. The ending of the fourth verse changes abruptly, however, with Lebedeff speaking to the audience and the piano leaving the vocal melody line to play a hectic accompaniment part underneath until it returns to light countermelodies and then joins up with Lebedeff for the final sung line. The piece ends with the "shave and a haircut" cadence again, but this time Lebedeff shouts "That's all!" all with the final two notes - perhaps a reference to Jimmy Monaco and Joe McCarthy's 1914 song "Bum-Diddle-De-Um-Bum, That's It!," which is the first song on record to put words to the familiar American cadence. 196

Cracks in the Boundary Between Immigrant Groups and the General Society: Run-ins with Technology

The more one listens to the antics of characters such as Cohen, Flanagan, and Schultz, the more one realizes that their depiction has much in common with the way the recording artists presented Nofrio, Yenta, and Nazi. These works call attention to the greenhorn, the people least likely to understand America. The mainstream used the comic to establish a border, a boundary comprised of a trait list that the minority person found hard to traverse.

Laughter impacted the works by the ethnic groups quite differently. It coarsely invited/urged/demanded the immigrant to cross that border and become less green, although nobody promised that such action would make him or her acceptable in the greater society.

Many of the recordings about and by ethnic groups juxtaposed ethnic/racial and country groups with massive technological changes of the period. Chapter IV will explore in detail this issue from the perspective of recordings about groups. Unfortunately, this study cannot truly analyze recordings by ethnic groups since too few of them have been transcribed and translated. Nevertheless, the ethnic recordings that have been transcribed and translated suggest that recordings about immigrants and their relationship to technology greatly resemble the recordings by immigrants and technology. Both sides equate technological familiarization with urban sophistication, or perhaps in immigrant terms, with being an American.

For example, the Joe Hayman 1913 Columbia "Cohen on the Telephone," a skit made about an immigrant for the general society, largely parallels Charles G. Widden 1919 Victor 72719 "Peterson vid Telefonen," a skit made for English-speaking American Swedes. The two skits portray immigrants confronting a telephone. "In "Cohen at the Telephone," the work starts out with Mr. Cohen attempting to telephone his landlord about the problem he is encountering.

Excerpt from "Cohen on the Telephone"

Hello? Are you there? Hello? What? What number do I want? Well, what numbers have you got? Ha, excuse me. My fault. I want Central 2-4-8 please. Yes that's right, 2-4-8. Say miss, am I supposed to keep on saying, hello and are you there till you come back again? Well, don't be long. Hello? Are you there?

From this point, Mr. Cohen tries to explain to his landlord that a storm blew down the shutter of his house the night before. His accent and probably the poor quality of sound reproduction make it impossible for him to convey his message. Eventually, he gives up and declares that he will repair the shutter himself.

In the "Peterson vid Telefonen" a Mr. Peterson wants to call his girlfriend Hilma Yonson (spelling?), but he does not know how to use the telephone. Unlike the Cohen work, the sketch spends more time on the actual difficulties he has in making the call. Nevertheless, the recording still plays on the confusion that results from most likely the poor sound quality on the telephone and his Swedish accent.

Both recordings basically end in the same way. The technology wins out. Just as Cohen concludes he will have to fix the shutter himself, Peterson decides to visit Hilma. It is the audience perception and expectations that differ. In the Cohen situation, the mainstream audience gets what it expects. The immigrants cannot deal with the new technology,

although the sketch does contain a hint of sympathy for Cohen for having to deal with this troubling device. In the Peterson work there is the strong statement that we, the immigrant audience, must overcome our greenness. We are Americans; we know what they expect of us. The consequences of both stances diminish boundaries and promote the adoption of American cultural traits or, in other words, assimilation.

The two skits will be covered more comprehensively in upcoming chapters. "English Acquisition by Immigrants (1880-1940): The Confrontation as Reflected in Early Sound Recordings" reviews "Peterson vid Telefonen" from a linguistic perspective. "The Impact of Technology as Revealed in Recordings about Groups" relates "Cohen on the Telephone" to other technology-based skits.

Cracks in the Boundary Between Immigrant Groups and the General Society: Movements and Events That Impacted Both Immigrants and the General Society

As with new technology, events like Prohibition, the suffrage movement, and the death of famous people impacted both groups. However, unlike the recordings that had a technological base and connected the inability to master technology with greenness and not being a true American, these recordings made no such differentiation. They hit both parties and their impact could be shared. No equation existed that made one group's response less American than the other group's response. An asterisk means that the recording has not been heard.

Prohibition has already been introduced from an immigrant perspective in "Recordings That Describe the Difficulties of Entering America and Those That Question/Criticize This Country." The database lists approximately forty recordings by immigrants and approximately thirty-five about immigrants, racial, and country people that bring up Prohibition. Unfortunately, most of these recordings have not been found. Nevertheless, the sheer numbers and the recording titles underscore the impact that Prohibition had on American society. At this time, it seems that quite a few different ethnic groups addressed the amendment, but the database suggests that the general population, if they packaged a group in a recording, directed most of their attention toward four particular groups — African Americans, Jews, rubes, and the Irish.

Recordings by Ethnic Groups That Highlight Prohibition

Title	Label/Catalogue #	Performer(s)	Year
Wie Bist Die Gewesen vor Prohibition?* (Where Were You Before Prohibition?) (Jewish)	Victor 77659	Naftule Brandwein's Orchestra	1924
La Prohibición Nos Tiene* (Prohibition Has Taken Us)	Brunswick 40789	Los Reyes de la Plena	ca. 1929

(Spanish)

Il Re Dei Bootleggers* (The King Of The Bootleggers) (Italian)	Victor 80614	Eduardo Migliaccio	1927
Chicagos Karciamoj* (In A Chicago Speakeasy) (Lithuanian)	Victor V-14015	Juozas Zuronas Ir Grupa	1929
W Suchym Kraju (Prohibition)-Scena Komiczna* (Polish)	Vocalion 60155	Wladyslaw Ochrymowicz	1930

Recordings About the Various Groups That Focus on Prohibition

Title	Label/Catalogue #	Performer(s)	Year
Cohen Talks about Prohibition* (Jewish)	Gennett 9066	Monroe Silver	1920
Dinnie Donohue, on Prohibition (Irish)	Edison 50719	William Cahill	1920
The Moon Shines on the Moonshine (African American)	Columbia A-2849	Williams, Bert	1919
Uncle Josh and the Soldier (Mentions Prohibition) (Rube)	Medallion 8119	Cal Stewart	1919

Recordings by Ethnic Groups That Center on the Suffrage Movement

Consistent with the recordings about Prohibition, the database includes recordings about the suffrage movement. So far we have located six recordings by and for immigrants that engage the issue. Two Jewish records, "Alle Weiben Meigan Shtimen," have the same title but different performers and recording dates. Italians composed at least one record, "La Suffragetta," on the subject, and an Irish record titled "The Kelleys" (see "Ethnic

Interactions from the Perspective of the Minority") casually inserts a line suggesting that an Irish woman, at least in Boston, runs the suffrage movement there.

Title	Label/Catalogue #	Performer(s)	Year
Alle Weiben Meigan Shtimen (All Wives Are Allowed to Vote) (Jewish)	Victor 72848	Jacob Jacobs	1920
Frouen Recht (Women's Right) (Jewish)	Victor 67993	Gus Goldstein	ca. 1916
La Suffragetta* (Italian)	Columbia 14117-F	Coppia Parisi	1923-1924
The Kelleys (Irish)	Vocalion 84069	Shaun O'Nolan	1925

Fortunately, the website "Singing for Suffrage: A Yiddish Musical Dialogue" transcribed and translated the 1919 Victor 72484 (most likely) "De Suffragetky."

Translated excerpt from "De Suffragetky:"

Anna Hoffman: "Hooray for all women and strike against the men. Women, our time is come. We are to become human beings and no longer be playthings. I am making an appetizer."

Jacob Jacobs: "What kind of appetizer? What are doing in the kitchen, making an appetizer?"

Hoffman: "No, no, no. I mean a proposal. Just as until now all wives have cooked for men, so should all men from now on cook up the women. If not, well strike against the men."

Jacobs: "That's right. Strike against the men. And the men will get rid of their old, ugly wives and get pretty, young ... [unclear] to replace them." ¹⁹⁸

Recordings about Groups That Call Attention to the Suffrage Movement

The database has eleven recordings that utilize ethnic, racial, country, and Native American peoples in the general society's presentation of the suffrage movement.

Monroe Silver recorded "Cohen Talks about the Ladies" for three different labels. Steve Porter made one in 1914 titled "Mr. Dooley's Address to the Suffragists," which actually, although humorously, appears to support the women. Most of the others, however, play on the fears that the men have. Frank Kennedy's 1909 Victor 16294 "Schultz on Woman's Suffrage" and Monroe's Silver 1920 Emerson 10232 "Cohen Talks about the Ladies" exemplify such recordings.

In "Schultz on Woman's Suffrage," Schultz gives a speech with a German accent where he pokes fun at the suffrage movement. In the speech, he describes the relationship between men and women and what would happen if that relationship were disturbed.

Excerpt from "Schultz on Woman's Suffrage"

Schultz: "Think of a female fire department. Think twice. The female firemen will wear veils so the smoke won't spoil their complexion. Suppose an alarm comes at night while the female fire department are all asleep. You know what will happen? Why before they can fix the rats in their hair the whole town would burn down. Ain't it so?"

[Crowd yells:] "Yeah!"

Schultz: "Men look what it would cost for hose. Female firemen wouldn't use anything but silk. Now a female police force would be a hit. Half the town would get intoxicated just to have the officers carry them to the control wagons. Am I right?"

[Crowd yells:] "Yeah!"

Schultz: "One female officer would make more arrests than a whole squad of men. Why nobody would resist the officer." 199

In a similar manner, but utilizing a Yiddish accent, Silver starts his monologue with "The subject of my discourse is women." From this point he humorously discusses many issues until he gets to suffrage.

Excerpt from "Cohen Talks about the Ladies"

They want to vote. They say a woman's place is at the polls. That's right, the North and South Pole. We got woman lawyers, woman doctors and lady firemen. That will be fine to see them going to a fire and look through the window of a big store and see a sale. What will become of the fire? And lady policeman. Can you imagine an old maid cop arresting a

man? Would she take him to the police station? Think it over. And now they are going to have women on the jury. Can you picture six women and six men on the jury? And they can't agree so the judge locks them up all night. What's going to be the verdict in the morning?²⁰⁰

The composers even paired the demand for women's rights with Native Americans. In the 1909 Edison 10183 "Wise Old Indian," Billy Murray sings the following. Notice that the firefighter issue is raised once more.

Excerpt from "Wise Old Indian"

His squaw believed in women's rights. She was a suffragist.
If he had let her speak her lines
She would be suffering yet.
For she believed in women
Having everything to say.
She have been in the fire department
If she had her way.²⁰¹

Other Examples of Recordings about Groups and the Suffrage Movement

Title	Label/Catalogue #	Performer(s)	Year
Since My Margaret Became a Suffragette (Italian, possibly Spanish)	Victor 17145	Maurice Burkhart	1912
Cohen Talks about the Ladies (Jewish)	Emerson 10232	Monroe Silver	1920
Old Country Fiddler on Woman Suffrage (rube)	Victor 18036	Charles Ross Taggart	1916

An Experience Shared: the Death of Rudolph Valentino

Born in 1895 in Italy, Rudolph Valentino immigrated to the United States in 1913. Like many other immigrants, he started earning a living by doing manual work. He then moved onto dancing in vaudeville. In 1918 he went to Hollywood, where he began to take on small parts in film. His role in 1921 as Julio in the *Four Horseman of the Apocalypse* made him a worldwide star. Valentino died unexpectedly from a ruptured

ulcer in 1926. The tragedy generated "worldwide hysteria, several suicides, and riots at his lying in state, which attracted a crowd that stretched for 11 blocks." ²⁰²

The database has ten entries that speak to his death, and it is extremely likely that there are other recordings that have not yet been located. In 1926 the recording companies made six for the general public and four for an Italian immigrant audience.

J. Keirn Brennan, Jimmy McHugh, and Irving Mills composed "There's a New Star in Heaven To-night (Rudolph Valentino)." Angelina Marco and Vaughn DeLeath made one version for Harmony 240-H. Vernon Dalhart recorded the work on four labels: Okeh 40678, Banner 18100, Victor 20193 and Perfect 12282. Almost identical, all versions begin with:

Excerpt from "There's a New Star in Heaven To-night (Rudolph Valentino)"

Stars may come and stars may go Up there in that starry space, But when one falls, God always calls A star to take its place.²⁰³

The database notes that on Radiex and Greygull 2272 there is another song titled "Rudolf Valentino (The Great Director Called You)." Arthur Fields performs it.

Italian Immigrant Performers Also Responded to the Tragedy

Title	Label/Catalogue #	Performer(s)	Year
Povero Valentino (Poor Valentino)	Okeh 9287	Diego Giannini	1926
Il Funerale di Rodolfo Valentino (The funeral of Rudolf Valentino)	Columbia 14230-F	Compagnia Columbia	1926
A Morte 'e Rodolfo Valentino (The Death of Rudolf Valentino)	Columbia 14230-F	Giuseppe Milano	1926
Il Funerali di Valentino- Part 1*	Victor 78908	Compagnia Drammatica Victor	1926

Unfortunately, only one Italian song has been transcribed and translated. Alessandro Marsili transcribed and translated the Okeh 9287 "Povero Valentino." As the translation

of the opening lines indicates, the work resembles the Valentino recordings by the general public for the general public.

Translated excerpt from "Povero Valentino"

Watch such a beautiful sunset, the death of Valentino, sadness....
You can save it.
All the richness and glory....
Now are upside down, the death has taken them off.
Poor Valentino, who could believe it, so sad destiny, 204

Traversing Ethnic Boundary Lines: Composers and Performers

During the early years of sound recordings, the boundary line between the majority and minority populations remained generally intact. Nevertheless, as the years passed, individuals felt, and the general population often treated them, as though they had made the crossing. Financial success frequently blurred the line, suggesting that even a person from a specific racial or ethnic minority would not be perceived as strongly part of an outside group if their circumstantial trappings implied otherwise.

Many of these people learned to speak English with little or no accent. A significant portion of them had either come to America when they were very young or were children of immigrants. They knew what the majority world demanded and acted accordingly, thereby shedding a portion of their stigma, at least the outer accourrements, such as accent and dress. (Of course, skin color remained extremely difficult to downplay, and darker-skinned people had much more trouble crossing the line.) Some of these people even appropriated the very stereotypical traits that the outer world associated with them, both to be accepted and to make a living.

Quite a few Jewish composers and performers from the early twentieth century fall into this category. They or their parents left a world to which they had little allegiance, a world characterized by want, where communicating in Yiddish, attending synagogue services regularly, and not absorbing the secularism around them meant separation from mainstream America. Those immigrants and their children who remained "loyal" accrued little respect from their more assimilation-oriented fellow immigrants, let alone the general American public. ²⁰⁵

Of all the artists from this period, a person would be hard-pressed to find a better example of crossing over than Irving Berlin. Berlin was born Israel Isidore Baline in Tyumen, Siberia, Russia in 1888. In 1893, he and his family came to the United States. At some point he changed his name to the much less Jewish Irving Berlin. Berlin wrote many unbelievably successful and quintessentially American hits, such as "God Bless America," "Cheek to Cheek," "Anything You Can Do," and "There's No Business Like

Show Business."²⁰⁶ And if all the above were not enough to demonstrate loyalty and connection to the majority world, he wrote the words and music to "White Christmas" and "Easter Parade."²⁰⁷ Berlin was by no means unique. According to Nate Bloom, Jews either wrote or co-wrote twelve out of the "twenty-five most popular holiday songs [Christmas songs] of 2008 as determined by Radio Airplay and compiled by the American Society of Composers and Publishers (ASCAP)."^{209/210} One must remember the impact that Christmas had not only on the Jews of Eastern Europe, but on the Jewish community in the United States as well. The word for Christmas in Yiddish is *Nitl* and the folk etymology defines it as "*nit lernen*" or "not to learn." Tradition maintains that Jews should not study on Christmas because to do so would give honor to the false messiah.²⁰⁸

Additionally, Berlin produced songs that employed the stereotypes of ethnic and racial groups, including Jews, which were then in fashion. Even before hearing the words to "Cohen Owes Me Ninety-Seven Dollars," "Hey Wop," "Oh! How That German Could Love," and "Pullman Porters on Parade," the listener knew by the titles what to expect. And, although the humor that he used minimized the level of malice, the works clearly stated the objectives of Irving Berlin and many similar people of his generation.

While Jewish artists made up a significant portion of the composers and lyricists of the period, they did not have an artistic monopoly. Billy Murray, one of the most prolific early twentieth-century recording artists, was born in 1877 to Irish immigrant parents. During his career, he made hundreds of recordings, ²¹⁰ many of which played on the ethnic stereotypes of his and other immigrant groups.

As of July 2014 the database contains over 450 entries listing Billy Murray as performer. His recordings depict almost every ethnic group. The 1909 Edison 10183 "Wise Old Indian," the 1912 Victor 17213 "You May Be Irish, Murphy, But I Think You're in Dutch," the 1924 Victor 19280 "Me No Speak-a Good English," and the 1920 Victor 18677 "I Love the Land of Old Black Joe" provide examples of his recordings. ²¹¹

Janet Dolgin in her *Jewish Identity and the JDL*^{212} presumably did not intend to discuss the dynamics of boundary crossing, but she has touched on the subject in her discussion of metonymization of the condensed metaphor.

Metaphor, in the most general sense, is the relationship which obtains between entities of separate domains by virtue of the relationship each has with its own domain. Metonymy, in the most general sense, is any relationship which obtains between entities by virtue of their mutual inclusion within the same domain. (Seitel, quoted in Dolgin)²¹³

Condensation can be characterized as working through metaphor towards a prevailing over metaphor. In condensation the relationship between structured elements in different domains becomes so powerful ("ideologically convincing") that the domains themselves begin to merge. To repeat: the merely comparable becomes identical.²¹⁴

The metaphorical traits that basically constituted being American — sophistication in the language, technology, and one's physical and social surroundings, often accompanied by financial success — were inverted and condensed into an awkward, unaware/naïve, and crude newcomer. This inverted, condensed metaphor, the ethnic greenhorn, was then packaged as a sound recording character for the American audience. He was presented as someone comical, perhaps worthy of pity, and definitely alien.

Upon acquisition by the general public of the ethnic character in the form of incredible sales figures and record replication, the condensed metaphor was metonymized. Domains were blurred. The opaqueness of the situation allowed the performer/composer/lyricist, who originated from an ethnic group and in all likelihood was a child of immigrants, to be valorized, successful, and in the process to cross the border into being an American. By laughing at a person named Cohen or Murphy, he/she could claim that he/she could not be Cohen or Murphy and consequently did not have the stigma associated with these characters. The listener had the wherewithal to do the same.

A variation on this metaphorical acquisition may also have occurred. As previously mentioned in "Examples of Ethnic Juxtaposition Skits and Songs," family lore holds that an Irishman with the last name of Flannery changed it to Jerome to evoke Jewishness. Interestingly, the lyricist William Jerome met the composer Jean Schwartz in 1901. Before they separated in 1912, the two became a Tin Pan Alley sensation and produced numerous songs employing ethnic themes. At least one of their works, the 1912 "If It Wasn't for the Irish and the Jews," actually addresses the Irish-Jewish relationship. And just as Flannery changed his name to Jerome, Sarah Litvin in "St. Patrick's Day with the Irish and the Jews: A Musical Mix of Pats and Isadores on Broadway and Beyond" cites the case of the famous Nora Bayes. Previously, she was Leonora Goldberg. 217

Before concluding this section, it is important to clarify that another significant sector of Jewish immigrants initially opted neither for assimilation nor traditionalism. Merle Brockman comments in *Yiddishland* that those immigrants and children of immigrants who devoted their lives to <u>secular</u> Yiddish expression tended not to use the American stereotypes in their portrayal of life in America. Unlike the Al Jolsons and Eddie Cantors, they did not actually or even metaphorically employ blackface. Having suffered so much themselves, they did not wish to uphold an asymmetrical world dominated by racism. Rather these immigrants sought societal justice, which they greatly associated with socialism. The Yiddish language and culture in which they believed tied them to both the past and the future as a people. 218

Traversing Ethnic Boundary Lines: Lyrics

Not only did composers and performers cross the boundary, but so eventually did many of the actual recordings. Certain songs became part of the timeless American repertoire,

and it is these recordings that underwent change. Amazingly, the average person has no idea that such well-known works ever contained inappropriate and offensive lyrics. Stephen Foster's "O Susanna" is a perfect example. Sung in black dialect, the words that follow make up the second stanza of the Columbia A2218 1916 Peerless Quartet with Harry C. Browne version.

Excerpt from "O Susanna"

I jump'd aboard the telegraph and trabbled down de ribber, De lectrick fluid magnified, and kill'd five hundred Nigga. De bulgine bust and de wheel ran off, I really thought I'd die; I shut my eyes to hold my bref – Susanna don't you cry. ²¹⁹

Today's versions no longer include either this stanza or the black accent.

"O Susanna" is not alone. A similar kind of situation exists with the 1911 Collins and Harlan Victor 16908 "Alexander's Ragtime Band." In this early version, Collins and Harlan have "blackened" the exchange between two people in order to make it clear that this recording spotlights African Americans.

Excerpt from "Alexander's Ragtime Band"

He: "Oh, ma honey,"

She: "Yes?"

He: "Oh, ma honey,"

She: "Yes?"

He: "Better hurry and let's meander."

He: "Ain't you goin'?"

She: "Where ya goin'?"

He: "Ain't you go-in?"

She: "Where ya goin'?"

He: "To the leader man."

She: "Rag-ged music man?"

He: "Oh, ma honey,"

She: "What?"

He: "Oh, ma honey,"

She: "What?"

He: "Let me take you to Alexander's"

Both: "Grand stand brass band, ain't you comin' a-long?"

. . .

He: "Like a chicken!"
She: "Like a chicken!"

He: "Like a chicken!"

She: "Oh, you're kickin!" He: "And the clarinet," She: "Is a colored pet."²²⁰

Performers found that they had to modify that which was, especially when people still wanted to hear a work that carried many positive associations. Such was the case with "The Sidewalks of New York." Unlike with other examples, it is possible to observe where at least some changes started to take place. In the 1925 Columbia 437-D recording, the piece starts out with a not-so-positive Italian reference:

Excerpt from "The Sidewalks of New York."

Down in front of Casey's old brown wooden stoop, On a summer's evening we formed a merry group. Boys and girls together we would sing and waltz, While the ginnie played the organ on the sidewalks of New York.

Although they are less clearly delineated, further down in the song the mentioning of other ethnic names, especially Irish ones, attempts to depict the multi-ethnic nature of the city. However, the connection to Jakey Krause, an almost certainly Jewish name, and money is just a bit more subtle than the stereotypical statement about ginnie and his organ.

That's where Johnny Casey and little Jimmy Crowe, With Jakey Krause, the baker, who always had the dough. Pretty Nellie Shannon with a dude as light as cork First picked up the waltz step on the sidewalks of New York.²²¹

In ca. 1928, just three years after Vernon Dalhart's work, Jack Kaufman performed a variation of "The Sidewalks of New York" on Cameo 8281 that promoted Al Smith for President of the United States. The lyrics include lines such as:

Excerpt from "The Sidewalks of New York"

For he's a jolly good fellow For he's a jolly good fellow For he's a jolly good fellow [Music] Hear comes Al."

The recording also leaves out the Jakey Krause statement along with the Irish names of Johnny Casey, Jimmy Crowe, and Nellie Shannon. Most importantly, and this change had to be deliberate, ginnie becomes Tony. The name Tony keeps the Italian association but removes the offensive reference.²²²

Legislation mandated one change in lyrics. Kentucky in 1928 made Stephen Foster's "My Old Kentucky Home" the official state song. The work cites darkies several times as portrayed here in the 1916 opening stanza by Alma Gluck on Victor 74468.

Excerpt from "My Old Kentucky Home"

The sun shines bright in my old Kentucky home. T'is summer, the darkies are gay. The corn top's ripe and the meadow's in the bloom, While the birds make music all the day. ²²³

In 1986, a group of visiting Japanese students sang the song to the Kentucky General Assembly with the intent of honoring the body of elected officials. Upon hearing the song Representative Carl Hines from Louisville sponsored a bill and within a week the word "darkies" was changed to people. ²²⁴

Traversing Ethnic Boundary Lines: Incorporating More Than One Group Musically

In 1924 the United States government enacted the Johnson–Reed Act that basically ended mass immigration to the United States. Five years later, in 1929, the Great Depression struck. These two events impacted the record industry. Americans no longer felt as inundated by the newcomers as they had when tens of thousands entered the country each year. The record industry collapsed with the onslaught of the Depression. Sales dropped from \$75 million in 1929 to about \$6 million in 1933. The number of records likewise fell. In 1927 the companies produced about 100 million records. This number fell to 6 million by 1932. The production of immigrant recordings almost ceased. Victor Greene extensively discusses what transpired in his *A Passion for Polka: Old-Time Ethnic Music in America*. A new kind of music surfaced that originated in the immigrant communities but eventually branched out into the general American society. Greene describes it as "crossover" music. This music broke down boundary lines as it incorporated ever larger audiences consisting of various ethnic and non-ethnic peoples.

A number of technological advancements along with the desire for polka type of dance contributed to the growth. Radio and the jukebox expanded the availability of the music. Cheaper records, such as Victor's Bluebird and Jack Kapp's Decca, made it possible for more people to buy records. The accordion's ability to generate louder sounds assisted in the dissemination of music in the larger dance halls. In these dance halls, people, many of them children of immigrants, could satisfy their dance cravings. And probably more than any other factor, it was this passion that pushed the industry.

Victor Greene cites some other figures that help us better comprehend exactly what transpired. In 1934 there were about 25,000 jukeboxes. This figure jumped to 300,000 in 1939, and at that time the machines offered some 13 million records. ²²⁹ Phonograph industry sales jumped from \$7 million in 1934 to \$26 million in 1938. (It is important to note that this increase did not restrict itself to crossover music. ²³⁰) The national American

Accordion Association formed in 1938, and Greene states that at least one source anticipated that by the end of the year some 35,000 students would be in accordion school. Finally, the unimaginable success of two recordings, the "Beer Barrel Polka" and "Bei Mir Bist Du Schön" make clear the significance of the crossover sound. Greene points out that "several hundred jukebox operators in 1949 ranked the 'Beer Barrel' records as ninth in popularity over the previous decade, just below 'Easter Parade'." He also points out that total sales for "Bei Mir Bist Du Schön" totaled some 2.5 million records. ²³³

The following stanzas from "Bei Mir Bist Du Schön" will give the reader a better appreciation of the international flavor of these records.

Excerpt from "Bei Mir Bist Du Schön"

Bei mir bist du schön, again I'll explain It means you're the fairest in the land

I could say "Bella, Bella", even say "Wunderbar" Each language only helps me tell you how grand you are

I've tried to explain, bei mir bist du schön So kiss me and say you understand²³⁴

Conclusion

These recordings are truly socio-anthropological and historical treasures. Perhaps no other medium from the early 1900s better summarizes the relationships the various ethnic and racial groups had with each other. Limited recording lengths severely restricted how much could be said. Consequently, words and descriptions had to carry a great amount of weight, weight not only from the specific recording, but the weight of many comparable works. And the audience had to understand, and even more importantly need that which the recording stated. It had to fill such a psychological want that people were willing to pay hard-earned money.

Lack of censorship characterized the time period in which these recordings were made. Excluding recordings made by African Americans and rural people, artists, especially immigrants, generally said what they thought. The combination of these two factors – psychological need and honest statements – has produced an incredible wealth of material that social scientists will be analyzing for generations.

Endnotes

- 1. William Howland Kenney, *Recorded Music in American Life: The Phonograph and Popular Memory, 1890-1945* (New York, Oxford, 1999).
- 2. Fredrik Barth, "Introduction," *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference*, ed. Fredrik Barth Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969) 14.
- 3. Kenney, XIII.
- 4. Ibid., XVII.
- 5. Barth, 9.
- 6. Ibid.
- 7. Ibid.
- 8. Ibid., 11.
- 9. Ibid., 14.
- 10. Ibid., 31.
- 11. Moira Smith, "Humor, Unlaughter, and Boundary Maintenance," *Journal of American Folklore* 122.2 (2009), 160. Smith lists the following people as sources for this quotation in her bibliography: *Journal of American Folklore*, vol. 122, no. 484, pp. 148-171, 2009.

Mannell, Roger, and Lawrence La Fave, 1976. "Humor Judgements and the 'Playful Attitude." *The Anthropological Study of Play: Problems and Prospects*, ed. David F. Lancey and B. Allan Tindall, pp. 230-8. Cornwall, NY: Leisure Press.

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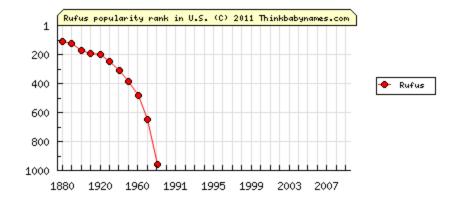
- 12. Ibid., 164.
- 13. Ibid.
- 14. Allan Sutton, from *Directory of American Disc Record Brands and Manufacturers*, 1891-1943 (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1994). Mr. Sutton left out the "West" in West Orange, New Jersey. The author inserted it.
- 15. Billy Murray, Sweet Italian Love, rec. October 1910, Cylinder, Edison 10427.

The recording can be heard on the *Cylinder Preservation and Digitization Project* website, 2002, Donald C. Davidson Library, University of California, Santa Barbara .">http://cylinders.library.ucsb.edu/search.php?queryType=@attr1=4&query=Sweet+Italian+love&num=1&start=1&sortBy=&sortOrder=id>.

- 16. Mark Slobin. *Tenement Songs: The Popular Music of the Jewish Immigrants* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996) 50.
- 17. Ibid.
- 18. Ibid.
- 19. ibid., 52.
- 20. Ibid.
- 21. Choice Dialect and Vaudeville Stage Jokes, 1902, Chicago, Ill.: Frederick J. Drake & Co., n. d., Harvard University Library: Page Delivery Service, 4 July 2012 http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/4289599?op=t&n=1&s=2.
- 22. Ibid., title page.
- 23. Ibid., 21.
- 24. Ibid.
- 25. Cal Stewart, *Uncle Josh's Punkin Center Stories: The Talking Machine Stories* (Chicago: Stanton and Van Vilet Co., 1905).
- 26. Ibid., Preface.
- 27. Stewart, 75.
- 28. Lewis Herman and Marguerite Shalet Herman, *Manual of Foreign Dialects for Radio, Stage and Screen* (Chicago: Ziff-Davis Publishing Company, 1943) Preface.
- 29. Ibid., Garson Kanin writes in the Preface.
- 30. Ibid.
- 31. Melvin Patrick Ely, *Israel on the Appomattox: A Southern Experiment in Black Freedom from the 1790s through the Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004). Michael Lord, Associate Director, Education at Historic Hudson Valley, advised the author to purchase this book. His suggestion made the investigation of African names possible.

- 32. Ibid., 298.
- 33. Ibid., 297.
- 34. Ibid., 299.
- 35. H. L. Mencken, *The American Language: An Inquiry into the Development of English in the United States* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960) 523.
- 36. H. L. Mencken, *The American Language: An Inquiry into the Development of English in the United States (Supplement II)* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961) 512.
- 37. Thomas Pyles, "Bible Belt Onomastics; or Some Curiosities of Antipediobaptist Nomenclature," *Thomas Pyles: Selected Essays on English Usage*, ed. John Algeo (Gainesville: University of Florida, 1979) 152-166. The chapter contains more information on Bible belt name giving.
- 38. "Rastus," *Absolute Astronomy*, 2012, AbsoluteAstronomy.com., 4 July 2012 http://www.absoluteastronomy.com/topics/Rastus#encyclopedia.
- 39. African-American cemeteries and Obituaries, 2005-2013, BlackCemeteries.com., 4 July 2012
- http://www.blackcemeteries.com/?Inc=obituaries&Type=Name&String=&pageNum_S earchResults=125>.
- 40. See endnote No. 38
- 41. "About Us: Our History," *Uncle Ben's*. 2013, Mars Incorporated, 4 July 2012 http://www.unclebens.com/About-us.aspx>.
- 42. Marilyn Kern-Foxworth, *Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben and Rastus: Blacks in Advertising, Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1994) 64-65.
- 43. Ibid., 65.
- 44. "Rufus," *Think Baby Names*, 2004-2013, Thinkbabynames.com., 4 July 2012 http://www.thinkbabynames.com/meaning/1/Rufus>.
- "Rufus \r(u)-fus\ as a boy's name is pronounced *ROO-fuss*. It is of Latin origin, and the meaning of Rufus is 'red-haired'. Most common in the 19th century. Biblical: the name of two first-century Christians. See also Rufino and Russell. ..."

Popularity of Rufus



- 45. See endnote 36.
- 46. Arthur Collins, Ebenezer Julius Caesar, rec. 1910, Cylinder, Indestructible 1242.
- 47. "Cal Stewart," *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia*, 10 April 2013, Wikimedia Foundation, Inc., 13 Dec. 2010 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cal_Stewart.
- 48. Tim Gracyk, and Frank Hoffmann, *Popular American Recording Pioneers: 1895-1925* (New York: The Haworth Press, 2000) 332.
- 49. Ibid., 333.
- 50. Mencken, The American Language (Supplement II), 466-467.

Mencken notes names such Joshua in New England have a historical base:

It was the English Puritans who, toward the end of the Sixteenth Century, staged the first revolt against saints' names in Europe. They were opposed to honoring any of those on the Roman calendar who had lived since apostolic times,³ and so turned to the Old Testament for names for their children.⁴ It was then that Abraham, Moses, Daniel, Samuel, Joshua and their like began to have a vogue,¹ though they had been permissible names to Catholics all the while.

51. Billy Jones, *Yes, We Have No Bananas*, rec. June 1, 1923, Edison Diamond Disc 51183.

Transcribed by Eric Byron. The recording can be heard on the *Cylinder Preservation* and *Digitization Project*, 2002 Donald C. Davidson, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2002 http://cylinders.library.ucsb.edu/>.

52. The American Quartet, *Floatin' Down to Cotton Town*, rec. Nov. 1919, 78 rpm, Victor 18628.

Richard Densmore, *Richard Densmore Edison Diamond Discs and 78rpm Record Collection*, 2013, 22 May 2013 http://homepages.bw.edu/~rdensmor/. The words come from "Richard Densmore's Edison Diamond Discs." They have been slightly modified by Eric Byron to fit the words of this recording. The recording can be heard on the *National Jukebox*, n.d., Library of Congress, 21 May 2013 http://www.loc.gov/jukebox/.

53. Arthur Collins, *The Swanee River Bend*, rec. June 1912, Victor 17151.

Transcribed by Eric Byron. The recording can be heard on the *National Jukebox*, n.d., Library of Congress, 21 May 2013 http://www.loc.gov/jukebox/.

- 54. Alma Gluck, Old Black Joe, rec. June 6, 1915, 78 rpm, Victor 74442.
- 55. Geraldine Farrar, My Old Kentucky Home, rec. Feb. 25, 1910, 78 rpm, Victor 88238.
- 56. Samuel A. Floyd, Jr., *The Power of Black Music: Interpreting Its History from Africa to the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996) 60.
- 57. Marie Dressler, *Rastus Take Me Back*, rec. 1909, Cylinder, Edison 2001.

Transcribed by Eric Byron. The recording can be heard on the *Cylinder Preservation and Digitization Project*, 2002, Donald C. Davidson Library, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2002 http://cylinders.library.ucsb.edu/>.

- 58. "Bert Williams," *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia*, 7 May 2013, Wikimedia Foundation, Inc., 4 July 2012 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bert_Williams.
- 59. Tim Brooks, *Lost Sounds: Blacks and the Birth of the Recording Industry, 1890-1915* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005) 115.
- 60. Ibid., 116.
- 61. Ibid. and Bert Williams, *Nobody*, rec. Jan. 7, 1913, 78 rpm, Columbia A-1289.
- "Nobody" can be heard on the *Antique Phonograph Music Program*, May 21, 2013 http://wfmu.org/playlists/AP>. They featured it on October 28, 2003.
- 62. Bert Williams, I'm Gonna Quit Saturday, rec. Dec. 1920, 78 rpm, Columbia A- 3356.

Transcribed by Eric Byron.

63. John McCormack, A Little Bit of Heaven, rec. 10 Nov. 1915, 78 rpm, Victor 64543.

64. Charles Harrison, A Little Bit of Heaven, rec. April 1915, 78 rpm, Victor 17780.

The recording can be heard on the *National Jukebox*, n.d. *Library of Congress*, 21 May 2013 < http://www.loc.gov/jukebox/>.

- 65. William A. Kennedy, A Little Bit of Heaven, rec. May 1937, 78 rpm, Decca 12123.
- 66. Transcribed by Eric Byron. Words come from the John McCormack recording on Victor 64543.
- 67. Steve Porter, Mrs. Dugan's Discovery, rec. Nov. 1915, 78 rpm, Columbia A-1940.

Transcribed by Eric Byron. The work is performed in English with an Irish accent.

68. Albert H. Campbell, By the Dear Old Rhine, rec. 1911, Cylinder, Edison 872.

Transcribed by Eric Byron. The work is performed in Standard English. The recording can be heard on the *Cylinder Preservation and Digitization Project*, 2002, Donald C. Davidson Library, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2002, 21 May 2013 http://cylinders.library.ucsb.edu/>.

- 69. Sam Ash, Good-bye Red Man, rec. Nov. 1915, 78 rpm, Little Wonder 305.
- 70. Dan W. Quinn, *Hiawatha*, rec. ca. 1904, 78 rpm, Universal Zonophone P-5575.

The words to "Hiawatha (A Summer Idyl)" come from Absolute Astronomy at Hiawatha (A Summer Idyl)." *Absolute Astronomy*, 2012, AbsoluteAstronomy.com. 21 May 2013

http://www.absoluteastronomy.com/topics/Hiawatha_%28A_Summer_Idyl%29. They have been slightly modified by Eric Byron to fit the recording.

71. Irving Berlin, *I Want to Go Back to Michigan (Down on the Farm)*, n.d., OldieLyrics, 29 May 2013

http://www.oldielyrics.com/lyrics/irving_berlin/i_want_to_go_back_to_michigan_down_on_the_farm.html.

The lyrics come primarily from Oldielyrics. The recording can be heard on the *Cylinder Preservation and Digitization Project*, 2002, Donald C. Davidson Library, University of California, Santa Barbara http://cylinders.library.ucsb.edu/>.

72. Premier Quartet, Farmyard Medley, rec. 1918, Cylinder, Edison 3488.

Transcribed by Eric Byron. The recording can be heard on the *Cylinder Preservation and Digitization Project*, 2002, Donald C. Davidson Library, University of California, Santa Barbara http://cylinders.library.ucsb.edu/>.

73. "'I'm A Gizzard:' The Vaudeville Comedy of Weber and Fields," *History Matters*. 1998-2013, American Social History Productions, Inc. 4 July 2012 < Http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5764>.

Immigrants and African Americans decisively shaped a multiethnic urban popular culture in the late 19th century, built in large measure on the emergence of vaudeville. Vaudeville blended slapstick comedy, blackface minstrelsy, and sentimental songs into a rich and highly popular cultural stew. Among the most successful vaudeville practitioners were two Jewish singers and comics from the mean streets of Manhattan's Lower East Side, Joe Weber and Lew Fields. Weber and Fields' routines usually featured broad stereotypes of German immigrants: Fields played "Meyer," the shrewd German slickster who wanted to "put one over" on Weber's "Mike," the dumb "Dutch" newcomer.

74. Weber and Fields, *Drinking Scene: Mike and Meyer*, rec. March 1912, 78 rpm, Columbia A-1159.

Transcribed by Eric Byron. The work is performed in English with a German accent. A recording can be heard on *Antique Phonograph Music Program with Mac* Dec. 30, 2008, 21 May 2013 http://wfmu.org/playlists/shows/29825. The record may or may not be the Columbia A1159 version. The site does not note the catalogue number.

75. Billy Murray, *Big Chief Smoke*, rec. 1908. Cylinder, Edison 9862.

Transcribed by Eric Byron. The work is performed in English with a Native American accent. The recording can be heard on the *Cylinder Preservation and Digitization Project*, 2002, Donald C. Davidson Library, University of California, Santa Barbara http://cylinders.library.ucsb.edu/.

76. Steve Porter, and Byron Harlan, *Hi and Si of Jaytown*, rec. 1912. Cylinder. Edison 1523.

Transcribed by Eric Byron. The work is performed in English with a rube accent. The recording can be heard on the *Cylinder Preservation and Digitization Project*, 2002, Donald C. Davidson Library, University of California, Santa Barbara http://cylinders.library.ucsb.edu/>.

77. Billy West, My Yiddishe Momme, rec. Nov. 1925. 78 rpm. Harmony 65-H.

Slobin, 203-204. The English portion of transcription is based upon Mark Slobin's "My Yidishe Momme."

78. Billy Murray, My Mariuccia Take a Steamboat, rec. 1906, Cylinder, Edison 9430.

Transcribed by Emma Curry-Stodder. Eric Byron made some minor modifications. The work is performed in English with an Italian accent. The recording can be heard on the *Cylinder Preservation and Digitization Project*, 2002, Donald C. Davidson Library, University of California, Santa Barbara http://cylinders.library.ucsb.edu/search.php?query=9430&queryType=@attr+1%3D1016.

79. Ada Jones and Len Spencer, *Becky and Izzy (A Yiddish Courtship)*, rec. ca. 1907, 78 rpm, Columbia 3664.

Transcribed by Eric Byron. The work is performed in English with a Yiddish accent.

80. Kaufman Irving, She Lives Down in Our Alley, rec. 1914, Cylinder, Edison 2694.

The work is performed in English with the periodic insertion of French words. The recording can be heard on the *Cylinder Preservation and Digitization Project*, 2002, Donald C. Davidson Library, University of California, Santa Barbara http://cylinders.library.ucsb.edu/.

- 81. Marion R. Casey, "Irish," *Encyclopedia of New York City*, ed. Kenneth T. Jackson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995) 600.
- 82. Bruce F. Berg, *New York City Politics: Governing Gotham* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2007) 272.
- 83. Billy Murray, *Tammany*, rec. 1905, Cylinder. Columbia 32775.

Transcribed by Eric Byron. The work is performed in English with a Native American accent. The recording can be heard on the *Cylinder Preservation and Digitization Project*, 2002, Donald C. Davidson Library, University of California, Santa Barbara 21 May 2013 http://cylinders.library.ucsb.edu/.

- 84. Stanley Nadel, "Germans," *Encyclopedia of New York City*, ed. Kenneth T. Jackson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995) 464.
- 85. Nathan Kantrowitz, "Population," *Encyclopedia of New York City*, ed. Kenneth T. Jackson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995) 921.
- 86. Moses Rischin, *The Promised City: New York's Jews: 1870-1914* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1962) 94.
- 87. Joseph Adler, "Twilight Years of Rabbi Jacob Joseph," *Jewish Frontier*, Vol. LXVII, No. 1 (639), January-August 2000, 2012, Ameinu 31 Oct. 2010 http://www.ameinu.net/frontier/jf_1-00_adler.html>.

- 88. Rischin, 91.
- 89. Adler. The text states

Scandals relating to "kashrut" were already an old story in Eastern European Jewish life, but nowhere did they flourish as extensively as in the United States, a nation lacking an officially recognized Jewish communal authority. Agonizing over this state of affairs an attempt had been made as early as 1879 to organize the Orthodox congregations of New York. The effort, however, proved abortive. Some years later, in 1886, a group of eighteen Orthodox congregations managed to successfully band together under the name Association of American Orthodox Rabbis. They agreed to import a rabbi from Europe who would be given the title "chief rabbi," and be responsible for rulings on matters of ritual and belief; raising the spiritual level of the faithful; and bringing order to the preparation and sale of kosher products.

Irving Howe (see next endnote) says it happened in 1887.

- 90. Irving Howe, World of Our Fathers (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976) 123.
- "A gentle soul, Rabbi Joseph had been invited in 1887 to come from Vilna and assume the post of chief rabbi, a title without clear warrant in the synagogue structure of New York."
- 91. Adler.
- 92. Ibid.
- 93. Howe, 123.
- 94. Adler.
- 95. Ibid.
- 96. Dinnerstein and Reimers, 44.
- 97. Donald Tricarico, "Italians," *Encyclopedia of New York City*, ed. Kenneth T. Jackson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995) 605.

- 98. Tom Miller, "The 1801 Catholic Church of the Transfiguration 25 Mott Street," *Daytonian in Manhattan* n.d., 20 May 2012 http://daytoninmanhattan.blogspot.com/2011/02/1801-catholic-church-of-transfiguration.html>.
- 99. Tyler Anbinder, Five Points (New York: The Free Press, 2001) 32-33.
- 100. Tom Miller, "The 1801 Catholic Church of the Transfiguration -- 25 Mott Street."
- 101. Anbinder, 378.
- 102. Ibid., 379.
- 103. Ibid., 381.
- 104. Tom Miller, "The 1801 Catholic Church of the Transfiguration 25 Mott Street."
- 105. Anbinder, 306.
- 106. Ibid., 314.
- 107. Luc Sante, Low Life (New York: Vintage Books, 1991) 18.
- 108. Cal Stewart, *The Village Gossips*, rec. 1915, Diamond Disc, Edison 50249

Transcribed by Flor D'Luna Arellano. Eric Byron slightly modified the transcription. The work is performed with a rube accent. Please keep in mind that transcriptions and translations are interpretations. Translation, spelling and punctuation may vary.

109. Cal Stewart, Uncle Josh in a Department Store, rec. Oct. 1908, 78 rpm, Victor 16520.

Transcribed by Eric Byron. The work is performed in English with a rube accent.

- 110. Anthony Harkins, *Hillbilly: A Cultural History of an American Icon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) 26.
- 111. Ibid., 27.
- 112. Len Spencer, Arkansas Traveler, rec. 1902 Cylinder, Edison 8202.

Transcribed by Eric Byron. The work is performed in English with a rube accent. The recording can be heard on the *Cylinder Preservation and Digitization Project*, 2002, Donald C. Davidson Library, University of California, Santa Barbara http://cylinders.library.ucsb.edu/>.

113. Arthur Collins, *I've Got a White Man Working for Me*, rec. 1901, Cylinder. Edison 7779 (most likely).

Transcribed by Eric Byron. The work is performed in Standard English and English with a black accent. The catalogue number is probably 7779.

114 Ada Jones, You Will Have to Sing an Irish Song, rec. 1908, Cylinder, Edison 9966.

"You Will Have to Sing an Irish Song," Baylor University Library Digital Collections, n.d., Baylor University, 22 May 2013 http://contentdm.baylor.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/fa-spnc/id/6615/rec/1.

Words are partially derived from Baylor University Library Digital Collections at http://contentdm.baylor.edu/index.php. Eric Byron slightly modified them to fit the words of the recording. The recording can be heard on the *Cylinder Preservation and Digitization Project*, 2002, Donald C. Davidson Library, University of California, Santa Barbara http://cylinders.library.ucsb.edu/.

115. Steve Porter, *Christmas Morning at Clancey's*, rec. Oct. 1908, 78 rpm, Victor 16936.

Transcribed by Eric Byron. The work is performed in English with an Irish accent. The recording can be heard on the *National Jukebox*, Library of Congress http://www.loc.gov/jukebox/.

116. Gus Van and Joe Schenck, *Dougherty Is the Name*, rec. ca. Oct. 1929, 78 rpm, Victor 22352.

Transcribed by Eric Byron. The work is performed in English with an Irish accent.

117. Monroe Silver, *Cohen on His Honeymoon*, rec. August 1919, 78 rpm, Emerson 10176.

Transcribed by Eric Byron. The work is performed in English with a Yiddish accent.

118. Caroline Butler, "MICK MOLONEY If It Wasn't For the Irish and the Jews," *The Celtic Connection Line* 2009, 2006, The Celtic Connection 4 July 2012 http://www.celtic-connection.com/entertainment/ent2009_10_01_music.html. William Jerome will be discussed in more detail in "The Ability to Cross the Boundary – Part I."

119. Billy Murray, If It Wasn't for the Irish and the Jews, rec. Feb. 1912, 78 rpm, Victor 17054.

"Irish / Jews lyrics," *The Washington Square Harp and Shamrock Orchestra*, n.d., 22 May 2013 http://wshso.wordpress.com/tunes/songs/irish-jews-lyrics/. The words come from this site. They have been modified by Eric Byron to fit the words of the recording. The recording can be heard on the *National Jukebox*, Library of Congress http://www.loc.gov/jukebox/.

120. Ada Jones and Len Spencer, *Pedro, the Hand Organ Man*, rec. 4 April 1907, 78 rpm, Victor 5112.

Transcribed by Prachi Vidwans, slightly modified it by Eric Byron.

121. Nora Bayes, *The Argentines, The Portuguese and the Greeks*, rec. 10 July 1920, 78 rpm, Columbia A2930.

Words come from "Mt. Carmel High School Immigration Songs." Eric Byron has slightly modified them to fit the words of the recording.

"Immigration Songs," *Mt. Carmel High School Immigration Songs*, n.d. Poway Unified School District, 22 May 2013

http://www.powayusd.com/online/usonline/worddoc/immigration_songs.htm.

122. The Ellis Island Discography Database lists a series of "Uncle Josh at the Chinese Laundry."

It was possible to hear the Victor 16068 variation of "Uncle Josh at the Chinese Laundry" on the June 2, 2009 Antique Phonograph Music Program website at http://wfmu.org/playlists/shows/31679>.

123. Ralph Bingham, Goldstein Behind Bars, rec. 1916, 78 rpm, Victor 18231.

_____, Mrs. Rastus Johnson at the Telephone, rec. 1916, 78 rpm, Victor 18231.

Arthur Collins, I Think I See My Brother Coming Now, rec. 1908, 78 rpm, Victor 16015.

Arthur Collins and Byron G. Harlan, *Under the Anheiser Bush*, rec. 1904, 78 rpm, Harmony A383.

_____, With Her Do-Re-Mi-Fa-Sol-La-Si - and Do, rec. 1915, 78 rpm, Columbia A-1918.

Vernon Dalhart and Ed Smalle, *Mickey Donohue*, rec. 1924, 78 rpm, Banner 1315. Billy Jones, *Whose Izzy Is He (Is He Yours or Is He Mine)*, rec. 1924, 78 rpm, Banner 1315.

Billy Golden, Roll on de Ground, rec. 1905, 78 rpm, Victor 16804.

Peerless Quartette, Schmaltz's German Band, rec. 1915, 78 rpm, Columbia A-1918.

Steve Porter, Flanagan on a Broadway Car, rec. 1908, 78 rpm, Victor 16015.

Steve Porter, Flanagan's Night Off, rec. 1906, 78 rpm, Harmony A383.

Cal Stewart, Uncle Josh's Trip to Coney Island, rec. 1908, 78 rpm, Victor 16804.

- 124. Harlan, and Stanley, *Two Rubes in an Eating House*, rec. Sept. 1903, 78 rpm, Columbia A391.
- 125. Cal Stewart, *Uncle Josh Invites City Folks to Visit on His Farm*, rec. Sept. 1903, 78 rpm, Columbia A391.
- 126. Neal Conan, "Storing Treasured Memories On CD May Be Risky," 2013, NPR, 4 July 2012 http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=130244610 >.
- 127. E-mail to author from Sam Brylawski on August 12, 2012.
- 128. Bill Klinger, "CYLINDER RECORDS: Significance, Production, and Survival," National Recording Preservation Board, 2013 Library of Congress, 4 July 2012 www.loc.gov/rr/record/nrpb/pdf/klinger.pdf>.

ARSC is a nonprofit organization, founded in 1966, dedicated to the preservation and study of sound recordings – in all genres of music and speech, in all formats, and from all periods. ARSC is unique in bringing together private collectors, historians, discographers, engineers, and institutional professionals, including representatives of some of the world's largest libraries and archives. (July 4, 2012)

- 129. E-mail from Niel Shell to Sam Brylawski and passed on to the author on August 12, 2012.
- 130. NewHavenPatriot, "1923 Henry Whitter 'Wreck of the Old 97.'" 21 Aug. 2009. YouTube, 30 May 2013 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5b8fUJT_ZNA.

According to the NewHavenPatriot, Henry Whitter was the first person to record the "Wreck of the Old 97" in 1923.

- 131. Niel Shell and Barbara Shilkret, *Nathaniel Shilkret: Sixty Years in the Music Business* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2005) 42-43.
- 132. See endnote 8.
- 133. Billy Murray, It's Not Your Nationality, It's Simply You, rec. 1917, Victor 18184.

Transcribed by Eric Byron. The work is performed in Standard English. The recording can be heard on the *National Jukebox*, Library of Congress, at http://www.loc.gov/jukebox/>.

134. Alexander Maloof, *America Ya Hilwa*, rec. April 1923, 78 rpm, Maloof 225-A.

Mr. Halabi, an emigrant from Syria, volunteered to translate this song into French. The French was later translated into English. Mr. Halabi thought that the music probably came from a love song and that the words had been changed to praise America. The Program Coordinator of the New Horizons Department at the Sephardic Community Center at 1901 Ocean Parkway in Brooklyn coordinated the translation project.

135. Theophile Salnave, *Les Émigrés*, rec. Jan. 1930, 78 rpm, Victor 46678. The translation comes from "The Portfolio Project," Americans All, 2000 (Beltsville, MD: People of America Foundation, 2000) 36-37.

136. Morris Goldstein, *Columbus Ich hob zu Dir Gornit*, rec. ca. Nov. 1918, 78 rpm, Columbia E-4280.

Based upon the sheet music, Eric Byron transcribed and translated the work. He modified the words of the sheet music so that they would fit the words on the record. Bold is used in order to make the English words and words derived from English stand out in skits and songs that primarily utilize a non-English immigrant language. The recording can be heard on the *Judaica Sound Archives*, Florida Atlantic University Libraries, 2007, Florida Atlantic University https://faujsa.fau.edu/jsa/>.

137. Andrej Gellert, *Grinhorni*, rec. 1930, 78 rpm, Columbia 67017-F.

Summarized by Fred Gessner and Emilia Holbik. The record was part of a collection owned by Fred Gessner that he acquired from his grandfather Karol Repka. He donated the collection to the National Slovak Society in 2005. Since the recording has not been transcribed or translated, it cannot be said definitively that the recording does not play on a repetitive greenhorn character.

138. Sam Silverbush, *Ellis Island*, rec. April 1922, 78 rpm, Okeh 14047.

Summarized by Eric Byron.

139. Giuseppe Milano, *Ll'isola d' 'E Lacreme-Parte*, rec. July 1928, 78 rpm, Victor V-62001.

Translated by Nicoletta Guddemi. Although Peter, the son in the skit, has a name, the work does not suggest that the authors were in any way trying to develop a specific character. The authors seem to have created the name to not only separate the character from other characters, but also make the skit more human.

140. Joseph Feldman, Die Griene Kosina, rec. Feb. 1922, 78 rpm, Victor 73223.

The transcription is based upon text in Eleanor Gordon Mloteks, "My Green Cousin," *Mir Trogn A Gezang*, (New York: Workmen's Circle, 1972) 142-143. The sound

recording can be heard on the *Judaica Sound Archives*, Florida Atlantic University Libraries, 2007, Florida Atlantic University http://faujsa.fau.edu/jsa/>.

141. Gennaro Amato, Dint 'o Subway, rec. Aug. 1927, 78 rpm, Victor 14-80651.

Summarized by an Ellis Island Discography volunteer.

142. Frances Simonoff, Die New Yorker Treren, rec. June 1910, 78 rpm, Victor 16599.

Hyman Adler, Die New Yorker Treren, rec. Feb. 1911, 78 rpm, Columbia E5019.

______, Die New Yorker Treren, rec. May 1911, cylinder, Edison 10010.

William Schwartz, *Die New Yorker Trehren*, rec. ca. Jan. 1920, 78 rpm. Columbia E4669.

143. Slobin, 160.

144. Amato e G. Ventrella Compagnia, *A Vigilia 'E Natale*, rec. ca. 1930, 78 rpm, Brunswick 58256.

Summarized by an Ellis Island Discography volunteer.

145. Ignacy Podgorski, *Popsulo Sie w Ameryce*, rec. March 1931, 78 rpm, Victor 25-9018.

Transcribed and translated by a Filip Uscilowitz.

Unfortunately, the software used to gather database information could not record some Polish letters and accent marks. There may mistakes in the transcription.

146. Alex Silverstein, Bisness in America, rec. June 1912, Columbia E1007.

Transcribed and translated by Eric Byron. Bold is used in order to make the English words and the words derived from English stand out in the skits and songs that primarily utilize non-English immigrant language. The sound recording can be heard on the *Judaica Sound Archives*, Florida Atlantic University Libraries, 2007, Florida Atlantic University http://faujsa.fau.edu/jsa/>.

147. Morris Goldstein, *America*, rec. Dec. 1922, 78 rpm, Okeh 14062.

Transcribe and translated by Irving Silberg. The text was slightly modified by Eric Byron.

148. Alfred Bascetta, *Le Ragazze di New York ('E Ghelle 'e New York)*, rec. Jan. 1923, 78 rpm, Okeh 9089.

Transcribed and translated by Ellis Island Discography volunteers.

149. Walter Polak, Amerykanskiem Miescie, rec. July 1929, 78 rpm, Victor V-16091

Words come from: Sales, Abby. ""W Amerykanskiem Miescie." *The Mudcat Café*. 1998. Mudcat Café Music Foundation, Inc. 25 May 2012 http://mudcat.org/thread.cfm?threadid=88084>.

150. "Irish Emigrant." Digital Collections Music. n.d. National Library of Australia. 16 Dec. 2012 < http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-vn3800150>.

Lady Duferin wrote the words and George A. Barker composed the music ca. 1856-58. Blackwood, Helen Selina (Lady Dufferin), and George A. Barker.

151. John McCormack, *The Irish Emigrant*, rec. ca. 1911, 78 rpm, Victor 74237.

Transcribed by Eric Byron. The work is performed in English with an Irish accent.

152. Abraham Moskowitz, *Mein Thaire Kishinev*, rec. ca. June 1923, 78 rpm, Columbia E9038.

The sound recording can be heard on the *Judaica Sound Archives*, 2007, Florida Atlantic University Libraries http://faujsa.fau.edu/jsa/>.

153. Seymour Rechtzeit, *Belz*, rec. March 1940, 78 rpm, RCA 25-5033.

Alexander Olshanetsky, Jacob Jacobs, "Mein Shtetele Belz," (Brooklyn, New York: J. & J. Kammen Music Company, 1934).

Eric Byron transcribed and translated the work based upon the sheet music. Mistakes possibly exist in the transcription and translation. Alexander Olshanetsky composed the music and Jacob Jacobs wrote the words

154. Aaron Lebedeff, Roumania, Roumania, rec. Feb. 1941, 78 rpm, Columbia 8226-F.

Aaron Lebedeff and Sholom Secunda, "Rumania, Rumania," (New York: Metro Music Company, 1947).

Eric Byron transcribed and translated the work based upon the sheet music "Rumania, Rumania." Mistakes possibly exist in the transcription and translation. Even though the sheet music has a copyright of 1947, according to Richard Spottswood, the record was recorded in 1941.

155. Achilleas Poulos, *Nedem Geldym Amerikaya*, rec. 1926, 78 rpm, Columbia 75011-F.

Transcribed and translated by an Ellis Island volunteer.

156. Rosina Gioiosa, Sta *Terra Nun Fa Pi Mia*, rec. Feb. 1928, 78 rpm, Brunswick 58073. An Ellis Island volunteer summarized this work.

157. John Griffin, My Heart It Is in Leitrim, rec. 1929, 78 rpm, Columbia 33382-F.

Transcribed by Eric Byron. The work is performed in English with an Irish accent.

158. Stefan J. Zielinski, *Antek Amerykan w Karczmie*, rec. June 1927, 78 rpm, Victor 79480.

Transcribed and translated by Piotr Cichocki. Dr. Arkadiusz Bentkowski, at that time Photo Curator of the Royal Anthropological Institute in London, contacted Mr. Chichocki and asked him to do the work. Bold is used in order to make the English words and the words derived from English stand out in the skits and songs that primarily utilize a non-English immigrant language.

Antek might possibly be a repetitive character type used in Polish record skits. The name turns up in other titles and on the other side of this record. Unfortunately, these other recordings have not been located.

159. Andrej Gellert, Navsteva z Ameriky, rec. June 1927, 78 rpm, Victor 68828.

Summarized by Fred Gessner and Emilia Holbik. The record was part of a collection owned by Fred Gessner that he acquired from his grandfather Karol Repka. He donated the collection to the National Slovak Society in 2005. The character may be a repetitive character. However, first we would have to hear the recording and then compare the character(s) to other recordings.

160. The Roubanis Chorus, *O Grecoamericanos Stin Athina*, rec. ca. July 1925, 78 rpm, Columbia 56024-F.

Transcribed and translated by Nefeli Elini Piree-Iliou. The "man" in the skit may actually be a woman. It is hard to tell the sex of the person confronting the officer by the quality of his/her voice.

161. Ernest Balle, *Fritz Schultzes Reise Nach der Alten Heimat*, rec. 17 January 1922, 78 rpm, Victor 68586.

Like the character Antek cited in endnote 158, Fritz Schultze may also be a repetitive character. However, in order to make this determination, many more records have to be found, transcribed and translated.

Translated by an Ellis Island volunteer.

- 162. Ernest Balle, *Froehliche Stunden im Hamburger Ratskeller*, rec. 17 January 1922, 78 rpm, Victor 68586.
- 163. Joseph J. Accardi, "Images of Giovanni De Rosalia: Playwright, Poet, and 'Nofrio." 1996-2012, *Prima Pagina di Joe Accardi*, 18 Nov. 2011 http://www.accardiweb.com/nofrio/.
- 164. Emelise Aleandri, *The Italian-American Immigrant Theatre of New York City*, (Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Press, 1999) The author responded to the author's question about the origins of the name Nofrio through an e-mail on April 1, 2011.
- 165. Aleandri, 89.
- 166. Douglas Harper, "Yenta," *Online Etymology Dictionary*, 2001-2013, Douglas Harper, 26 May 2012 http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=yenta.
- 167. "Jacob Adler," *what-when-how: In Depth Tutorials and Information*, n.d., Crankshaft Publishing's 26 May 2012 http://what-when-how.com/jews-and-judaism/adler-felix-to-adler-renata-jews-and-judaism/.
- 168. Douglas Harper, "Nazi," *Online Etymology Dictionary*, 2001-2013, Douglas Harper, 26 May 2012 < http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=Nazi>.

abbreviation 1930. from Ger. *Nazi*, of German pronunciation of Nationalsozialist (based on earlier Ger. of abbreviation "socialist"), popular Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei "National Socialist German Workers' Party," led by Hitler from 1920. The 24th edition of Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache (2002) says the word Nazi was favored in southern Germany (supposedly from c.1924) among opponents of National Socialism because the nickname Nazi (from the masc. proper name Ignatz, German form of Ignatius) was used colloquially to mean "a foolish person, clumsy or awkward person." Ignatz was a popular name in Catholic Austria, and according to one source in WWI Nazi was a generic name in the German Empire for the soldiers of Austria-Hungary. An older use of Nazi for nationalsozial is attested in German from 1903, but EWdS does not think it contributed to the word as applied to Hitler and his followers. The NSDAP for a time attempted to adopt the Nazi designation as what the Germans call a "despiteword," but they gave this up, and the NSDAP is said to have generally avoided the term. Before 1930, party members had been called in English National Socialists,

which dates from 1923. The use of *Nazi Germany*, *Nazi regime*, etc., was popularized by German exiles abroad. From them, it spread into other languages, and eventually was brought back to Germany, after the war. In the USSR, the terms *national socialist* and *Nazi* were said to have been forbidden after 1932, presumably to avoid any taint to the good word *socialist*.

169. "Eleonora and Ethel Olson," *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia*, 22, May 2013, Wikimedia Foundation, Inc., 25 May 2013 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eleonora_and_Ethel_Olson.

Between 1905 and 1925 Eleonora and Ethel Olson were well-known figures in Scandinavian communities throughout the United States. They toured extensively in the Midwest, and their recordings on major record labels gained them a nationwide following.

The sisters were versatile performers, adept at both singing and comedy. They usually worked with a piano accompanist and presented a program of vocal works, piano solos, and comic monologues. Eleonora, a contralto, was the primary vocalist, and Ethel, a soprano, joined her for duets. Their musical repertoire ranged from recital pieces and folk songs to parlor songs and gospel hymns.

Originally the quote came from Music of Minnesota," *eNotes*," 27 May 2012 http://www.enotes.com/topic/Eleonora. However, the information was no longer there on May 25, 2013.

170. "Biographies: Elzéar Hamel, actor (1871-1944)," *The Virtual Gramophone: Canadian Historical Sound Recordings*, 15 July 2010, Library and Archives Canada, 27 May 2012 http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/gramophone/028011-1010-e.html>.

... Hamel recorded several dozen comic monologues, most of which featured the adventures of a traditional character known as "Ladébauche" (a drunkard or immoral person), a role that he had also performed on stage. Starting in 1916 with "Ladébauche au telephone" ("Ladébauche on the phone"), he made a large number of comic recordings on the Columbia label. Sometime between 1924 and 1926, he recorded his monologues for the His Master's Voice 263000 series, which was devoted to French-Canadian recording artists. Later on he made a few recordings for Brunswick. Among Hamel's many recordings in the "Ladébauche" group are "Ladébauche, Dompteur de

- Lions" ("The Lion-Tamer"), and "Ladébauche, le Rebouteux" ("The Bone-Setter"). Some of Hamel's recordings also featured the voices of the well-known French-Canadian actors, Alexandre Desmarteaux and Blanche Gauthier, among others.
- 171. Robert Thérien, "Biographies: Joseph Dumais, stand-up comedian and entertainer (1870-?), *The Virtual Gramophone: Canadian Historical Sound Recordings*, 15 July 2010, Library and Archives Canada, 27 May 2012 http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/gramophone/028011-1069-e.html>.
- 172. "Foreign white stock and foreign-born separately by countries of origin, distributed according to mother tongue in detail, 1910," U.S. Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth U.S. Census (Washington, D.C. 1913), Vol. 1, Table 21, 992-993," *Harvard Encyclopedia of Ethnic Groups*, ed. Stephan Thernstrom (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1980) 1054.
- 173. Robert Thérien, e-mail to Eric Byron on August 25, 2011.
- 174. Ibid., e-mail to Eric Byron on January 21, 2013.
- 175. Services aux usagers, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, <Clientele-BAnQ@banq.qc.ca> sent Eric Byron an e-mail on January 5, 2013.
- 176. William Swift, "French Comic Strips." *The Canadian Encyclopedia/The Encyclopedia of Music in Canada*. 2012. The Canadian Encyclopedia, 27 May 2012 http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/articles/french-comic-strips>.
- 177. See endnote #175.
- 178. Kendra Cherry, "Defense Mechanisms: Projection." *Psychology*. 2013. About.com. 27 May 2012

http://psychology.about.com/od/theoriesofpersonality/ss/defensemech 7.htm>.

The author discussed the acquisition of greenhorn recordings with psychologist Dr. Bruce Berman. Dr. Berman thought that projection played a part in the need to acquire these recordings.

179. Giovanni De Rosalia, *Nofrio Parte per L'America*, rec. ca. March 1922, 78 rpm, Columbia E-7600.

Transcribed and translated by Alessandro Marsili.

180. Giovanni De Rosalia and Company, *Nofrio Arriva in America*, rec. Feb. 1922, 78 rpm, Okeh 9052.

Summarized by Dr. Anthony Lentini.

181. Giovanni De Rosalia and Company, *Nofrio Padrone di Restorante*, rec. ca. 1920s, 78 rpm, Nofrio label G 107?

Transcribed and translated by an Ellis Island Discography volunteer.

182. De Rosalia and Company, *Nofrio allu Storo 'e Cinque e Dieci*, rec. 1921, 78 rpm, Victor 73263.

Transcribed, translated and summarized by an Ellis Island Discography volunteer.

183. Gus Goldstein, Yente Zitzt in der Opera, rec. 1922, 78 rpm, Okeh 14056.

Summarized by Eric Byron. The sound recording can be heard on the *Judaica Sound Archives*, Florida Atlantic University Libraries, 2007 Florida Atlantic University http://faujsa.fau.edu/jsa/>.

184. Anna Hoffman and Jacob Jacobs, *Chana Pesel bam Doctor*, rec. Jan. 1920, Victor 72701.

Transcribed and translated by Irving Silberg. Eric Byron slightly modified the work. Bold is used to make the English words and words derived from English stand out in the skits and songs that primarily utilize a non-English immigrant language. The sound recording can be heard on the *Judaica Sound Archives*, Florida Atlantic University Libraries, 2007 Florida Atlantic University http://faujsa.fau.edu/jsa/>.

185. Ethel Olson, *A Norwegian Woman Using the Telephone*, rec. March 1918, Victor 72060.

Transcribed and translated by Rigmor Swensen, Co-chair of the Norwegian Immigration Association at 317 East 52nd Street, New York, NY. 10022.

186. Shaun O'Nolan, *The Kelleys*, rec. Nov. 1925, 78 rpm, Vocalion 84069.

Transcribed by Eric Byron. The work is performed in English with an Irish accent.

187. Flanagan Brothers, *Flanagan's Naturalization Troubles*, rec. June 1927, 78 rpm, Columbia 33180-F.

Transcribed by Eric Byron. The work is performed in English with an Irish accent.

188. Sam Silverbush and Sadie Wachtel, *Prohibition*, rec. ca. 1920, 78 rpm, Columbia E-7123.

Summarized by Amanda (Miryem-Khaye) Seigel, Librarian at the Dorot Jewish Division, The New York Public Library and others.

Michael Tokarick, Janko Lajdak Na Strit Kare, rec. 1931, 78 rpm, Victor V-22119.

Summarized by Eric Byron.

189. Coppia Ruby De Russo, *Na Mugliera Airesce*, rec. ca. Oct. 1929, 78 rpm, Okeh 9486.

Transcribed and translated by Susan and Anthony Barbetto.

190. Carl Frischer, Wie Man Englisch Lernt, rec. July 1922, 78 rpm, Vocalion 10037.

Wie Man Englisch Lernt will be discussed in much greater detail in "English Acquisition by Immigrants (1880 – 1940): The Confrontation as Reflected in Early Sound Recordings."

191. Bogres Lajos, *Mr. Dollar Pista Megy Az Ohazaba*-Part 1), rec. July 1929, 78 rpm, Victor V11025.

Bogres Lajos, Mr. Dollar Pista Mulat A Kocsmaban-Part 2, rec. July 1929, 78 rpm, Victor V11025.

192. Demetrios Peridicopoulos, O Gero Amerikanos, rec. 1930s, Orthophonic S-737.

Translated by George Perry in "Songs of Migration and Immigration," ed. Richard Spottswood, Catalogue Card 77-750125. Recorded Sound Section, Library of Congress, Music Division, Washington, D.C.

193. Ludwig Satz, *Der Freilicher Chazen-Teil 1 and 2*, rec. June 1927, 78 rpm, Victor 68834.

Billy Jones, *Katharina*, rec. April 1925, 78 rpm, Brunswick 2863.

Transcribed by Eric Byron. The work is performed in English and there are some other accents that have not yet been identified. Eric Byron obtained the words from the Brunswick 2863 version.

- 194. Partipilos Mandolin Orchestra, *Nicola Parte per L'America*, rec. June 1927, 78 rpm, Victor 79457.
- 195. Aaron Lebedeff, A Chazend'l in America, rec. May 1928, 78 rpm, Brunswick 67106.
- 196. Reviewed by Alicia Bones. From her in-depth and articulate analysis, one senses the possibilities of doing this kind of examination.
- 197. Joe Hayman, Cohen on the Telephone, rec. May 1913, 78 rpm, Columbia A1516.

Transcribed by Eric Byron. The work is performed in English with a Yiddish accent. The sound recording can be heard on the *Judaica Sound Archives*, Florida Atlantic University Libraries, 2007. Florida Atlantic University http://faujsa.fau.edu/jsa/>.

Charles G. Widden, *Peterson Vid Telefonen*, rec. April 1919, Victor 72719.

Transcribed by Eric Byron. The work is performed in English with a Swedish accent.

198. Anna Hoffman and Jacob Jacobs. *De Suffragetky*. rec. Sept. 1919, 78 rpm, Victor 72484 (most likely).

"Singing for Suffrage: A Yiddish Musical Dialogue," trans. Kalmen Weiser, *History Matters*: 1998-2013, American Social Productions, Inc., 29 May 2012 http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/4965>.

Most likely the site transcribes and translates the 1919 Victor 72484 recording. (May 29, 2012) The sound recording can be heard on the *Judaica Sound Archives*, Florida Atlantic University Libraries, 2007, Florida Atlantic University http://faujsa.fau.edu/jsa/>.

199. Frank Kennedy, *Schultz on Woman's Suffrage*, rec. 5 March 1909, 78 rpm, Victor 16294.

The work is performed in English with a German accent.

200. Monroe Silver, *Cohen Talks about the Ladies*, rec. Aug. 1920, 78 rpm, Emerson 10232.

Eric Byron transcribed the recording. The work is performed in English with a Yiddish accent.

201. Billy Murray, Wise Old Indian, rec. 1909, cylinder, Edison 10183.

"Wise Old Indian," *IN Harmony: Sheet Music from Indiana*, 2013, Indiana University Digital Library, Indiana University. 16 Dec. 2012 .

Words are based upon sheet music located in *IN Harmony: Sheet Music from Indiana*, Indiana University. The words have been modified by Eric Byron to fit the words of the recording. The recording can be heard on the *Cylinder Preservation and Digitization Project*, 2002, Donald C. Davidson Library, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2002 http://cylinders.library.ucsb.edu/.

202. "Rudolph Valentino Biography" *bio.TRUE Story*, 1996-2013, Television Networks, LLC. 29 May 2012 http://www.biography.com/articles/Rudolph-Valentino-9514591.

203. Angelina Marco and Vaughn DeLeath, There's a New Star in Heaven To-night (Rudolph Valentino), rec. July 1926, 78 rpm, Banner 18100.

______, There's a New Star in Heaven To-night (Rudolph Valentino,) rec. 27 Aug. 1926, 78 rpm, Harmony 240-H.

______, There's a New Star in Heaven To-night (Rudolph Valentino), rec. Aug. 1926, 78 rpm, Okeh 40678.

______, There's a New Star in Heaven To-night (Rudolph Valentino), rec. Aug. 1926, 78 rpm. Perfect 12282.

______, There's a New Star in Heaven To-night (Rudolph Valentino), rec. 2 Sept. 1926, 78 rpm, Victor 20193.

The words come from "There's a New Star in Heaven Tonight, "A Sense of the 1920s and Vicinity," 16 Dec. 2012 http://cyberflapr.tripod.com/newstar.htm. They have been slightly modified to fit the words of the record.

204. Diego Giannini, *Povero Valentino (Poor Valentino)*, rec. Sept. 1926, 78 rpm, Okeh 9287.

Transcribed and translated by Alessandro Marsili.

205. Tony Michels, *A Fire in Their Hearts: Yiddish Socialists in New York*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005) 13.

To be an American, dress like an American, look like an American, and even, if only in fantasy, talk like an American became a collective goal, at least for the younger immigrant. "Today," remarked David Blaustein in 1905, "English is more and more the language spoken on the East Side, whereas eight years ago it was rare to hear that tongue; today American clothes are worn, whereas in years gone by persons used to go to the East Side out of curiosity to see the foreign dress." ...

By 1905-1906 it was no longer rare for stores in the East Side, "even on Hester Street," to be open on the Sabbath; Yiddish purists were groaning at the invasion of Americanisms into their language...

206. "Irving Berlin," *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*, 21 May 2013, Wikimedia Foundation, Inc., 4 July 2012 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Irving_Berlin>.

207. Nate Bloom, "The Jews Who Wrote Christmas Songs," *InterFaithFamily*, 2012, InterfaithFamily.com, Inc., 19 Dec. 2010 .">http://www.interfaithfamily.com/arts_and_entertainment/popular_culture/The_Jews_Who_Wrote_Christmas_Songs.shtml?rd=2>.

208. "Nitel Nacht," 2005-2012, Crown Heights.Info, 29 May 2012 http://www.crownheights.info/index.php?catid=1&blogid=1&archive=2005-12. As of May 25, 2013, the specific story is no longer there.

Tonight is Nitel Nacht

Just a reminder that tonight is "Nitel Nacht" and the custom is that we don't learn as to not be "adding Chayus."

The Rebbe says in a Sicha that we shouldn't "waste our time" but involve ourselves in something like chess which exercises the mind or any other chore that needs to be done. And the Rebbe related a story in the Sicha where a Bochur would save all the sewing of the buttons on his cloths to "Nitel Nacht" to be productive in a "non Adding Chayus way."

So good luck in those chess games!

209. Irving Berlin, Oh! How That German Could Love, rec. Jan. 1910, 78 rpm, ARE D-669.
, Oh! How That German Could Love, rec. Jan. 1910, 78 rpm, Clarion K-244.
, Oh! How That German Could Love, rec. Jan. 1910, 78 rpm, Columbia A804.
, Oh! How That German Could Love, rec. Jan. 1910, 78 rpm, D& R 3667.
, Oh! How That German Could Love, rec. Jan. 1910, 78 rpm, Oxford 4333.
, Oh! How That German Could Love, rec. Jan. 1910, 78 rpm, Standard A804.
Rhoda Bernard, <i>Cohen Owes Me Ninety-Seven Dollars</i> , rec. ca. July 1916, 78 rpm, Columbia E2821.
, Cohen Owes Me Ninety-Seven Dollars, rec. April 1916, 78 rpm, Victor 18023.
, Hey Wop, rec. Nov. 1916, 78 rpm, Pathé 29139.
, Hey Wop, rec. Nov. 1916, 78 rpm, Pathé 30396.

Maurice Burkhart, *Cohen Owes Me Ninety-Seven Dollars*, rec. 1915, Diamond Disc, Edison 50321.

William J. Halley, *Pullman Porters on Parade*, rec. June 1913, 78 rpm, Victor 17453.

Al Jolson, Pullman Porters on Parade, rec. June 1913, 78 rpm, Columbia A-1374.

Edward Meeker and Ada Jones, *Pullman Porters on Parade*, rec. 1913, cylinder, Edison 2043.

John Ryan, Cohen Owes Me Ninety-Seven Dollars, rec. n.d., 78 rpm, Varsity 8206.

George L. Thompson, *Hey Wop*, rec. 1915, cylinder, Edison 2627.

_____, Hey Wop, rec. 1915, Diamond Disc, Edison 50244.

Victory Military Band, *Pullman Porters on Parade*, rec. Oct. 1913, 78 rpm, Victor 17465.

- 210. Frank Hoffmann et al., *Billy Murray: The Phonograph Industry's First Great Recording Artist* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 1997).
- 211. Billy Murray, I Love the Land of Old Black Joe, rec. 1920, 78 rpm, Victor 18677.
- _____, Me No Speak-a Good English, rec. 1924, 78 rpm, Victor 19280.
- _____, Wise Old Indian, rec. 1909, cylinder, Edison 10183.
- _____, You May Be Irish, Murphy, But I think You're in Dutch, rec. 1912, 78 rpm, Victor 17213.
- 212. Janet L. Dolgin, *Jewish Identity and the JDL* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977).
- 213. Ibid., 62.
- 214. Ibid., 128.
- 215. James R. Flannery, "William Jerome Flannery" n.d., 22 Nov. 2010 http://homepage.eircom.net/~oflannery/bio/bioWJF18651932.htm.
- 216. Butler, 22 Nov. 2010.
- 217. Sarah Litvin, "St. Patrick's Day With the Irish and the Jews," 10 March 2010, *The Jewish Daily Forward*, 2013, Forward Association, Inc. 11 Oct. 2012

http://forward.com/articles/126548/st-patrick-s-day-with-the-irish-and-the-jews/#ixzz28zDI1IuH.

218. Merle Bachman, *Recovering "Yiddishland"* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2008) 125-127.

219. Peerless Quartet with Harry C. Browne, *O Susanna*, rec. 6 Oct. 1916, 78 rpm, Columbia A2218.

The words come from "Oh! Susanna." *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. 25 May 2013. Wikimedia Foundation. Inc. 16, Dec. 2012 < http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oh!_Susanna>. They have been modified by Eric Byron to fit the recording.

220. Collins and Harlan, *Alexander's Ragtime Band*, rec. May 1911, 78 rpm, Victor 16908.

Words come from *Doc Wilson Midi Files*. They have been modified by Eric Byron to fit the recording. It is no longer possible to access Doc Wilson Midi Files. The recording can be heard on the *National Jukebox*, n.d., Library of Congress http://www.loc.gov/jukebox/>.

221. Vernon Dalhart, *The Sidewalks of New York*, rec. 30 July 1925, 78 rpm, Columbia 437D.

Words came from an unidentified source and were modified by Eric Byron to fit the recording.

222. Jack Kaufman, The Sidewalks of New York, rec. ca. 1928, 78 rpm, Cameo 8281.

Transcribed by Eric Byron to fit the recording.

223. Alma Gluck, My Old Kentucky Home, rec. 1916, 78 rpm, Victor 74468.

224. "Kentucky, The Kentucky State Song," NETSTATE.COM, 28 Sept. 2009, NSTATE, LLC. 29 May 2012

http://www.netstate.com/states/symb/song/ky_my_old_kentucky_home.htm.

225. Victor Greene, *A Passion for Polka: Old-Time Ethnic Music in America*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992) 114.

226. Ibid.

227. Ibid., 115.

228. Ibid., 125-126.

229. Ibid., 125.

- 230. Ibid.
- 231. Ibid.
- 232. Ibid., 133.
- 233. Ibid., 129.
- 234. Bill Huntley, "BEI MIR BIST DU SCHÖN." *International Lyrics Playground*. Dec. 2004 International Lyrics Playground 16 Dec. 2012 http://lyricsplayground.com/alpha/songs/b/beimirbistduschon.shtml>.

English Acquisition by Immigrants (1880 – 1940): The Confrontation as Reflected in Early Sound Recordings

Most immigrants during the peak immigration years 1880 through 1924 arrived in America without being able to comprehend or speak English. These people entered a land where, unlike many of the places from which they came, one language, English, predominated, and everyone was expected to learn it as quickly as possible. For the vast majority of new arrivals, success in America meant achieving at least a rudimentary understanding and proficiency in the new language. Fortunately for those of us interested in the dynamics of ethnic interaction, the acquisition, use, and misuse of English played a major role in the tens of thousands of commercial sound recordings that were made by and for immigrants in the United States during these years. This chapter will discuss the role of English on primarily non-English records to illustrate the frustrations, anxieties, and humor immigrants experienced in their adoption of English.

The Necessity of Learning English: The Importance of Speaking English and Speaking It Well

Periodically a recording will indicate somewhere the reasons the immigrants had to learn and use English. One can find such an explanation in the 1925 Yiddish recording "Der Schneider un der Shuster" (The Tailor and the Shoemaker) performed by Adolf King and Morris Goldstein on Victor 78345.

Excerpt from "Der Schneider un der Shuster"

Ober iz er a **custom tailor** Lebn, lakhn, brent a velt. Mayn mulokha iz a **tailor** Vayl a schnayder makt keyn gelt

Translation

But he is a custom tailor Live, laugh, burn a world. My trade is a tailor Because a shnayder doesn't make any money. ²

Hermann Leopoldi expands on the theme of why one must learn English in the Master 104 A recording "Da Waer's Halt Ut, Wenn Man Englisch Koennt" (It Would Be Good to Know English). Recorded primarily in German with some English in the late 1930s or early 1940s, the work begins with a kind of lament. "Die Sprache, die ich frueher sprach, Die konnt' ich fliessend sprechen" (In the language that I used to speak, I was fluent.) From that point Leopoldi continues with a discussion of evening school, being a greenhorn, meeting a sweetheart, needing a job, and getting out beyond the world of your relatives who will not help you become fluent in your new language. The juxtaposition of humor and anguish underscores his situation and by extension the plight of most

immigrants, especially those who had to flee their native land. Although the whole composition is forceful, one section seems to stress more than the rest the frustrating hopelessness of it all:

Excerpt from "Da Waer's Halt Ut, Wenn Man Englisch Koennt"

Mit **evening school**, so fing ich an, Ich nahm my **English lesson**, So hab ich, was ich **evenings** kann, Beim **breakfast** schon vergessen.

Man merkt's mir an, am Dialekt, Wann ich Amerika entdeckt.

Translation

At evening school, that's how I started, I took my English lesson, And so I have what I know evenings Already forgotten at breakfast.

Everybody notices it by my accent When I have discovered America. 4

When Hermann Leopoldi states that "Everybody notices it by my accent when I have discovered America," he confronts both himself and his audience with not only the importance of conversing in English, but of the ability to utilize it properly.

English Acquisition Difficulties: Words That Sound the Same in Both Languages but Mean Different Things

Quite a few recordings concentrate on the struggles associated with English acquisition. Commercial sound recording artists could not resist exploiting the mispronunciations, misunderstandings, and other distortions that resulted when immigrants tried to master English. The end product not only made for a good laugh, but the immigrant must have felt a little less awkward and lonely in the pursuit of this new language. One hears a number of common acquisition problems on the records. Words sound the same in both languages but have entirely different meanings. A speaker might master the meaning of the words and the proper grammatical order, but he/she never quite pronounces the phonemes correctly. Idiomatic expressions and popular phrases in one language are often extremely difficult to translate into another.

A word in one language sounds exactly the same or nearly the same as a word in another language, but the meaning differs completely. The following example hints at the kinds of difficulties people faced. In the 1915 "Milchuma" (War) performed by Isidore Lillian and Louis Gilrod on Columbia E2446, the performers humorously describe all the

confusion that occurs when immigrants write home using English words they have integrated into their native language that sound similar to Yiddish words. For example, the word for "letter" sounds like the Yiddish word *layter*, which means "ladder" in Yiddish. The English word "miss" sounds almost exactly the same as the Yiddish word *mies*, but in Yiddish *mies* means "ugly." Likewise, the English word "board" means "beard" in Yiddish and *key* in Yiddish is the word for "cow." "Strike," pronounced the way a Yiddish person might pronounce it, becomes the Yiddish word for "string." The chaos and bewilderment the immigrants must have felt are all played out on the recordings, so much so that the two speakers finally decide it is better to remain in wartime Russia than to come to America where nothing makes any sense.

Excerpt from "Milchuma"

Zindl: "Vayl mayn brider Chayim Lokshn iz in Amerike tsen yor. Hot er mir geshribn a **levter**."

Grindl: "A **leyter** shraybt men? Ikh veys az a leyter krikht men."

Zindl: "Oy gevalt! Nit a leyter az men kent im, steyt er. Nur a leyter az men skhikt im, geyt er. A **leyter** auf Amerikener lushan, dus is a briv."

Grindl: "Azoy. Vi geyt es im do?"

Zindl: "Er shraybt az es geyt im dortn zeyer gut. Er voynt Dorn bay a **mies** (misses) un di **mies** (misses) iz zeyer a sheyner un bay der sheyner **mies** (misses) iz er a **bord**."

Grindl: "Ikh farshtey nit. Oyb zi iz a mies, vi ken zi a sheyner? Oyb zi iz a sheyner, vi ken si zayn a mies. Un vi kimt tsi ir a bord?"

Zindl: "Nisht a bord vos vakst aufn punem. A **bord** auf Amerikaner lushan iz a kvartirant."

Grindl: "Azoy. Er voynt vay iz auf kvartir?"

Zindl: "Yo. Un er shraybt mir az di sheyne **mies** (misses) spilt mit im a libe un zi hot im gesheynkt a **ki** (pronounced key)."

Grindl: "Azoy. Ez iz im avekgeshenkt a ki (pronounced key). In Amerike, muz zayn a sakh bahaymes. Nu, vuszhe ti er mit di ki? Vos tit er?"

Zindl: "Er trugt zi arum in keshene un az er kumt aheym speyt baynakht un es iz farshlosn di tir, nemt er aroys di **ki** (pronounced key) fun der keshene un efent mit di ki, di tir."

Grindl: "Azoy, ay, yay, ya . . . Vi kimt arayn a gantze ki in a keshene?"

Zindl: "Freg nisht keyn kashes auf Amerikane keshenes. . ."

Translation

Zindl: "Because my brother, Khayim Lokshn, has been for ten years in America. He wrote me a letter."

Grindl: "You write a ladder (*leyter*)? I know you crawl on a ladder."

Zindl: "Oh, help! Not a ladder that as you see him, he's standing; but a letter that when you send it, it goes. A letter, in American speech, is a *briv*."

Grindl: "Is that so? How is he doing, then?"

Zindl: "Oh, he's doing very well there. He's living there at a Misses (pronounced mise) and the misses is a real beauty. And at the beautiful misses, he's a boarder (pronounced *bord*)."

Grindl: "I don't understand. If she is un-attractive (*a mise*), how can she be a beauty? If she is a beauty, how can she be un-attractive? And how does he come to have a beard (pronounced bord)?"

Zindl: "Not a bord that grows on your face. A bord (boarder) in American speech, that a *kvartirant* (boarder)."

Grindl: "Is that so? He's boarding at her place."

Zindl: "Yeah. And he writes me that the beautiful misses and he are playing around and she has given him a key."

Grindl: "Is that so? He was given a cow (*ki*). In American there must be a lot of cattle. Well, what then, does he do with the cow (key)? What does he do?"

Zindl: "He keeps it in his pocket, and when he comes home

late at night and the door is locked, he takes the **key** out of his pocket and opens the door with the key."

Grindl: "Is that so? Ai, ai, ai, - - - How does a whole cow get into a pocket?"

Zindl: "Don't ask questions about American pockets..."5

English Acquisition Difficulties: Phonemic and Idiomatic Interference

Each linguistic group has its own set of phonemes, units of sound that signify meaning for that specific group. Immigrants commonly found pronouncing the phonemes of their new language difficult, if not impossible. Often, a native speaker of one language will unintentionally impose the phonemes of the native language on the language with which he or she is less familiar. Of course, mispronunciation can lead to misunderstanding, resulting in embarrassing and comic situations. Performing artists during the early years of sound recording could not resist using such material. Generally they were American performers producing for a native English speaking non-ethnic and non-racial audience. Charles Widden, however, employs the method in his "Peterson Vid Telefonen" (Peterson on the Telephone) for a Swedish immigrant audience. (This recording was briefly mentioned in "Cracks in the Boundary Between Immigrant Groups and the General Society:...," a discussion about how technology impacted both recordings about immigrants and recordings by immigrants.) Recorded in April 1919, Widden speaks in English with a Swedish accent.

Excerpt from "Peterson Vid Telefonen"

Oh, who she work for? U. R. Casey. No, I didn't say you were crazy. I said she works for Casey, U. R. Casey, the plumber. C-a-k-s-e-e [?], Casey.

. . .

Hello. Hello. Is this Mr. Information? Well, I'm please to meet you. Can you give me the telephone number of U. R. Casey? No, I didn't say anything about your mental condition. I want Casey. C-a-k-s-e-e [?], the plumber. My girl Hilma Yonsen works for him and I want to see her through the wire.⁶

Immigrants discovered that even if they mastered English phonemes to the point where others understood them they had at least one other linguistic hurdle to overcome. They quickly realized that translating idiomatic expressions from one language to another was a formidable task, often generating unwanted results. The 1915 recording "Wie Man Englisch Lernt," by Carl Frischer on Columbia E-2797 humorously draws attention to these difficulties. ("Wie Man Englisch Lernt" has also been previously cited as an

example of the interethnic relations between Germans and other groups. (For more information, see "Ethnic Interactions from the Perspective of the Minority.") Carl Frischer informs his audience that his Irish girlfriend has betrayed him and now he has decided to share with us the letter in English he has written ending their relationship. His literal translations of German idioms into English create linguistic havoc, resulting in a very poorly constructed letter in English and a very funny skit.

Excerpt from "Wie Man Englisch Lernt"

Mein liebes, süsses Zuckerherz, my dear little sweet sugar heart. . . . seitdem ich mich mit Dir verbunden habe . . . (wissen Sie, es ist nicht zu leicht vom deutschen ins englische zu übersetzen, because the American can [question the houses?] which is the German) . . . seitdem ich mich mit Dir verbunden habe . . . since I farknipft myself with you hab ich ausgefunden have I found it out dass Du mich hintergehst that you go behind me hinterum und so habe ich den Entschluss gefasst and so I catch the resolution dass ich Dir nicht mehr den Hof machen will but now I don't like to make you anymore the yard.

Ich liebte Dich immer zum Fressen ganz I always liked you to very much that I liked to fressen aber jetzt ist's aus but but now is out. Ich hab' Dir immer gesagt I always telled you so dass ich im Stande bin that I am in the stand eine Familie zu ernähren to nourish a family, aber jetzt ist's aus now is out und ich kann Dich nur versichern and now I can make the insurance mit you dass ich die Sache nicht mehr auf die lange Bank stehen will now I don't like to push the [case = Käse = cheese] on the long bench any more. Lass' mich für immer im Frieden und in Ruhe let me forever in quietness, shurrup und halt's Maul, Du aufgeblasene alte Dampfnudel, you old busted up steam noodle. Ich hab' überhaupt schon'nen Katzenjammer vor Dir. . . das ist sehr schwer zu übersetzen, denn der Ameri-kaner weiss genau was "Katzenjammer" ist – pussy-sick from you.

Translation

My dear sweet sugar heart... my dear little sweet sugar heart....since I linked up with you... (You know, it isn't too easy to translate from German into English, because the American can [question the houses?] which is the German) since I "farknipft" myself with you, I found out that you cheat on me, have I found it out that you go behind me in the back, and so I reached the decision... ... and so I catch

the resolution that I will no longer court you... but now I don't like to make you anymore the yard.

I could have devoured you entire with love... I always liked you too very much that I liked to devour, but now it's over... but now is out. I have always told you... I always "telled" you so... that I am in a position... that I am in the stand to support a family... to nou-rish a family, but now it's over... now is out, and I can only assure you... and now I can make the insurance with you... that I am not going to let this case keep pending... now I don't like to push the cheese ["casee"] on the long bench any more. Leave me for ever-more in peace and alone... let me forever in quietness; shurrup... and keep your trap shut, you old puffed-up dumpling... you old busted-up steam noodle. I'm altogether sick and tired as a cat of you... (You know, it isn't easy to translate from German to English, because Americans know precisely what a "katzen-jammer" is: pussy-sick from you.)

The Ramifications of Not Being Able to Speak Enough English to Communicate and Not Understanding What Is Being Said

Upon landing in America, immigrants learned words they thought they would need first. In the 1928 recording "Siirtolaisen Ensi Vastuksia," (The Immigrant's First Difficulties) performed by Arthur Kylander for a Finnish immigrant audience, that is exactly what happens. "The piece dwells on the language difficulties of a newly arrived immigrant worker, whose first English phrase is, 'No, sir.' The phrase helps him deal with his oppressive boss, but unfortunately it is turned against him by his girlfriend."

The Polish 1932 Victor 16256 recording "Jan Sikora Na Stryt Karza" - Part 1, which is very similar to the Slovak "Janko Lajdak Na Strit Car" (John Lajdak on a Street Car), touches on what happens when a person cannot utilize English well. ("Janko Lajdak Na Strit Car" is briefly described in "Ethnic Interactions from the Perpective of the Minority.) Jan tries to tell his most-likely-Irish street car conductor in very broken English that he wants to get off at a certain street.

Excerpt from "Jan Sikora Na Stryt Karza-Part 1"

Jan: "Stop, stop please Mr. Conductor! Wir muss maken a transfer for Fersling Avenue."

Conductor: "What avenue? What do you say?"

Jan: "I say Ferzling Avenue, Feeerzling Avenue... Choroba, nie moge wymowic. Versteht vor Polnish Dancinghaller?" Conductor: "Oh, you mean Fermon Avenue? Well..."

Jan: "No, no... Me say Ferzlein Avenue. You no understand what I've been talking for you?"

Conductor: "Do you speak English?"

Jan: "Zeby Cie czort z taka mowa ..."

Conductor: "What are you saying? What did you call me?"

Jan: "(...) Don't push me like that, don't push me damn, you make me upside down. I make you fight (...)"

Conductor: "Oh, shut up! Give me your transfer, I will punch it for you?"

Jan: "Co Ty mnie bedziesz punchowal? Jak ja Cie wypunchuje to Ci czerwona z nosa poleci, ty. . . watrobiarzu jeden. O, widzisz go. . ."

Conductor: "Fermon Avenue. . ."

Jan: "All right. . . . Sometime I will get you Conductor I wtedy bedzie zle. Ja Ci pokaze kto kogo punchuje, przeklety! (. . .) Ale musze isc bo mi sie zdaje, ze juz muzyke slychac na tej hali. O graja, cudnie graja!"

Translation

Jan: "Stop, stop please Mr. Conductor! We have to (from German: wir muss) make a transfer for Fersling Avenue."

Conductor: "What avenue? What do you say?"

Jan: "I say Ferzling Avenue, Feeerzling Avenue. . . damn! I can't pronounce it. Do you understand in Polish: dance halls?" (From German: Versteht vor Polnish Tanzenhäller?)

Conductor: "Oh, you mean Fermon Avenue? Well. . ."

Jan: "No, no. . . Me say Ferzlein Avenue. You no understand what I've been talking for you?" (I say Ferslein Avenue. Do you understand what I am talking about?)

Conductor: "Do you speak English?"

Jan: "Damn with this language. . ."

Conductor: "What are you saying? What did you call me?"

Jan: "(. . .) Don't push me like that, don't push me, you make me upside down. I make you fight (. . .)" (*I will fight with you*)

Conductor: "Oh, shut up! Give me your transfer, I will punch it for you?"

Jan: "What? Are you going to punch me? I will punch you and when I do then "the red" start running from your nose, you. . . ."

Conductor: "Fermon Avenue. . . ."

Jan: "All right. . . . Sometime I will get you Conductor and then you will be sorry. I will show you who is going to punch who. Damned (. . .) But I have to go because I think I can hear the music already at the dancing hall. Oh yes, they are playing already. . . beautiful!" ⁹

And just as immigrants had trouble making themselves understood, they themselves misunderstood. This problem occurs on the other side of "Janko Ladjak na Strit Kare." Performing in Slovak, English with a Slovak accent, and English, Michael Tokarick, Dan Foldes, and Mary Wentz recorded "Janko Lajdak I Policman" (John Lajdak and the Policeman) on Victor, catalogue number V-22119, in May 1931. A policeman knocks on the Lajdak family's door in order to serve John with a jury duty notice. Fearing that something is wrong, John and his wife become scared. Eventually, John realizes what the policeman wants and explains to him that he cannot serve on a jury because he is not a citizen. ¹⁰

The Façade That One Knows English

Immigrants pretended for any of a number of reasons that they were not immigrants and did not speak the language. At times they simply wanted to distance themselves from those people they considered to be green, the ones just off the boat. At other times they felt that by covering up their immigrant status, including changing their names, they had a better chance for success in this country. Giovanni De Rosalia and Company playfully utilize this theme in "Nofrio E La Finta Americana," (Nofrio and the Spooner) which they recorded on a Victor label in 1919, catalogue number 72404. This summary by Anthony Lentini, Ph.D. beautifully encapsulates the essence of the recording:

An Italian woman sees an Italian speaking man she fancies. Even though she knows Italian, she decides to have a little fun by pretending to be an American. He remarks on her beauty, but despairs of communicating with her because he knows so little English. All of his attempts to sweet talk her are met by insistence that she doesn't understand him. Finally, she lets him know that she understands that he wants to marry her, but refuses his offer. She explains that she cannot marry him since he does not speak English. She also adds that it will take a long time to learn English. He gets desperate and threatens to shoot himself if she continues to say no, drawing his revolver. She suddenly stops him in Italian, giving herself away. She says that if he wants to marry her, he must get her parents' approval. He tells her that he'll ask her father, her mother and her sister.¹¹

One Thought That One Finally Understood English

Even when one thought that one finally had some kind of handle on English, suddenly words no longer meant what they were supposed to mean. This change in meaning is exactly what occurs in the 1923 Victor recording, catalogue number 77251, "The Baseball Game," performed by Ethel Olson primarily in English with a Norwegian accent, along with some Norwegian words. Here Ethel becomes frustrated when she cannot fathom what is happening, even though she knows the meaning of the words.

Excerpt from "The Baseball Game"

But yesterday Ole came home, and he vas all exicita. He said ve vas going on a baseball game and see Vite Sox play. I vas on the downtown in the morning, and I bought a nice pair those cute little vite half-socks. There so nice and cool. So I thought if I vas going to a baseball game I vould put them on. My, men [but] der vas many people on dat ballgame. Goodness, saa mange folk har jeg aldri setti I mitt liv [I have not seen so many people in my life]. Ve vas sitting der real nice, and pretty soon, you know, der vas an awful screaming. And I said, "Ole, vat's de matter now?" And vat do you tink he said, Mary? Dat somevun had struck a fowl. Dat means a chicken, don't it? Yust tink, so mean as to hit a poor little chicken. ¹²

Stressing the Role of English Indirectly

Many recordings by and for immigrants inserted English words and phrases in order to give the recordings more punch, to connect them to the American realities in which the immigrants found themselves. Not only were specific English words used but their position in the composition emphasized their significance. Time and again Yiddish

recordings include English words in the titles. English also shows up in Italian titles and in titles by other ethnic groups. However, much more work needs to be done before anything definitive can be stated. An asterisk means that the recording has not been heard.

Examples of Titles Containing English Words

Ethnic Gr	oup Title	Label/Catalogue #	Performer(s)	Year
Jewish	"Latest Style"	Columbia E3471	Clara Gold	1917
Italian	"Nofrio Nel Restaurant"	Victor 72504	Giovanni De Rosalia	1918
Jewish	"The Line Is Busy"	Victor 72205	William Schwartz/ Rose Greenfield	1918
Jewish	"Der Junk Peddler"	Columbia E9059	Ludwig Satz	1923
Italian	"Dint 'O Subway"	Victor 14-80651	Gennaro Amato	1927
Bohemian	"Party Na Mr. Vokurka"*	Victor 80363	Vaclav Albrecht	1927
Hungarian	"Mr Dollar Pista	Victor V-11025	Boores Laios	1929

Hungarian "Mr. Dollar Pista Victor V-11025 Megy Az Ohazaba"*

Writers of skits and songs also exploited the position of English in the body of the work to convey a specific impact. The 1922 Yiddish recording "Watch Your Step" performed by Gus Goldstein on Vocalion 14332 is one of the best examples of this kind of structural arrangement. Notice that the lyricist Sam Lowenworth not only entitled the composition with the popular English expression "Watch your Step" but generally employed English words and phrases at the end of each line. The first two stanzas give a sense of the language mixture.

Excerpt from "Watch your Step"

America a land fun **hurry up.** Eyner loyft tzu zu **business**. Eyner loyft in **shop.** Eyner hot a **date.**



"Watch Your Step," ca. 1922 by Gus Goldstein

Courtesy of the author

Gekumen is tzu shpeyt. Eyner loyft tsu pinochle. Er hot a **double bait**.

Eyner loyft tzu a poker game. Eyner loyft farzetsen Zein watch and chain. Eyner loyft tzu a play. Eyner loft in cabarey. Eyner loyft in drugstore Vayl der boikh tut im vey.

Translation

America, a land of hurry up.
One runs to business.
One runs to the shop.
One has a date.
He came too late.
One goes to a pinochle game.
He has a double bait.

One runs to a poker game.
One runs to the pawnbroker.
To pawn his watch and chain.
One runs to a play.
One runs to the cabaret.
One runs to the drugstore
Because he has a bellyache.¹³

This brilliant composition suggests another dynamic in the interaction that at least Jews were having with English-speaking America. Lowenworth's words can be broken down into two categories. The first consists of words the immigrants needed on a daily basis such as "business," "shop," "drugstore"; and later on in the song "job," "boss," and "subway." With the exception of "drugstore," one finds these words over and over again in recordings by and for immigrants.

The second category consisted of words and expressions, such as "watch your step," "hurry up," "date," "double bait," "game," and "watch and chain," and later in the recording "pep," "queen," and "silk stockings," that the immigrants did not need to survive in America. They had perfectly good Yiddish words for these things and ideas. Nevertheless, "Watch Your Step" did incorporate English terminology, which immigrants understood and appreciated, as illustrated by the fact that immigrants did purchase the record. It is also interesting to note that many of the words and expressions were also fairly new in general American parlance. According to *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English*, around 1905 people began accepting the word "date" to

mean a person of the opposite sex with whom one might be having some kind of romantic connection. The same dictionary states that "hurry up" became popular around the turn of the century as well. ¹⁴ *The Online Etymology Dictionary* claims that "full of pep" ("Watch Your Step" employs the phrase *ful mit pep* which means "full of pep.") was first used in 1922, or about the same time this recording was made. ¹⁵ Further, Irving Berlin even entitled a theatrical production he wrote in 1914 "Watch Your Step."

The Desire and Impossibility of Maintaining One's Native Language

Although people immigrated here for various reasons, many remained proud of their heritage and native language. They now lived in America, but when they spoke the language of the old country, they wanted that language to be free of English. Immigrants even established schools where they could pass on to their children the customs and language they had brought with them.

Charles G. Widden endeavors to present this theme and the unlikeliness that such a commitment can be maintained in his humorous 1919 Victor 72719 recording "Olle ve Kvarna i Amerika" (Olof at the Mill in America). Johannes Tillander, a high school student living in New York, not only transcribed and translated the work but also extensively analyzed the components Widden employed and the points he wanted to make. Tillander begins his analysis with the following:

This recording is of a man that talks about his views on and experiences with people mixing the English and Swedish languages together. The whole recording is one big comedic performance. The speaker says that he thinks that people should not mix together the languages, but at the same time it is obvious that he is doing just that, and that he is aware of it. He makes fun of himself and seems to exaggerate the extent to which he mixes together the two languages, especially in the beginning and the end [of the performance]. ¹⁷

The speaker starts out proclaiming that when one speaks Swedish, he/she should keep it separate from English. However, the first line of the recording employs "mixar upp" (mix this up) and in so doing comically negates the possibility of keeping the languages separate. The rest of the skit builds on the impossibility of keeping Swedish pure by using an ever-increasing number of English words and words derived from English.

Transcription of the opening lines

Det var förfärligt vad folk mixar upp det här i United States när de ska ha en conversation med varandra. Om jag flr säga min tanke om saken sl tänker jag som sl att när en talar svenska ska en tala straight och inte mixa ihop engelska som en del pösiga people gör. Jag för min del tycker att det är foolish.

Translation

It's ridiculous how much people mix this up in the United States when they are having a conversation with each other. If I may say what I think about the matter, I think that when one speaks Swedish, one should speak straight and not mix together English like some pompous people do. Personally, I think it is foolish.¹⁸

Popular Songs Translated

Immigrant recording artists increased the meaning of their work by adding English to their recordings, but they also revised popular American songs in order to create novel interpretations of original compositions. They usually kept the music and specific English words and then reinterpreted the rest of the text to make some kind of statement that may or may not be consistent with the English version. For example, Eduardo Migliaccio, reworked the incredibly successful 1920s recording "Yes, We Have No Bananas" by Frank Silver and Irving Cohn for an immigrant Italian audience in 1923 on Victor 73980. The Silver and Cohn lyrics (and dialogue on some recordings) comically depict the difficulties a non-immigrant American encounters when trying to order something to eat in a Greek fruit store. An excerpt from the Billy Jones version recorded on Edison Diamond Disc 51183 recorded circa 1923 includes the following.

Excerpt from "Yes, We Have No Bananas"

There's a fruit store on our street. It's run by a Greek,
And he keeps good thing to eat,
But you should hear him speak!
When you ask him anything,
He never answers no.
He just yeses you to death,
And then he takes your dough.
He tells you, yes, of course,
We have no bananas.
We have no bananas today.

Migliaccio keeps the title of the work, the music, and a bit of English, including "Yes, We Have No Bananas," to create an entirely different composition, a portion of which focuses on the sexual associations connected with bananas.

Excerpt from "Yes, We Have No Bananas"

Aisser' co' mia moglie Durmenn' smaniava "France', che c'hai, te lagn" "No, nient', me sunnav
Nun saccj' che afferraj,
j tremm' sana sana"
Dicett' "Me parev' che acchiapp' 'na banana"
Tant' ca l' piac' sa sogna pur' a notte
e dopo j puveriell' me par' 'na pera cotta
Too much te fa mal' I say
That's why you have no bananas,
You have no bananas today.

Translation

Last night my wife
Was troubled while sleeping.
I asked her: "What's going on?"
"Nothing, I was dreaming
I seized a banana"
She likes bananas so much that she even dreams them!
And afterwards, the poor me, I am like a cooked pear.
Too much is not good for you.
That's why you have no bananas,
You have no bananas today. 20

"Yes, We Have No Bananas" is not the only example of a non-immigrant recording in English remade by and for immigrants that humorously incorporates a sexual motif. The database indicates that there are others, such as the 1927 "Jak To Ozenic Sie Gdy" (It Ain't Gonna Rain No More) by Dwojka Warszawska on Okeh 11325 for a Polish immigrant audience.

Excerpt from "Jak To Ożenić Się Gdy"

Marek chce się żenić, pieniędzy kupę ma Ale do małżeństwa to co innego trza OJ! It ain't gonna rain no more Jak można się żenić gdy ain't gonna rain no more

Młoda mężateczka na męża skarży się Że podobno nie wie on jak to kochać się OJ! It ain't gonna rain no more Jak to można kochać się gdy ain't gonna rain no more.

Translation

Marek wants to get married, he has lots of money, But marriage needs something else. Oh! It ain't gonna rain no more. How you can be married when it ain't gonna rain no more?

Young wife complains about her husband that he doesn't know how to make love.

Oh! It ain't gonna rain no more. How you can love when it ain't gonna rain no more?²¹

Of all the reinterpreted recordings that the database has so far listed, Eduardo Migliaccio's "A Do Fatico Giova," an Italian adaptation of "Where Do You Work-a John?" must certainly be one of the most fascinating. In the original version by Mortimer Weinberg and Charles Marks, two Italians stereotypically discuss in English with an Italian accent the kind of manual work they do and the work that is available. The exchange takes place in a barbershop and starts off in the 1927 Columbia 875-D version with the entrance of an Irish customer who wants a shave. The Irish customer speaks in standard American English and most likely acts as a foil to the Italian-accented, broken English in which the Italians converse.

Excerpt from "Where Do You Work-a John?"

Joe: "Where do you work-a John?"

John: "On the Delaware Lakawan."

Joe: "Well, what you do-a John?"

John: "I push, I push, I push."

Joe: "And what you push-a, John?"

John: "I push, I push-a the truck."

Joe: "And where you push-a John?"

John: "On the Delaware Lackawan."²²

The 1927 Victor 79157 pressing of "A Do Fatico, Giova" utilizes the same music and periodically English words and phrases such as "me push" and "work in the subway." However, unlike the general American version, this variation wants the audience to understand the need for work, any work that will provide an income.

Excerpt from "A Do Fatico, Giova"

Da che è spusat, Ciccio o spugliat Iss nun po fatica E a muglier ha cacciat da casa E bello scuorn quasi ogne juorn A chiunque sta a ncuntra savvicina e le fa sta dimann':

Addo fatic, Giova?

J work in the ...

J nun te capisc, Giova

Me push, me push, me push

Ma tu che pushi, Giova?

Me push, me push the truck

Aggie pacienza, Giova, portam a me pur a pushià, pushià

Giova, accompagnam a pushia.

Translation

Since he got married, Ciccio hasn't found a job. His wife threw him out of the house. Every day he asks everybody he meets:

Where do you work, John?
I work in the
I don't understand you, John.
I push, I push, I push
What's that you push, John?
I push, I push the truck.
Be patient, John.
Please, bring me with you to push.²³

Of course, many of the immigrants, and certainly their children, did learn English, and gradually the recordings reflect the linguistic ease with which these people lived in the United States. Over time, the use of ethnic languages tends to diminish until just enough ethnic words exist in a composition to imply that the record belonged to a specific group. For example, in the post-World War II recording "I Found Gold," performed by Lee Tully on Jubilee 3504, only the Italian names "Luigi" and "Giusepp" make the recording Italian. The rest of the song is in English.

Excerpt from "I Found Gold"

Two miners, one Luigi and his partner called Giusepp, A pair of gold prospectors with vim and lots of pep. Now one day Joe was feeling low. He lay down for a spell. Quick as a flash he got off his back as he heard Luigi yell.²⁴

Immigrant Language Deterioration in America Reflects Sociolinguistic Realities

As the just cited "I Found Gold" by Lee Tully on Jubilee 3504 illustrates, without the societal pressure for maintaining native tongues, the immigrant languages began to deteriorate. Sociolinguists define this phenomenon as bilingualism without diglossia. Joshua A. Fishman refers to diglossia as an intragroup communication situation that involves two languages or complementary varieties of one language. He further writes the following about bilingualism without diglossia in his book *Sociolinguistics: A Brief Introduction*.

As role compartmentalization and value complementarily decrease under the impact of foreign models and massive change, the linguistic repertoire also becomes less compartmentalized. Languages and varieties formerly kept apart come to influence each other phonetically, lexically, semantically, and even grammatically much more than before. Instead of two (or more) carefully separated languages each under the eye of caretaker groups of teachers, preachers, and writers, several intervening varieties may obtain differing in degree of interpenetration. Under these circumstances the languages of immigrants may come to be ridiculed as "debased" and "broken" while at the same time their standard varieties are given no language maintenance support. 26

Ralph Fasold in *The Sociolinguistics of Society* amplifies the breakdown concept. "Bilingualism without diglossia results when diglossia 'leaks.' Leaky diglossia refers to cases in which one variety 'leaks' into the functions formerly reserved for the other."²⁷ The resulting product either merges the two languages, or as is the case with the immigrants, the dominant language prevails. The immigrant language dies. As might be expected, the immigrant sound recordings document the trail of leakage. (For a more informative discussion of leakage from an earlier perspective see endnote 28.)

Before presenting some of the results, the author feels it is important to mention a few of the many problems that have been encountered. At the time of this writing (ca. 2012), the Discography staff had studied some 450 sound recordings primarily in languages other than English. When analyzing the works, they were not always sure they were getting all the English words/expressions or words/expressions based upon English. Additionally, certain characters on the recordings represent Americans who speak English. The database does not at this time isolate their speech from the ethnic characters. On the other hand, the fact that the American characters are on a recording for ethnic people intimates that their English should be part of the mix. At some point, a determination will have to be made as to whether the English speakers should be treated separately.

Another problem involves trying to figure out whether a word is actually derived from English or just a product of phonemic interference, in other words, someone's pronunciation. It would greatly help if linguists had transcribed these recordings, possibly using the International Phonetic Alphabet or some computer software program that

differentiates various sounds. Unfortunately, at this point the Project does not have such people.

The following discussion illustrates the kinds of words and expressions that leaked into immigrants' speech patterns so strongly that authors integrated them into early sound recordings. Generally, the words and expressions that enter the immigrant languages fall into three categories.

The first category consists of English words/expressions that ethnic groups incorporated into native speech. "Uncle Sam," a name that represents America, typifies this kind of integration. A subgroup of this category is made up of words the immigrants employed in both languages and which were strengthened by their importance in America. Quite a few of these words were technological, medical, or financial terms that were probably created in English-speaking countries and passed into the native language via contact with Americans. In Yiddish, the words "telephone," "phonograph," "dollar," and "penny," exemplify this concept.

A second category comprises those words that just happen to exist in both languages, but the American experience reinforced their use in this country. For example, Yiddish performers frequently use the word "bluff," which is also a good Yiddish word, when describing America. One even finds recordings with "bluff" in the name, such as 1926 recordings "Alles Is A Bluff" (Everything Is A Bluff) by Nellie Casman and "Bluff, Bluff" by Morris Goldstein. Incidentally, the "Alles Is a Bluff" song complains that everything in America is a bluff.²⁹

A subset of this group covers words that exist in both languages, but their inclusion is not necessarily reinforced by the American experience. For example, the word "plain" just happens to occur in both Yiddish and English. We cannot currently say that its usage seems to support anything particularly American.

The last category constitutes words derived from English containing merged non-English elements. In the 1915 "Amerikanische Betrachtungen" on Columbia E-2797, Carl Frischer inserts a number of wonderful examples, including *usammengelunched* (lunching), *reingelunched* (lunched in), and *ausgelunched* (lunched out). ³⁰ Phonetic interference produced some of these creations. Grammatical interference created others. Quite a few were simply a mixing of English units with non-English units. Today we often refer to these language products by adding the syllable "lish" to the first part of the name of the language, forming such units as Deutschlish/Gerlish for a mixture of German and English and Italglish for a mixture of Italian and English. However, before analyzing the kind of leakage or interference patterns that occur, expanding the theoretical framework might prove to be extremely helpful. Crediting Joshua Fishman, the famous sociolinguist, with the conceptualization of the word "domain," Janet Holmes explains that "a domain of language involves interactions between typical participants in typical settings about a typical topic," or as Bernard Spolsky in *Sociolinguistics* states:

One common domain is home. Domains are named usually for a place or an activity in it. Home, then, is the place. The role-relationships associated with home (the people likely to be involved in speech events) include family members (mother, father, son, daughter, grandmother, baby) and visitors. There are a suitable set of topics (depending upon the cultural pattern) such as activities of the family, news about family members, the meal, the household. A particular variety of language is appropriate to the domain.³³

Furthermore, specific domains demand certain kinds of language, or what sociolinguists term "registers." Holmes concretized the term "register" as follows: "the language of groups of people with common interests or jobs, or the language used in situations associated with such groups, such as the language of doctors, engineers, journals, legalese, etc." Spolsky adds to Holmes definition of "register" with

A register is a variety of language most likely to be used in a specific situation and with particular roles and statuses involved. Examples might be a toast at a wedding, sports broadcast, or talking to a baby. A register is marked by choices of vocabulary and of other aspects of style. 35

Finally, in a traditional society certain domains tend to be more conservative than others. For example, as Chris Jeffery and Rajend Mesthrie describe in "Domains of Language Use: A Fundamental Concept for Framing Language Policy in South Africa," religious societies often demand "a switch to another language (Latin, Sanskrit, Hebrew, Ge'ez etc.). In all religious societies the domain calls for a formal, 'high,' 'sermonistic' and somewhat archaic variety of language." Nonetheless, traditionalism did not characterize most immigrant communities during the period when ethnic communities recorded these skits and songs.

If we juxtapose Fishman's definition of domain as consisting of place, people, and topic with Holmes and Spolky's designation for register, we **may** want to examine the categories in the following summaries as registers within the much larger and overwhelming domain America. Conceivably, one might also investigate the phenomenon as domains within domains. However one chooses to view the dynamics, and this chapter concentrates on registers within domains, the following appears to occur.

These registers and words within registers typify the kind of interference, primarily lexical, one hears on the recordings. Particular registers contain many different English or English-based words/expressions where certain ones predominate and others are rarely utilized. Other registers make use of a few different kinds of words/expressions, yet the compositions repeatedly employ these words/expressions. Still others have a vast array of different words/expressions, but none of them play a very big role. Finally, the listener, at least at this point, will come across registers that include few, if any, examples of interference.

Admittedly, designations are arbitrary, and some words fall into several categories. The word "phonograph," for example, could belong in both the technological and entertainment registers, as might the words "gas" and "steam," which refer simultaneously to technology and something found in the home.

It should be noted that, although these interference patterns have been ordered by register, they can also be arranged chronologically by the year the recording was made. Such an arrangement permits social scientists and lay people to better comprehend the relationship between the immigrant and majority cultures from the perspective of the immigrant – at least during the first third of the twentieth century. There is no claim that the data collected will make a definitive statement. However, it does provide an interesting perspective on the ways various groups of people wove themselves into the American social fabric.

Only one English expression, "all right," will be analyzed at any great length, and that analysis is included in the section on discourse markers. Although the ethnic skits and songs employing "all right" have been listed chronologically, they could also be arranged ethnically. In the chronological ethnic arrangement the researcher gets a hint as to when the word entered the language of each group. The rest of the listings include only words/expressions and the general number of times they have been heard. Those words/expressions that contained 25 or more entries have been highlighted, underlined, and parenthesized. Those words/expressions with more than 10 entries have been highlighted and underlined. Lastly, those words/expressions that made 5 or more appearances have simply been highlighted. (Most of this analysis occurred in the first part of 2012.)

Relationship Between Number of Entries and Entry Appearance

Number of entries Appearance of entry

25 words (word)
10 words word
5 words word

Analysis of Approximately 400 Immigrant Sound Recordings in Languages Other Than English That Contain English Elements

(Unless stated otherwise these recordings were made prior to 1930. The vast majority come from Yiddish recordings.)

Group I: Immigrant Registers Within the Larger Domain America That Contain English Words/Expressions

Register/Subregister English Word

1. America: Uncle Sam

2. Authority/legal: court, jail, judge, (police) occurs 34 times (The

category "police" includes variations on the word

police.)

3. Commercial: <u>cent(s)</u>, <u>dollar(s)</u>

4. Entertainment/leisure: **birthday**, **game**

5. Family: **baby** (The word "baby" is also connected to

carriage.), **boy(s)** (Usually it suggests

endearing/American. It can also indicate a youth, a pal or be part of the expression "oh boy.), **single**

6. Fashion and style: **fancy**

7. Food : **breakfast**, <u>chicken</u>, lunch, <u>supper</u>

8. Geography (local): Coney Island, East Side, Europe, (New York)

occurs 63 times, street

9. Home (local): (<u>boarder</u>) occurs 28 times (The first English word

or word based upon English to surface so far is the word "boarder." Frank Seiden named the title of his 1901-1903 Yiddish recording "Der Border," which was recorded on a two-minute Columbia 26525. Since a boarder provided a source of income, the word "boarder" probably could be listed under the work category.), **bedroom**, **kitchen**, **landlord**, **move** (Move is also found in words derived from English, such as the Yinglish word for move, "mofn."), **next door** (Next door is used in words derived from English. In the Yiddish "Die Griene Cosine," one hears about the "nextdoorke" or the woman living next door.), **rent**, **room**, **steam**

10. Leisure: game, poker (Words are also used in Yiddish.)

11. Medicine: **doctor(s)** (Word is also used in Yiddish.)

12. Occupational: **butcher, baker, judge, (police)** occurs 34 times

with variations, <u>boss</u>, <u>business</u>, <u>busy</u>, <u>butcher</u>, (job) occurs 39 times, <u>pushcart</u>, shop, union

13. Political: meeting, politician

14: Popular expressions: **boy(s)** (The word indicates a youth, a pal or the

expression "oh boy."), hurry up, shut up

15. Prohibition: **moonshine**, **prohibition**

16. Ethnic/racial groups: **Irish** (Irishman, etc.)

17. Romance, marital status: **boy(s)** (The word indicates a youth.), darling,

dear, single

18. Social: (misses/mister), "misses" occurs 20 times and

"mister" surfaces 38 times, **sir**, **gentlemen**, <u>ladies</u> (The word "lady" is also part of expressions, such as "ladies first" and "ladies and gentlemen." ³⁸)

19. Immigrant societies: meeting

20. Technology: car ("Car" is generally connected to a trolley, as in

"trolley car.") subway, trolley

21. War: **boy(s)** (The word "boy" can be found in connection

with family and in the "oh boy," commonly used by

Yiddish-speaking Jews.)

Group II. Immigrant Registers Within the Larger Domain America That Contain English Words That Exist in Both the Native Language and English

Register/Subregister	English Word
1. America:	bluff ("Bluff" is a good Yiddish word.)
2. Commercial:	peddler (The Yiddish word "peddler" may have originated from the English.)

Group III: Words/Expressions Based Upon English and Used in an Immigrant Language

Registers/Subregisters	Words Based Upon English
1. Commercial:	tollar- ("Tollar" is the Yinglish for 'dollar."), storkeh ("Storkeh" in Yinglish means 'store".)
2. Family, endearing:	boyes ("Boyes" is the Yinglish for "young guys".)
3. Home:	mofn ("Mofn" and its Yinglish variations

are built upon the English word "move.")

4. Occupational: scianatore (The Italglish word "scianatore" and its

variations come from the English "shine."

"Scianatore" means 'bootblack'.)

storkeh ("Storkeh" is Yinglish for 'store'.)

The next class of words is much more problematic and does not neatly fit into any of the patterns just mentioned. These words have less to do with the concrete substantive dynamics of the conversation and more to do with the undercurrents of verbal exchange. In other words, they clarify the kind of communication occurring between the speakers. Before the various immigrant languages made contact with English, they already had linguistic components that satisfied this need. Once they came into contact with English in America, something extremely interesting happened.

The words that interest us probably function as discourse markers. Deborah Schiffrin defines discourse markers: "Expressions like *well*, *but*, *oh* and *y'know*—are one set of linguistic items that function in cognitive, expressive, social, and textual domains." These words, which often focus "on a relatively narrow aspect of their meaning or a small portion of their uses—can teach us something about their role in discourse." In the discussion, Schiffrin seems to be spotlighting the discourse markers generally found in English.

In all likelihood, the immigrant discourse markers function in a more complicated way. Here, they not only operate as markers that signal specific interpersonal dynamics but also derive part of their strength from the fact that many come not from the native language but from English. Yaron Matras defines codeswitching as "the term that is normally applied to the alternation of languages within a conversation." Basing his work on Clyne (1967), Matras explains that "the motivation for the switch is usually referred to as the 'trigger." The immigrants absorbed specific English words for a nuance effect that could not be made as strongly in the native language. Such lexical inclusions, along with the influx of new categories and concepts, helped dismantle the linguistic domains in which the immigrant language had the capacity to thrive. The question of trigger dynamics of codeswitching still needs to be resolved.

The following chart, which was primarily compiled in early 2012, employs the same kind of coding as the previous chart. Those words/expressions that contained 25 or more entries have been highlighted, underlined, and parenthesized. Those words/expressions with over 10 entries have been highlighted and underlined. Lastly, those words/expressions that appeared 5 or more times have simply been highlighted. Unlike those in the last charts, the following words come from a much more ethnically diverse group of recordings.

Relationship Between Number of Entries and Entry Appearance

Number of entries Appearance of entry

25 words (word)
10 words word
5 words word

Words/Expressions, Excluding the Expression "All Right" That Function as Codeswitching Discourse Markers

Words/Expressions Listed in Alphabetical Order

Comments

(Come, come in/on/with)

Variations occur approx. 26 times,

Excuse

Go" is often used in expressions such as

"go," "go to hell," "go away," and "go on."

Good "Good" is often incorporate into the

expressions "good evening," "good night."

(**Goodbye**) "Goodbye" occurs some 30 times.

Hello

<u>Please</u> Please may be part of the expression

"pleased to meet you."

Shut up "Shut up" and variations appear frequently

and in some cases may be listed as words derived from English, given the change in

pronunciation.

Sure "Sure" may be part of the expression "for

sure."

Understand

Well Here "well" does not mean healthy but

indicates that something should follow.

An example of a codeswitching discourse marker occurs in the 1921 Columbia E-7176 Yiddish skit "Fish auf Shabes" (Fish for Sabbath) by Joseph Tanzman and Anna Zeeman. A woman customer and a fish peddler get into a difficult exchange. The English word "sure" signals a switch, possibly employed by the peddler as a way to reduce customer/seller tension, an introduction to the English word "government," an external side comment to the discussion suggesting that he expects more trouble with the woman, or elements of all three.

Excerpt from "Fish auf Shabes"

Peddler: "Sure, a government voog. Misses, vos tut ihr dorten?"

Translation

Peddler: "Sure, this is a government (approved) scale. Misses, what are you doing there?"

The use of the word "goodbye" at the end of the skit clearly delineates the codeswitching intent of the word. In this case the customer and the peddler both switch back to English, the less intimate language that does not speak to any form of ethnic solidarity. It also underscores finality.

Excerpt from "Fish auf Shabes"

Customer: "Nu, goodbye, mister."

Peddler: "Goodbye, misses, gayt mit a glok in die heizer."

Customer: "Azoh filenkop. Er hot gemaynt az ich bin a xxxxx bei im. Ich darf takke hooben tsayn fint, Nor ein fint koif ech, in nein fint nem ech Goodbye, Mr. xxxx, goodbye."

Peddler: "Goodbye, Misses xxxx, goodbye! Aza Ruzhinirke vet mich, a Lutvak opnarren! Ich hob ihr ober besser opgettoon. Ich hob gehatt ayn foont fish fin letzte voch; Zenen say gevayn farshimmelt ..."

Translation

Customer: "That's it. Goodbye, mister."

Peddler: "Goodbye, misses, and good riddance!"

Customer: "The same to you!
He thought he'll get away with it, but I'm not so stupid.
True, I need ten pounds,
But I'll pay for one and nine I'll just take.
Goodbye, Mr. xxxx, goodbye."

Peddler: "Goodbye, Misses xxxx, goodbye! She thinks she'll fool me, a Litvak (Lithuanian)! But I did a better number on her. I had a pound of fish left over from last week; It was already spoiled ..."

Although the 1925 Columbia 56024-F recording "O Grecoamericanos Stin Athina" (The Greek American in Athens) by The Roubanis Chorus has already been described in the section "The Decision to Visit the Old Country," it is worth bringing up again in the discourse markers discussion. The words "excuse" and "yes sir" look as if they operate analogously to "goodbye" in "Fish auf Shabes." They appear to accentuate and comment on the physical/psychological divide between the Greek police officer and the Greek American visiting his home country.

Excerpt from "O Grecoamericanos Stin Athina"

Police Officer: "Skasmos. Den xerete oti apagorevonte ta asmata tetia ora?"

Man: "Excuse me (in English) kir horofilakas."

Police Officer: "Den ime horofilakas."

Man: "Kir enomatarhi irtha htes ap'to **United States**."

Police Officer: "Ti ine afto to United States."

Man: "Diladi, tin America."

Police Officer: "AAA irthes ap'tin Ameriki."

Man: "Yes sir."

Translation

Police Officer: "Silence. Don't you know that singing songs is prohibited at this time?"

Man: "Excuse me (in English) Mr. Constable."

Police Officer: "I am not a constable."

Man: "Mr. Policeman I came yesterday from the United States."

Police Officer: "What is this United States?"

Man: "I mean, Amerika."

Police Officer: "Ahh you came from America."

Man: "Yes sir."44

The Expression "All Right" and Its Variations

The English expression "all right" with its variations is one of the most popular codeswitching discourse markers heard in immigrant sound recordings. The earliest case of "all right" so far found in the database occurs in the 1908 Solomon Smulewitz Yiddish recording of "I'm All Right" on Edison cylinder 21009⁴⁵ and the latest from the 1931 Slovak recording "John Lajdak Na Strit Kare" on Victor V-22119 made in 1931.⁴⁶ Michael La Sorte in his book *LaMerica: Images of Italian Greenhorn Experience* notes the importance the expression had for the Italian greenhorn community. However, given the few examples in the table below, it is probably worthwhile to expand his comments to include a significant portion of the non-Italian greenhorn community.

Greenhorns would be initiated into the world of American working-class expressions as soon as they arrived at the job site. Without doubt, the universal-Italglish phrase was azzorrait (that's all right), an all-purpose instrument of social intercourse. It was marvelously suited to the immigrant worker, who tended to be a man of few words and who was never quite sure whether he understood what was being said to him by an American. Azzorrait could mean yes; don't mention it; no harm has been done; good; very good; that's a good job; or have I done correctly? There was no limit to its usefulness. The expression accumulated other shadings of meaning including: please do; help yourself; I don't care; suit yourself; no, I am not insulted; do a better job next time. A complete conversation could be carried on with an interchange of azzorraits. For example, the full text of a conversation on a road gang might go as follows: Greenhorn, pointing to the hole he had dug: "Azzorrait?" Foreman: "Azzorrait." 47

The following list chronologically documents the expression "all right" as it appears in immigrant recordings in the database in early 2012.

Ethnicity	Title	Label/Catalogue #	Performer (s)	Date
Jewish	I'm All Right	Edison 21009	Solomon Smulewitz	1908
	Ich Ferges	Columbia E-1007	Alex Silverstein	1912
	Chaikel	Columbia E-2446 Aher Gei	Isidore Lillian/ Louis Gilrod	1915
	Der Deitsch Mit Die Chsidim	Columbia E-2817	Isidore Lillian/ Louis Gilrod	1915
German	Der Deutsche Schaffte	Victor 69312	Carl Frischer	1916
Jewish	Die Zwei Brider	Columbia E-3036	Joseph Feldman	1916
	Mendel Telebende Ve President	Victor 69459-A rt	Gus Goldstein/ Clara Gold	1917
	Zar Nicholay Columbia E-3724 und Charlie Chaplin		Louis Gilrod/ Gus Goldstein	1918
	De Suffragetky	(most likely Victor 72484)	Anna Hoffman/ Jacob Jacobs	1919
Italian	Nofrio Interprete	Victor 72724	Giovanni De Rosalia	1919
Jewish	Chana Pesel Bam Doctor	Victor 72701	Anna Hoffman/ Jacob Jacobs	1920
Italian	Nofrio A Coney Island	Victor 73263	Giovanni de Rosalia e Compagnia	1921
Jewish	Der Italianer	Columbia E-7176	Joseph Tanzman/ Anna Zeeman	1921
	Der Mesader Kedushen	Columbia E-7656	Gus Goldstein/ Clara Gold	1922
	Mendel Vert A Prizefeiter	Columbia E-7836	Gus Goldstein and Company	1922

	Die Misses Columbia E-7758 Mit'n Meshores		Abe and Gussie Karp	1922
	Ellis Island	Okeh 14047	Sam Silverbush/ Gus Goldstein and Company	1922
	Der Doctor's Operation Room	Victor 73657	Sam Silverbush/ Simon Paskel/ Ruth Miller/ Sadie Wachtel	1922
	Mazel tov, Yiddelack	Columbia E-7689	Abe and Gussie Karp	1922
German	Wie Man Englisch Lern	Vocalion 14540 t	Carl Frischer	1922
Jewish	Die Grine Lina	Vocalion B-13006	Aaron Lebedeff	1923
	Yenta Bam Dentist	Victor 77019	Anna Hoffman/ Jacob Jacobs	1923
Jewish	Yukel Mit Sein Ukelele	Brunswick B 13038	Aaron Lebedeff	1926
Italian	Dint 'O Subway	Victor 14-80651-B	Gennaro Amato	1927
	Where Do You Work-a John?	Okeh 9301	Coppia Ruby De Russo	1927
Jewish	America, Die Bist All- Right	Brunswick 67128-A	Aaron Lebedeff	1928
	Zoup	Emerson 13257	Gus Goldstein and Co.	?
Italian	Ciaramellata	Columbia 14403-F	Coppia Trombetta	1928
Slovak	John Lajdak Na Strit Car	Victor V-22119	Michael Tokarick/ Dan Foldes	1931

Abraham Cahan's (1860-1951) comment on the use of "all right" in his *The Rise of David Levinsky* makes a poignant statement about the significance of the expression. Cahan immigrated to the United States in 1882 and became the first editor of the *Forverts*, the most widely read Yiddish newspaper and one of the most prominent immigrant newspapers in the United States. In addition to writing in Yiddish, he wrote in English, including the aforementioned novel *The Rise of David Levinsky*, ⁴⁸ in which the title character begins as a poor immigrant and ends up an American millionaire.

David Levinsky has just landed in New York with a young Yiddish-speaking tailor named Gitelson. Sensing that Gitelson is a tailor, a cloak contractor approaches them and offers Gitelson work. The stranger then asks Levinsky what he does. He responds that he reads Talmud. The contractor indicates that reading the Talmud is not an occupation and the conversation continues:

Well, don't worry. You will be all right. If a fellow isn't lazy nor a fool he has no reason to be sorry he came to America. It'll be all right.

"All right" he said in English, and I conjectured what it meant from the context. In the course of the minute or two which he bestowed on me he uttered it so many times that the phrase engraved itself upon my memory. It was the first bit of English I ever acquired.⁴⁹

Conclusion

Even though this chapter just starts the discussion, some interesting results are already evident. Many of the English words/expressions that the immigrants assimilate first and employ most often come from experiences with work, housing, authority, politics, new technologies, and other interactions they need to have with people outside their linguistic community. The outside world imposed these words and expressions on the newcomers.

However, as the language deterioration examples demonstrate, the vast majority of newcomers aspired to be Americans. They wanted to throw off their greenness and learn as much and as quickly as possible. America beckoned to the immigrant. It seduced them with possibilities, material, spiritual, and educational. Utilizing what might be compared to a religious promise, the country courted its newcomers with a feeling that you, too, can be redeemed.

Listen to David Levinsky comment on acquiring English words:

One of the first things I did was to make a list of the English words and phrases which our people in this country had adopted as part and parcel of their native tongue. This, I felt, was an essential step toward shedding one's "greenhornhood," an operation every immigrant is anxious to

dispose of without delay. The list included, "floor," "ceiling," "window," "dinner," "supper," "hat," "business," "job," "clean," "plenty," "never," "ready," "anyhow," "never mind," "hurry up," "all right," and about a hundred other words and phrases. I was quick to realize that to be "stylishly" dressed was a good investment, but I realized, too, that to use the Yiddish word for "collar" or "clean" instead of their English correlatives was worse than to wear a dirty collar." 50

Although ambitious in its intent, our study raises more questions than it answers, including such questions as: Which ethnic groups used which words? When and why did they incorporate those words? How were those words manipulated? Finally, can one connect ethnic language disintegration and the material success of a particular ethnic group? These and other questions remain to be answered through further research. ¹⁴

Endnotes

- 1. Eric Byron, "English Acquisition by Immigrants (1880-1940): The Confrontation as Reflected in Early Sound Recordings," *Columbia Journal of American Studies*, 2009, 26 May 2013 http://www.columbia.edu/cu/cjas/byron1.html. The Journal published a shortened version of this chapter in the Fall of 2009.
- 2. Adolf King and Morris Goldstein, *Der Schneider un der Shuster*, rec. Dec. 1925, 78 rpm, Victor 78345.

Transcribed and translated by Eric Byron. Bold is used in order to make the English words and words derived from English stand out in the skits and songs that primarily utilize a non-English immigrant language.

- 3. Even though "Da Waer's Halt Ut, Wenn Man Englisch Koennt" was made later than the other recordings in this chapter, I have decided to use it because it so articulately explains the necessity for learning English.
- 4. Hermann Leopoldi, "Da Waer's Halt Ut, Wenn Man Englisch Koennt" (It Would Be Good to Know English), 78 rpm, Master 104 A.

Transcribed and translated by Joachim Baur. Bold is used in order to make the English words and words derived from English stand out in the skits and songs that primarily utilize a non-English immigrant language.

5. Isidore Lillian and Louis Gilrod, *Milchuma*, rec. May 1915, 78 rpm, Columbia E2446.

Transcribed and translated by Irving Silberg. Bold is used in order to make the English words and words derived from English stand out in the skits and songs that primarily utilize a non-English immigrant language. The sound recording can be heard on the Judaica Sound Archives website: Judaica Sound Archives, Florida Atlantic University Libraries, 2007 http://faujsa.fau.edu/jsa/>.

6. Charles G. Widden, *Peterson Vid Telefonen*, rec. April 1919, Victor 72719.

Transcribed by Eric Byron.

7. Carl Frischer, Wie Man Englisch Lernt, rec. June 1915, 78 rpm, Columbia E-2797.

Bold is used in order to make the English words and words derived from English stand out in the skits and songs that primarily utilize a non-English immigrant language.

8. Arthur Arkadius Kylander, *Siirtolaisen Ensi Vastuksia*, rec. March 1928, 78 rpm, Victor 81507.

The work is discussed in Victor Greene, *A Passion for Polka: Old-Time Ethnic Music in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992) 108.

9. Grupa Komiczna Fabryki Victor, *Jan Sikora Na Stryt Karze* (part 1), rec. 12 May 1932, 78 rpm, Victor 16256.

Transcribed and translated by Joanna Sadowska.

- 10. Michael Tokarick. et al., *Janko Lajdak I Policman*, rec. 12 May 1931, 78 rpm, Victor V-22119.
- 11. De Rosalia and Company, *Nofrio E La Finta Americana*, rec. June 1919, 78 rpm, Victor 72404.

Summarized by Dr. Anthony Lentini.

12. Ethel Olson, The Baseball Game, rec. Nov. 1923, 78 rpm, Victor 77251.

Transcribed and translated by Rigmor Swensen, Co-chair of the Norwegian Immigration Association at 317 East 52nd Street, New York, NY 10022.

13. Gus Goldstein, Watch Your Step, rec. March 1922, 78 rpm, Vocalion 14332.

Transcribed and translated by a volunteer. Bold is used in order to make the English words and words derived from English stand out in the skits and songs that primarily utilize a non-English immigrant language.

- 14. Eric Partridge, *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* (London: Melburne and Henley, 1984) 292, 584.
- 15. David Mackler, "Watch Your Step," Online Etymology Dictionary," possibly 4 July 2012

http://www.oobr.com/top/vo/Seven/thirtytwo/WatchYourStep/htm. As of 26 May 2013, I was not able to access the website again.

16. Ibid.

17. Charles G. Widden, *Olle ve Kvarna i Amerika* (Olof at the Mill in America), rec. 1919, 78 rpm, Victor 72719.

Summarized by Johannes Tillander.

18. Charles G. Widden, *Olle ve Kvarna i Amerika* (Olof at the Mill in America), rec. 1919, 78 rpm, Victor 72719.

Transcribed and translated by Johannes Tillander. Bold is used in order to make the English words and words derived from English stand out in the skits and songs that primarily utilize a non-English immigrant language.

19. Billy Jones, *Yes, We Have No Bananas*, rec. 1 June 1923, Edison Diamond Disc 51183.

Transcribed by Eric Byron. The recording can be heard on the *Cylinder Preservation and Digitization Project*, 2002, Donald C. Davison Library, University of California, Santa Barbara, http://cylinders.library.ucsb.edu/. Use the catalogue number 4778.

20. Eduardo Migliaccio, Yes, We Have No Banana, rec. July 1923, 78 rpm, Victor 73980.

Transcribed and translated by Ellis Island Discography volunteers. One of them wrote that she had a lot of trouble with this work since it contained many "idioms and jokes in Neapolitan, which cannot be translated even in Italian." Bold is used in order to make the English words and words derived from English stand out in the skits and songs that primarily utilize a non-English immigrant language. It is also possible that some of the Italian text is incorrect. Unfortunately, the software used to gather database information could not record some of the Italian letters and accent marks at the time the transcription was made.

21. Dwojka Warszawska, Jak To Ozenic Sie Gdy, rec. June 1927, 78 rpm, Okeh 11325.

Transcribed and translated by Dr. Arkadiusz Bentkowski, President of The Polish Institute of Anthropology. Bold is used in order to make the English words and words derived from English stand out in the skits and songs that primarily utilize a non-English immigrant language.

22. The Happiness Boys, *Where Do You Work-a John?*, rec. Jan. 1927, 78 rpm, Columbia 875-D.

Transcribed by Eric Byron. The recording can be heard on the *Judaica Sound Archives*, 2007, Florida Atlantic University Libraries, http://faujsa.fau.edu/jsa/>.

23. Eduardo Migliaccio, A Do Fatico Giova?, rec. Jan. 1927, 78 rpm, Victor 79157.

Transcribed and translated by a volunteer. Bold is used in order to make the English words and words derived from English stand out in the skits and songs that primarily utilize a non-English immigrant language. It is also possible that some of the Italian text is incorrect. Unfortunately, the software used to gather database information could not record some of the Italian letters and accent marks at the time the transcription was made.

24. Lee Tully, *I Found Gold*, rec. ca. 1940s-1950s, 78 rpm, Jubilee 3504.

Transcribed by Eric Byron.

25. Joshua A. Fishman, *Sociolinguistics: A Brief Introduction* (Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House, 1972) 5.

26. Ibid., 87.

- 27. Ralph Fasold in *The Sociolinguistics of Society* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1984), 41.
- 28. H. L. Mencken, *The American Language: An Inquiry into the Development of English in the United States* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960) 633-634, 643.

First published in 1919 and revised in 1921, 1923 and 1936, *The American Language: An Inquiry into the Development of English in the United States* devotes over eighty pages (616-697) to what Mencken refers to as "Non-English Dialects in American." He includes in the discussion numerous examples of English words that have, in more modern terms, leaked into the immigrant languages. In explaining the Yiddish immigrant dynamics, for example, he writes:

The impact of American-English upon Yiddish has been tremendous; in fact, it has been sufficient to create two Yiddishes. "The one," says Dr. Ch. Zhitlowsky, "is the wildgrowing Yiddish-English jargon, the potato-chicken-kitchen language; the other is the cultivated language of Yiddishists culture all over the world." But though Dr. Zhitlowsky and his fellow Yiddishists may rail against that potato-chicken-kitchen language, it is the Yiddish of the overwhelming majority of American Jews. (633-634)

In discussing Italian, Mencken elaborates about the exacerbation of leakage within the Italian immigrant community. He paraphrases an article, "The Speech of Little Italy," written by an Italian-American lawyer for the July 1932 edition of *American Mercury*. The notion that the various dialects intensified the leakage certainly helps to explain a bit more about the dynamics of language disintegration. However, Turano's belief that the language might have held together if everyone spoke Standard Italian is certainly questionable.

In the main, the immigrants from a given section of Italy flocked together – New York, for example, got mostly Neapolitans and Sicilians, and the Pacific Coast a preponderance of Piedmontese and Genoese – but there was still a sufficient mixture to make intercommunication difficult. If all the newcomers had been fluent in Standard Italian it would have served them, but not many had an adequate vocabulary of it, so resort was had to an amalgam of Standard Italian, the various Italian dialects, and the common English of the country, with the latter gradually

prevailing. The result, says Mr. Anthony M. Turano, was "a jargon which may be called American-Italian, a dialect no less distinct from both English and Italian than any provincial dialect is distinct from the Italian language." Mr. Turano believes that American loan-words now comprise "as much as one-fourth of the spoken language of Little Italy." (643)

- 29. Nellie Casman, Alles Is a Bluff, rec. Jan. 1926, 78 rpm, Columbia 8106-F.
- 30. Carl Frischer, *Amerikanische Betrachtungen*, rec. June 1915, 78 rpm, Columbia E-2797.
- 31. "English around the World," Cateri, 2013, Tangient LLC. 1 May 2013 http://cateri.wikispaces.com/ENGLISH+AROUND+THE+WORLD.

Rita Raley from the Department of English of the University of California gives us a list of terms coined to describe international dialects with ties to English. . . (What Is Global English?) Anglikaans/Anglicaans, Anglonorsk, Arablish, Benglish, Chinglish, Deutschlish/Gerlish, Dutchlish, Eurolish, Franglais/Frenglish, Hindlish/Hinglish, Indonglish, Inglish, Italglish, Japlish/Janglish, Manglish, Minglish, Punglish, Russlish, Singlish, Spanglish, Swedlish, Taglish, Tamlish, Tinglish, Wenglish, Yinglish.

- 32. Janet Holmes, *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*, n.d., 3 June 2012 http://english-languagesummaries.weebly.com/uploads/5/3/9/0/5390329/full_summary_an_introduction_to_sociolinguistics.doc.
- 33. Bernard Spolsky, Sociolinguistic (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1998) 34.
- 34. Holmes.
- 35. Spolsky, 34.
- 36. Chris Jeffery and Rajend Mesthrie, "Domains of Language Use: A Fundamental Concept for Framing Language Policy in South Africa," *FreeDocLib*, 2013, FreeDocLib. 3 June 2012
- http://free-doc-lib.com/book/domains-of-language-use-a-fundamental-concept-for-framing-1.pdf>. pp. 1-2.
- 37. Frank Seiden, Der Border (The Boarder), rec. 1901-1902, cylinder, Columbia 26525.
- 38. Morris Goldstein, *Columbus Ich Hob zu Dir Gornit*, rec. ca. Nov. 1918, 78 rpm, Columbia E-4280.

The 1918 Columbia E-4280 "Columbus Ich hob zu Dir Gornit" (Columbus, I Have Nothing Against You) by Morris Goldstein speaks directly to why one finds so many "misses" and "misters" on early Yiddish records.

Yiddish:

Kukt oys vi a Jew.
Du bist a yedes land in "pieces" –
Yede yente iz do a "misses,"
Yeder man iz do a "mister,"
Fun a doctor biz a shuster.

Translation

Looks like a Jew.
You are an each/every [?] land in "pieces" –
Each yente is a here a "misses,"
Each man is here a "mister,"
From a doctor to a shoemaker.³⁸

- 39. Deborah Schiffrin, et. al., eds., "Discourse Markers: Language, Meaning, and Context," *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing, 2003) 54.
- 40. Ibid., 67.
- 41. Yaron Matras, Language Contact (Cambridge University Press, 2009) 101.
- 42. Ibid., 105.
- 43. Joseph Tanzman and Anna Zeeman, *Fish auf Shabes*, rec. April 1921, 78 rpm, Columbia E7176.

Transcribed and translated by an Ellis Island Discography volunteer. Bold is used in order to make the English words and words derived from English stand out in the skits and the songs that primarily utilize a non-English immigrant language.

44. The Roubanis Chorus, *O Grecoamericanos Stin Athina*, rec. ca. July 1925, 78 rpm, Columbia 56024-F.

Transcribed and translated by Nefeli Elini Piree-Iliou. Bold is used in order to make the English words and words derived from English stand out in the skits and the songs that primarily utilize a non-English immigrant language. The "man" in the skit may actually be a woman. It is hard to tell the sex of the person confronting the officer by the quality of his/her voice.

- 45. Solomon Smulewitz, I'm All Right, rec. ca. May 1908, cylinder, Edison 21009.
- 46. Michael Tokarick, *Janko Ladjak na Strit Kare*, rec. May 1931, 78 rpm, Victor V-22119.
- 47. Michael La Sorte, *LaMerica: Images of the Italian Greenhorn Experience* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1985) 168-169.
- 48. Abraham Cahan, The Rise of David Levinsky (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1960).
- 49. Ibid., 91.
- 50. Ibid., 104-105.

The Impact of Technology as Revealed in Recordings about Groups: Strange People, Strange Technologies

Physical and psychological upheaval characterized the peak immigration years between 1880 and 1924, the year the quota laws basically closed the door to the United States. Everything about America changed as millions of immigrants poured into the country; African Americans began settling in the north, and rural people came into contact with the urban world. The new technologies, including the telephone, automobile, radio, movies, bicycles, airplanes and, of course, phonographs contributed to this disruption as they transformed the physical and psychological landscape. Claude S. Fischer reminds us that the technological changes of the turn-of-the-century made a much greater impact upon America than the technological changes we are presently experiencing.

Despite the awe that many express about today's technological developments, the material innovations in our everyday lives are incremental compared to those around the turn of the century. Major improvements in food distribution and sanitation lengthened life and probably lowered the birth rate. Streetcars brought average Americans easy and cheap local travel. Telephone and radio permitted ordinary people to talk and hear over vast distances. Electric lighting gave them the nighttime hours. Add innovations, such as elevators, movies and refrigerators, and it becomes apparent that today's technical whirl is by comparison a slow waltz. ¹

Incredibly, and perhaps predictably, the reaction of the average American to these enormous changes made its way to the commercial sound recording. Recordings humorously paired a confrontation between alien people, or people outside the "Anglo-Saxon Protestant social class and racial hierarchy," and the equally invasive technologies. As discussed in "Key Elements Summarizing the Boundary Between Majority and Minority Groups," humor served as a boundary maintaining device. The laughter allowed for observation, but reduced antipathy. Thus, the two-to-four-minute presentations created an arena where ordinary urban America could scrutinize that which was different and in the process make the world a little less uncomfortable.

One more element surfaced on these recordings. The majority of skits tend to portray the ethnic, racial, and rube characters' multidimensionality. The characters combine traits that made them both sympathetically understandable and yet strange at the same time: an unsophisticated Yiddish-accented Jew attempts to order a new phone, but the operators keep connecting him to the wrong exchanges; a country bumpkin who knows nothing about cars finds himself being driven around by a crazed self-righteous driver. This brilliant amalgamation invited the non-racial, non-ethnic or non-rube listener to safely view the new technologies and perhaps, by extension, even the new people. This chapter examines the people and technologies from the perspective of the "typical" citizen, those people who identified with the urban world.

Although the database identifies quite a few recordings that indicate that immigrants did make recordings centered on technology, not enough have been examined to make a definitive statement. The few that have been reviewed suggest that immigrant recordings employed technology in much the same way they dealt with all the other greenhorn foibles and misinterpretations. Those immigrants who spontaneously laughed could claim a degree of sophistication, a status that distanced them from the greenhorn.

Recordings by racial groups and country folk constituted an entirely different situation. As William Kenney discusses at length in *Recorded Music In American Life: The Phonograph and Popular Memory, 1890-1945*, neither African Americans nor rural folk determined the kinds of recordings they made during most of the period covered in this chapter. ^{4, 5}

As of 2014 there are over three hundred entries in the database that were primarily made for a non-immigrant, non-rural, white mainstream audience and contain references to the phonograph, radio, automobile, or telephone. Some of the recordings mention the technologies casually. Others, especially those that make use of the telephone and automobile, emphasize the technology. The recordings that interest us the most for this section highlight the relationships between new technologies, the people associated with those technologies, and the outsiders impacted by the technologies. In essence, new people and new technologies transformed life in America.

The database presently infers that if the unfamiliar technology overlapped with the mass movement of people coming to and moving within this country, this kind of recording tended to peak in two waves. The first wave apparently linked the early development of the technology, a time in which few people actually had direct contact or owned the technology, to misunderstanding and/or fear. In the second wave, people seemed more likely to appreciate the technology and the problems associated with that technology. Automobile and telephone sketches, the technologies on which this chapter focuses, generally coincide with this two-wave pattern.

At the turn of the century one hears Irish or Germans playing the key roles on the recordings. Both groups had been coming to America for quite some time, and both groups made up a significant portion of the urban population of northeastern cities like New York. Their predominance and power made them fodder for the recording market. Starting in the 1910s, the presumably inassimilable Jew speaking with a Yiddish accent often took the role of protagonist. Unlike the Germans and the Irish, Jews came bound in the packaging of Christian Europe that went back for at least a thousand years. Jean-Paul Sartre proposes in his book *Anti-Semite and Jew*⁶ that the general society imposed the condition of outsider on the Jews.

Thus the Jew remains the stranger, the intruder, the unassimilated at the very heart of our society. Everything is accessible to him, and yet he possesses nothing; for, he is told, what one possesses is not to be bought. All that he touches, all that he acquires becomes devalued in his hand;

the goods of the earth, the true goods, are always those which he has not. He is well aware that he has contributed as much as others to forging the future of the society that rejects him.⁷

The coupling of the strange Jew with the new overwhelming technology created a perfect storm, or in this case, the perfect market. The database suggests that the companies exploited Jews more than any other ethnic group.

The recording companies did employ African American and country bumpkin motifs throughout the period. This inclusion makes sense. As was previously made clear, the recording companies so devalued the two peoples that they dictated what African Americans and country people recorded. The fact that both groups kept pouring into the northern urban areas exacerbated their strangeness. An ever-increasing number of mainstream urbanites had to interact with them. However, with African Americans there was one other factor, one very similar to the Jewish situation. African Americans carried baggage, stereotypical concepts and images that went back for centuries. Albert Memmi states in *Dominated Man*:

Because, fundamentally and despite its appearance, Negrity does not correspond to a racial community, but to a community of condition, [Another parallel with the Jewish condition] which is a condition of oppression, under the mythical pretext of race. Negrity is simply the ethnic response of the black man to ethnic accusation of the white.⁸

Thus, the power of otherness acted as an unqualified foil for the recordings. Finally, the number of recordings that mixed technology with outsiders dropped precipitously with the introduction of the quota laws and basically vanished with the onset of the Depression.

A question still remains. Italians made up the largest group to come through Ellis Island. Consequently, the immigrant Italians made up a population that the general society recognized and to which they assigned certain stereotypical associations, such as working in a barbershop or eating specific kinds of food. Many Italians settled in the northeastern cities, and they arrived when the recording companies were making recordings about strange technologies and various minority groups. So why didn't the authors of the skits and songs utilize them in the technology recordings? Did the Italian stereotypical package not include the possibility of interacting with the new technologies?

The Telephone

On March 10, 1876, a year or so before the invention of the phonograph, Alexander Graham Bell called out to his assistant, Thomas A. Watson, "Mr. Watson, come here! I want to see you." Watson, who had been sitting two rooms away, heard the words on a machine on which they had been working. That machine became known as the telephone.

Telephone technology initially spread slowly:

In 1891 the New York and New Jersey Telephone Company

served 937 physicians and hospitals, 401 drug stores, 363 liquor stores, 315 livery stables, 162 metalworking plants, 146 lawyers, 126 contractors, 100 printing shops 7322 commercial customers all told residences. but only 1442 Residences with telephones were typically those of doctors or of business owners or managers.¹⁰

Based on statistics that Claude Fischer compiled from *Historical Statistics and Statistical Abstract 1990*, published by the U.S. Bureau of the Census, the percentage of American households to have a telephone increased until by 1905 approximately 20% of all American homes had a telephone. ¹¹ At this time even those people who did not have phones in their homes understood the technology. Fischer notes that "by the turn of the century the nickel-in-the-slot public telephones were common throughout major urban areas." ¹²

Dozens of sound recordings exploited telephone technology and usage. Many of them

incorporated the words "telephone," "phone," or "phones" (verb) as part of their title, indicating the significance of the technology to the work. This section will focus on a number of the more significant recordings to which the Project has had access.

The database lists Russell Hunting's "Casey at the Telephone" on a Columbia cylinder, catalogue number 9618 as one of the earliest. According to the Internet Archive, ¹³ Columbia made this cylinder around 1897. The cylinder begins with an announcer introducing the record, which is followed by a knocking sound. A person using Standard English invites the person who is knocking on what seems to be a door to enter. Speaking English with an Irish accent, Michael Casey greets the person with a "good morning" and then asks if he can use the telephone. However, instead of calling it a telephone he calls it a thermometer, which quickly underlines the strangeness of both the technology and the central character.

Excerpt from "Casey at the Telephone"



Western Electric Telephone Advertisement in the *World's Work: The Reminisces of John D. Rockefeller*, October 1908

Courtesy of the author

Person: "What's that?"

Michael Casey: "Could I speak in your thermometer?"

Person: "What, what do you mean?"

Michael Casey: "I mean that little electrical wire thing there on the wall."

Person: "Oh, the telephone."

Michael Casey: "That, eh, yeah, that's the thing. Would I be let speaking?"

Person: "Why certainly. Do you know how to operate the telephone?"

Michael Casey: "Operate? I drove an ice wagon for three years [He laughs]."

Person: "That's all right. Go ahead."

Michael Casey: "Yes, I'm much obliged. Now I, I just eh, I just ring the bell here and, eh, speak in the little hole there."

Person: "Yes, that right." ¹⁴

Sometime between 1897 and 1898, Russell Hunting recorded another "Casey Using the Telephone" for Edison, most likely catalogue number 3815. 15 Presumably, this recording either replicated exactly or closely paralleled the Columbia version.

Arthur Collins, one of the most prolific recording stars of the acoustic era, often employed African American dialect. He utilized it on the 1899 Edison, catalog number 5470, cylinder "Hello Ma Baby" to strengthen the image of an unsophisticated and possibly dangerous African American trying to make a telephone call. The announcer begins the work with "Coon song 'Hello Ma Baby' sung by Arthur Collins." Collins follows the introduction with: "Hello, hello, hello Central, hello. Please don't cut me off that way. Hello, hello, what the, hello." Shortly thereafter he warns: "So take my tip and leave this gal alone."

From this point Collins sings about how he has found a woman whom he has never seen. He maintains their relationship over the phone.

Excerpt from "Hello Ma Baby"

Hello, ma baby,

Hello, ma honey,
Hello, my ragtime gal!
Send me a kiss by wire.
You hear me?
Baby my heart's on fire!
If you refuse me,
Honey you'll lose me,
Then you'll be left alone.
Oh, baby, telephone,
And tell me I'm your love.

In the middle of the work, Arthur Collins interrupts the singing to proclaim that once again the line has trouble.

Hello, hello, hello baby, hello. I guess you don't hear me. The wires must be crossed somewhere. Hello, hello, what the, hello.¹⁶

About the same time that Collins recorded "Hello, Ma Baby" for Edison, Len Spencer, another well-known and gifted artist, also recorded a piece titled "Hello, Ma Baby" for Columbia. The Internet Archive features a Columbia recording by that name from 1899, but without a catalog number. With a few minor exceptions, Spencer used the same lyrics as Collins.¹⁷

In 1902, James White recorded a "Casey at the Telephone" on Edison, catalog number 8069. ¹⁸ In all probability, White based his work on the Russell Hunting recording from the 1890s. Edison had James H. White cover other Russell Hunting recordings, such as "Michael Casey Taking the Census" in 1902. ¹⁹ Collins and Harlan followed White on a circa 1904 Columbia cylinder, "Central, Give Me Back My Dime." Utilizing exaggerated laughter and liquor consumption, popular stereotypes of the time associated with African Americans, the work portrays the heartache of a man after he realizes that the buzzing on the line is some other man who has been chatting with his gal. ²⁰

It is not really until the 1910s that we find in the database another recording that juxtaposes the telephone with alien people. As discussed in the section titled "Cracks in the Boundary Between Immigrant Groups and the General Society: Ethnic Characters Being Treated in the Same Way in Both Recordings by Immigrants and Recordings about Immigrants," in 1913 Joe Hayman recorded "Cohen on the Telephone" for Columbia, catalogue number A1516. The success of the skit prompted numerous performers to produce a whole series of Cohen sketches through the 1920s, many of which pitted a Jewish man with the name Cohen against various modern technologies. A significant number had Cohen using a telephone. As the 1910s passed, the foreign quality of the telephone tended to diminish, while the difficulties associated with the operator and other telephone company employees played a greater role, if they played a role at all. Quite a few recordings simply used the telephone as the landscape in which to present the material. Claude Fischer explains:

In the roughly twenty years between the expiration of Bell's monopoly and World War I telephone service was transformed from a business tool and a luxury good to a common utility. Most North Americans still could not afford or would not invest in a home telephone, but middle-class urban households and millions of farm families did have service. The rest, largely the urban working class, were familiar with and occasionally used the telephone in a neighbor's home or at a local store.²²

"Cohen on the Telephone" begins with Mr. Cohen trying to make a telephone call to his landlord, who happens to be the president of a bank. He speaks in English with a strong Yiddish accent.

Excerpt from "Cohen on the Telephone"

Hello. Are you there? Hello. Hello. What? What number do I want? Well, what numbers do you got? Excuse me, my fault. I want Central 248, please. Yes, that's right, 248. I say, miss, am I supposed to keeping on saying are you there and hello until you come back again? Well, don't be long. Hello, are you there? Oh, yes, are you the bank? Yes, I want to see the manager, please. I say I want to see. What do you say? This is a not a telescope, it is a telephone? You're very clever this morning, ain't it? Well, do me a favor. Hang a small piece of crepe on your nose, your brains are dead, and if I have any more of your impertinence, I'll speak to the manager about you.

Once Mr. Cohen learns that he is talking to the bank manager, he apologizes and then proceeds to explain that the night before the wind came and blew down the shutter on his house. He wants it fixed. Between his heavy accent and what appears to be poor reception on the line, one misunderstanding leads to another. By the end of the skit an overwhelmed Cohen gives up.²³

By the mid-teens, recordings employing telephone technology became very popular. Joe Hayman's circa 1915 Columbia, catalogue numbers A2192 and A1885, recordings, "Cohen Telephones from Brighton," describe another attempt by Mr. Cohen to make a telephone call. This time, however, the plot couples Cohen's technological sophistication and attempts at financial manipulation with the required protocol and "I've been through this many times before" annoyance of the telephone operator.

Excerpt from "Cohen Telephones from Brighton"

Cohen: "Yes, I am calling four-six-one-four city."

Operator: "Four-six-one-four city?"

Cohen: "Say, you'll know that blame number by heart, ain't it? Yes, four-six-one-four city. Now we all agree."

Operator: "Put the tuppence in the box."

Cohen: "Alright."

Operator: "Well?"

Cohen: "Pretty well, how are you."

Operator: "I am waiting for you to put the tuppence in."

Cohen: "I just put the money in."

Operator: "Please don't argue. Put the tuppence in the box and turn the handle to the right."

Cohen: "Oh, alright, more trouble."

Operator: "And the other penny, please."

Cohen: "I just put the money in. Say, what you think I am, the Bank of England or something?"

Operator: "I am not here to argue with you. Will you put the other penny in, please."

The difficulties between the operator and Cohen intensify. The operator asks once more what number Cohen wants.

Operator: "Did I hear you say you wanted four-six-one- four city?"

Cohen: "I don't know whether you heard me say it, but I am sure everyone around here for miles knows what number I want."

The skit ends with the operator informing Cohen that the number has been disconnected. 24, 25

In 1923 Joe Hayman recorded for Columbia, catalogue number A3904, "Cohen on Telephone Etiquette." Once more Cohen tries to avoid paying the full amount for the

phone call, although he now clearly states his intentions. However, unlike the preceding example, this skit stresses the problems he has with the operator.

Excerpt from "Cohen on Telephone Etiquette"

Put a nickel in the slot, particularly if you want a fifteen-cent call, because sometimes you get away with it. Then you take off your hat and coat, also the receiver from the hook, and you wait. After fifteen or twenty minutes the operator will say number. Then you suddenly remember that you forgot the number. Think quick, otherwise you are gonna lose that nickel. Then you say looking the mouthpiece straight in the face. I want Columbus one, two, three, four and the operator confirms the number by saying Greenpoint 0, 0, 0, nine. Then firmly but gently you say, no, Columbus one, two, three, four. Then she says, beg your pardon, Columbus four, three, two, one. You say again, no, Columbus one, two, three, four. And she says, Columbus, one, two, three, four. Now you say thank you, please, and then you wait. Oh, how you wait!²⁶

Joe Hayman released at least one other comparable work. In his 1923 "Cohen 'Phones for a 'Phone" issued on the Columbia label, catalogue number 3D, he utilizes a variety of characters to stress the frustrating experiences Cohen has when he tries to deal with the bureaucracy. His lack of sophistication only underlines the telephone company's indifference.

Excerpt from "Cohen 'Phones for a 'Phone"

Cohen: "Hello, hello, are you there? I'm phoning about getting a new phone installed."

Female operator: "Ring up John, two, two, two, o, two."

Cohen: "Hey, are you giving an imitation of a locomotive or what? Besides, who is John?"

Female operator: "That's the number, two, two."

Cohen: "O, two, two, yourself, and see how you like it."

Female operator: "That's the plant department."

Cohen: "Plant department? [He laughs.] She thinks I want to start a garden. Nu, well, all right. Give me two, two, two, o, two, Jacob, I mean John. Hello, I want the flower department."

Male operator: "Oh, you mean the plant department."

Cohen: "Yes, I want to speak to somebody about getting a new telephone."

Male operator: "A new phone? I'll connect you and then ask for equipment."

Cohen: "Thank you. Hello, are you there? I want the, um, I what, I want eh, what the other fellow told me to ask for."

Another female operator: "Don't be funny. What do you want?"

Cohen: "I want a new telephone. You see, eh."

In order to limit plot repetition and at the same time underscore the frustration associated with that repetition, the recording inserts a crossed wire episode. Cohen finds himself in the middle of a conversation between two lovers and tries to explain that he just wants a telephone and that he has no interest in Mabel. The last operator-Cohen exchange concludes with the operator declaring that if Cohen really wants a telephone, he should write a letter and she will tell him where to go. An exasperated Cohen responds with:

Is that so? Well, if I wasn't a gentleman, I tell you where you could go where you wouldn't need one. So goodbye and keep your telephone.²⁷

Although Jewish characters tended to predominate in the later telephone skits, performers continued to employ racial and rube characters. In the Victor, most likely catalogue number 18148, circa 1916 "Old Country Fiddler at the Phone," Charles Ross Taggart personates a rube who has just arrived the night before in New York City and wants to speak with his son.

Excerpt from "Old Country Fiddler at the Phone"

Hello Central. Say, I want to talk to my son. Han? My son, yes, he's here in New York City. Been here a year and a half. Number? Oh, just one, all the rest are gals. What? His number? Whose? My son's? Heavens to Betsy. He ain't in jail, is he? What's that? Information, what about? Oh, his name is eh, John Jackson. Fifteen Hundred West Eight-Six Street. What's that? H. O. J. Holland. Who's that? Oh, that's probably the man he works for. Hello, hello, who's this? Oh, central. Got back to you have we? Well, say, Central, I want to talk with Mister H. O. J. Holland. 28

The rest of the recording, as in many rube recordings, contrasts rube and urban traits and by doing so emphasizes the differences between the urban (modern) and rural world. As Fischer comments, the industry did not initially take the rural market very seriously:

Many of the jokes industry men told in the early years depicted the initial encounter of a country bumpkin with a telephone. The stories usually portrayed the farmer as ignorant and sometimes afraid of the instrument. An independent telephone executive claimed in 1910 that the farmer had been "so unfamiliar with the telephone as to be absolutely frightened with it." (Similar jokes described immigrants as shocked by the device's ability to speak their native language.) This attitude reflected the conviction that farmers lacked interest in the telephone, even when they had some comprehension of it, as well as the conviction that farmers did not "need" the telephone sufficiently to make serving them profitable. The industry avoided the rural market until the early years of the twentieth century. 30

Fisher also emphasizes that the telephone industry until the late 1920s and early 1930s had certain expectations of women. Industry officials thought women should utilize the telephone only for the purpose of being a "housewife-administer" and not as a vehicle for social exchange, an association they already tied to women. Ralph Bingham compounded the feminine stereotype by having an African American telephone a friend about a wedding in the 1916 Victor, catalogue number 18231, skit "Mrs. Rastus Johnson at the Wedding." The record starts out with Mrs. Rastus contacting the operator.

Excerpt from "Mrs. Rastus at the Wedding"

Hello central. Is that the Bell Telephone Office, please? Yes'um. Well will you please ask Mr. Bell if he'll give me Maine 443 please mam? Yes'um. [Laughs] I can't say three that way. It tickles my tongue. [Laughs] Yes, hello. Is that you Miss Annie, mam? Oh is that you Mahalie? Lord, your voice sounded almost white.

To further stress that Mrs. Rastus is an African American, the skit concludes:

What did you say Mahalie? The groom? Lord, Mahalie [laughs], that nigger never showed up.³²

As stated earlier, telephone recordings that employed ethnic, rube, or racial characters diminished greatly after 1924. Aco released a circa 1925 disc, catalogue number G-15878, "Cohen 'Phones his Builder" and "Cohen Still Phoning His Builder" by Joe Hayman. Although the actual record has not been located, presumably the same variables as the other Cohen recordings were incorporated into the skits. 33

Charles J. Correll and Freeman F. Gosden, the comedians who created the "Amos 'n Andy" radio program, recorded in 1926 for Victor, catalog number 20032, "Sam 'Phoning His Sweetheart 'Liza." Unlike other telephone sketches that play on local telephone calls, this sketch describes the difficulties associated with making long-distance calls. Tom Farley of Privateline.com explained that during the 1920s long distance telephone calls had problems. It wasn't until the 1960s that there was any notable improvement.³⁴

An African American in Chicago named Sam tries to call his sweetheart Liza, who lives back home in Birmingham, to ask her to marry him. Henry, his friend, stays with him as he waits for the operator to connect him.

Excerpt from "Sam 'Phoning His Sweetheart 'Liza"

Henry, that telephone ought to ring any minute now. The operator said she'd call back as soon as she gets Birmingham and that was 30 minutes ago.

The operator finally rings. Sam answers and begins conversing with a person who turns out to be Liza's boss. While Liza's boss searches for Liza, Henry remarks that the longer it takes to get Liza to the phone, the more Sam will have to pay. Eventually, Sam gets someone who is perhaps Liza. They obviously have trouble communicating with one another, which generates a lot of humor. Finally, a secretary, who apparently determines how long the phone can be used, returns and Sam hangs up. The phone rings again and this time it is the operator. She tells Sam he owes \$5.25. Sam responds:

Um hum. That's sure a lot of money ain't it? I wonder if that was Liza I was talking to. . . . I ain't never heard a word she said, yet.³⁵

In 1927 Julius Tannen updated the one-sided 1913 "Cohen on the Telephone" by Joe Hayman to a two-sided Victor, catalogue number 20921. Once again, Isidore Cohen wants to speak with the President of the First National Bank, who happens to be his landlord. As with the earlier work, the previous night the wind blew down the shutter on his house and he wants the landlord to fix it. The president doesn't comprehend, and eventually Isidore decides to fix the shutter himself. Although very much like the 1913 version by Joe Hayman, Julius Tannen's later version contains references to automobiles and an electric fan. In Hayman's "Cohen on the Telephone" the skit clarifies in the opening lines that Cohen is using the telephone for the first time. By 1927 the general American public understood the telephone. Consequently, the recording mentions nothing about Cohen's inability to make a call. Rather, as with many of the other recordings associated with the second wave, the sketch centers on the struggle he has with the operator.

Excerpt from "Cohen on the Telephone"

Thank you operator. I got already the number written down here right in front of me. It's Central two, four, five. What? Central two, four, five. Which is the first number? Two, lady. Two, like in toothache. Can't you understand? Suppose maybe you took one and one and you put together one and one. What do you get? Eleven. Yes, lady with a pencil, but not with two one-dollar bills.³⁶

The Automobile

The automobile, like countless other inventions, resulted from the gradual accumulation of knowledge gathered over a long period of time. The Library of Congress' website "Everyday Mysteries" enumerates some of the most significant individuals starting with Nicolas-Joseph Cugnot (1725-1804), who in 1769 built the first self-propelled road vehicle. The site then cites the contributions of Robert Anderson, Gottlieb Wilhelm Daimler (1834-1900) and Wilhelm Maybach (1846-1929), George Baldwin Selden (1846-1922), Charles Edgar Duryea (1862-1938) and his brother Frank (1870-1967). The website emphasizes:

There are many different types of automobiles – steam, electric, and gasoline – as well as countless styles. Exactly who invented the automobile is a matter of opinion. If we had to give credit to one inventor, it would probably be Karl Benz from Germany. Many suggest that he created the first true automobile in 1885/1886. 38

However, it is not the invention of the automobile that interests us. An invention about which few people heard, and even fewer saw, would not produce recordings that focused on the technology. The mass production of the automobile introduced the average person to the machine, and the average person's reaction to the machine made it possible to sell recordings.

According to *Inventors and Discovers: Changing Our World*, Ransom E. Olds was the first to mass market an automobile. Between 1901 and 1904 he managed to sell more than 12,000 Oldsmobiles. ³⁹ *American Science and Invention* describes the Oldsmobile this way:

The "Merry Oldsmobile" looked like a buggy steered by tiller – crude and spidery compared with the massively built, elegant French cars; but its cost was less than four hundred dollars against five to ten thousand for the imported models.⁴⁰

Henry Ford took mass production one step further and in the process he changed the nature of mass production. In 1908 his firm created the Model T, which would become the most famous automobile ever built.

It was a superb machine, a rugged, versatile, high-slung car that won no beauty prizes but could run a rutted farm road without dragging its underbelly. If it did get stuck, you could rock it free with an improved transmission that made shifting between forward and reverse gears fast and easy. Priced at \$850 in 1908, the Model T touring car sold in 1916 for \$360, thanks to high sales and revolutionary methods of manufacture. 41

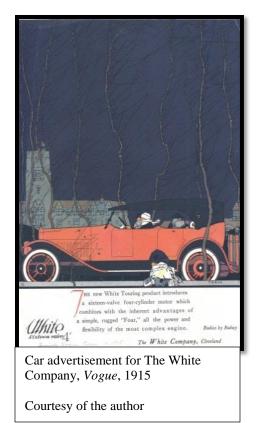
By 1927, the year Ford ceased producing the Model T, the company had made some 15,000,000,⁴² and more than 50% of the [U.S.] population owned a car.⁴³

Fischer comments on how people in general initially reacted to the automobile.

The first reports of automobile sightings were filled with amazement. Wonder soon mixed with outrage, however, as touring automobiles upset local buggy drivers, made horses bolt, kicked up dust, and caused accidents. An Antioch [California] old-timer recalled to us that "when the vehicle came, horse got scared, kids screamed, and mothers pulled their children off the road."

Joshua Zeitz in *Flapper* expands on the problems with automobiles at the beginning of the twentieth century. Not only did their wheels fall off, but they tended to spin out of control "at the slightest provocation" and easily got stuck in the mud when it rained. He points out that San Francisco, Cincinnati, and Savannah maintained a speed limit of eight miles per hour, and Vermont "required all motorists to hire 'persons of mature age' to walk one-eighth of a mile ahead of their cars, waving red warning flags for the benefit of innocent pedestrians." ⁴⁵

As with other kinds of technology, the strangeness of the technology diminished as time passed and people got to know the machine. The incomprehensible, and/or threatening, automobile, the machine often controlled by people of wealth and power, eventually became a consumer object the masses desired. Apprehension and misunderstanding ultimately evolved into appreciation and a reluctant acceptance of the frustrations that came with the new technology. Once again, this section will emphasize the more significant recordings that were actually located. The database lists Frank Kennedy's 1901 Edison recording, catalogue number 7814, "Schultz on the Automobile," as the earliest recording that juxtaposed an incipient automobile technology with an alien person, in this case a German. Shortly thereafter, in 1902-1903, Frank Kennedy presumably made a similar or perhaps exactly the same recording for Leeds and Catlin cylinders, catalogue number 1733. Unfortunately, neither recording has been found.



However, the database has the text for Cal Stewart's circa 1903 Victor, catalogue number 2541, "Uncle Josh in an Automobile." Henry, who converses in Standard English, invites his "uncle" for a ride in an automobile. Speaking in a thick country bumpkin accent, 48 Uncle Josh captures what many people must have felt when they saw, and in some cases rode in, the early cars.

Excerpt from "Uncle Josh in an Automobile"

Josh: "Well Henry, who's that fella with a coal bucket and and blinders on."

Henry: "Why that's the chauffeur, Uncle."

Uncle Josh [laughing]: "Well, Henry you just tell Mr. Chauffeur to run a little might slow. I'm not use to running in one of these benzene buggies."

Henry: "Oh, that's all right, uncle. Get in."

Uncle Josh: "Ah, you tell him I want to get there, today. I don't want to catch up to yesterday."

At this point Uncle Josh warns Henry that there is a wagon in the road. Henry smugly replies that "they have to see us and we don't have to see them." Uncle Josh then comments that he thinks they ran over a man. Henry lackadaisically informs Josh that they can pay the fine for running over this person up the road.

They pass through New Haven and then cross over the Hudson or, as Josh puts it, "what was that we jumped over back there?" Josh begs them to slow the car down because the speed is making his hair fall out. He wants to know the name of the street on which they are riding. Henry informs him that it is Pennsylvania. At that moment they crash.

Uncle Josh: "Here, here, here, take this garn darn old kerosene wagon off me. I oughta have better sense to ride out in it in the first place. Say Henry, ain't that my eyes are on the dashboard?"

Henry: "No uncle, that's one of my ears."

Uncle Josh: "I'll be dog gone. What become of that . . . [not clear] fella, Henry?"

Henry: "Oh, that's him up there on the tree."

[Another crash is heard.]

Uncle Josh: "Say Henry, what was that went by?"

Henry: "Oh, that was our shadow. Just caught up with us."

Building on the word automobile, Josh finishes the skit by saying that what they need now is an "oughta go home." ⁴⁹

Around the time that Cal Stewart made his recording about Uncle Josh, Len Spencer recorded a similar rube skit for Edison, catalogue number 8619. Titled "Reuben Haskins' Ride on a Cyclone Auto," this 1903 skit introduces us to Reuben Haskins who has just been splashed by an automobile. The automobile owner offers to pay Reuben ten dollars to buy soap to clean his store-bought suit and then volunteers to drive him home. Along the way the driver hits an ice wagon, kills a chicken and then kills the constable's setter. Not only do none of his actions disturb the driver, he actually seems to relish his power.

Excerpt from "Reuben Haskins' Ride on a Cyclone Auto"

Reuben Haskin: "Say, ain't you going faster than the limit?"

Automobile owner: "No, you just hold your breath and I'll show you my limit."

[The car sounds as though it speeds up.]

Reuben Haskin: "Oh gee, say, look out for that chicken! [One hears the sound of a chicken.] Killed him . . . [not clear]"

Automobile owner: "That was only a fowl [He laughs.]"

Reuben Haskin: "Say there's old constable Skinner and his setter dog."

Automobile owner: "Setter, eh. He'll lay a flat after I hit him." [One hears the dog first barking and then moaning.]

Reuben Haskin: "Hey, you killed him, too. Why say, this is worse than murder."

Automobile owner: "Why no, it prevents murder. How can anyone commit a murder after an auto hits them?"

As the driver becomes more reckless, he asks Reuben whether his life is insured. Reuben replies, "No, but my death's insured if I stick to you." He then begs the man to let him out. Laughing, the driver drops Reuben at Tall Tree Center, Reuben's hometown.

Proclaiming how much he enjoyed meeting Reuben, he states that he might like the chance to run "across you again." Reuben answers, "Not if I see you first." 50

About the time Ford started mass-producing his Model T, Steve Porter wrote and performed "Pat O'Brien's Automobile." In all likelihood, this 1908 Columbia, catalogue number A592, sketch either initiated or was one of the first such works in the second wave of recordings. The skit still presented the car as something ominous and capable of causing serious damage, but now, as illustrated by the Irishman Pat O'Brien and his wife, everyone wanted to own one.⁵¹

Just before their automobile arrives, Pat's wife declares, "I'm glad you bought it. It will make all the neighbors jealous." The driver finally delivers the machine and asks Pat if he needs instructions. O'Brien assures the driver that he has read the instruction book. Pat and his wife climb into the automobile as their neighbors watch. However, they cannot get it started. Their neighbors break into laughter.

Excerpt from "Pat O'Brien's Automobile"

Pat: "What's, what's the matter with it? It won't go. Well, by golly, I forgot to turn the crank?"

Wife: "What's his name?"

Pat: "Whose name?"

Wife: "The crank's name."

Pat: "Good woman. You don't understand. You have to wind it up to make it go."

Wife: "Well, how long will it go if you wind it?"

Pat: "It's not an eight day clock I bought." [Neighbors laugh.]

Pat: "Now wait till I turn it."

Wife: "Are you trying to play a tune on it?"

Pat: "I'm playing no hand organ. I'm winding." [His voice strains as he winds and car starts.]

As they struggle to get the car going, Pat's wife asks about the gasoline.

Pat: "The gasoline."

Wife: "What does it do?"

Pat: "The gasoline makes it go."

Wife:" Well, it's strong enough to make anything go."

Unable to get the car moving, the couple exits the car and Pat tries experimenting with the gears while standing outside the car. The car takes off and crashes into an ice wagon.

Pat: "...It's all in pieces."

Wife: "Did you pay for it, Pat?"

Pat: "Not yet, I got it on trial."

Wife: "Then send it back. We don't care for it." 52

About seven years later, in 1915, Edison put out on their Diamond Disc series, catalogue number 50263, a similar recording by Cal Stewart titled "Uncle Josh Buys an Automobile." In this skit, a rube couple purchases an automobile. As Nancy, Uncle Josh's wife, proclaims:

Excerpt from "Uncle Josh Buys an Automobile"

... the Willets had one, the Weavers had one, and here we was riding around in a buckboard wagon with a bone spavin horse that had spring halt and was blind on the off side. [He laughs.] Well, I didn't hanker for that gasoline wagon, but in order to keep peace in the family I sold four head of cattle, my old French horn, twenty hogs, ten ton of hay, and put a mortgage on the farm, and bought an automobile.

Employing technological analogies in a way comparable to that used in Steve Porter's piece, Uncle Josh details their attempt to get the machine to work.

I turned that crank until my eyes stuck out but it wouldn't budge. Nancy said the bobbin was wound too tight, or else the shuttle was threaded wrong. Ezra Hoskins said he thought maybe I didn't have the right kind of gasoline and wanted to sell me a barrel he had at the store. . . . Lige Willet said I ought to talk kindly to it and offer it some oats. Hank Weaver said I ought to lead it around for a spell until it got to know me. And Si Pettingill said maybe I hadn't watered it yet, and Deacon Witherspoon wanted to offer prayer."

After much frustration the automobile starts, but Josh immediately loses control.

And there was a lot of things happened in less time than it takes to tell it. That machine started off across lots, and everything with it. Ran over Hank Weaver's dog, tore a hole through Willet's picket fence, knocked over Si Pettingill's beehives, and kept right on a'going. . . . Just then we went through Jab Whitaker's wheat field and set it on fire, and I managed to steer it onto the turnpike road, but that didn't help matters any, 'cause it only hit the road once in a while. It tore down the toll gate, ripped down one side of the covered bridge, then started off through Jay Fisher's pasture and killed four sheep and a calf and then run into a haystack.

Uncle Josh ends his narration by proclaiming that all he got from "that joyride" was a "broken leg, some rubber tires, six lawsuits and a mortgage on the farm." The last line states that he is pretty sure that all his joyriding will be in a buckboard wagon.⁵³

Performing artists started inserting Jewish characters into their automobile skits by the middle 1910s, a few years after Jewish characters emerged in telephone sketches. By the late 1910s and 1920s Jewish characters prevailed. The database lists the 1916 Edison, catalogue number 51179, "Goldberg's Automobile Troubles" by Dave Martin as one of the earliest automobile records utilizing a Jewish character. Martin's work actually bridged the two technologies. Speaking in a Yiddish accent, Goldberg starts the skit by telephoning the garage, which he pronounces "garbage."

Excerpt from "Goldberg's Automobile Troubles"

Hello, hello, who is this talking? I said, who is this talking? Nobody? Well get off the line please. Yes. Hello. Operations? Operations! Say, if you don't talk to me in a minute, operations, I'll get so mad I'll smash up the whole phone company.

Finally connected to the garage, Goldberg explains that his car has broken down and he needs help. Unlike in some of the earlier skits, Dave Martin presents the car as baffling and confusing, but not as something threatening.

.

As I was telling you before, confidentially talking, I think the gasarader and the sparkling plug are fighting with the magnesia. What's that? I don't know what I'm talking about? Well, listen young man. I want to tell you about one thing. I learned more about machinery in this week that I had this car than you'll ever know in my life... So don't get fresh with me.

They continue to argue, and eventually Goldberg gives up, declaring that he will take a streetcar home. ⁵⁴

Recorded circa 1920 on Aeolian Vocalion, catalogue number 14105, "Cohen's New Automobile" by Monroe Silver played on some of the same issues as "Goldberg's Automobile Troubles." Cohen's wife convinces him to buy a car. The automobile dealer who sold him the vehicle obviously did not address any problems. Speaking with a Yiddish accent Cohen describes the sale as follows.

Excerpt from "Cohen's New Automobile"

The fellow who sold me the automobile said it would go like the wind. But every time I took it out the wind died down. He said it was forty horsepower. But I think thirty-nine of the horses died. . . . I paid seven hundred dollars for it. But the man said it smelt just as good as any five thousand dollar car.

In the middle of describing how much trouble he has with the car, Silver inserts an episode Cohen has with the police. In the exchange, Silver not only underscores the fact that Cohen is Jewish and the officer is Irish, but he manages to insert car problems.

Well, we were riding along for a while when a Policeman said hey, Stop, you are speeding. So he began asking me questions. He said, what's your name? I said, Isidor Fitzpatrick Cohen. He said, what's the Fitzpatrick for? I said for protection. . . . He said do you know you were going fifty miles an hour? So I laughed at him. He said where is your speedometer? I said I don't need any. I said I could tell how fast I was going without one. At ten miles the front fender falls off. At fifteen miles the rear wheel gets loose.

Cohen puts an advertisement in the newspapers after deciding he doesn't want the car anymore. He cannot sell it. After reading that a gang of thieves are stealing automobiles, he leaves his car in the streets for two nights in the hope that somebody might steal it.

. . . but nobody would steal it. So the only way I could get rid of it, was to leave the car there and we moved away. 55

Summarizing Chart

The following chart summarizes the ethnic and technological patterns found on the sound recordings in the database from the 1890s to 1927. The chart suggests that initially the recordings tended to use Irish, and to a much lesser extent Germans, as a foil for the technologies. Jews predominated in the later years. Throughout the entire period, the companies also utilized rubes and African Americans. At present, no examples of any other ethnic group have been located.

Technologically, the configuration that emerges overlaps with the era in which the society learned about a technology. Prior to 1900, Americans became conscious of

telephones. Around the turn of the century, automobiles began to impact the American landscape. (The chart was finished in September 2008.)

Technologies: A = Automobile, T = Telephone Ethnic, racial or rube recordings: African American = Black, German = Red, Irish = Green, Jewish = Blue, Rube = Brown

Year	Technology/ Ethnic group
1900 or earlier	T, T T, T, T
1901–1903	T A, A A, A, A, A, A
1904–1906	T A
1907–1909	A, A, A, A, A
1910–1912	A A
1913–1915	T T, T, T, T, T, T, T, T A, A, A, A, A A
1916–1918	T, T, T, T, T, T, T, T, T*, T* T, T A*
1919–1921	$T, T, T, T, \underline{T}^*$ A, A, \underline{A} A $\underline{A}^*, \underline{A}, \underline{A}, A, A, A$
1922–1924	T, T, T, T, T, T, T, T, T*, T* A A*, A*, A

Technology/ Ethnic group

 \underline{A} or \underline{T} Covers the years 1919–1922 and may actually belong in the 1922–1924 category. T^*/A^* Listed as both a telephone and automobile skit.

Conclusion

America experienced great changes during the peak years of immigration. The country urbanized as millions of immigrants entered, African Americans moved north, and country people made contact with the city folk. At the same time, huge technological advances not only facilitated these mass migrations, but the technology, along with urban growth, significantly influenced the psychological understanding the typical American had of the world around him or her.

All of these changes found their way onto the phonograph record, which consumers obviously went out of their way to purchase. The recording companies made millions of records during this period, with the average record costing the considerable sum of 75 cents by the 1910s. Although we can never be certain, the recordings probably utilized humor to reduce tensions and help clarify a world many everyday non-minority Americans saw as chaotic.

The diagram tends to replicate the historical pattern. The use of the various ethnic, rube, and racial groups greatly overlaps with their acceptance into the society, or at least the group's loss of novelty. The role of technology also appears to coincide with its introduction and acceptance. People eventually got over their fear, but the technological and human difficulties remained. One could comprehend how a telephone or car worked, but that would not prevent a car from breaking down or make an operator pay attention to a request.

The chart's pattern also proposes that the sound recording companies deemed Jews, African Americans, and rubes more marketable than other groups in the production of laughter. As explained earlier, these outsiders entered the northeast cities laden with baggage, expectations on which the companies could build skits. Jews at this time made especially good fodder for presentations. Their physical façade alluded to the ability to transverse the barriers. (They had light complexions.) However, their cultural trait list made it impossible. And if they, as in the case of Irving Berlin, generated a façade of disassociation, exemption from where history had placed on them, the general society remembered. The masses might forgive or look the other way with individuals such as Berlin, but deep down they knew, and deep down the Irving Berlins knew. Perhaps the need to constantly present oneself in a completely different way from the stereotypes with which one is associated is what drove Berlin and made him and those like him produce so much. All of this discussion leads us back to "Traversing Ethnic Boundary"

Lines: Composers and Performers" in the chapter titled "The Utilization of Stereotypical Language and Image to Define Ethnic, Racial and Rube Boundaries in Early Sound Recordings."

Endnotes

- 1. Claude S. Fischer, *America Calling: A Social History of the Telephone to 1940*. (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992) 2.
- 2. William Howland Kenney, *Recorded Music In American Life: The Phonograph and Popular Memory*, 1890-1945 (New York, Oxford, 1999) 38.

Kenney explains how the traditional views of various people deemed outsiders were carried over into the recordings.

The traditions of the minstrel stage lived on in the 1890-1910 craze for "coon songs," the most popular form of racial humor whether on stage, in sheet music or on records. Nearly all of the great stars ... recorded this kind of material. . . . As developed on the early phonograph records, most ethnic humor served to affirm the reigning white-Anglo-Saxon Protestant social class and racial hierarchy while interpreting ethnic characters in what was intended to be a patronizing but benevolently humorous manner. The resulting ethnic sound portraits affirmed WASP superiority over the variety of peculiar and preposterous "outsiders" who inhabited urban areas and the South while according such humorous figures plenty of native wit and buoyancy.

- 3. Moira Smith, "Humor, Unlaughter, and Boundary Maintenance," 2009, *Journal of American Folklore* 122.2. Her article serves as a base for the section titled "Key Elements Summarizing the Boundary Between Majority and Minority Groups."
- 4. Kenney, 109-134.

Kenney explains in this chapter that African Americans had very little to say about what they could record. The major record companies determined what they thought would sell. As he says on page 110, "But race records might be of the race and for the race, but not fully by the race, and several Black musicians and singers ... claimed that despite the rich eclectic variety of Black popular music they were allowed to record only blues."

5. Ibid., 136.

In the chapter "Economics and the Invention of Hillbilly Records in the South," Kenney states that country performers found themselves in a situation similar to African Americans.

Moreover, even if the region's industrial development had failed to match that of either the North or other western nations, hillbilly records often reflected the attitudes and tastes not of actual mountain dwellers but of transplanted rural workers in the factories and mill towns of the North and South and, of course, of record producers and phonograph company executives who eagerly catered to the popular modern fascination with "backward" rustics.

- 6. Jean-Paul Sartre, Anti-Semite and Jew (New York: Schocken Books, 1965).
- 7. Ibid., 83.
- 8. Albert Memmi, *Dominated Man: Notes towards a Portrait* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968) 38.
- 9. National Geographic Society, *Inventors and Discovers: Changing Our World* (Washington, D.C., 1988) 55.
- 10. Fischer, 41.
- 11. Ibid., 22.
- 12. Ibid., 50.
- 13. "About the Internet Archive, "*Internet Archive*, 26 May 2013 < http://archive.org/about/>. "About the Internet Archive." *Internet Archive*. 26 May 2013 < http://archive.org/about/>.

The Internet Archive is a 501(c)(3) non-profit that was founded to build an Internet library. Its purposes include offering permanent access for researchers, historians, scholars, people with disabilities, and the general public to historical collections that exist in digital format. Founded in 1996 and located in San Francisco, the Archive has been receiving data donations from Alexa Internet and others. In late 1999, the organization started to grow to include more well-rounded collections. Now the Internet Archive includes texts, audio, moving images, and software as well as archived web pages in our collections, and provides specialized services for adaptive reading and information access for the blind and other persons with disabilities.

14. Russell Hunting, Casey at the Telephone, rec. ca. 1897, cylinder, Columbia 9618.

Transcribed by Eric Byron.

15. Russell Hunting, *Casey Using the Telephone*, rec. ca. 1897-1898, cylinder, Edison, probably 3815.

16. Arthur Collins, *Hello Ma Baby*, rec. 1899, cylinder, Edison 5470.

Transcribed by Eric Byron.

17. Len Spencer, *Hello Ma Baby*, rec. 1899, cylinder, Columbia, catalogue number?.

The author was unable to locate a catalogue number. The recording can be heard on the Internet Archive at http://archive.org/details/TheCollectedWorksOfLenSpencer.

18. James White, Casey at the Telephone, rec. July 1902, cylinder, Edison 8069.

The recording can be heard on the *Cylinder Preservation and Digitization Project*, 2002 Donald C. Davidson Library, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2002 http://cylinders.library.ucsb.edu/>.

19. James White, Michael Casey Taking the Census, rec. 1902, cylinder, Edison 8075.

Information comes from Tim Gracyk with Frank Hoffmann, *Popular American Recording Pioneers: 1895-1925* (New York: The Haworth Press, 2000) 181.

20. Collins and Harlan, *Central, Give Me Back My Dime*, rec. ca. 1904, cylinder, Columbia catalogue number?

The author was unable to locate a catalogue number.

- 21. The character Levy casually mentions the telephone in the 1905 Julian Rose "Hebrew Vaudeville Specialty: Parody on 'Then I'd Be Satisfied with Life'" skit on Edison 9223.
- 22. Fischer, 50.

Later on in his book in a comparison between the automobile and the telephone he writes that by the 1910s and the 1920s the telephone had become commonplace.

In her book *When Technologies Were New*, Carolyn Marvin recounts the wonder with which some nineteenth-century people regarded new electric devices, including the telephone. Perhaps for the first twenty years, when few Americans had them in their homes, the telephone may have carried such an aura. . . Yet, by the time the telephone was common in the homes of the middle-class – the 1910s and early 1920s, at least outside the south – it had become mundane. (The lack of interest social scientists have had in studying the telephone is further testimony to its shortage of charisma.) Fischer (n. 4 above), 252-253.

23. Joe Hayman, Cohen on the Telephone, rec. May 1913, 78 rpm, Columbia A1516.

24. Joe Hayman, *Cohen Telephones from Brighton*, rec. ca. 1915, 78 rpm, Columbia A1885.

______, Cohen Telephones from Brighton, rec. ca. 1915, 78 rpm, Columbia A2192.

The text to "Cohen Telephones from Brighton" comes from Michael Corenthal's book. Since both Columbia versions utilize the same matrix number, it can be assumed that the two releases are exactly the same.

Michael G. Corenthal, *Cohen on the Telephone: A History of Jewish Recorded Humor and Popular Music 1892–1942* (Milwaukee, Wisconsin: Yesterday's Memories, 1984) 55-57.

25. Ronald L. Smith, Comedy Stars at 78 RPM: Biographies and Discographies of 89 American and British Recording Artists (Jefferson, North Carolina, 1998) 90-92.

Although born in the United States in 1876 to immigrant parents from Poland, Joe Hayman moved to England in 1904, where he remained until the 1940s. He became so popular that recording companies released his records in both England and the United States. It is for this reason that many of his recordings utilize geography and terminology that obviously originates from England.

26. Joe Hayman, *Cohen on Telephone Etiquette*, rec. ca. May 1923, 78 rpm, Columbia A3904.

Transcribed by Eric Byron.

- 27. Joe Hayman, Cohen 'Phones for a 'Phone, rec. ca. April 1923, 78 rpm, Columbia 3D.
- 28. Charles Ross Taggart, *Old Country Fiddler at the Phone*, rec. ca. 21 June 1916, 78 rpm, Victor 18148.

Transcribed by Eric Byron. The recording can be heard on the National Jukebox website at http://www.loc.gov/jukebox/. It probably can also be heard on the Antique Phonograph Music Program website at http://wfmu.org/playlists/AP. Select December 29, 2001 date.

29. The following sampling comes from the same 1916 "Old Country Fiddler at the Phone" by Charles Ross Taggart. John wants to pick his father up in his new Ford and asks him the name of the hotel in which he is staying. The old country fiddler neither knows the name of the hotel or the fact that New York has more than one hotel. One anecdote leads to another until the fiddler asks John to bring some corn to feed the rooster he has brought for John.

A rooster. Yea, full blood, . . . [not clear] rooster. What? Oh, I got him up in my room. Yea, they weren't going to let me bring him in first. And say John, you bring down a little corn in your pocket

when you come. They ain't got none here in the hotel. He ate up all that I brought with me. Ah, he's a beauty. . . . [not clear] Oh, you oughta hear him crow about half past five this morning. [He laughs]. Woke up all the folks in the hotel, I guess.

30. Fischer, 92.

31. This recording not only plays on African American stereotypes. It also plays on the stereotypical expectations of how women used the phone during this period. According to Fischer, the companies initially thought that women would inappropriately make the telephone a social vehicle.

When telephone salesmen began marketing the device for residential use . . . they promoted a particular vision of how women should use it. Into the 1920s, their dominant suggestion was that women acting as "chief executive officers" of the household, should telephone to order goods and services. This approach was consistent with the image of the housewifeadministrator that was emerging in both advertising and home economics.²⁷ The companies also stimulated such use from the other end by encouraging merchants to organize, invite, and advertise ordering by telephone.²⁸ Industry men considered the clichéd and lampooned woman's sociable telephone call – a conversation with friend or family – as a problem, and they initially tried to suppress it. By the late 1920s and the 1930s, however, telephone advertising increasingly depicted women using the telephone for sustaining social contacts and even for conversation. Ibid., 232-233.

32. Ralph Bingham, *Mrs. Rastus Johnson at the Wedding*, rec. Dec. 1916, 78 rpm, Victor 18231.

Transcribed by Eric Byron.

- 33. Joe Hayman, Cohen 'Phones His Builder, rec. ca. Dec. 1925, 78 rpm, Aco G-15878.
- _____, Cohen Still Phoning His Builder, rec. ca. Dec. 1925, 78 rpm, Aco G-15878.
- 34. Tom Farley, "Privateline.com: Telephone History" *Privatelin.com.* n.d. Tom Farley Production. 2008 http://www.privateline.com/TelephoneHistory2/History2.html>.

As evidence of the triode's success, on January 25, 1915 the first transcontinental telephone line opened between New York City and San Francisco. The previous long distance limit was New York to Denver, and only then with some shouting.

The author contacted him and asked him whether people still had problems making long distance phone calls in the in the mid-1920s. Initially, he e-mailed him back the following detailed answer. In another e-mail he told him that in the mid-1920s there were still problems.

Early analog amplifiers increased the background noise level of a signal along with the voice traffic it carried. In other words, distortion increased on a long distance line as well as voice. Amplifying a signal two or three times in this manner made conversations difficult to understand during certain moments. But at least the calls could be made. Before amplification a long distance line across America wasn't possible at all. As the electronic industry evolved, better equipment was developed that made amplifiers less and less distorting. The most notable improvement was in the 1960s with digital routines enabled for sending calls. With digital there is no background noise to pick up and telephone calls are regenerated, not amplified. So each call is a perfect replica at each step of regeneration.

- 35. Charles J. Correll and Freeman F. Gosden, *Sam 'Phoning His Sweetheart 'Liza*, rec. April 1926, 78 rpm, Victor 20032.
- 36. Julius Tannen, Cohen on the Telephone, rec. April 1927, 78 rpm, Victor 20921.

Transcribed by Eric Byron.

- 37. "Who invented the automobile?" *Everyday Mysteries*, 29 July 2011, Library of Congress, 1 March 2007 http://www.loc.gov/rr/scitech/mysteries/auto.html>.
- 38. Ibid., par. 2.
- 39. National Geographic Society (n. 5 above) 88.
- 40. Mitchell Wilson. *American Science and Invention: a Pictorial History* (New York, 1954) 326.
- 41. National Geographic Society (n. 15 above) 88-90.
- 42. Ibid., 90.
- 43. Fischer, 22.
- 44. Ibid., 138.

45. Joshua Zeitz, *Flapper: A Madcap Story of Sex, Style, Celebrity and the Women Who Made America Modern* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2001) 34.
46. James J. Flink, *The Automobile Age* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1990) 130-131.

James J. Flink explains that by the time the Model T was removed from the market, all the people who could afford an automobile owned one.

The withdrawal of the Model T from the market [1927] coincided with the realization of mature market conditions in the United States. The year 1927 was the first in which NACC [National Automobile Chamber of Congress] statistics showed more new car sales for replacement demand in the United States than sales to first-time owners and multiple car sales combined. By 1927 every American who could afford a car already owned one, and the average life of an America-made passenger car was, according to the NACC, seven years.

47. Frank Kennedy, *Schultz on the Automobile*, rec. 1901, cylinder, Edison 7814.

_______, *Schultz on the Automobile*. rec. ca. 1902-1903, cylinder, Leeds and Catlin 1733.

48. Flink, 136-137.

Flink addresses the rural and urban division in this country as follows:

The 1920 United States census was the first to report a majority of our population residing in towns with 2,500 or more people. The residents of the rural hinterland, a majority of Americans until well into the twentieth century, were plagued not by overcrowding and unsanitary conditions but by isolation and lack of access to adequate medical care and to other urban amenities. Such profound differences in the environments of the "city slicker" and the "hayseed" underlay a division in turn-of-thecentury American society based on residence comparable to those based on race, ethnicity, and class.

49. Cal Stewart, *Uncle Josh in an Automobile*, rec. ca. 1903, 78 rpm, Victor 2541.

Transcribed by Eric Byron. The recording can be heard on the National Jukebox website at http://www.loc.gov/jukebox/.

50. Len Spencer, *Reuben Haskins' Ride on a Cyclone Auto*, rec. 1903, cylinder, Edison 8619.

Transcribed by Eric Byron. The recording can be heard on the *Cylinder Preservation and Digitization Project*, 2002, Donald C. Davidson Library, University of California, Santa Barbara, http://cylinders.library.ucsb.edu/>.

51. Flink, 37-38.

Sound recordings reflected an expanding automobile market. More and more Americans could afford the automobile as farming prices rose and the price for an automobile diminished. Flink describes the process:

The pattern of diffusion within the United States, as elsewhere in the world, was determined by the need for personal transportation of an overwhelmingly rural population not adequately served by mass rail transit, and by the distribution of incomes sufficient for the buying and running of cars. By the time the Model T was introduced, the early luxury market for cars among the wealthy in large cities was saturated. Rising farm incomes until the post-World War I recession and declining Model T prices combined to make Midwestern farmers yearning to "get out of the mud" the mainstay of the developing automobile market. By the mid-1920s the Model T had become a rural necessity.

Committed to large-volume production of the Model T as a single static model at an ever decreasing unit price, the Ford Motor Company innovated modern mass-production techniques at its new Highland Park plant, which opened on January 1, 1910. These production techniques permitted prices to be reduced by August 1, 1916, to only \$345 for the runabout and \$360 for the touring car. Production of the Model T in 1916 was 738,811 units, giving Ford about half the market for new cars in the United States by American entry into World War I. Antedating the introduction of the moving assembly line, in 1912 the initial price of the Model T - \$575 for the runabout – first dropped below the average annual wage in the United States. By the time the Model T was withdrawn from production in 1927, over 15 million units had been sold, and its price had been reduced to a low of \$290 for the coupe.

52. Steve Porter, Pat O'Brien's Automobile, rec. Jan. 1908, 78 rpm, Columbia A592.

Transcribed by Eric Byron.

53. Cal Stewart, *Uncle Josh Buys an Automobile*, rec. 1915, Diamond Disc, Edison 50263.

Words come from Richard Densmore, "Richard Densmore's Edison Diamond Discs," 2013, *Richard Densmore Edison Diamond Discs and 78rpm Record Collection*, 22 May 2013 http://homepages.bw.edu/~rdensmor/.

54. Dave Martin, *Goldberg's Automobile Troubles*, rec. 1916, Diamond Disc, Edison Diamond Disc 51179.

Transcribed by Eric Byron. The recording can be heard on the *Cylinder Preservation and Digitization Project*, 2002, Donald C. Davidson Library, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2002 http://cylinders.library.ucsb.edu/. Use the cylinder catalogue number 3083.

55. Monroe Silver, Cohen's New Automobile, rec. ca. 1920., 78 rpm, Vocalion 14105.

Transcribed by Eric Byron.

Comfort in America: The Ramifications of a Diminished Trait List

Perhaps this chapter should begin with a quick review of Victor Greene's description of "crossover" music, music that began to make a major impact with the onslaught of the Depression. (For more detail, refer to the second chapter "The Utilization of Stereotypical Language and Image to Define Ethnic, Racial and Rube Boundaries in Early Sound Recordings.") Crossover music, as Greene defines it, "originated within the immigrant communities, but it proceeded beyond those groups, gaining such outside popularity that by 1940 it had a considerable impact on and really became a new part of American mainstream culture." He gives two examples, the 1938 Bohemian "Beer Barrel Polka" and the 1939 Yiddish "Bei Mir Bist Du Shon." Both fused elements of American and ethnic music to make a concrete whole that reached out to a much larger and more assimilated ethnic and American audience, an audience that might be found watching Lawrence Welk on the television in the 1950s. These works didn't intend to focus on specific ethnic groups and the trait list that comprised those groups. Rather, they concentrated on a generalized comfort and an America that embraced many different peoples. By the 1940s, however, an unburdened ethnic self-consciousness also became much more apparent.

The ethnic recordings of the late 1940s and through the early 1960s indicate that Italians, Jews, and Scandinavians from the peak immigration years (1890-1924) had largely adjusted to America. Their compositions frequently utilized some form of English, including words resulting from lexical interference (English mixed with native words) as the main vehicle of communication. At times the lyricists greatly restricted the employment of insignificant old country words. The old country words that they did incorporate carried a lot of ethnic baggage and tightly bound the work to a specific group. Among such words one hears ethnic names that both the group and the outside world commonly understood as ethnic. The utilization of so much English also broadened the appeal and increased the potential recording market. English allowed the children and grandchildren of immigrants to appreciate that which was being said. Furthermore, if the work confronted truly universal themes, ones that dealt with assimilation problems and ethnic conflict and loss, people not affiliated with the specific ethnicity might find humor, understanding, and perhaps even solace while listening.

The lyricists of this period tended to ridicule or make light of both immigrant and American stereotypes. The resulting works focused, often equally, on both the ethnic community and the general American public, suggesting through humor a lack of fear on the part of the ethnic group. Although Salvatore Primeggia directs his comments to Italian recordings, his analysis also speaks to Jewish and Scandinavian records. He emphasizes that many of the Italian compositions played on "double entendre, confusion and misuse of language, male and female confrontations, and Old versus New World culture and value standards."

Just as with ethnic words and names, the inclusion of food proclaimed ethnicity and periodically abundance in America. Specific food(s) differentiated an ethnic group from

the general population. Usually, but not always, the food would be something immediately recognizable by both the ethnic group and the outside world. If the listener didn't pick up on the clues immediately, the recording usually provided enough additional information so he/she would by the end of the record.

Fredrik Barth in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* maintains that "cultural features that signal the boundary may change, and the cultural characteristics of the member may likewise be transformed, ... yet the fact of continuing dichotomization between members and outsiders allows us to specify the nature of the continuity." These songs, and they were primarily songs, make clear that at this time not only were the trait lists breaking down, but that which separated peoples was diminishing. People could and were crossing the boundaries, yet the boundaries remained even though that which made up the trait list changed.⁴

The Lou Monte website officially addresses the works of Lou Monte. In truth, it addresses the period of what Mark Rotella has described "as the Italian decade –roughly, and generously, from 1947 to 1964; musically, from the end of the big bands to the Beatles, or, more specifically, from Frank Sinatra's last number one hit before his comeback to the heyday of the Rat Pack." As Rotella explains, it was a time when Italian Americans were finally breaking out of working-class Italian neighborhoods in the northeast cities and becoming part of the mainstream. In his book *Amore: The Story of Italian American Song*, he cites many of the artists who performed the same kind of work as Lou Monte. These performers spoke to the Italian experience and included people such as Louis Prima, Dean Martin, Nicola Paone, and Rosemary Clooney, who was not Italian.

The website states that the kind of song Monte sang provided at least some Italians with "a sense of comfort, of one-upmanship, or the sense of being a part of an inside joke, and, socially, of having a slice of their world recognized by others." He adds that Monte tended to Italian-Americanize that which one normally associated with American. "Such a technique served this marginal ethnic group by making it feel a part of America's early historical development. It also served to heighten a sense of in-group solidarity by the ludicrous layering of Italianicity on things supposedly rock-solid Anglo-Saxon." Salvatore Primeggia in his chapter on Italian comedy in *The Italian American Experience: An Encyclopedia* cites an example in the song "What Did Washington Say" of an Indian responding to Washington's statement "Fa Fridde!" (It's cold) with "Uei, puro tu sei italiano?" "(Hey, are you Italian too?)" A variation of the same thing happens in Monte's "Please Mr. Columbus."

Excerpt from "Please Mr. Columbus"

And then one day they sighted land just off the starboard side Columbus said 'I told you so the journey's over now' An Indian shouted from the shore, (le petanta u pitza pan)¹⁰

Irving Howe exquisitely comments about Jewish humor in America in *World of Our Fathers*. ¹¹ In the time of "a Jolson or a Cantor, Yiddish served as a kind of secret sign, a

gleeful or desperate wave to the folks back home." By the 1970s, the period in which he published his book, the earlier epoch could be both "repeated and parodied" as Mel Brooks does in the movie "Blazing Saddles." In a way akin to the Italian examples just mentioned, "an Indian chief bursts into pure Yiddish." The Yiddish used here no longer functioned as a secret sign, "an inside joke," or a connection to certain others. Here, as Howe indicates, it acted as "a major boast." The Yiddish now "reflected the rise of a large and affluent middle-class" that no longer had to be watchful or afraid. 12

The era produced an incredible number of Jewish comedians, many of whom started in the Borscht Belt and then moved onto universal audiences in radio, the movies, and television. Unlike the Italians, only a few made comic ethnic recordings for the general population. Benny Bell, Myron Cohen, the Barton Brothers, Sam Levenson, Allan Sherman, and Mickey Katz typify the better-known performers.

Mickey Katz (1909-1985)¹³ began his career in Cleveland where he played a clarinet in



Mickey Katz (1909-1985)

Courtesy of Eric Krasner of "The Mickey Katz Project" at http://www.mickeykatzmovie.com/

local bands. Afterwards, he joined Spike Jones' orchestra and "learned the art of novelty songs." In 1947 he recorded "Haim afen Range" based on "Home on the Range." Donald Weber remarks that Times Square stores "sold out ten thousand copies [of 'Home on the Range'] in three days."

Weber continues by not only focusing on the verbal component but also stressing that the music impacted the recording just as strongly:

The source of Katz's parodic imagination flows from the sophisticated musical arrangements themselves, the klezmer-inflected breaks of the band, the Kosher-Jammers, the wholesale rupturing of Hit Parade tunes by a jaunty ethnicinspired Jewish beat. And at the same time, the aural anarchy that drives Katz's musical

art issues from the distinctive qualities of his high-pitched, heavily intonated "Jewish" voice seeking, through the power of parody, to shake the foundations of society. "Yinglish" is how cultural critics in the early 1950s describe this new "hybrid" voice, expressive of "the mixed world of halvah and Hershey almond bar" that had come to characterize the Jewish-American experience by mid-

century (Shack and Shack, "And Now – Yinglish on Broadway," 588). 16

"The Scandinavian-American Comedy and Humor Index" basically reiterates the Lou Monte and Irving Howe comments. The author(s) of the website does say that the children and grandchildren of Swedish or Norwegian immigrants generally wrote and performed what the recording companies designated "novelty songs." This statement also holds for the Jews and the Italians. It should be added that some writers, composers, and performers did come from the old country, but they were generally extremely young when they arrived and quickly became fluent in that which was American. Finally, the author(s) underscores the significance of humor:

Not only are these songs for the most part down right funny, they are an important reflection of how the Scandinavians adapted to and functioned in the new world. This "new world" being the United States of America. Quite often they poke fun at how the Swedes and Norwegians talked and acted when they came to America. As strange as this may seem to some, this humor is of great cultural importance.¹⁷

The "old time scandinavian-american comedy" lists a number of performers, who created work similar to the Italian and Jewish material, and the recordings they made. ¹⁸ Of the people listed, Yogi Yorgesson must certainly be one of the most famous. ¹⁹

Ethnic Names

Common ethnic names, names readily identifiable by both the ethnic unit on which the recording was focused and any other person, tended to immediately designate the ethnic orientation of the



Benjamin Samberg or Benny Bell (1906-1999) He produced some 600 songs, of which "Pincus the Peddler" is probably his best known work.

Courtesy of Joel Samberg



Harry Stewart or Yogi Yorgesson (1908 –1956)

Image courtesy of Anne Peterson, Harry's niece and Steve Howard work. Frequently, the composers placed one of the names in the title, especially when the title in no other way indicated ethnic designation. The following gives a few examples.

Character Names	Ethnic Group	Title	Performer	Label/ Catalogue #	Year
Meyer	Jewish	Kiss of Meyer	Mickey Katz	Capitol 2124	ca. 1952-53
Pincus	Jewish	The Son of Pincus the Peddler	Benny Bell	Bell 230	?
Ole Svenson	Scandi- navian	Ballad of Ole Svenson	Yogi Yorgesson	Capitol 3089	ca. 1955
Yohnson	Scandi- navian	Mrs. Yohnson Turn Me Loose	Yogi Yorgesson	Capitol 1013	ca. 1948-50
Josephine	Italian	Josephine Please No Lean on the Bell	Louis Prima	Majestic 1044	1946
Tony	Italian	Tony, the Ice Man	Nicola Paone	Columbia 15147-F	?
Angelina	Italian	Angelina	Louis Prima	Majestic 1016	1944

Ethnic Food

No other record appears to incorporate more different types of food than the 1947 double-sided Jewish recording "Essen" (the Yiddish word for food) by Lee Tully on Jubilee 3501. The plot involves a man who is vacationing in a hotel, most likely in the Catskills, who does nothing but eat. The recording starts out with the vacationer stating the following.

Excerpt from "Essen"

I took a vacation To try recreation And found consolation In a summer romance.

The place was secluded

And the food was included For my forty-two fifty At the summer resort. ²⁰

He then asks the waiter what they have for breakfast and quickly hears a recitation of approximately twenty different foods. Except for *a glezl tey*, which means in Yiddish "glass of tea," the waiter uses English to name the foods. The same thing happens when he asks about lunch. However, this time the lyrics include the word *borscht* along with *a glezl tey*. In the pronunciation Tully does not emphasize the word *borscht* the way he does *a glezl tey*. Possibly, by this time either "borscht" had become part of the general lexicon or had other ethnic associations. The record concludes with him inquiring about dinner and once more *a glezl tey* underscores the relationship the recording has with the Yiddish immigrants.

Lou Monte's "Ima Lika-You (Pizza Pie)" on King 1217 does not enumerate as many foods as "Essen." Nevertheless, it employs food in an almost identical way. As the song progresses, Monte itemizes an ever increasing number of Italian foods and blurs these foods with his love of a woman. The work ends with a summary of the food he has previously mentioned and a proclamation that he wants to marry the woman.

Excerpt from "Ima Lika-You (Pizza Pie)"

I'm-a need-a da pastafazoola, parmesana, cacciatore, ravioli, pizza pie-a,
You can-a bake-a da pizza pie,
So I'm-a like-a you.
Son-a-ma gun I'm-a gonna marry you.²¹

Finally, Stan Boreson's "The Lutefisk Song" juxtaposes praise and derision on what Norwegians obviously deem an important dish made from fish. Recorded circa 1950 on Clipper Capers (a subdivision of Linden Records), catalogue number 1A, the song is to be sung to the music of "O Tannenbaum" according to the website "Recipes Page." The first stanza summarizes the entire work.

Excerpt from "The Lutefisk Song"

O lutefisk, o lutefisk, how fragrant your aroma. O lutefisk, o lutefisk, you put me in a coma. You smell so strong, you liik [look] like glue. But lutefisk – come Saturday I think I'll eat you anyvay.²²

Just in case the first stanza does not get the message across, the next one describes how a dog comes by and sprinkles the fish. However, the piece ends with the statement that lutefisk is better than Geritol, although they pronounce it "yeritol," and the piece proclaims it will make you feel young again.

Parodies

All three groups parodied popular American works, and Mickey Katz even created a Jewish parody based on the extremely popular Italian-oriented "That's Amore" performed by Dean Martin in the early 1950s. Generally, the more widespread the American composition, the more likely it was parodied.

The television series "Davy Crockett" introduced "The Ballad of Davy Crockett" in 1954. Tom W. Blackburn wrote the lyrics and George Bruns composed the music. In 1955 Bill Hayes, Fess Parker, and Tennessee Ernie Ford all recorded the ballad, and, according to *Wikipedia*, over ten millions copies were sold. ²³ It is interesting to compare a stanza from the original next to Mickey Katz's Capitol 3144 recording "Duvid Crockett," and Yogi Yorgesson's Capitol 3089 "Ballad of Ole Svenson." Capitol records released both recordings circa 1955. All three address geographical location in this stanza.

Excerpt from The Ballad of Davy Crockett" (original stanza)

Born on a mountain top in Tennessee, Greenest state in the land of the free. Raised in the woods so's he knew every tree, Killed him a bear when he was only three.

Excerpt from the Mickey Katz version

Born in the wilds of Delancey Street, Home of gefilte fish and kosher meat, Handy with a knife, her zikh tsi [perhaps], He flecked him a chicken when he was only three.²⁴

Excerpt from the Yogi Yorgesson variation

Born in Minnesota many years ago Vay out der ver da tall Svedes grow. Fingers like bananas and a neck like a tree He vas tending bar at de age of three.²⁵

The African-American composer Shelton Brooks wrote the "Dark Town Strutters' Ball" in 1917. Since that time numerous performers, including Fats Waller and Alberta Hunter, have interpreted the work. Lou Monte, however, parodied the composition. For example, the 1917 Columbia A-2478 by Collins and Harlan follows the original version.

Excerpt from "Dark Town Strutters' Ball"

I'll be down to get you in a taxi, honey, I better be ready about half past eight, Now dearie, don't be late, We want to be there when the band starts playing. Remember when we get there, honey, The two steps, we're going to have them all, Going to dance out both our shoes, Oh, boy, when they play the "Jelly Roll Blues," Tomorrow night at the darktown strutters' ball.²⁶

The Lou Monte "(The New) Dark Town Strutters' Ball," (Columbia, catalogue number 46-DB-4500) version slightly modifies some of the words, using the word "baby" for "dearie," for example, and thereby updating it with 1950s slang. His parody begins when he changes the word "taxi" to "pushcart" in one stanza and "wheelbarrow" in another stanza. The Italians in the 1950s were not far removed, if they were removed at all, from the heavy physical labor they had been doing in America. Finally, at the end of the recording he asks whether the person is Italian.

Excerpt from "(The New) Dark Town Strutters' Ball"

I'll be down to get you with a pushcart, honey, You better be ready about half past eight, Now baby, don't be late,
I want to be there when the band starts playing. Remember when we get there, baby,
The two steps, we're going to have a ball,
Going to dance out both our shoes,
When they play the "Jelly Roll Blues,"
Tomorrow night at the darktown strutters' ball.

... [Italian with some English]

I'll be down to get you with the wheelbarrow, honey, You better be ready about half past eight, Now baby, don't be late, I want to be there when the band starts playing. Remember when we get there, baby, The two steps, we're going to have a ball, When they play the "Jelly Roll Blues," Tomorrow night at the darktown strutters' ball.

... [Italian with some English]

Are you Italian?²⁷

The following exemplify other parodied recordings:

•

Ethnic Version	Ethnic Group	Version Parodied
Kiss of Meyer	Jewish	Kiss of Fire
My Little Old	Scandinavian	My Little Grass Shack
Shack in Minneapolis,		in Kealakekua, Hawaii
Minnesota		

Sexual Innuendo

Even though understanding Yiddish will greatly help the listener comprehend Billy Hodes' circa 1947 "The Ice Cream Song" on Carnival C-5001, it will in all likelihood takes several hearings before one truly appreciates just how sexual this work is. Hodes begins with a statement about how he cried for his mother whenever he was upset. He then states:

Excerpt from "The Ice Cream Song"

But now that I have grown up I'll confess and own up Whenever I get blue Here is what I do.

There is a long monologue in the middle of the work that explains why a Popsicle is better than a fudgesicle and that monologue starts with "hey mister, come here." Hodes then describes how the price varies for this treat. Just in case one doesn't get the sense of sexual innuendo, the composition concludes with the performer crying out repeatedly the word *lek* (lick).

You will have a dandy time. If you just hold it tight. Remember don't bite. Just lek [lick], just lek [lick] Just lek, lek, lek, lek

Given the fact that Hodes portrays a woman in "I Sit and Knit" on the other side of the recording, perhaps he is assuming the same role here. However, considering the time period, he could have been just carefully packaging his skit.

Nicola Paone's Italian "Tony, the Ice Man" on Columbia 15147-F humorously juxtaposes the relationship Italians have with food with more traditional sexual entanglements. Tony delivers ice and encounters a woman named Marie.

Excerpt from "Tony, the Ice Man"

Tony: "Marie, Marie, your mamma no home?"

Marie: "No, she no home"

Tony: "Oh, boy
My love, my darling, darling
Oh darling, I want to come up.
When I told her I love you, I love you,
She told me to shuta up.
But when I got near her, near her,
We started to kiss and kiss."

The forgotten food, the most Italian lexical portion of the recording, spoils, resulting in the following:

Goodbye
Goodbye a provolone, a sacicca,
Oh a pastrami, big salami,
Capacoola a meataball gorgonzola, ... [something missing here]
A mozzarella la la la, la,
That was a tough jam
Goodbye Tony the ice man. ²⁹

In the circa 1948-1950 Yogi Yorgesson's "The Birds and the Bees" on Capitol 816, Yogi's wife Hilda suggests that Yogi explain "the birds and the bees" to his son Ole. It turns out his son knows more than Yogi and has read the Kinsey Report in school. Yogi responds "now all that I read during my boyhood years was the catalogue put out by Roebuck and Sears." The song concludes with "whatever I don't know my kid will explain." ³⁰

Today, in 2014, one hears very little from this period. "Dominic the Donkey" by Richard Allen and Sam Saltzberg and first sung by Lou Monte in 1960 has to be one of the last songs heard and, as the "HEE-HAW! I'm Dominick The Donkey!" website proclaims, "Dominic the Donkey" is most popular in New York.

Excerpt from "HEE-HAW! I'm Dominick The Donkey!"

Santa's got a little friend, his name is Dominick. The cutest little donkey, you never see him kick. When Santa visits his paisans, with Dominick he'll be. Because the reindeer cannot climb the hills of Italy.

• • •

Jingle bells around his feet, and presents on the sled.

Hey! Look at the mayor's derby, on top of Dominick's head.
A pair of shoes for Louie, and a dress for Josephine.
The labels on the inside says, they're made in Bruccalin'. (Brooklyn)³¹

The rest can only be accessed via CDs or the Internet.

Conclusion

The immigrants have largely passed away, and their children, the ones most likely to have created and listened to these pieces, are in their eighties and nineties. The baby boomers, who are often the grandchildren of the immigrants and who themselves are beginning to collect social security, cannot relate, but most of them could not relate in their youth either. Elvis Presley; Paul Revere and the Raiders; the Rolling Stones; the Beatles; Jefferson Airplane and, for people like the author, Peter, Paul and Mary, Simon and Garfunkel, and Joan Baez cornered our attention. Nevertheless, if we look, actually if we listen, and go far enough back, much of who we are and from where we came will audibly confront us.

Endnotes

- 1. Victor Greene, *The Passion for Polka* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992) 114-115.
- 2. Ibid.
- 3. Salvatore Primeggia, "Comedy," *The Italian American Experience: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Salvatore John LaGumina et al (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 2000) 132.
- 4. Fredrik Barth, "Introduction," *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference*, ed. Fredrik Barth (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969) 14.
- 5. "Home," *Lou Monte: The Official Site*, n.d., Ronaray Records, 10 January 2010 http://www.loumonte.com/>.
- 6. Mark Rotella, *Amore: The Story of Italian American Song* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2010) xvi.
- 7. "Lou Monte: The Official Site."
- 8. Ibid.
- 9. Salvatore Primeggia, 134.
- 10. Rod Smith, "Folk and Traditional Song Lyrics: Please Mr. Columbus," n.d., *Traditional Music Library*, 1 July 2012 http://www.traditionalmusic.co.uk/folk-song-lyrics/Please_Mr_Columbus.htm. Dr. Anthony Lentini sent an email to the author on April 23, 2014 explaining his understanding of "le petanta u pitza pan."

I looked up the lyrics of the song, (isn't Google great?) and heard Lou Monte's version. My best guess is that the Indian shouts some thing like "would you like a piece of bread" *le petanta u pitza pan = le piacerebbe un pezzo di pane*. The next line also contains a phrase in dialect, which I can make out as, *hey, doosie putta italiano = hey, tu sei pure Italiano*, hey you're Italian too.

I realized that the dialect versions are weird phonetic transcriptions of the dialect phrases, very much subject to individual interpretations. The only one who would know for sure what he was singing was Lou Monte.

As I researched this song, I heard many versions. When the various groups singing the song come to the relevant stanza, they change the words completely from the ones sung by Lou Monte. I guess they had the same trouble we're having in figuring out what Lou was singing.

- 11. Irving Howe, World of Our Fathers (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976).
- 12. Ibid., 569.
- 13. "Mickey [Meyer] Katz (1909-1985)," *Space Age Musicmaker*, 2008 Spaceagepop, 11 June 2012 http://yiddishmusic.jewniverse.info/katzmickey/index.html.
- 14. "Novelty Song," *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*, 22 May 2013, Wikimedia Foundation, Inc. 3 July 2012 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Novelty_song>.

A novelty song is a comical or nonsensical song, performed principally for its comical effect. Humorous songs, or those containing humorous elements, are not necessarily novelty songs. The term arose in Tin Pan Alley to describe one of the major divisions of popular music. The other two divisions were ballads and dance music.^[1] Novelty songs achieved great popularity during the 1920s and 30s.^{[2][3]}

Novelty songs are often a parody or humor song, and may apply to a current event such as a holiday or a fad such as a dance. Many use unusual lyrics, subjects, sounds, or instrumentation, and may not even be musical.

- 15. Donald Weber, "Accents of the future: Jewish American popular culture," *The Cambridge Companion to Jewish American Literature*, ed. Michael P. Kramer and Hana Wirth-Nesher (Cambridge: University Press, 2003) 138.
- 16. Ibid.
- 17. "The Scandinavian-American Comedy and Humor Index," n.d., Jan. 2010 http://www.streetsofscience.net/sac.html. The author tried unsuccessfully to access the site on May 26, 2013.
- 18. Stephan, *old time scandinavian-american comedy*, 1999-2013, Web, Google, 11 June 2012 http://scandihoovia.blogspot.com/>.
- 19. Steve Howard, *Harry Stewart as Yogi Yorgesson, Harry Kari, Claude Hopper, and Klaus Hammerschmidt*, 2008-2008, S.F. Howard, 11 June 2012 http://www.yogiyorgesson.com/>.

"old time scandinavian-american comedy" suggests that for more information about Yogi Yorgesson one should go to the "Harry Stewart as Yogi Yorgesson, Harry Kari, Claude Hopper, and Klaus Hammerschmidt" website.

20. Lee Tully, *Essen*, rec. c. 1947, 78 rpm, Jubilee 3501.

Transcribed by Eric Byron.

- 21. Lou Monte, *Ima Lika-You (Pizza Pie)*, rec. n.d., 78 rpm, King 1217.
- 22. "3 Lutfisk songs," *Recipes Page*, n.d., 7 June 2013 http://64.176.6.231/longstrom/recipes.htm#Lutefisk>.

Stan Boreson, The Lutefisk Song, rec. ca. 1950, 78 rpm, Clipper Capers 1A.

- 23 "The Ballad of Davie Crocket," Wikipedia, 28 April 2013, Wikimedia Foundation, Inc., 11 June 2012 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Ballad_of_Davy_Crockett.
- 24. Mickey Katz, *Duvid Crockett* (from Walt Disney's "Davy Crockett"), rec. ca. 1955, 45 rpm, Capitol 3144.

Words come from "Lyr Req: Duvid Crockett (Mickey Katz)," The Mudcat Café http://www.mudcat.org/thread.cfm?threadid=80118. Eric Byron greatly modified it so that it would fit the words of the recordings.

25. Steve Howard, *Harry Stewart as Yogi Yorgesson, Harry Kari, Claude Hopper, and Klaus Hammerschmidt*, 2000-2008, S.F. Howard, 11 June 2012 http://www.yogiyorgesson.com/>.

Words come from the "Complete Works of Harry Stewart as Yogi Yorgesson, Harry Kari, Claude Hopper, and Klaus Hammerschmidt."

26. Collins and Harlan, *Dark Town Strutters' Ball*, rec. Dec. 1917, 78 rpm, Columbia A-2478.

Words come from "(The New) Dark Town Strutters' Ball," n.d., Historic American Sheet Music, n.d., http://www.geocities.com/dferg5493/darktownstruttersball.htm. They have been modified by Eric Byron to fit the recording. As of May 26, 2014 the site is no longer accessible.

27. Lou Monte, (*The New*) Dark Town Strutter's Ball (Italian Style), rec. 1960, 45 rpm, Columbia 45-DB 4500.

The recording can be heard on YouTube at (*The New*) Dark Town Strutter's Ball (Italian Style), 8 Dec. 2008, YouTube, 1 June, 2012 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MCe6W5WXpfc>.

28. Billy Hodes and Murray Rumsey, *The Ice Cream Story*, rec. Ca. 1947, 78 rpm, Carnival C-5001

Transcribed and translated by Eric Byron, perhaps with the help of somebody else.

29. Nicola Paone, *Tony, the Ice Man*, rec. n.d., 78 rpm, Columbia 15147-F.

Most of the lyrics for "Tony, the Ice Man" come from "Nicola Paone," *Songs of Italy: Classic Italian American Favorites*, 2009, Songs of Italy, n.d. http://www.songsofitaly.com/2008/06/03/nicola-paone>.

- 30. Yogi Yorgesson, The Birds and the Bees, rec. 1948-1950, 78 rpm, Capitol 816.
- 31. "History," *HEE-HAW! I'm Dominick The Donkey!* n.d., Dominick The Italian Christmas Donkey, Jan. 2012 http://www.heehaw.biz/history.html.

Appendices

Appendix I

Examples of African-American Names in Cemeteries Found in the South and Maryland

The names in the cemeteries were first examined circa 2012 and then again in early 2014.

Richland County/Colored Asylum Cemetery

(SC State Hospital)

South Carolina

http://africanamericancemeteries.com/sc/asylumcem2.html

Mose Eaddy died in 1915 age 25
Romulla Cokeley died in 1915 age 29
Moses Williams died in 1915 age 45
Caesar James Cooper died in 1915 age 14
Moses Lea died in 1916 age not given
Remus Berry died in 1916 age 66
General Jackson died in 1916 age 65³⁸

Pleasant Run Church Cemetery

Buckeye Negro Cemetery

Garrard County,

Kentucky

http://africanamericancemeteries.com/ky/buckeyecem-aa.html

Washington Ray no dates
Ephraim Leavell 1819-1895
Zachariah Leavell no dates
Armilda Beasley Leavell 1856-1912
Elias Leavell no dates 39

Lakeville Cemetery, aka Thompson Cemetery

Abbeville, Abbeville County,

South Carolina

http://africanamericancemeteries.com/sc/lakeview-aa.html

Eliza McDonald died in 1905 age 51 years

Julius Ceasar Richie 1879-1880⁴⁰

Bucktown Cemetery

Dorchester County,

Maryland

http://africanamericancemeteries.com/md/bucktown-aa.html

Mandy Lake 1853-1905⁴¹

Collins Cemetery

Shelby County,

Ohio

http://www.afrigeneas.com/forum-cemeteries/index.cgi/md/read/id/875

Clarinda Guilford died on Oct. 26, 1878 age 31 years Eliza Jones died on Aug. 21, 1902 age 67 years

Fork Neck (Pinder) Graveyard

Dorchester County,

Maryland

http://africanamericancemeteries.com/md/forkneck-aa.html

Eliza Demby 1910-1958 Jehu H. Wilson 1850-1904 (?) Milcah Ann Pinder 1834-1917 Josiah Asbury Pinder 1894-1978 Nehemiah Pinder 1895-1963⁴²

Pilgrim's Rest Cemetery

Simpson County,

Mississippi

http://africanamericancemeteries.com/ms/pilgrimsrest-aa.html

Mandy Young 1896-1975

Mandy Steel died in 191x age 79 Lou Ann Smith 1918-1993 (temp mkr) 43

Good Hope Church Cemetery

Colesville, Montgomery County,

Maryland

http://africanamericancemeteries.com/md/goodhope-aa.html

George Washington Smith 1918-?

Appendix II

Cemeteries in the South, Maryland, and Ohio Which Suggest That African Americans Did Not Name Their Children Jemima or Rastus in the Late Nineteenth or Early Twentieth Centuries*

The names in the cemeteries were first examined circa 2012 and then again in early 2014.

Site	Name	Appears
Richland County/	Jemima	0
Colored Asylum	Rastus	0
(SC State Hospital)		
South Carolina		
http://www.findagrave.com/		
cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gsr&GScid=		
71449>		

Interments: 398

Approximate interment dates: 1915-1923

Site	Name	Appears
Bailey Cemetery	Jemima	0
Saraland, Mobile County, Alabama http://www.interment. <net al="" ba<br="" bailey="" data="" mobile="" us="">Htm></net>	Rastus iley.	0

Interments: 171

Approximate interment dates: 1919-2000

Site	Name	Appears
Bethel AME Cemetery	Jemima	0
Attapulgus, Decatur County, Georgia http://www.prairiebluff.com/ accemetery/bethelame-aa.html>	Rastus	0

Interments: 71

Approximate interment dates: 1886-1998

Site	Name	Appears
Dadabney Pond Negro Baptist	Jemima	0
Church Cemetery	Rastus	0
Richland County, South Carolina http://africanamericancemeteries.com/sc/sc-dabneypond.html		

Interments: 29

Approximate interment dates: 1899-1938

Site	Name	Appears
Pleasant Run	Jemima	0
Church Cemetery /	Rastus	0
Buckeye Negro Cemetery		
Garrard County,		
Kentucky		
http://africanamericancemeteries.	s.	
com/ky/buckeyecem-aa.html>		

Interments: 66

Approximate interment dates: 1895 - 1987

Site	Name	Appears
Lakeview Cemetery,	Jemima	0
Aka Thompson	Rastus	0
Cemetery Abbeville, Abbeville County, South Carolina http://africanamericancemeteries.com/sc/lakeview-aa.html		

Interments: 65

Approximate interment dates: 1859-1959

Site	Name	Appears
Bucktown Cemetery	Jemima	0
Dorchester County,	Rastus	0
Maryland		
http://africanamericancemeterization	es.	
com/md/bucktown-aa.html>		

Interments: 21

Approximate interment dates: 1906-2000

Site	Name	Appears
Collins Cemetery Shelby County, Ohio http://www.afrigeneas.com/ forum-cemeteries/index.cgi/md/ read/id/875>	Jemima Rastus	0

Interments: 18

Approximate interment dates: 1847-1925

Site	Name	Appears
Fork Neck (Pinder) Graveyard	Jemima	0
Dorchester County,	Rastus	0
Maryland		
http://africanamericancemeteries.com/md/forkneck-aa.html		

Interments: 86

Approximate interment dates: 1904-1997

Pilgrim's Rest Cemetery Simpson County, Rastus	Appears
Simpson County Pastus	0
Mississippi http://africanamericancemeteries.	0
com/ms/pilgrimsrest-aa.html>	

Interments: 43

Approximate interment dates: 1924-2000

Site	Name	Appears
Good Hope Church Cemetery	Jemima	0
Colesville, Montgomery County, Maryland < http://africanamericancemeteries. com/md/goodhope-aa.html >	Rastus	0

Interments: 99

Approximate interment dates: 1903-1999

Site	Name	Appears
Mount Pleasant Cemetery	Jemima	0
George County,	Rastus	0
Mississippi http://africanamericancemeteries.com/ms/ms-mountpleasant.html		
Interments: 97 Approximate interment dates: 1952	2-2002	

Appendix III

Examples of Names Found in Country and Urban Cemeteries and Their Relationship to the Names Used on Rube Recordings

The following cemetery summaries give a concrete sense to the significance of rube names. Interestingly, the primary character names, such as Josh, at times Nancy, and Ezra are often the least used. Jim and Henry tend to be more in keeping with the names found in the graveyards. They, however, usually play secondary roles in the skits. The author first examined the cemeteries in early 2012 and then April 2014. Unfortunately, it was not possible to access the Green-Wood Cemetery database in 2014.

The Old Bennington Cemetery in Bennington, Vermont, besides holding the remains of some of Vermont's most prominent citizens, is a valuable repository of early New England rural names. The earliest burial dates from 1762 and the graves seem to go up to almost the present day.

Old Bennington Cemetery

Bennington,

Bennington County,

Vermont

Postal Code: 05201 Phone: 802-447-1223

http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-

bin/fg.cgi?page=cr&CRid=641555&CScn=Old+Bennington+Cemetery&CScntry=4&CS

st=49 & >

Contact: Church Office (at the Barn)

1 Monument Circle

Bennington, Vermont 05201

(802) 447-1223

email: office@oldfirst.comcastbiz.net

The More Popular

Interments: 2538

Years: The cemetery appears to contain graves dating from the early 1800s to the late 20th

Number of Times

century.

Recording Names	They Have Been Noted in the Cemetery
Joshua (Josh)	2
Nancy	10
Ezra	1
James (Jim)	40
Silas + Cyrus	6
Henry (Hank)	41

Elijah (Lige)	12
Reuben	5

Some of the More Popular Cemetery Names	Number of Times They Have Been Noted in the Cemetery
Mary	150
John	97
William	62
Charles	58
Sarah	51
Samuel	44
Elizabeth	45

Another cemetery that might help us understand rube names is the Allen Grove Cemetery in West Virginia. Located in a rural area near the southwest corner of Pennsylvania, the cemetery holds 642 interments and the dates of death seem to run from the mid-19th century through the twentieth.

Allen Grove Presbyterian Cemetery, West Virginia

http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=cr&CRid=77559

Interments: 576

Approximate interment dates: mid-19th through the twentieth century.

The More Popular	Number of Times
Recording Names	They Have Been Noted
	in the Cemetery
T 1/T 1	
Josh/Joshua	0
Nancy	5
Ezra	0
James (Jim)	18
Silas + Cyrus	1
Henry (Hank)	5
Elijah (Lige)	0
Reuben	0
Some of the	Number of Times
More Popular	They Have Been Noted
Cemetery Names	in the Cemetery
Mary	38
John	25
William	26

Sarah	12
James (Jim)	18
Charles	20
Elizabeth	10

About twenty miles northwest of Concord lies the rural area of Warner, Merrimack County, New Hampshire. The Coal Hearth Cemetery located there contains 147 interments.

The Coal Hearth Cemetery

Warner, Merrimack County,

New Hampshire

http://www.interment.net/data/us/nh/merrimack/coal_hearth/index.htm

Interments: possibly 147

Henry (Hank)

William

Approximate interment dates: late 19th or early 20th century.

The More Popular Recording Names	Number of Times They Have Been Noted in the Cemetery
Joshua (Josh)	1
Nancy	0
Ezra	0
James (Jim)	6
Silas + Cyrus	0
Henry (Hank)	3
Elijah (Lige)	0
Reuben	0
Some of the More Popular Cemetery Names	Number of Times They Have Been Noted in the Cemetery
·	·
John	5
Samuel	5
Mary	4
Sarah	4
Charles	3

According to the website about the Old Home Cemetery in Grafton, New Hampshire, it was established in 1785. It holds 202 interments. Located in the more rural central western part of the state, Grafton County is the second largest county in New Hampshire and covers 1,747 square miles. The population is under 90,000.

3

Old Home Cemetery

Also known as: **Bridgewater Hill Cemetery**

Grafton,

New Hampshire

http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-

bin/fg.cgi?page=cr&GScid=2218968&CRid=2218968&pt=Old%20Home%20Cemetery &=>

Number of Times

Interments: 209

Approximate interment dates: 1803-2006

The More Popular

Recording Names	They Have Been Noted in the Cemetery
Joshua (Josh)	1
Nancy	1
Ezra	0
James (Jim)	1
Silas + Cyrus	1
Henry (Hank)	1
Elijah (Lige)	0
Reuben	0
Some of the	Number of Times
Some of the More Popular	Number of Times They Have Been Noted
More Popular	They Have Been Noted
More Popular Cemetery Names	They Have Been Noted in the cemetery
More Popular Cemetery Names	They Have Been Noted in the cemetery
More Popular Cemetery Names John Mary	They Have Been Noted in the cemetery 11 12
More Popular Cemetery Names John Mary Sarah	They Have Been Noted in the cemetery 11 12 8
More Popular Cemetery Names John Mary Sarah Elizabeth	They Have Been Noted in the cemetery 11 12 8 4

Urban graveyards

Up to this point all the cemeteries that have been discussed have been rural cemeteries. The question now is what kind of results would we find if we examined New York City urban cemeteries that appealed more to the Protestant establishment, especially during the time that the recordings were made, than to the various immigrant groups. The pattern seems once more to be the same.

Trinity Churchyard

Phone: 212-285-0836 Churchyard (212) 602-0848

http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-

bin/fg.cgi?page=cr&CRid=230947&CScn=trinity+&CScntry

=4&CSst=36&CScnty=2008&>

Interments: 1,910

Approximate interment dates: 1697-1820s

The More Popular	Number of Times
Recording Names	They Have Been Noted
	in the Cemetery
Joshua (Josh)	0
Nancy	2
Ezra	0
James (Jim)	69
Silas + Cyrus	1
Henry (Hank)	29
Elijah (Lige)	1
Reuben	0
Reducii	U
Some of the	Number of Times
Some of the More Popular Cemetery Names	Number of Times They Have Been Noted in the Cemetery
More Popular Cemetery Names	They Have Been Noted in the Cemetery
More Popular Cemetery Names	They Have Been Noted in the Cemetery
More Popular Cemetery Names John Mary	They Have Been Noted in the Cemetery 188 113
More Popular Cemetery Names John Mary Elizabeth	They Have Been Noted in the Cemetery 188 113 83
More Popular Cemetery Names John Mary	They Have Been Noted in the Cemetery 188 113 83 87
More Popular Cemetery Names John Mary Elizabeth William Sarah	They Have Been Noted in the Cemetery 188 113 83 87 65
More Popular Cemetery Names John Mary Elizabeth William	They Have Been Noted in the Cemetery 188 113 83 87

Trinity Church Cemetery and Mausoleum

http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-

bin/fg.cgi?page=cr&CRid=1653368&CScn=trinity+cemetery&CScntry=4&CSst=36&CScnty=2008>

Interments: 1,691

Approximate interment dates: 1843-present

The More Recording

Number of Times

Popular Names	They Have Been Noted in the Cemetery
Joshua (Josh)	0
Nancy	1
Ezra	0
James (Jim)	43
Silas + Cyrus	0
Henry (Hank)	28
Elijah (Lige)	1
Reuben	0
Some of the More Popular	Number of Times They Have Been Noted

Cemetery Names	in the Cemetery
John	94
William	69
Mary	64
James (Jim)	43
George	46
Margaret	35
Charles	37

Saint Paul's Chapel and Churchyard

Saint Paul's Chapel and Churchyard

Broadway and Fulton Street,

New York, New York

http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-

The More Popular

bin/fg.cgi?page=cr&CRid=641172&CScn=St.+Paul's&CScntry=4&CSst=36&CScnty=2 008&>

Interments: 925

Approximate interment dates: 1701-1943 (most dates fall between the late 18th and the mid-19th century)

Number of Times

Recording Names	They Have Been Noted in the Cemetery
Joshua (Josh)	0
Nancy	4
Ezra	0
James (Jim)	41
Silas + Cyrus	0
Henry (Hank)	8

Elijah (Lige)	0
Reuben	0

Some of the	Number of Times They Heye Been Noted	
More Popular Cemetery Names	They Have Been Noted in the Cemetery	
Cemetery Names	in the Cemetery	
John	91	
Mary	68	
William	53	
Elizabeth	45	
James (Jim)	41	
Sarah	28	
Charles	21	

Green-Wood Cemetery (The author could not access the information on May 6, 2014.) Brooklyn, New York

- < http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=cr&CRid=64718>
- < http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=cr&CRid=6471>

Established by Henry Evelyn Pierrepont in 1838, Green-Wood Cemetery was designed by David Bates Douglass. Situated in Brooklyn, the cemetery became a National Historic Landmark in 2006.

7,791

7,951

7,675

Interments: 170,933

John Mary

William

Approximate interment dates: 1838-present

The More Popular Recording Names	Number of Times They Have Been Noted in the Cemetery
Joshua (Josh)	65
Nancy	173
Ezra	32
James (Jim)	3,427
Silas + Cyrus	65
Henry (Hank)	3,057
Elijah (Lige)	31
Reuben	0
The More Popular Cemetery Names	Number of Times They Have Been Noted in the Cemetery

Charles	4,279
Elizabeth	3,457
James (Jim)	3,427
Henry (Hank)	3,057

Appendix IV

Ethnic/Racial/rube Combinations on One Side of a Record (based upon approximately 1,591 recordings recorded before 1930 and examined in April 2014)

A. The Number of Times a Single Ethnic or Racial Group Appears on One Side of a Record

Example of formula to ascertain figures: #14 BEGINS WITH African and #14 ENDS WITH American and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930

Ethnic/Racial/rube Group	Approx. number of times group appears alone	Approx. number of times group appears	Approx. % of times group is by itself
African American	498	724	68
American	0	567	0
(non-ethnic/racial/rube white	e)		
Arab	0	7	0
Chinese	11	40	28
English	1	23	4
Egyptian	0	2	0
French	0	44	0
German	49	154	32
Greek	4	20	20
Gypsy	0	4	0
Irish	155	371	42
Italian	32	99	32
Jewish	52	179	29
Native American	15	61	25
Norwegian	0	0	0
Polish	0	3	0
rube	59	150	39
Russian	1	12	8
Scottish	2	20	0
Swedish	0	7	0

B. Two Groups on One Side of Record (not including Arab, Egyptian, Norwegian, Polish, Russian, and Swedish)

Groups Approximate Numbers

African American and non-ethnic/racial/rube white American

Formula: #14 = African and #14 = public and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total 87 entries. 47 of these entries were exclusively African American and non-ethnic/racial/rube white American.

African American and Chinese

approximately 1

Formula: #14 = African and #14 = Chinese and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 3 entries. 1 of these entries was exclusively African American and Chinese.

African American and German

approximately 2

Formula: #14 = African and #14 = German and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 19 entries. 2 of these entries were exclusively African American and German.

African American and Greek

approximately 1

Formula: #14 = African and #14 = Greek and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 4 entries. 1 of these entries was exclusively African American and Greek.

African American and Irish

approximately 8

Formula: #14 = African and #14 = Irish and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 38 entries. 8 of these entries were exclusively African American and Irish.

African American and Italian

approximately 0

Formula: #14 = African and #14 = Italian and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 6 entries. None of these entries was exclusively African American and Italian.

African American and Jewish

African American and Native American.

approximately 2

Formula: #14 = African and #14 = Jewish and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 17 entries. 2 of these entries were exclusively African American and Jewish.

African American and Native American approximately 4

Formula: #14 = African and #14 = Native and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 4 entries. All 4 of these entries were exclusively

African American and rube

approximately 4

Formula: #14 = African and #14 = rube and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 20 entries. 4 of these entries were exclusively African American and rube.

Non-ethnic/racial/rube white

American and Chinese

approximately 6

Formula: #14 = public and #14 = Chinese and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 14 entries. 6 of these entries were exclusively non-ethnic/racial/rube white American and Chinese.

Non-ethnic/racial/rube white

approximately 15

American and German

Formula: #14 = public and #14 = German and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 49 entries. 15 of these entries were exclusively non-ethnic/racial/rube white American and German.

Non-ethnic/racial/rube white

approximately 6

American and Greek

Formula: #14 = public and #14 = Greek and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 10 entries. 6 of these entries were exclusively non-ethnic/racial/rube white American and Greek.

Non-ethnic/racial/rube white

approximately 18

American and Irish

Formula: #14 = public and #14 = Irish and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 81 entries. 18 of these entries were exclusively non-ethnic/racial/rube white American and Irish.

Non-ethnic/racial/rube white

approximately 14

American and Italian

Formula: #14 = public and #14 = Italian and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 35 entries. 14 of these entries were exclusively non-ethnic/racial/rube white American and Italian.

Non-ethnic/racial/rube white

approximately 30

American and Jewish

Formula: #14 = public and #14 = Jewish and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 66 entries. 30 of these entries were exclusively non-ethnic/racial/rube white American and Jewish.

Non-ethnic/racial/rube white American and rube

approximately 46

Formula: #14 = public and #14 = rube and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 66 entries. 46 of these entries were exclusively non-ethnic/racial/rube white American and rube.

Chinese and German

approximately 0

Formula: #14 = Chinese and #14 = German and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 6 entries. None of these entries were exclusively Chinese and German.

Chinese and Irish

approximately 0

Formula: #14 = Chinese and #14 = Irish and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 12 entries. None of these entries were exclusively Chinese and Irish.

Chinese and Italian

approximately 0

Formula: #14 = Chinese and #14 = Italian and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 3 entries. None of these entries were exclusively Chinese and Italian.

Chinese and Jewish

approximately 0

Formula: #14 = Chinese and #14 = Jewish and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 5 entries. None of these entries were exclusively Chinese and Jewish.

Chinese and rube

approximately 0

Formula: #14 = Chinese and #14 = rube and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 1 entry. This entry was not exclusively Chinese and rube.

German and Greek

approximately 0

Formula: #14 = German and #14 = Greek and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 6 entries. None of these entries were exclusively German and Greek.

German and Irish

Formula: #14 = German and #14 = Irish and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 60 entries. 15 of these entries were exclusively German and Irish.

German and Italian

approximately 0

Formula: #14 = German and #14 = Italian and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 20 entries. None of these entries were exclusively German and Italian.

German and Jewish

approximately 0

Formula: #14 = German and #14 = Jewish and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 18 entries. None of these entries were exclusively German and Jewish.

German and Native American

approximately 0

Formula: #14 = German and #14 = Native and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 3 entries. None of these entries were exclusively German and .

German and rube

approximately 2

Formula: #14 = German and #14 = rube and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 7 entries. 2 of these entries were exclusively German and rube.

Irish and Italian

approximately 0

Formula: #14 = German and #14 = Italian and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 20 entries. None of these entries were exclusively Irish and Italian.

Irish and Jewish

approximately 27

Formula: #14 = Irish and #14 = Jewish and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 71 entries. 27 of these entries were exclusively Irish and Jewish.

Irish and Native American

approximately 3

Formula: #14 = Irish and #14 = Native and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 13 entries. 3 of these entries were exclusively Irish and Native American.

Irish and rube

Formula: #14 = Irish and #14 = rube and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 10 entries. None of these entries were exclusively Irish and rube.

Italian and Jewish

approximately 0

Formula: #14 = Italian and #14 = Jewish and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 15 entries. None of these entries were exclusively Italian and Jewish.

Italian and Native American

approximately 1

Formula: #14 = Italian and #14 = Native and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 4 entries. 1 of these entries was exclusively Italian and Native American.

Italian and rube

approximately 0

Formula: #14 = Italian and #14 = rube and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 1 entry. This entry was not exclusively Italian and rube.

Jewish and Native American

approximately 1

Formula: #14 = Jewish and #14 = Native and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 4 entries. 1 entry was Jewish and Native American.

Jewish and rube

approximately 0

Formula: #14 = Jewish and #14 = rube and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 3 entries. None of these entries were exclusively Jewish and rube.

Native American and rube

approximately 1

Formula: #14 = Native and #14 = rube and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 1 entry. 1 entry was exclusively Native American and rube.

C. Three Groups on One Side of the Record (not including Arab, Egyptian, Norwegian, Polish, Russian, and Swedish)

Groups

Approximate Numbers

African American, non-ethnic/racial/rube

white American, Irish

Formula: #14 = African and #14 = public and #14 = Irish and #27 = actual and #21 <1930 and #45 <> immigrant. The database listed a total of 15 entries. 5 of these entries were exclusively African American, non-ethnic/racial/rube white American and Irish.

Non-ethnic/racial/rube white American, African American, German (Four of them deal with WW I and the other one is from 1905, but also about soldiers) approximately 5

Formula: #14 = African and #14 = public and #14 = German and #27 = actual and #21 <1930 and #45 <> immigrant. The database listed a total of 11 entries. 5 of these entries were exclusively non-ethnic/racial/rube white American, African American and German.

Non-ethnic/racial/rube white American, African American, rube

approximately 9

Formula: #14 = African and #14 = public and #14 = Rube and #27 = actual and #21 <1930 and #45 <> immigrant. The database listed a total of 12 entries. 9 of these entries were exclusively non-ethnic/racial/rube white American, African American and rube.

Non-ethnic/racial/rube white American, Irish, Italian

approximately 1

Formula: #14 = Irish and #14 = public and #14 = Italian and #27 = actual and #21 <1930 and #45 <> immigrant. The database listed a total of 11 entries. 1 of these entries was exclusively non-ethnic/racial/rube white American, Irish and Italian.

Non-ethnic/racial/rube white American, Irish, Jewish

approximately 9

Formula: #14 = Irish and #14 = public and #14 = Jewish and #27 = actual and #21 <1930 and #45 <>immigrant. The database listed a total of 26 entries. 9 of these entries were exclusively non-ethnic/racial/rube white American, Irish and Italian.

Irish, German, Italian

approximately 3

Formula: #14 = Irish and #14 = German and #14 = Italian and #27 = actual and #21 <1930 and #45 <>immigrant. The database listed a total of 15 entries. 3 of these entries were exclusively Irish, German and Italian.

African American, non-ethnic/racial/rube white American, rube

Formula: #14 = African and #14 = public and #14 = rube and #27 = actual and #21 <1930 and #45 <>immigrant. The database listed a total of 12 entries. 9 of these entries were exclusively African American, non-ethnic/racial/rube white American, and rube.

Appendix V

A Hint of the Kind of Ethnic and Racial Pairing That Occurs on a Two-Sided Record When One Compares the Groups on the Two Sides before 1930 (not including Arab, Egyptian, Norwegian, Polish, Russian, and Swedish)

This superficial investigation only considers recordings that feature one group on either side of a two-sided record and is based upon an examination in April 2014 of 1,591 records using the formula #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930.

Ethnic and/or Racial Groups

Approximate Numbers

African American and African American

approximately 65

Formula: #14 = African and #17 = african1 and #27 = actual and #21 <1930 and #45 <> immigrant. The database listed a total of 183 entries. 65 of these entries were exclusively African American and African American.

African American and non-ethnic/racial/rube white American

approximately 23

Formula: #14 = African and #17 = public1 and #27 = actual and #21 <1930 and #45 <> immigrant. The database listed a total of 86 entries. 23 of these entries were exclusively African American and non-ethnic/racial/rube white American.

African American and Irish

approximately 9

Formula: (#14 = African and #17 = Irish1 and #27 = actual and #21 <1930 and #45 <> immigrant) or (#14= Irish and #17 = African1 and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 67 entries. 9 of these entries were exclusively African American and Irish.

African American and Italian

approximately 2

Formula: (#14 = African and #17 = Italian1 and #27 = actual and #21 <1930 and #45 <> immigrant) or (#14 = Italian and #17 = African1 and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930) The database listed a total of 18 entries. 2 of these entries were exclusively African American and Irish.

African American and Jewish

approximately 4

Formula: (#14 = African and #17 = Jewish1 and #27 = actual and #21 <1930 and #45 <> immigrant) or (#14 = Jewish and #17 = African1 and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930). The database listed a total of 33 entries. 4 of these entries were exclusively African American and Jewish.

African American and Native American

approximately 4

Formula: (#14 = African and #17 = Native1 and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930) or (#14 = Native and #17 = African1 and #45 <> immigrant and #27 = actual and #21 <1930) The database listed a total of 8 entries. 4 of these entries were exclusively African American and Native American.

African American and rube

approximately 9

Formula: (#14 = African and #17 = rube1 and #27 = actual and #21 <1930 and #45 <> immigrant) or (#14 = rube and #17 = African1 and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930) The database listed a total of 38 entries. 9 of these entries were exclusively African American and rube.

Irish and Irish

approximately 12

Formula: #14 = Irish and #17 = Irish1 and #27 = actual and #21 <1930 and #45 <> immigrant. The database listed a total of 65 entries. 12 of these entries were exclusively Irish and Irish.

Irish and non-ethnic/racial/rube white American

approximately 13

Formula: #14 = Irish and #17 = Public1 and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930

The database listed a total of 17 entries. 13 of these entries were exclusively Irish and non-ethnic/racial/rube white American.

Irish and Jewish

approximately 0

Formula: (#14 = Irish and #17 = Jewish1 and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930) or (#14 = Jewish and #17 = Irish1 and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930) The database listed a total of 48 entries. None of these entries were exclusively Irish and Jewish.

Irish and Native American

approximately 0

Formula: (#14 = Native and #17 = Irish1 and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930) or (#14 = Irish and #17 = Native1 and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930) The database listed a total of 5 entries. None of these entries were exclusively Irish and Native American.

Irish and rube

approximately 9

Formula: (#14 = Irish and #17 = rube1 and #27 = actual and #45 \ll immigrant and #21 \ll 1930) or (#14 = rube and #17 = Irish1 and #27 = actual and #45 \ll immigrant and #21

<1930.) 26 The database listed a total of 26 entries. 9 of these entries were exclusively Irish and rube.

Italian and Italian

approximately 0

Formula: #14 = Italian and #17 = Italian1 and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 2 entries. None of these entries were exclusively Italian and Italian.

Italian and non-ethnic/racial/rube white American

approximately 3

Formula: #14 = Italian and #17 = Public1 and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 23 entries. 3 of these entries were exclusively Italian and non-ethnic/racial/rube white American.

Italian and Jewish

approximately 0

Formula: (#14 = Italian and #17 = Jewish1 and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930) or (#14 = Jewish and #17 = Italian1 and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930.) The database listed a total of 9 entries. None of these entries were exclusively Italian and Jewish.

Italian and Native American

approximately 0

Formula: (#14 = Italian and #17 = Native1 and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930) or (#14 = Native and #17 = Italian1 and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930.) The database listed a total of 0 entries.

Italian and rube

approximately 0

Formula: (#14 = Italian and #17 = rube1 and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930) or (#14 = rube and #17 = Italian1 and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930.) The database listed a total of 5 entries. None of these entries were exclusively Italian and rube.

Jewish and non-ethnic/racial/rube white American

approximately 0

Formula: #14 = Jewish and #17 = public1 and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 49 entries. None of these entries were exclusively Jewish and non-ethnic/racial/rube white American.

Jewish and Jewish

#14 = Jewish and #17 = Jewish1 and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. 78 came up, but many of them were doubles. The database listed a total of 78 entries. 8 entries were exclusively Jewish and Jewish.

Jewish and rube

approximately 0

Formula: (#14 = Jewish and #17 = rube1 and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930) or (#14 = rube and #17 = Jewish1 and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930.) The database listed a total of 9 entries. None of these entries were exclusively Jewish and rube.

Native American and Native American

approximately 1*

Formula: (#14 = Native and #17 = Native1 and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930) or (#14 = Native and #17 = Native1 and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930.) The database listed a total of 4 entries. Maybe 1 of these entries was exclusively Native American and Native American. *A "Sioux Serenade" and on the other side "By the Waters of Minnetonka" may actually be described as a Native American record.

Native American and non-ethnic/racial/rube white American

approximately 2

Formula: #14 = Native and #17 = Public1 and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 5 entries. 2 of these entries were exclusively Native American and non-ethnic/racial/rube white American.

rube and rube

approximately 5

Formula: #14 = rube and #17 = rube1 and #27 = actual and #45 <> immigrant and #21 <1930. The database listed a total of 40 entries. 5 of these entries were exclusively rube and rube .

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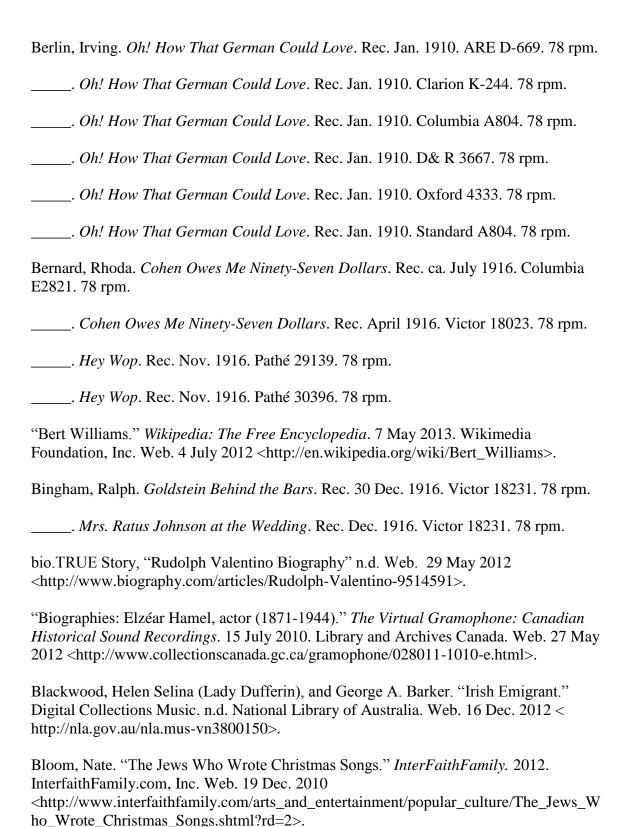
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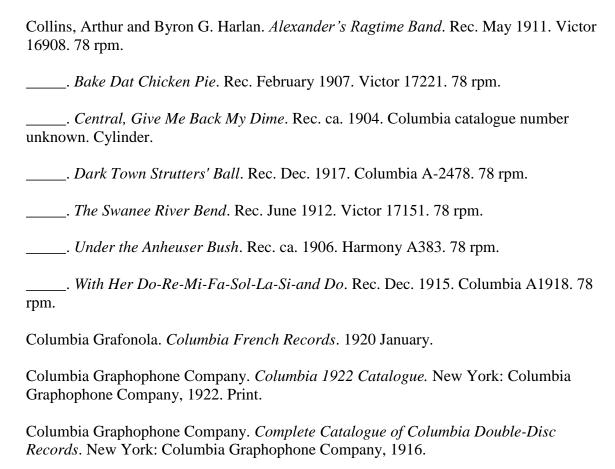
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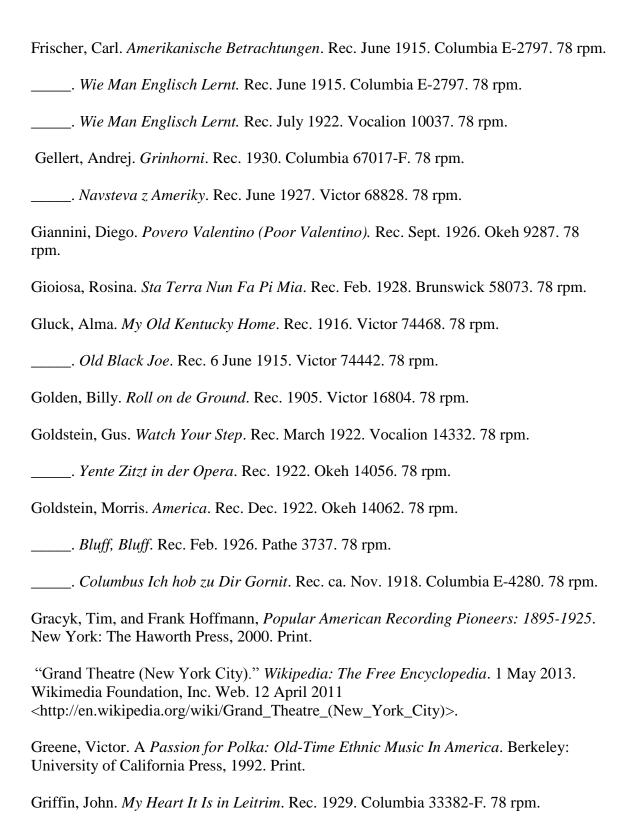
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311

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Piotr Cichocki transcribed and translated *Antek Amerykan w Karczmie* by Stefan J. Zielinski.

Emma Curry-Stodder transcribed My Mariuccia Take a Steamboat by Billy Murray.

Mike Daley permitted the author to use his portion of an exchange on the 78 chat group (78-1@78online.com) that occurred on June 4, 2011. The discussion dealt with the cost of phonograph records in the early 1900s.

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Fred Gessner and Emilia Holbik summarized *Navsteva z Ameriky* and *Grinhorni* by Andrej Gellert. The record was part of a collection owned by Fred Gessner that he acquired from his grandfather Karol Repka. He donated the collection to the National Slovak Society in 2005.

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Nicoletta Guddemi transcribed and translated *Ll'isola d' 'E Lacreme* by Giuseppe Milano.

Moussa Halabi, a member of the New Horizons Department at the Sephardic Community Center, 1901 Ocean Parkway, Brooklyn transcribed and translated Alexander Maloof's *America Ya Hilwa* into French.

Anthony Lentini, Ph.D. Anthony Lentini summarized *Nofrio Arriva in America* and *Nofrio E La Finta Americana*. Both recordings are by De Rosalia and Company. He also research the meaning of "le petanta u pitza pan" in Lou Monte's *Please Mr. Columbus*.

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Nefeli Elini Piree-Iliou transcribed and translated *O Grecoamericanos Stin Athina* by The Roubanis Chorus.

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Joanna Sadowska transcribed and translated *Jan Sikora Na Stryt Karze* by Grupa Komiczna Fabryki Victor.

Amanda (Miryem-Khaye) Seigel, Librarian at the Dorot Jewish Division, The New York Public Library summarized *Prohibition* on Columbia, catalogue number E-7123, by Sam Silverbush and Sadie Wachtel.

Niel Shell, the grandson of Victor director Nat Shilkret, sent an e-mail to Sam Brylawski and Sam Brylawski passed on that e-mail to the author. The e-mail summarized the role that Nat Shilkret had in Victor. The information came from *Nathaniel Shilkret: Sixty Years in the Music Business*, the book he and Barbara Shilkret wrote.

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Filip Uscilowitz transcribed and translated *Popsulo Sie w Ameryce* by Ignacy Podgorski.

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Cover of book

The image "Listen" (Courtesy of the Library of Congress, reproduction # LC-USZ62-29368) was used in designing the cover of the book.

Giovanni De Rosalia Image courtesy of Orestes Arcuni (Joseph Accardi introduced the author to Orestes Arcuni.)

Early Saul Birns advertisement for phonographs in the *Forverts* Courtesy of the New York Public Library

Edison's Original Tin-foil Phonograph Courtesy of Thomas Edison National Historical Park

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"(New Victor Turkish Records)," November 1916 Courtesy of John Bolig

"Peddlers – New York's 'Little Jerusalem," ca. 1908-1916 Courtesy of the Library of Congress, reproduction # LC-USZ62-95683

Phonograph Arcade Courtesy of Thomas Edison National Historical Park

Benjamin Samberg or Benny Bell (1906-1999)

He produced some 600 songs, of which "Pincus the Peddler" is probably his best known work.

Courtesy of Joel Samberg

Harry Stewart (1908 –1956) Image courtesy of Anne Peterson, Harry's niece, and Steve Howard The \$7.00 Victor," catalogue number 96200, 1908 "Lucia Sextet" features Sembrich, Caruso, Scotti, Journet, Severina and Daddi. Image courtesy of Mike Sherman

Victor Advertisement in *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, November 30, 1910 Courtesy of the New York Public Library

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"Where bread is sold on the street. Mott Street, New York City," ca. 1915 Courtesy of the Library of Congress, reproduction # LC-USZ62-72440

Index

Abrams, Steven, 302 AbsoluteAstronomy.com, 164, 322	automobile, 8, 174, 229, 230, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 250, 254,
Accardi, Joseph, 46, 64, 129, 179, 302, 330, 334	257 , 258 , 259 , 328 , 329 history, 241, 242
Adler, Hyman, 302	Bachman, Merle, 188, 303
Adler, Jacob, 41, 130, 179, 314	Baez, Joan, 271
Adler, Joseph, 169, 302	Balkan, 10
Adolf King, 190, 222	people returning to old country, 10
Aeolian Company, 30, 70, 248	Balle, Ernest, 127, 132, 178, 179, 303
African Americans, 5, 9, 15, 16, 89, 91, 95,	Banner, 105, 154, 185, 308, 315
96, 97, 100, 105, 106, 149, 150, 158, 161,	Barbetto, Susan and Anthony, 183, 330
168, 229, 230, 231, 233, 234, 239, 240,	Barth, Fredrik, 7, 18, 67, 68, 69, 108, 162,
248, 249, 250, 252, 256, 267, 290, 291,	262, 272, 303
292, 295, 296, 298, 299	Barton Brothers, 263
"Great Migration", 9	Bascetta, Alfred, 176
Albert Memmi	Batis, Franz, 132
Dominated Man	Baumbach, Robert W., 19, 303
negrity, 231	Baur, Joachim, 222, 330
blackface, 157, 168	Bayes, Nora, 104, 157, 173, 303
coon, 252	Beatles, 262, 271
from the perspective of majority	Bell, Alexander Graham, 231
population	Bell, Benny, 263, 265, 334
use of the telephone, 233, 234, 240,	Benjamin, Rick, 57, 322
257, 307	Bentkowski, Arkadiusz, 178, 224, 330
Harlem, 9	Berg, Bruce F., 303
recording companies refused to record, 15	Berlin, Irving, 155, 156, 167, 185, 186,
restricted to making gospel and blues, 16	202, 250, 304, 314
African Americans (women)	traversing ethnic boundaries
from the perspective of majority	composers and performers, 155
population	Berliner, Emile, 14, 23, 56, 309
use of the telephone, 239	Berman, Bruce, 181, 330
Albrecht, Vaclav, 200	Bernard, Al, 81
Aleandri, Emelise, 45, 47, 48, 63, 64, 65,	Bernard, Rhoda, 186, 304
129, 179, 302, 330	bilingualism
Algeo, John, 164, 322	bilingualism without diglossia, 207
Allen, Richard, 270	bilingualism without diglossia, 207
Amato, Gennaro, 45, 115, 176, 200, 219,	Billy Hodes, 275
303	Bingham, Ralph, 81, 82, 173, 239, 256
Anbinder, Tyler, 171, 303	Birns, Dorothy, 25
Anderson, Robert, 241	promotion and sale of records and
Arabic, 32	phonograph, 25
Arellano, Flor D'Luna, 171, 330	Birns, Saul, 25, 35, 36, 38, 39, 49, 54, 61
Argentines, 104, 173, 303	phonograph swindlers, 35
Armenians, 9, 104	Blackburn, Tom W., 267
"new immigrants", 9	Bloom, Nate, 156, 186, 304
Ash, Sam, 303	Bohemian, 32, 200, 261
	Bolig, John, 31, 32, 58, 60, 330, 334
	Bones, Alicia, 146, 183, 330

Damagan Stan 266 274 205	During Cooper 267
Boreson, Stan, 266, 274, 305	Bruns, George, 267
boundary maintenance, 7, 135, 162, 252,	Brunswick, 31, 70, 71, 116, 123, 130, 132,
324, 332	146, 149, 176, 178, 180, 183, 219, 303,
cracks in the boundary, 147, 148	311, 315, 316
events that impacted both immigrant and	Brylawski, Sam, 106, 107, 174, 305, 324,
non-immigrant	331, 332
Prohibition, 149, 150	Bucca E Co., 130
Rudolf Valentino, 154	Burchfield, Rebekah, 6, 18, 24, 25, 56, 305
Rudolph Valentino, 153	Advertising and Images of Female
suffrage, 152, 153	Interaction with Early Recorded Music
suffrage, 151	Technology, 1905-1948, 24
role of music, 145, 146, 147	Burkhart, Maurice, 153, 187, 305
traversing ethnic boundaries	Butler, Caroline, 172, 306
composers and performers, 155	Cahan, Abraham, 130, 220, 228, 302, 306
Billy Murray, 156	Cahill, William, 150
Irving Berlin, 155	Campbell, Albert H., 167, 306
crossover music, 160, 161	Cantor, Eddie, 37, 146, 157, 262
	Carson, John, 16
lyrics, 157	Carter Family, 16
boundary maintenance from the minority	Carty, Dick, 187
perspective	Caruso, Enrico, 11, 14, 31, 59
ethnic juxtapositions, 141	Casey, Marion R., 169, 306
French Canadian character names, 133	Casman, Nellie, 208, 226, 306
German character names, 131	Castle, Irene, 26
Irish character names, 132	Castle, Vernon, 26, 154, 159, 321, 334
Italian character names, 129	catalogues, 12, 15, 20, 23, 27, 28, 31, 32,
Jewish character names, 130	33, 37, 38, 39, 57, 58, 60, 270, 327
Norwegian character names, 132	Cavaioli, Frank J., 63, 64, 303, 322
Bourgeois, Alberic, 135	Chagy, Cantor Berele, 37
Bowers, David, 24, 25	Cherry, Kendra, 181, 306
Bowers, Nathan David, 6, 18, 24, 56, 305	Chinese, 45, 75, 290, 291, 292, 293
Creating a Home Culture for the	Cichocki, Piotr, 178, 331
Phonograph	Civil War, 41, 163, 309
Women and the Rise of Sound	Bowery ceased to compete with
Recordings in the United States,	Broadway and Fifth Avenue, 41
1877-1913, 24	Clooney, Rosemary, 262
Bowery, 23, 40, 41, 49, 54, 61, 62, 63, 305,	codeswitching, 213, 214, 215, 217
310, 318	triggering device, 213
Bowery Garden, 40	Cohen, Myron, 263
Bowery Theatre, 40	Cohn, Irving, 203
Thalia, 40, 44	Collins and Harlan, 80, 81, 82, 85, 158,
Boyon, Nicolas, 60, 330	173, 188, 234, 254, 267, 274, 307
Brandwein, Naftule, 149	Collins, Arthur, 82, 87, 101, 158, 165, 166,
Brennan, J. Keirn, 154	171, 173, 233, 234, 254, 306, 307
brochure	Columbia catalogues, 12, 20, 27, 31, 307
published in various languages, 32	Columbia Graphophone Company, 12,
Brockman, Merle, 157	15, 20, 27, 28, 31, 33, 36, 37, 39, 44, 60,
Brooks, Mel, 263	71, 75, 76, 77, 80, 81, 82, 84, 86, 88, 89,
Brooks, Shelton, 267	90, 93, 94, 97, 104, 105, 106, 107, 111,
Brooks, Tim, 22, 166, 305	112, 115, 117, 121, 122, 123, 124, 130,
Browne, Harry C., 82, 158, 188, 321	131, 132, 135, 136, 141, 142, 144, 148,

150, 151, 154, 158, 159, 166, 167, 168,	Cox, Marion Evelyn, 86
169, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 180,	Croatians, 10, 36
181, 182, 183, 186, 187, 188, 191, 194,	people returning to old country, 10
200, 205, 208, 211, 215, 216, 218, 219,	crossover music, 160, 261
222, 224, 226, 227, 232, 233, 234, 235,	Cugnot, Nicolas-Joseph, 241
236, 237, 245, 253, 254, 255, 259, 265,	Curry-Stodder, Emma, 169, 331
267, 268, 269, 274, 275, 302, 303, 304,	Czechs, 9
306, 307, 308, 310, 311, 312, 314, 315,	"new immigrants", 9
316, 317, 318, 319, 321, 322, 323, 324,	Daimler, Gottlieb Wilhelm, 241
325, 326, 328, 330, 332	Daley, Mike, 12, 20, 307, 331
comfort in America	Dalhart, Vernon, 16, 21, 154, 159, 173,
"Dark Town Strutters' Ball", 267	188, 308, 321, 327
"The Ballad of Davy Crockett", 267	Dana, 66, 308
an Indian responding in Italian, 262	De Rosalia, Giovanni, 39, 45, 46, 64, 129,
an Indian responding in Yiddish, 263	130, 137, 144, 179, 181, 182, 198, 200,
ethnic food, 265, 266	218, 223, 302, 303, 308, 330, 331, 334,
ethnic names, 264	See Nofrio
food, 261	Deetz, James, 5, 17, 308
Italian decade	DeLeath, Vaughn, 154, 317
"as the decade-roughly from 1947 to	Densmore, Richard, 166, 260, 308
1964" defined by Mark Rotella,	Depression, 12, 25, 160, 231, 261
262	diglossia, 207
lyricists, 261	bilingualism without diglossia, 207
parody, 263	definition, 207
sexual entanglements, 269	leaky diglossia, 207
sexual innuendo, 269	Dinnerstein, Leonard, 18, 170, 309
song Monte sang provided at least some	discourse markers, 210, 213, 214, 217
Italians with "a sense of comfort, of	Dolgin, Janet L., 135, 156, 187, 309, 331
one-upmanship, or the sense of being a	metonymization of the condensed
part of an inside joke, and, socially, of	metaphor, 156
having a slice of their world recognized	domains (linguistics), 208, 209, 210, 212,
by others.", 262	226, 315
Compagnia Columbia, 154	Dramatic Hall, 44
Conan, Neal, 174, 307	Dressler, Marie, 166, 309
Coppia Parisi, 151	Dumais, Joseph, 133 Duryea, Charles Edgar, 241
Coppia Ruby De Russo, 142, 183, 219,	Duryea, Frank, 203, 211, 241
307, 330 Connig Trombetto, 210	Dutch, 104
Coppia Trombetta, 219 Corenthal, Michael G., 255, 307	Edison, 14, 21, 23, 27, 29, 34, 35, 71, 72,
Correll, Charles J., 81, 240, 257, 307	75, 76, 77, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 88,
country people, 5, 16, 231, 250	91, 92, 93, 94, 96, 99, 100, 101, 106, 115
from the perspective of majority	150, 153, 156, 162, 165, 166, 167, 168,
population use of the automobile, 243,	169, 171, 172, 176, 184, 187, 203, 217,
247	218, 224, 228, 233, 234, 242, 244, 246,
rube, 7, 67, 70, 73, 83, 84, 91, 93, 95, 99,	247, 254, 258, 259, 260, 302, 305, 306,
100, 105, 106, 149, 168, 171, 174, 229,	309, 314, 315, 317, 319, 322, 325, 326,
238, 239, 244, 246, 248, 249, 250, 251,	328, 331
261, 282, 283, 290, 292, 293, 294, 295,	Edison, Thomas Alva, 10, 11, 24, 334
296, 299, 300, 301, 312	Ellis Island, 7, 12, 20, 33, 62, 133, 144,
telephone industry did not initially take	165, 173, 219, 223, 231, 309
the rural market seriously, 239	Ely, Melvin Patrick, 163, 309

Flink, James J., 258, 259, 310 172, 184, 219, 324 Emilia Holbik, 175, 178, 331 Floyd, Samuel A., 166, 310 English, 104, 202 Foldes, Dan, 198, 219 "old immigrants", 8 Ford, Henry, 241 **English acquisition** Ford, Tennessee Ernie, 267 difficulties of learning English, 191, 193 Forverts, 6, 14, 33, 34, 36, 39, 48, 49, 53, facade that one knew English, 198 54, 60, 130, 187, 220, 315, 317, 322 necessity of learning English, 190, 222, history of the newspaper, 33 phonograph advertisements, 34 317 phonemic and idiomatic interference, 194 popularity of the phonograph, 14 ramifications of not speaking English Foster, Stephen, 146, 158, 160 well, 196, 197 French, 32, 33, 41, 60, 104, 133, 134, 175, role of English, 199, 200 181, 241, 246, 290, 307, 315, 326, 330 Erenberg, Lewis A., 19, 309 supplements, 32 Estrella, Estrella, 37 French Canadian, 133, 180, 181 ethnic definition Frischer, Carl, 131, 132, 144, 194, 195, Noah Webster, An American Dictionary 208, 218, 219, 311 of the English Language definition in Gabel, William, 62, 313 1900, 5 Gelatt, Roland, 12 ethnicity definition Gellert, Andrej, 145, 175, 178, 311 Noah Webster, An American Dictionary Germans, 5, 8, 9, 28, 41, 75, 91, 93, 95, 97, of the English Language definition in 105, 131, 144, 152, 156, 168, 173, 179, 1900, 5 180, 184, 190, 195, 197, 208, 218, 219, Europe, James Reese, 15 230, 242, 248, 249, 290, 291, 292, 293, Fabris, Jerry, 106, 331 294, 296 Fabrizio, Timothy C., 6, 12, 18, 20, 23, 26, "new immigrants", 9 56, 57, 309 "old immigrants", 8 Dutch, 156 Fanizza, F., 130 Farley, Tom, 256, 257, 309, 331 from the perspective of majority technical difficulties during the 1920s of population making a long distance call, 240 use of the automobile, 242 Farrar, Geraldine, 14, 87, 166, 309 Gessner, Fred, 175, 178, 331 Fasold, Ralph, 207, 225, 309 Giannini, Diego, 154, 185, 311, 332 Fass, Paula S., 19, 310 Gibson girl, 24, 26 Favor, Edward M., 76 Gibson, Charles Dana, 24 Feldman, Joseph, 175, 218, 310 Giese, Henry, 14 Ferrara, Eric, 44, 63, 310 Gilrod, Louis, 43, 191, 218, 222, 317, 332 Fields, Arthur, 154, 310 Gimbels, 30 Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Gioiosa, Rosina, 178 Industries and Immigration, 35 Giuriceo, Judy, 331 Finkelstein, Elizabeth, 48, 64, 65, 310 Gluck, Alma, 87, 160, 166, 188, 311 Finley, Jean Moore Gold, Clara, 44, 131, 200, 218 promotion and sale of records and Golden, Billy, 82, 173, 311 phonographs, 25 Goldstein, Gus, 43, 44, 131, 139, 144, 151, Fischer, Claude S., 229, 232, 234, 239, 182, 200, 218, 219, 223, 311 242, 252, 253, 254, 256, 257, 310 Goldstein, Morris, 111, 118, 131, 175, 176, Fishman, Joshua A., 207, 208, 209, 225, 190, 208, 222, 226, 227, 311, 316, 332 Gordy, Berry Jr., 5 Flanagan Brothers, 141, 182, 310 Gosden, Freeman F., 81, 240, 257, 307 Flannery, James R, 310 Gracyk, Tim, 165, 254, 311

flapper, 26, 27, 242

Emerson, 71, 77, 86, 103, 131, 152, 153,

Grand Theatre, 41, 45, 49, 65, 311 people returning to old country, 10 First theater built for a Yiddish audience, Hunting, Russell, 76, 232, 233, 234, 253, 314 Greeks, 9, 32, 36, 86, 104, 126, 144, 145, Huntley, Bill, 189 173, 203, 216, 290, 291, 292, 293, 303 Il Progresso Italo-Americano, 6, 7, 33, 38, "new immigrants", 9 53, 54, 60, 314 Greene, Victor, 11, 14, 20, 27, 57, 160, history of the newspaper, 38 161, 188, 223, 261, 272, 311 Internet Archive, 232, 234, 253, 302 crossover music definition, 261 Irish, 5, 75, 89, 91, 95, 96, 97, 101, 103, Greenfield, Rose, 200 104, 105, 132, 141, 142, 143, 144, 149, greenhorn, 130, 132, 133, 135, 136, 137, 150, 151, 156, 157, 159, 167, 169, 172, 138, 139, 140, 147, 157, 175, 182, 190, 177, 178, 182, 187, 195, 196, 205, 212, 217, 230, 308 230, 232, 248, 249, 290, 291, 292, 293, psychological defense mechanism to 294, 296, 298, 299, 317, 319 "old immigrants", 8 distance oneself, 135 Greygull records, 154, 310 from the perspective of majority Griffin, John, 178, 311 population Groneman, Carol, 19, 61, 311 Irish Jewish interaction, 248 Grupa Komiczna Fabryki, 223, 312, 332 use of the automobile, 245, 246, 259, Guddemi, Nicoletta, 175, 331 321 Guerra, Emilio, 62 use of the telephone, 232 Halabi, Moussa, 175, 331 from the perspective of the minority Halley, William J., 187, 312 Irish other interaction, 141 Hamel, Elzéar, 133, 134, 135, 180, 304 Irish Jewish collaboration, 172, 319 Hannom, Thomas Barry, 132 Tammany, 169, 319 Hanukah, 34, 35 Irving, Kaufman, 169 Harkins, Anthony, 21, 171, 312 Italians, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 33, 36, 38, 39, 44, 45, Harlan, Byron G., 81, 85, 94, 106, 158, 46, 47, 48, 50, 51, 52, 54, 60, 61, 63, 64, 168, 174, 307, 312, 322 66, 72, 75, 77, 94, 96, 97, 98, 104, 105, Harper, Douglas, 179, 312 110, 113, 115, 116, 119, 128, 129, 130, Harrison, Charles, 167, 312 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 143, 144, 150, Hayes, Bill, 267 151, 153, 154, 159, 162, 169, 170, 176, Hayman, Joe, 75, 148, 183, 234, 235, 236, 179, 199, 200, 203, 205, 206, 208, 217, 237, 239, 240, 254, 255, 256, 312 218, 219, 224, 225, 226, 228, 231, 261, Heins, Billy, 82 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, Herman, Lewis, 163, 313 270, 272, 274, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, Herman, Marguerite Shalet, 163, 313 295, 296, 298, 300, 302, 303, 313, 314, Hines, Carl, 160 316, 318, 319, 322, 323, 327, 330 Hodes, Billy, 269, 313 "new immigrants", 8 Hoffman, Anna, 43, 131, 139, 151, 182, an Indian responding in Italian, 262 184, 218, 219, 313, 332 from the perspective of minority Hoffmann, Frank, 165, 187, 254, 311, 313 population Holmes, Janet, 208, 209, 226, 313 Italian American interaction, 137 Holowczyk, Peter, 62, 313 from the perspective of the minority Holt, Thomas C., 18, 313 Italian Irish interaction, 143 Homberger, Eric, 64, 313 Italian Jewish interaction, 144 Howard, Steve, 274, 313 people returning to old country, 10 Howe, Irving, 20, 42, 60, 62, 170, 262, 263, **Jack, Palmer, 21, 321** 264, 273, 314 Jackson, Kenneth T., 19, 61, 62, 169, 170, Hungarians, 9, 10, 33, 144, 200 306, 311, 315, 319, 327 "new immigrants", 9

Jacobs, Jacob, 43, 121, 131, 139, 151, 177,	Kaufman, Jack, 159, 188
182, 184, 218, 219, 313, 320, 324, 332	Kennedy, Frank, 76, 77, 152, 184, 242,
Jassinowsky, Pinchus, 37	258, 315
Jefferson Airplane, 271	Kennedy, William A., 90, 132, 167, 316
Jeffery, Chris, 209, 226, 315	Kenney, William Howland, 5, 6, 7, 15, 17,
Jerome, William, 103, 157, 172, 187, 310	18, 19, 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 56, 57, 60, 162,
Jews, 5, 6, 7, 8, 14, 15, 32, 33, 36, 37, 40,	230, 252, 316
42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54,	collective memories, 6, 7
60, 61, 62, 75, 94, 96, 97, 101, 102, 103,	Recorded Music in American Life
104, 105, 110, 113, 114, 125, 128, 130,	The Phonograph and Popular Memory,
139, 144, 145, 149, 150, 151, 153, 155,	<i>1890-1945</i> , 2 5
156, 157, 159, 163, 168, 169, 170, 186,	Kern-Foxworth, Marilyn, 164, 316
187, 200, 201, 209, 218, 219, 225, 230,	Kessler, David, 41, 42, 43
231, 234, 238, 247, 248, 249, 250, 254,	King, Adolf, 316
255, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267,	Klinger, Bill, 174, 316
269, 273, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295,	Kylander, Arthur Arkadius, 196, 222, 316
296, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 304, 307,	La Sorte, Michael, 217, 228, 316
309, 310, 314, 315, 317, 319, 322, 324,	LaGumina, Salvatore John, 63, 64, 272,
325, 327	303, 322
from the perspective of majority	Lajos, Bogres, 183, 200, 316
population	language loss
Jewish Irish interaction, 248	impossibility of maintaining one's native
use of the automobile, 247, 248	language, 202
use of the telephone, 234, 235, 237,	Latin, 59, 164, 209
238, 312	Lebedeff, Aaron, 43, 122, 146, 147, 177,
from the perspective of the minority	183, 219, 316, 330
Jewish Irish interaction, 142	Lentini, Anthony, 137, 181, 198, 223, 272,
Indians responding in Yiddish, 263	331
Jean-Paul Sartre's Anti-Semite and Jew,	Leopoldi, Hermann, 190, 191, 222, 317,
230	330
Sabbath observance in 1916, 42	Levenson, Sam, 263
Johnson, George W., 15	Levi, Vicki Gold, 42, 48, 63, 65, 324
Jolson, Al, 157, 187, 262, 315	Levinsky, David, 220, 228, 306
Jones, Ada, 75, 77, 80, 84, 85, 94, 101, 104,	Lieutenant Frankel, 37
169, 172, 173, 187, 315, 317, 333	Lillian, Isidore, 191, 218, 222, 317, 332
Jones, Billy, 86, 165, 173, 183, 203, 224,	linguistics
315	bilingualism without diglossia, 207
Jones, Spike, 263	codeswitching, 213, 215, 217
Joseph, Rabbi Jacob, 97, 169, 170, 302	triggering device, 213
Judaica Sound Archives, 44, 63	diglossia definition, 207
Kalish, Bertha, 42	discourse markers, 210, 213, 215, 217
Kamplain, Frank, 81	domains, 208, 209, 210, 212, 213, 226,
Kanin, Garson, 163	315
Kantrowitz, Nathan, 169, 315	immigrant language deterioration, 207,
Kapp, Jack, 160	208
Karp, Abe and Gussie, 219	leaky diglossia, 207
Katz, Mickey, 263, 265, 267, 273, 274, 315,	registers, 209, 210, 212
318, 334	Liptzin, Keni, 42
Kaufman Brothers, 80	Lithuanians, 150
Kaufman, Irving, 85, 86, 96, 315	Little Italy, 7, 38, 40, 45, 48, 50, 51, 54, 66, 225, 226

Litvin, Sarah, 187, 317 Muench, Emil, 131 Lord, Michael, 163, 331 Murray, Billy, 72, 77, 84, 85, 87, 92, 93, Lowenworth, Sam, 200 94, 96, 108, 153, 156, 162, 168, 169, 172, Lower East Side, 48, 49, 50, 51, 97, 168 174, 184, 187, 313, 319 **Mack. 86** traversing ethnic boundaries Mackler, David, 223, 317 composers and performers, 156 Maloof, Alexander, 110, 175, 317, 331 Mvers, John W., 85 Marco, Angelina, 154, 185, 317 Myers-Scotton, Carol, 319 Marks, Charles, 205 Nadel, Stanley, 169, 319 Marsili, Alessandro, 136, 154, 181, 185, Nahshon, Edna, 61, 62, 319 National Geographic Society, 253, 257, Martin, Dave, 76, 247, 260, 317 319 Martin, Dean, 262, 267 **National Theatre** Marvin, Carolyn, 254 Roumanian Opera House, 40 Native Americans, 75, 85, 91, 92, 93, 151, Matras, Yaron, 213, 227, 317 May, Lary, 19, 317 153, 156, 168, 262, 263, 290, 291, 294, McCarthy, Joe, 147 295, 299, 300, 301 McCormack, John, 90, 120, 166, 167, 177, New York Theatre, 40 largest in the United States when opened, McHugh, Jimmy, 154 40 Meeker, Edward, 76, 81, 82, 187, 317 Nitel Nacht, 186, 320 Memmi, Albert, 231, 253, 317 Nofrio, 46, 64, 129, 130, 136, 137, 138, Dominated Man 139, 140, 144, 147, 179, 181, 182, 198, negrity, 231 200, 218, 223, 302, 303, 308, 330, 331 Mencken, H. L., 81, 164, 165, 225, 317 Norwegians, 132, 133, 140, 141, 182, 199, Mesthrie, Rajend, 209, 226, 315 223, 264, 266, 290, 320, 332 Mexicans, 105 Novelty songs, 273, 320 Michels, Tony, 42, 62, 185, 318 definition, 273 Migliaccio, Eduardo, 45, 46, 64, 129, 150, Ochrymowicz, Wladyslaw, 150 203, 205, 224, 316, 318 O'Connell, M. J., 81 Milano, Giuseppe, 45, 154, 175, 318, 331 O'Doherty, Seamus, 132 Milken Archive, 43, 63, 325 Okeh records, 15, 16, 71, 107, 113, 118, Miller, 86 119, 130, 137, 139, 142, 144, 154, 175, 176, 181, 182, 183, 185, 204, 219, 224, Miller, Ruth, 219 Miller, Tom, 61, 171, 318 303, 307, 308, 311, 324, 327 Mills, Irving, 154 old time scandinavian-american comedy, Mlotek, Eleanor Gordon, 175, 318 264, 273, 274, 325 Moke, Bernadette, 62, 318 Oldielyrics, 167 Monaco, Jimmy, 147 Olshanetsky, Alexander, 121, 177, 320 Monte, Lou, 262, 264, 266, 267, 268, 270, Olson, Eleonora, 180, 309, 319, 320 272, 274, 313, 318, 331 Olson, Ethel, 132, 133, 140, 180, 182, 199, 223, 309, 320, 332 Morton, Edward, 77 Moskowitz, Abraham, 177, 318 O'Nolan, Shaun, 132, 141, 151, 182, 320 Motown Records, 5 Paone, Nicola, 262, 265, 269, 275, 321 **Mountain Songs** Parker, Fess, 267 country, 16 parody, 8, 263, 267, 268, 269 Vernon Dalhart Partipilos Mandolin Orchestra, 146, 183, "The Prisoner's Song", 16 321 Partridge, Eric, 223, 321 Mt. Carmel High School Immigration Paskel, Simon, 36, 37, 43, 219 **Songs**, 173 Paul Revere and the Raiders, 271 Mudcat Café, 177, 323

57, 287, 309, 320, 323 Peerless Quartet, 158, 188, 321 Peerless Quartettee, 82, 173 Peiss, Kathy, 19, 321 penny arcades, 11 people returning to old country, 10 Balkan, 10 Croatians, 10 Hungarians, 10 Italians, 10 Slovenes, 10 Perdicopoulos, Demetrios, 144 Perfect records, 154, 185, 308 Peridicopoulos, Demetrios, 183 Peter, Paul and Mary, 271 Peterson, Anne, 334 phonautograph, 10 phonograph, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 56, 61, 66, 129, 160, 162, 187, 208, 210, 229, 230, 231, 250, 252, 253, 305, 309, 313, 316, 322 musical instrument, 25 phonograph popularity on the Lower East Side in 1904, 14 piece of furniture, 25 the recording principle, 13 workers' wages of circa 1910, 12 phonograph and record outlets Adria Phonograph, 36 Perlman and Rosansky, 34 Saul Birms, 35, 38, 39, 51, See Birms, Saul Siegel Cooper, 30, 34, 35 Supreme Music, 36 The Greater New York Phonograph, 49 The Sorinola Factory, 51 Theodore Lohr, 49 Weser Brothers, 49, 50 Zaks, 34, 49 phonograph parlors, 10 phonograph swindlers, 35 Birms, Saul Sirgel Cooper, 30, 34, 35 Kalprime Music, 36 Kalman, Joseph, 36 Mayers, Joseph H., 36 piano, 25, 28, 30, 34, 36, 38, 39, 146, 147, 180 pianola, 30 Picon, Molly, 43 Piree-Iliou, Nefeli Elini, 126, 178, 227, 332 Plena, Los Reyes de la, 149 Prodersk, Malter, 177, 321 Poles, 5, 9, 33, 86, 116, 120, 124, 125, 150, 178, 196, 197, 204, 290 Poplik, Barry, 62, 321 Porter, Steve, 76, 85, 90, 94, 102, 152, 167, 168, 172, 173, 245, 246, 259, 321, 322 Premier Quartet, 92, 167,	Paul, George F., 6, 12, 18, 20, 23, 26, 56,	New York Band Instrument, 51, 54
Peerless Quartette, 82, 173 Peiss, Kathy, 19, 321 penny arcades, 11 people returning to old country, 10 Balkan, 10 Croatians, 10 Hungarians, 10 Italians, 10 Slovenes, 10 Perdicopoulos, Demetrios, 144 Perfect records, 154, 185, 308 Peridicopoulos, Demetrios, 183 Peter, Paul and Mary, 271 Peterson, Anne, 334 phonautograph, 10 phonograph, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 56, 61, 66, 129, 160, 162, 187, 208, 210, 229, 230, 231, 250, 252, 253, 305, 309, 313, 316, 322 musical instrument, 25 phonograph popularity on the Lower East Side in 1904, 14 piece of furniture, 25 the recording principle, 13 workers' wages of circa 1910, 12 phonograph and record outlets Adria Phonograph, 36 Atlantic Talking Machine, 35 Baim Brothers & Friedberg, 50 Caruso Phonograph, 50 Frederick Loeser, 31 Gimbels, 30 Goetz & Co, 36 Goldberg, 36 Greenhut's, 39 Harold Bersin Piano, 39	57, 287, 309, 320, 323	O. Hacker, 29
Perlman and Rosansky, 34 penny arcades, 11 penple returning to old country, 10 Balkan, 10 Croatians, 10 Hungarians, 10 Italians, 10 Slovenes, 10 Perdicopoulos, Demetrios, 144 Perfect records, 154, 185, 308 Peridicopoulos, Demetrios, 183 Peterson, Anne, 334 phonautograph, 10 phonograph, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 56, 61, 66, 129, 160, 162, 187, 208, 210, 229, 230, 231, 250, 252, 253, 305, 309, 313, 316, 322 musical instrument, 25 phonograph popularity on the Lower East Side in 1904, 14 piece of furniture, 25 the recording principle, 13 workers' wages of circa 1910, 12 phonograph and record outlets Adria Phonograph, 36 Atlantic Talking Machine, 35 Baim Brothers, 49 Baim Brothers, 49 Baim Brothers & Friedberg, 50 Caruso Phonograph, 38 Davega, 29, 51, 66 European Phonograph, 50 Frederick Loeser, 31 Gimbels, 30 Goetz & Co, 36 Goldberg, 36 Greenhut's, 39 Harold Bersin Piano, 39	_ , , , ,	
penny arcades, 11 people returning to old country, 10 Balkan, 10 Croatians, 10 Hungarians, 10 Italians, 10 Slovenes, 10 Perdicopoulos, Demetrios, 144 Perfect records, 154, 185, 308 Petici, Paul and Mary, 271 Peterson, Anne, 334 phonautograph, 10 phonograph, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 56, 61, 66, 129, 160, 162, 187, 208, 210, 229, 230, 231, 250, 252, 253, 305, 309, 313, 316, 322 musical instrument, 25 phonograph popularity on the Lower East Side in 1904, 14 piece of furniture, 25 the recording principle, 13 workers' wages of circa 1910, 12 phonograph and record outlets Adria Phonograph, 36 Atlantic Talking Machine, 35 Baim Brothers & Friedberg, 50 Caruso Phonograph, 38 Davega, 29, 51, 66 European Phonograph, 50 Frederick Loeser, 31 Gimbels, 30 Goetz & Co, 36 Goldberg, 36 Goreenhut's, 39 Harold Bersin Piano, 39 Saul Birns, 35, 38, 39, 51, 8ee Birns, Saul Siegel Cooper, 30, 34, 35 Supreme Music, 36 The Greater New York Phonograph, 49 The Sorinola Factory, 51 Theodore Lohr, 49 Weser Brothers, 49, 50 Zaks, 34, 49 Phonograph parlors, 10 phonograph swindlers, 35 Birns, Saul Siegel Cooper, 30, 34, 35 Supreme Music, 36 The Greater New York Phonograph, 49 The Sorinola Factory, 51 Theodore Lohr, 49 Weser Brothers, 49, 50 Zaks, 34, 49 Phonograph parlors, 10 phonograph swindlers, 35 Birns, Saul Siegel Cooper, 30, 34, 35 Supreme Music, 36 The Greater New York Phonograph, 49 The Sorinola Factory, 51 Theodore Lohr, 49 Weser Brothes, 49, 50 Zaks, 34, 49 Phonograph parlors, 10 phonograph swindlers, 35 Birns, Saul 3iegel Cooper, 50 Zaks, 34, 49 Phonograph swindlers, 35 Birns, Saul 3iegel Cooper, 50 Zaks, 34, 49 Phonograph windlers, 35 Birns, Saul 3iegel Cooper, 50 Zaks, 34, 49 Phonograph swindlers, 35 Birns, Saul 3iegel Cooper, 60 The Sorinola Factory, 51 Theodore Lohr, 49 Weser Brother, 49 Weser Brothers, 49, 50 Zaks, 34, 49 Phonograph swindlers, 35 Birns, Saul 3iegel Cooper, 60 The Sorinola Factory, 51 Theodore Lohr, 49	Peerless Quartette, 82, 173	~ <u>~</u>
people returning to old country, 10 Balkan, 10 Croatians, 10 Hungarians, 10 Italians, 10 Slovenes, 10 Perdicopoulos, Demetrios, 144 Perfect records, 154, 185, 308 Peridicopoulos, Demetrios, 183 Peter, Paul and Mary, 271 Peterson, Anne, 334 phonautograph, 10 phonograph, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 56, 61, 66, 129, 160, 162, 187, 208, 210, 229, 230, 231, 250, 252, 253, 305, 309, 313, 316, 322 musical instrument, 25 phonograph popularity on the Lower East Side in 1904, 14 piece of furniture, 25 the recording principle, 13 workers' wages of circa 1910, 12 phonograph and record outlets Adria Phonograph, 36 Atlantic Talking Machine, 35 Baim Brothers, 49 Brothistin, 12, 13, 14, 180 Binable, 30 Brothistin, 12, 13, 14, 180 Binable, 30 Brothistin, 12, 13, 14, 180 Binnola, 30 Polak, Walter, 177, 321 Poles, 5, 9, 33, 38, 116, 120, 124, 125, 150, 178, 190, 197, 204, 290 Popilk, Barry, 62, 321 Porter, Steve, 76, 85, 90, 94, 102, 152, 167, 168, 172, 173, 245, 246, 259, 321, 322 Premier Quartet, 92, 167, 322 Premier Quartet, 92, 167, 322 P	Peiss, Kathy, 19, 321	•
Balkan, 10 Croatians, 10 Hungarians, 10 Italians, 10 Slovenes, 10 Perdicopoulos, Demetrios, 144 Perfect records, 154, 185, 308 Peridicopoulos, Demetrios, 183 Peterson, Anne, 334 phonautograph, 10 phonograph, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 56, 61, 66, 129, 160, 162, 187, 208, 210, 229, 230, 231, 250, 252, 253, 305, 309, 313, 316, 322 musical instrument, 25 phonograph popularity on the Lower East Side in 1904, 14 piece of furniture, 25 the recording principle, 13 workers' wages of circa 1910, 12 phonograph and record outlets Adria Phonograph, 36 Atlantic Talking Machine, 35 Baim Brothers, 49 Baim Brothers, 49 Baim Brothers & Friedberg, 50 Caruso Phonograph, 38 Davega, 29, 51, 66 European Phonograph, 50 Frederick Loeser, 31 Gimbels, 30 Goetz & Co, 36 Goldberg, 36 Goreenhut's, 39 Harold Bersin Piano, 39	penny arcades, 11	Saul Birns, 35, 38, 39, 51, See Birns, Saul
Croatians, 10 Hungarians, 10 Italians, 10 Slovenes, 10 Perdicopoulos, Demetrios, 144 Perfect records, 154, 185, 308 Peter, Paul and Mary, 271 Peterson, Anne, 334 phonautograph, 10 phonograph, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 56, 61, 66, 129, 160, 162, 187, 208, 210, 229, 230, 231, 250, 252, 253, 305, 309, 313, 316, 322 musical instrument, 25 phonograph popularity on the Lower East Side in 1904, 14 piece of furniture, 25 the recording principle, 13 workers' wages of circa 1910, 12 phonograph and record outlets Adria Phonograph, 36 Adlantic Talking Machine, 35 Baim Brothers & Friedberg, 50 Caruso Phonograph, 38 Davega, 29, 51, 66 European Phonograph, 50 Frederick Loeser, 31 Gimbels, 30 Goetz & Co, 36 Goldberg, 36 Goldberg, 36 Goreenhut's, 39 Harold Bersin Piano, 39	people returning to old country, 10	-
Hungarians, 10 Italians, 10 Slovenes, 10 Perdicopoulos, Demetrios, 144 Perfect records, 154, 185, 308 Peridicopoulos, Demetrios, 183 Peter, Paul and Mary, 271 Peterson, Anne, 334 phonautograph, 10 phonograph, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 56, 61, 66, 129, 160, 162, 187, 208, 210, 229, 230, 231, 250, 252, 253, 305, 309, 313, 316, 322 musical instrument, 25 phonograph popularity on the Lower East Side in 1904, 14 piece of furniture, 25 the recording principle, 13 workers' wages of circa 1910, 12 phonograph and record outlets Adria Phonograph, 36 Atlantic Talking Machine, 35 Baim Brothers, 49 Baim Brothers & Friedberg, 50 Caruso Phonograph, 38 Davega, 29, 51, 66 European Phonograph, 50 Frederick Loeser, 31 Gimbels, 30 Goetz & Co, 36 Goldberg, 36 Goreenhut's, 39 Harold Bersin Piano, 39 The Sorinola Factory, 51 Theodore Lohr, 49 Weser Brothers, 49, 50 Zaks, 34, 49 phonograph parlors, 10 phonograph swindlers, 35 Birns, Saul, 36 Mayers, Joseph H., 36 piano, 25, 28, 30, 34, 36, 38, 39, 146, 147, 180 pianola, 30 Picon, Molly, 43 Piree-Iliou, Nefeli Elini, 126, 178, 227, 332 Plena, Los Reyes de la, 149 Podgorski, Ignacy, 176, 321, 333 Polak, Walter, 177, 321 Poles, 5, 9, 33, 86, 116, 120, 124, 125, 150, 178, 196, 197, 204, 290 Popils, Barry, 62, 321 Porter, Steve, 76, 85, 90, 94, 102, 152, 167, 168, 172, 173, 245, 246, 259, 321, 322 Premier Quarette, 92, 167, 322 Primeggia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262, 272, 303, 322 Prisoner's Song, 16 ProCite database, 17, 18, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 135, 136, 142, 144, 149, 150, 151, 154, 156, 204, 205, 207, 230, 232, 234, 242, 243, 247, 248 Prohibition, 149, 150, 212		•
Italians, 10 Slovenes, 10 Perdicopoulos, Demetrios, 144 Perfect records, 154, 185, 308 Peridicopoulos, Demetrios, 183 Peter, Paul and Mary, 271 Peterson, Anne, 334 phonautograph, 10 phonograph, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 56, 61, 66, 129, 160, 162, 187, 208, 210, 229, 230, 231, 250, 252, 253, 305, 309, 313, 316, 322 musical instrument, 25 phonograph popularity on the Lower East Side in 1904, 14 piece of furniture, 25 the recording principle, 13 workers' wages of circa 1910, 12 phonograph and record outlets Adria Phonograph, 36 Atlantic Talking Machine, 35 Baim Brothers, 49 Baim Brothers & Friedberg, 50 Caruso Phonograph, 38 Davega, 29, 51, 66 European Phonograph, 50 Frederick Loeser, 31 Gimbels, 30 Gotz & Co, 36 Goldberg, 36 Goreenhut's, 39 Harold Bersin Piano, 39		
Slovenes, 10 Perdicopoulos, Demetrios, 144 Perfect records, 154, 185, 308 Peteridicopoulos, Demetrios, 183 Peter, Paul and Mary, 271 Peterson, Anne, 334 phonautograph, 10 phonograph, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 56, 61, 66, 129, 160, 162, 187, 208, 210, 229, 230, 231, 250, 252, 253, 305, 309, 313, 316, 322 musical instrument, 25 phonograph popularity on the Lower East Side in 1904, 14 piece of furniture, 25 the recording principle, 13 workers' wages of circa 1910, 12 phonograph and record outlets Adria Phonograph, 36 Atlantic Talking Machine, 35 Baim Brothers, 49 Baim Brothers & Friedberg, 50 Caruso Phonograph, 38 Davega, 29, 51, 66 European Phonograph, 50 Frederick Loeser, 31 Gimbels, 30 Goetz & Co, 36 Goldberg, 36 Goreenhut's, 39 Harold Bersin Piano, 39 Weser Brothers, 49, 50 Zaks, 34, 49 phonograph parlors, 10 phonograph swindlers, 35 Birns, Saul, 36 Kalman, Joseph, 36 Mayers, Joseph H., 36 piano, 25, 28, 30, 34, 36, 38, 39, 146, 147, 180 pianola, 30 Picon, Molly, 43 Piree-Iliou, Nefeli Elini, 126, 178, 227, 332 Plena, Lose Reyes de la, 149 Podgorski, Ignacy, 176, 321, 333 Polak, Walter, 177, 321 Poles, 5, 9, 33, 86, 116, 120, 124, 125, 150, 178, 196, 197, 204, 290 Popik, Barry, 62, 321 Porter, Steve, 76, 85, 90, 94, 102, 152, 167, 168, 172, 173, 245, 246, 259, 321, 322 Portuguese, 9, 104, 173, 303 Poulos, Achilleas, 177, 178, 322 Premier Quartet, 92, 167, 322 Premier Quartet, 92, 167, 322 Primeggia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262, 272, 303, 322 Primeggia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262, 272, 303, 322 Primeggia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262, 272, 303, 322 Primeggia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262, 272, 303, 322 Primeggia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262, 272, 303, 322 Primeggia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262, 272, 303, 322 Primeggia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262, 272, 303, 322 Primeggia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262, 272, 303, 322 Primeggia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262, 272, 303, 322 Promicial intervation of the seric pl	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	•
Perdicopoulos, Demetrios, 144 Perfect records, 154, 185, 308 Peridicopoulos, Demetrios, 183 Peter, Paul and Mary, 271 Peterson, Anne, 334 phonautograph, 10 phonograph, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 56, 61, 66, 129, 160, 162, 187, 208, 210, 229, 230, 231, 250, 252, 253, 305, 309, 313, 316, 322 musical instrument, 25 phonograph popularity on the Lower East Side in 1904, 14 piece of furniture, 25 the recording principle, 13 workers' wages of circa 1910, 12 phonograph and record outlets Adria Phonograph, 36 Atlantic Talking Machine, 35 Baim Brothers & Friedberg, 50 Caruso Phonograph, 38 Davega, 29, 51, 66 European Phonograph, 50 Frederick Loeser, 31 Gimbels, 30 Goetz & Co, 36 Goldberg, 36 Gorreenhut's, 39 Harold Bersin Piano, 39		
Perfect records, 154, 185, 308 Peridicopoulos, Demetrios, 183 Peter, Paul and Mary, 271 Peterson, Anne, 334 phonautograph, 10 phonograph, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 56, 61, 66, 129, 160, 162, 187, 208, 210, 229, 230, 231, 250, 252, 253, 305, 309, 313, 316, 322 musical instrument, 25 phonograph popularity on the Lower East Side in 1904, 14 piece of furniture, 25 the recording principle, 13 workers' wages of circa 1910, 12 phonograph and record outlets Adria Phonograph, 36 Atlantic Talking Machine, 35 Baim Brothers, 49 Baim Brothers & Friedberg, 50 Caruso Phonograph, 38 Davega, 29, 51, 66 European Phonograph, 50 Frederick Loeser, 31 Gimbels, 30 Goetz & Co, 36 Goldberg, 36 Greenhut's, 39 Harold Bersin Piano, 39		
Petridicopoulos, Demetrios, 183 Peter, Paul and Mary, 271 Peterson, Anne, 334 phonautograph, 10 phonograph, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 56, 61, 66, 129, 160, 162, 187, 208, 210, 229, 230, 231, 250, 252, 253, 305, 309, 313, 316, 322 musical instrument, 25 phonograph popularity on the Lower East Side in 1904, 14 piece of furniture, 25 the recording principle, 13 workers' wages of circa 1910, 12 phonograph and record outlets Adria Phonograph, 36 Atlantic Talking Machine, 35 Baim Brothers, 49 Baim Brothers & Friedberg, 50 Caruso Phonograph, 38 Davega, 29, 51, 66 European Phonograph, 50 Frederick Loeser, 31 Gimbels, 30 Goetz & Co, 36 Goldberg, 36 Goldberg, 36 Goreenhut's, 39 Harold Bersin Piano, 39		
Peter, Paul and Mary, 271 Peterson, Anne, 334 phonautograph, 10 phonograph, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 56, 61, 66, 129, 160, 162, 187, 208, 210, 229, 230, 231, 250, 252, 253, 305, 309, 313, 316, 322 musical instrument, 25 phonograph popularity on the Lower East Side in 1904, 14 piece of furniture, 25 the recording principle, 13 workers' wages of circa 1910, 12 phonograph and record outlets Adria Phonograph, 36 Atlantic Talking Machine, 35 Baim Brothers, 49 Baim Brothers, 49 Baim Brothers & Friedberg, 50 Caruso Phonograph, 38 Davega, 29, 51, 66 European Phonograph, 50 Frederick Loeser, 31 Gimbels, 30 Goetz & Co, 36 Goldberg, 36 Greenhut's, 39 Harold Bersin Piano, 39		
Peterson, Anne, 334 phonautograph, 10 phonograph, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 56, 61, 66, 129, 160, 162, 187, 208, 210, 229, 230, 231, 250, 252, 253, 305, 309, 313, 316, 322 musical instrument, 25 phonograph popularity on the Lower East Side in 1904, 14 piece of furniture, 25 the recording principle, 13 workers' wages of circa 1910, 12 phonograph and record outlets Adria Phonograph, 36 Atlantic Talking Machine, 35 Baim Brothers, 49 Baim Brothers & Friedberg, 50 Caruso Phonograph, 38 Davega, 29, 51, 66 European Phonograph, 50 Frederick Loeser, 31 Gimbels, 30 Goetz & Co, 36 Goldberg, 36 Greenhut's, 39 Harold Bersin Piano, 39 Kalman, Joseph, 36 Mayers, Joseph H., 36 piano, 25, 28, 30, 34, 36, 38, 39, 146, 147, 180 piano, 25, 28, 30, 34, 36, 38, 39, 146, 147, 180 pianola, 30 Picon, Molly, 43 Piene-Iliou, Nefeli Elini, 126, 178, 227, 332 Plena, Los Reyes de la, 149 Podgorski, Ignacy, 176, 321, 333 Polak, Walter, 177, 321 Poles, 5, 9, 33, 86, 116, 120, 124, 125, 150, 178, 196, 197, 204, 290 Popik, Barry, 62, 321 Porter, Steve, 76, 85, 90, 94, 102, 152, 167, 168, 172, 173, 245, 246, 259, 321, 322 Premier Quartet, 92, 167, 322 Premier Quartet, 92, 167, 322 Premier Quartet, 92, 167, 322 Premiergia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262, 272, 303, 322 Primeggia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262, 272, 303, 322 Primeggia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262, 272, 303, 322 Primeggia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262, 272, 303, 322 Primeggia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262, 272, 303, 322 Primeggia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262, 272, 303, 322 Primeggia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262, 272, 303, 322 Primeggia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262, 272, 303, 322 Primeggia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262, 272, 303, 322 Primeggia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262, 272, 303, 322 Primeggia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262, 272, 303, 322 Primeggia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262, 272, 303, 322 Primeggia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262, 272, 303, 322 Primeggia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262		
phonautograph, 10 phonograph, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 56, 61, 66, 129, 160, 162, 187, 208, 210, 229, 230, 231, 250, 252, 253, 305, 309, 313, 316, 322 musical instrument, 25 phonograph popularity on the Lower East Side in 1904, 14 piece of furniture, 25 the recording principle, 13 workers' wages of circa 1910, 12 phonograph and record outlets Adria Phonograph, 36 Atlantic Talking Machine, 35 Baim Brothers, 49 Baim Brothers & Friedberg, 50 Caruso Phonograph, 38 Davega, 29, 51, 66 European Phonograph, 50 Frederick Loeser, 31 Gimbels, 30 Goetz & Co, 36 Goldberg, 36 Greenhut's, 39 Harold Bersin Piano, 39 Mayers, Joseph H., 36 piano, 25, 28, 30, 34, 36, 38, 39, 146, 147, 180 pianola, 30 pianola, 30 Picon, Molly, 43 Picon, M		
phonograph, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 56, 61, 66, 129, 160, 162, 187, 208, 210, 229, 230, 231, 250, 252, 253, 305, 309, 313, 316, 322		*
15, 17, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 56, 61, 66, 129, 160, 162, 187, 208, 210, 229, 230, 231, 250, 252, 253, 305, 309, 313, 316, 322 musical instrument, 25 phonograph popularity on the Lower East Side in 1904, 14 piece of furniture, 25 the recording principle, 13 workers' wages of circa 1910, 12 phonograph and record outlets Adria Phonograph, 36 Atlantic Talking Machine, 35 Baim Brothers, 49 Baim Brothers & Friedberg, 50 Caruso Phonograph, 38 Davega, 29, 51, 66 European Phonograph, 50 Frederick Loeser, 31 Goetz & Co, 36 Goldberg, 36 Greenhut's, 39 Harold Bersin Piano, 39	<u> </u>	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 56, 61, 66, 129, 160, 162, 187, 208, 210, 229, 230, 231, 250, 252, 253, 305, 309, 313, 316, 322 musical instrument, 25 phonograph popularity on the Lower East Side in 1904, 14 piece of furniture, 25 the recording principle, 13 workers' wages of circa 1910, 12 phonograph and record outlets Adria Phonograph, 36 Atlantic Talking Machine, 35 Baim Brothers, 49 Baim Brothers & Friedberg, 50 Caruso Phonograph, 38 Davega, 29, 51, 66 European Phonograph, 50 Frederick Loeser, 31 Gimbels, 30 Goetz & Co, 36 Goldberg, 36 Greenhut's, 39 Harold Bersin Piano, 39		
50, 53, 54, 56, 61, 66, 129, 160, 162, 187, 208, 210, 229, 230, 231, 250, 252, 253, 305, 309, 313, 316, 322 musical instrument, 25 phonograph popularity on the Lower East Side in 1904, 14 piece of furniture, 25 the recording principle, 13 workers' wages of circa 1910, 12 phonograph and record outlets Adria Phonograph, 36 Atlantic Talking Machine, 35 Baim Brothers, 49 Baim Brothers & Friedberg, 50 Caruso Phonograph, 38 Davega, 29, 51, 66 European Phonograph, 50 Frederick Loeser, 31 Gimbels, 30 Goetz & Co, 36 Goldberg, 36 Greenhut's, 39 Harold Bersin Piano, 39		
208, 210, 229, 230, 231, 250, 252, 253, 305, 309, 313, 316, 322 musical instrument, 25 phonograph popularity on the Lower East Side in 1904, 14 piece of furniture, 25 the recording principle, 13 workers' wages of circa 1910, 12 phonograph and record outlets Adria Phonograph, 36 Atlantic Talking Machine, 35 Baim Brothers, 49 Baim Brothers & Friedberg, 50 Caruso Phonograph, 38 Davega, 29, 51, 66 European Phonograph, 50 Frederick Loeser, 31 Gimbels, 30 Goetz & Co, 36 Goldberg, 36 Greenhut's, 39 Harold Bersin Piano, 39		- · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
305, 309, 313, 316, 322 musical instrument, 25 phonograph popularity on the Lower East Side in 1904, 14 piece of furniture, 25 the recording principle, 13 workers' wages of circa 1910, 12 Phonograph and record outlets Adria Phonograph, 36 Atlantic Talking Machine, 35 Baim Brothers, 49 Baim Brothers & Friedberg, 50 Caruso Phonograph, 38 Davega, 29, 51, 66 European Phonograph, 50 Frederick Loeser, 31 Gimbels, 30 Goetz & Co, 36 Goldberg, 36 Greenhut's, 39 Harold Bersin Piano, 39 Plena, Los Reyes de la, 149 Podgorski, Ignacy, 176, 321, 333 Polayla, 177, 321 Poles, 5, 9, 33, 86, 116, 120, 124, 125, 150, 178, 196, 197, 204, 290 Popik, Barry, 62, 321 Porter, Steve, 76, 85, 90, 94, 102, 152, 167, 168, 172, 173, 245, 246, 259, 321, 322 Portuguese, 9, 104, 173, 303 Poulos, Achilleas, 177, 178, 322 Premier Quartet, 92, 167, 322 Premier Quartet, 92, 167, 322 Prima, Louis, 64, 179, 262, 265, 302 Primeggia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262, 272, 303, 322 Prisoner's Song, 16 ProCite database, 17, 18, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 135, 136, 142, 144, 149, 150, 151, 154, 156, 204, 205, 207, 230, 232, 234, 242, 243, 247, 248 Prohibition, 149, 150, 212		
musical instrument, 25 phonograph popularity on the Lower East Side in 1904, 14 piece of furniture, 25 the recording principle, 13 workers' wages of circa 1910, 12 Poles, 5, 9, 33, 86, 116, 120, 124, 125, 150, 178, 196, 197, 204, 290 Popik, Barry, 62, 321 Porter, Steve, 76, 85, 90, 94, 102, 152, 167, 168, 172, 173, 245, 246, 259, 321, 322 Portuguese, 9, 104, 173, 303 Pollos, Achilleas, 177, 178, 322 Premier Quartet, 92, 167, 322 Premier Quartet, 92, 167, 322 Presley, Elvis, 271 Prima, Louis, 64, 179, 262, 265, 302 Prederick Loeser, 31 Gimbels, 30 Goetz & Co, 36 Goldberg, 36 Greenhut's, 39 Harold Bersin Piano, 39 Podgorski, Ignacy, 176, 321, 333 Polak, Walter, 177, 321 Poles, 5, 9, 33, 86, 116, 120, 124, 125, 150, 178, 196, 197, 204, 290 Popik, Barry, 62, 321 Porter, Steve, 76, 85, 90, 94, 102, 152, 167, 168, 172, 173, 245, 246, 259, 321, 322 Premier Quartet, 92, 167, 322 Premier Quartet, 92, 167, 322 Prima, Louis, 64, 179, 262, 265, 302 Primeggia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262, 272, 303, 322 Prisoner's Song, 16 ProCite database, 17, 18, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 135, 136, 142, 144, 149, 150, 151, 154, 156, 204, 205, 207, 230, 232, 234, 242, 243, 247, 248 Prohibition, 149, 150, 212		
phonograph popularity on the Lower East Side in 1904, 14 piece of furniture, 25 the recording principle, 13 workers' wages of circa 1910, 12 phonograph and record outlets Adria Phonograph, 36 Atlantic Talking Machine, 35 Baim Brothers, 49 Baim Brothers & Friedberg, 50 Caruso Phonograph, 38 Davega, 29, 51, 66 European Phonograph, 50 Frederick Loeser, 31 Gimbels, 30 Goetz & Co, 36 Goldberg, 36 Greenhut's, 39 Harold Bersin Piano, 39 Polak, Walter, 177, 321 Poles, 5, 9, 33, 86, 116, 120, 124, 125, 150, 178, 196, 197, 204, 290 Popik, Barry, 62, 321 Porter, Steve, 76, 85, 90, 94, 102, 152, 167, 168, 172, 173, 245, 246, 259, 321, 322 Portuguese, 9, 104, 173, 303 Poulos, Achilleas, 177, 178, 322 Premier Quartet, 92, 167, 322 Presley, Elvis, 271 Prima, Louis, 64, 179, 262, 265, 302 Primeggia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262, 272, 303, 322 Prisoner's Song, 16 ProCite database, 17, 18, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 135, 136, 142, 144, 149, 150, 151, 154, 156, 204, 205, 207, 230, 232, 234, 242, 243, 247, 248 Prohibition, 149, 150, 212		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
Side in 1904, 14 piece of furniture, 25 the recording principle, 13 workers' wages of circa 1910, 12 phonograph and record outlets Adria Phonograph, 36 Atlantic Talking Machine, 35 Baim Brothers, 49 Baim Brothers & Friedberg, 50 Caruso Phonograph, 38 Davega, 29, 51, 66 European Phonograph, 50 Frederick Loeser, 31 Gimbels, 30 Goetz & Co, 36 Goldberg, 36 Greenhut's, 39 Harold Bersin Piano, 39 Poles, 5, 9, 33, 86, 116, 120, 124, 125, 150, 178, 196, 197, 204, 290 Popik, Barry, 62, 321 Porter, Steve, 76, 85, 90, 94, 102, 152, 167, 168, 172, 173, 245, 246, 259, 321, 322 Portuguese, 9, 104, 173, 303 Poulos, Achilleas, 177, 178, 322 Premier Quartet, 92, 167, 322 Premier Quartet, 92, 167, 322 Prima, Louis, 64, 179, 262, 265, 302 Primeggia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262, 272, 303, 322 Prisoner's Song, 16 ProCite database, 17, 18, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 135, 136, 142, 144, 149, 150, 151, 154, 156, 204, 205, 207, 230, 232, 234, 242, 243, 247, 248 Prohibition, 149, 150, 212		
piece of furniture, 25 the recording principle, 13 workers' wages of circa 1910, 12 Popik, Barry, 62, 321 Porter, Steve, 76, 85, 90, 94, 102, 152, 167, phonograph and record outlets Adria Phonograph, 36 Atlantic Talking Machine, 35 Baim Brothers, 49 Baim Brothers & Friedberg, 50 Caruso Phonograph, 38 Davega, 29, 51, 66 European Phonograph, 50 Frederick Loeser, 31 Gimbels, 30 Goetz & Co, 36 Goldberg, 36 Greenhut's, 39 Harold Bersin Piano, 39 Popik, Barry, 62, 321 Popik, Barry, 62, 321 Porter, Steve, 76, 85, 90, 94, 102, 152, 167, 167, 168, 172, 173, 245, 246, 259, 321, 322 Portuguese, 9, 104, 173, 303 Poulos, Achilleas, 177, 178, 322 Premier Quartet, 92, 167, 322 Presley, Elvis, 271 Prima, Louis, 64, 179, 262, 265, 302 Primeggia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262, 272, 303, 322 Prisoner's Song, 16 ProCite database, 17, 18, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 135, 136, 142, 144, 149, 150, 151, 154, 156, 204, 205, 207, 230, 232, 234, 242, 243, 247, 248 Prohibition, 149, 150, 212		
the recording principle, 13 workers' wages of circa 1910, 12 phonograph and record outlets Adria Phonograph, 36 Atlantic Talking Machine, 35 Baim Brothers, 49 Baim Brothers & Friedberg, 50 Caruso Phonograph, 38 Davega, 29, 51, 66 European Phonograph, 50 Frederick Loeser, 31 Gimbels, 30 Goetz & Co, 36 Goldberg, 36 Greenhut's, 39 Harold Bersin Piano, 39 Popik, Barry, 62, 321 Porter, Steve, 76, 85, 90, 94, 102, 152, 167, 168, 172, 173, 245, 246, 259, 321, 322 Portuguese, 9, 104, 173, 303 Poulos, Achilleas, 177, 178, 322 Premier Quartet, 92, 167, 322 Presley, Elvis, 271 Prima, Louis, 64, 179, 262, 265, 302 Primeggia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262, 272, 303, 322 Prisoner's Song, 16 ProCite database, 17, 18, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 135, 136, 142, 144, 149, 150, 151, 154, 156, 204, 205, 207, 230, 232, 234, 242, 243, 247, 248 Prohibition, 149, 150, 212		
workers' wages of circa 1910, 12 phonograph and record outlets Adria Phonograph, 36 Atlantic Talking Machine, 35 Baim Brothers, 49 Baim Brothers & Friedberg, 50 Caruso Phonograph, 38 Davega, 29, 51, 66 European Phonograph, 50 Frederick Loeser, 31 Gimbels, 30 Goldberg, 36 Goldberg, 36 Goldberg, 36 Greenhut's, 39 Harold Bersin Piano, 39 Porter, Steve, 76, 85, 90, 94, 102, 152, 167, 167, 168, 172, 173, 245, 246, 259, 321, 322 Portuguese, 9, 104, 173, 303 Poulos, Achilleas, 177, 178, 322 Premier Quartet, 92, 167, 322 Presley, Elvis, 271 Prima, Louis, 64, 179, 262, 265, 302 Primeggia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262, 272, 303, 322 Prisoner's Song, 16 ProCite database, 17, 18, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 135, 136, 142, 144, 149, 150, 151, 154, 156, 204, 205, 207, 230, 232, 234, 242, 243, 247, 248 Prohibition, 149, 150, 212	-	
phonograph and record outlets 168, 172, 173, 245, 246, 259, 321, 322 Adria Phonograph, 36 Portuguese, 9, 104, 173, 303 Atlantic Talking Machine, 35 Poulos, Achilleas, 177, 178, 322 Baim Brothers, 49 Premier Quartet, 92, 167, 322 Baim Brothers & Friedberg, 50 Presley, Elvis, 271 Caruso Phonograph, 38 Prima, Louis, 64, 179, 262, 265, 302 Davega, 29, 51, 66 Primeggia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262, European Phonograph, 50 272, 303, 322 Frederick Loeser, 31 Prisoner's Song, 16 Gimbels, 30 ProCite database, 17, 18, 129, 130, 131, Goetz & Co, 36 132, 133, 135, 136, 142, 144, 149, 150, Goldberg, 36 151, 154, 156, 204, 205, 207, 230, 232, Greenhut's, 39 234, 242, 243, 247, 248 Harold Bersin Piano, 39 Prohibition, 149, 150, 212	* * *	<u> </u>
Adria Phonograph, 36 Atlantic Talking Machine, 35 Baim Brothers, 49 Baim Brothers & Friedberg, 50 Caruso Phonograph, 38 Davega, 29, 51, 66 European Phonograph, 50 Frederick Loeser, 31 Gimbels, 30 Goetz & Co, 36 Goldberg, 36 Greenhut's, 39 Harold Bersin Piano, 39 Portuguese, 9, 104, 173, 303 Poulos, Achilleas, 177, 178, 322 Premier Quartet, 92, 167, 322 Premier, Quartet, 92, 167, 322 Premier, Quartet, 92, 167, 322 Premier, Quartet, 92, 167, 322 Presley, Elvis, 271 Prima, Louis, 64, 179, 262, 265, 302 Primeggia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262, 272, 303, 322 Prisoner's Song, 16 ProCite database, 17, 18, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 135, 136, 142, 144, 149, 150, 151, 154, 156, 204, 205, 207, 230, 232, 234, 242, 243, 247, 248 Prohibition, 149, 150, 212		
Atlantic Talking Machine, 35 Baim Brothers, 49 Premier Quartet, 92, 167, 322 Presley, Elvis, 271 Caruso Phonograph, 38 Davega, 29, 51, 66 European Phonograph, 50 Frederick Loeser, 31 Goetz & Co, 36 Goldberg, 36 Goldberg, 36 Greenhut's, 39 Harold Bersin Piano, 39 Premier Quartet, 92, 167, 322 Premier Quartet, 92, 167, 322 Presley, Elvis, 271 Prima, Louis, 64, 179, 262, 265, 302 Prima, Louis, 64, 179, 262, 265, 302 Primeggia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262, 272, 303, 322 Prisoner's Song, 16 ProCite database, 17, 18, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 135, 136, 142, 144, 149, 150, 151, 154, 156, 204, 205, 207, 230, 232, 234, 242, 243, 247, 248 Prohibition, 149, 150, 212	<u>.</u>	
Baim Brothers, 49 Baim Brothers & Friedberg, 50 Caruso Phonograph, 38 Davega, 29, 51, 66 European Phonograph, 50 Frederick Loeser, 31 Goetz & Co, 36 Goldberg, 36 Greenhut's, 39 Harold Bersin Piano, 39 Premier Quartet, 92, 167, 322 Presley, Elvis, 271 Prima, Louis, 64, 179, 262, 265, 302 Primeggia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262, 272, 303, 322 Prisoner's Song, 16 ProCite database, 17, 18, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 135, 136, 142, 144, 149, 150, 151, 154, 156, 204, 205, 207, 230, 232, 234, 242, 243, 247, 248 Prohibition, 149, 150, 212		
Baim Brothers & Friedberg, 50 Caruso Phonograph, 38 Davega, 29, 51, 66 European Phonograph, 50 Frederick Loeser, 31 Gimbels, 30 Goetz & Co, 36 Goldberg, 36 Goldberg, 36 Greenhut's, 39 Harold Bersin Piano, 39 Presley, Elvis, 271 Prima, Louis, 64, 179, 262, 265, 302 Primeggia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262, 272, 303, 322 Prisoner's Song, 16 ProCite database, 17, 18, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 135, 136, 142, 144, 149, 150, 234, 242, 243, 247, 248 Prohibition, 149, 150, 212		
Caruso Phonograph, 38 Davega, 29, 51, 66 European Phonograph, 50 Frederick Loeser, 31 Gimbels, 30 Goldberg, 36 Greenhut's, 39 Harold Bersin Piano, 39 Prima, Louis, 64, 179, 262, 265, 302 Primeggia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262, 272, 303, 322 Prisoner's Song, 16 ProCite database, 17, 18, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 135, 136, 142, 144, 149, 150, 234, 242, 243, 247, 248 Prohibition, 149, 150, 212		_ , , , ,
Davega, 29, 51, 66Primeggia, Salvatore, 63, 64, 261, 262,European Phonograph, 50272, 303, 322Frederick Loeser, 31Prisoner's Song, 16Gimbels, 30ProCite database, 17, 18, 129, 130, 131,Goetz & Co, 36132, 133, 135, 136, 142, 144, 149, 150,Goldberg, 36151, 154, 156, 204, 205, 207, 230, 232,Greenhut's, 39234, 242, 243, 247, 248Harold Bersin Piano, 39Prohibition, 149, 150, 212		
European Phonograph, 50 Frederick Loeser, 31 Gimbels, 30 Goetz & Co, 36 Goldberg, 36 Greenhut's, 39 Harold Bersin Piano, 39 272, 303, 322 Prisoner's Song, 16 ProCite database, 17, 18, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 135, 136, 142, 144, 149, 150, 151, 154, 156, 204, 205, 207, 230, 232, 234, 242, 243, 247, 248 Prohibition, 149, 150, 212		
Frederick Loeser, 31 Gimbels, 30 FroCite database, 17, 18, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 135, 136, 142, 144, 149, 150, 131, 154, 156, 204, 205, 207, 230, 232, 234, 242, 243, 247, 248 Harold Bersin Piano, 39 Prisoner's Song, 16 ProCite database, 17, 18, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 135, 136, 142, 144, 149, 150, 150, 150, 212		
Gimbels, 30 ProCite database, 17, 18, 129, 130, 131, Goetz & Co, 36 132, 133, 135, 136, 142, 144, 149, 150, Goldberg, 36 151, 154, 156, 204, 205, 207, 230, 232, Greenhut's, 39 234, 242, 243, 247, 248 Harold Bersin Piano, 39 Prohibition, 149, 150, 212		
Goetz & Co, 36 Goldberg, 36 Greenhut's, 39 Harold Bersin Piano, 39 132, 133, 135, 136, 142, 144, 149, 150, 151, 154, 156, 204, 205, 207, 230, 232, 234, 242, 243, 247, 248 Prohibition, 149, 150, 212		0,
Goldberg, 36 Greenhut's, 39 Harold Bersin Piano, 39 151, 154, 156, 204, 205, 207, 230, 232, 234, 242, 243, 247, 248 Prohibition, 149, 150, 212		
Greenhut's, 39 Harold Bersin Piano, 39 234, 242, 243, 247, 248 Prohibition, 149, 150, 212	•	
Harold Bersin Piano, 39 Prohibition, 149, 150, 212		
international Fhonograph, 50, 50 projection		, , , , ,
Italian American Decord 51 nevertal actions and defense machinism 125	3 1	- ·
Italian-American Record, 51 psychological defense mechanism, 135	·	
Jacot Music Box, 29 La Scala Di Milano, 51 Quinn, Dan W., 86, 92, 167, 322 quota laws, 229, 231	•	
La Scala Di Milano, 51 quota laws, 229, 231 Max Mandel, 50 race or people on manifests in 1903, 5		
Max Mandel, 50 race or people on manifests in 1903, 5 Metropolitan Phonograph, 35 race records, 16		<u>-</u> -
Neapolitan Talking Machine, 39 African Americans, 252		•

Radiex, 154	Rosenzweig, Roy, 19, 322
radio, 8, 10, 29, 38, 39, 229, 230, 240, 257,	Rotella, Mark, 262, 272, 323
263, 307	Roumanian Opera House, 40
Railton, Stephen, 322	Rubin, Rose, 131
Rainey, Ma, 16	Rumsey, Murray, 275, 313
Raley, Rita, 226	Russians, 31, 36, 43, 86, 290
Rapanaro, Michele, 129, 130	Ryan, John, 187, 323
Read, Oliver, 11, 19, 322	Saag, Kristjan, 12, 20, 323, 332
Rechtzeit, Seymour, 177, 322	Sadowska, Joanna, 223, 332
records	Sales, Abby, 177, 323
Amos 'n Andy, 240, 257, 307	Salnave, Theophile, 175, 323
ethnic recordings	Saltzberg, Sam, 270
repetitive character specific recordings	Samberg, Joel, 334
that question or criticize America,	Sandrow, Nahma, 44, 47, 61, 62, 63, 65,
128	323
first ethnic records for Edison and	Sanskrit, 209
Berliner machines, 14	Sante, Luc, 171, 323
mass-produced phonograph records, 14	Sartre, Jean-Paul, 230, 253
more ethnic records offered in the	role of Jews, 230
beginning of the 1920s than non-ethnic,	Satz, Ludwig, 42, 62, 145, 183, 200, 323
15, 27	Scandinavians, 8, 261, 264, 269
number of ethnic records produced	Schenck, Joe, 102, 172, 327
between 1900 and 1950, 15	Schiffrin, Deborah, 213, 214, 227, 323
popular American songs reworked into	Schwartz, Abe, 36, 37
immigrant experience, 203, 204, 205,	Schwartz, Jean, 103, 157
224, 327, 330	Schwartz, Maurice, 41, 43
price range, 11	Schwartz, William, 37, 176, 200, 323 Scots, 9, 290
recording electrically, 14	"new immigrants", 9
workers' wages of circa 1910, 12	"old immigrants", 8
Regal, 76	Seaman, Frank, 23
registers (linguistics), 209, 210, 212 Poimors, David M., 18, 10, 61, 300, 311	Sears Roebuck
Reimers, David M., 18, 19, 61, 309, 311 restaurants, 7, 15, 23, 40, 47, 48, 51, 53, 54	Silvertone Neutrodyne, 29
Café Monopole, 47, 54	Sears Roebuck Catalogues, 6, 27, 28, 29,
Café Ronca (today -Cafe Roma), 48	57, 58, 270, 324
Cafe Royal, 54, 65, 306, 310	Silvertone, 28
Caffe Cosmopolitan, 48	Second Avenue, 23, 25, 35, 38, 39, 40, 41
Ferrando's Music Hall, 48	47, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 62, 64, 321
Moscowitz and Lupowitz, 47, 54	Seiden, Frank, 226, 324
Teatro Pozzo, 48	Seigel, Amanda (Miryem-Khaye), 332
Villa Pensa Caffe Concerto, 48	Selden, George Baldwin, 241
Villa Vittorio, 48	sheet music, 73, 87, 115, 175, 177, 184,
Riggs, Quentin, 187	252, 316, 320
Rischin, Moses, 62, 97, 169, 170, 322	Shell, Niel, 107, 174, 324, 332
Rodgers, Jimmie, 16	Shepard, Richard F., 42, 48, 63, 65, 324
Roe, Ken, 62, 313	Sherman, Allan, 263
Rolling Stones, 271	Sherman, Mike, 335
Rose, Julian, 254, 322	Shilkret, Barbara, 107, 174, 324, 332
Rosenfeld, Lulu, 42	Shilkret, Nat, 107, 108, 332
Rosenfield, Rachel, 37	Sicilians, 46, 123, 129, 138
Rosenwaike, Ira, 19, 322	

Siegel Cooper Department Store, 30, 34,	Sutton, Allan, 162, 326
35	Swedes, 74, 104, 148, 184, 194, 202, 203,
Silberg, Irving, 176, 182, 222, 332	264, 290
Silver, Frank, 203	Swensen, Rigmor, 182, 223, 332
Silver, Monroe, 76, 150, 152, 153, 172,	Swift, William, 181
184, 203, 248, 260, 324	Taggart, Charles Ross, 85, 153, 238, 255,
Silverbush, Sam, 131, 142, 144, 175, 182,	326
219, 324, 332	Talbott, Brent, 332
Silverstein, Alex, 176, 218, 324	Tammany, 169, 319
Simon and Garfunkle, 271	Tannen, Julius, 240, 257, 326
Simonoff, Frances, 176, 324	Tanzman, Joseph, 144, 215, 218, 227, 326
Sinatra, Frank, 262	technology
Slobin, Mark, 163, 168, 176, 324	technical problems
Slovaks, 112, 126, 142, 145, 175, 196, 198,	"gasarader and the sparkling plug are
217, 219, 311	fighting", 247
Slovenes, 10	crossed wires, 238
people returning to old country, 10	long distance calls, 240, 257, 307
Small, Joseph, 60, 330	making a phone call, 235
Smalle, Ed, 173	operators, 236
Smith, Al, 159	ordering a phone, 237, 238, 312
Smith, Bessie, 16	technological changes of turn-of-the-
Smith, Mamie, 15, 16	century, 229
Smith, Moira, 69, 135, 162, 252, 324, 332	updated 1927 version of original "Cohen
Smith, Ronald L., 255	on the telephone", 240, 257, 326
Smulewitz, Solomon, 43, 217, 218, 228,	telephone, 6, 8, 10, 47, 140, 148, 194, 208,
325	229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 238,
Spaniards, 150	239, 240, 247, 250, 254, 256, 257
Spencer, Len, 75, 77, 80, 85, 94, 104, 169,	history, 231, 232
171, 173, 234, 244, 254, 258, 315, 325,	The American Quartet, 87, 166, 303
333	The Happiness Boys, 224, 312
Spolsky, Bernard, 208, 209, 226, 325	The Jewish Daily Forward
Spottswood, Richard, 177, 183, 325	see Forverts, 33
Stanley, Frank C., 85, 106, 174, 312	The National Italian American Foundation
Steele, Will N., 75	
Sterne, Jonathan, 10, 19, 325	Milestones of the Italian American
Stewart, Cal, 73, 81, 83, 84, 99, 105, 106,	Experience, 45
150, 163, 165, 171, 174, 243, 244, 246,	The New York Times, 6, 29, 31, 36, 40, 47,
258, 259, 306, 329, 330	58, 61, 62, 302, 326
Stewart, Harry, 273, 274, 313, 334	The Scandinavian-American Comedy and
suffrage, 85, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 184,	Humor Index, 264, 273, 323
316	The Washington Square Harp and
Suffragetky, 151, 218, 313, 323	Shamrock Orchestra, 172, 314
Suffragetta, 150, 151	theaters, 7, 23, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 48,
supplements, 31, 32, 33, 58, 60	53, 54
Arabic, 32	Arlington Hall, 45
•	Art Theater, 41, 54, 62, 312
Bohemian, 32	Atlantic Garden, 44
domestic, 31, 59	Bowery Garden, 40
foreign, 32	Bowery Theatre, 40
French, 33	Caruso Theatre, 45
Greeks, 32	Commodore, 41
Sholem Aleichem image, 32	·

Germania, 44	60, 62, 71, 75, 77, 81, 82, 84, 85, 87, 90,
Grand, 40	99, 102, 103, 104, 105, 107, 108, 110,
London Theater, 44	113, 114, 115, 116, 120, 124, 126, 127,
Maiori's Royal Theatre, 45	129, 131, 132, 133, 138, 139, 140, 142,
National, 41	144, 145, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153,
New York Theatre, 40	154, 156, 158, 160, 166, 167, 171, 172,
Oriental, 40	173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 182,
People's, 40	183, 184, 185, 187, 188, 190, 196, 198,
Poole's, 40	199, 200, 202, 203, 205, 217, 218, 219,
Public, 41, 47	222, 223, 224, 228, 238, 239, 240, 243,
Royal Theatre, 45	255, 256, 257, 258, 303, 304, 305, 307,
Second Avenue Theatre, 41	308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 315, 316,
Teatro Italiano, 44, 45	317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 323, 324, 325,
Teatro Italiano or Drammatico Nazionale,	326, 327, 328, 329, 332, 335
45	Victorian home, 24
The Roumanian Opera House, 40	Victory Military Band, 187, 327
Turn Hall, 45	Victrola, 11, 25, 26, 30, 31, 36, 39, 59
Turnverein, 40	price range, 11
Webster Hall, 45	Vidwans, Prachi, 173, 333
Windsor, 40, 44	Virtual Gramophone, 133
Yiddish Grand Theatre, 45	Vocalion, 130, 131, 132, 141, 144, 150,
Γhérien, Robert, 133, 134, 181, 326, 332	151, 182, 183, 200, 219, 223, 260, 311,
Thernstrom, Stephan, 326	320, 324
Thomashefsky, Boris, 41	Wachtel, Sadie, 142, 182, 219, 324, 332
Fhompson, George L., 77, 187, 326	Warszawska, Dwojka, 204, 224, 327, 330
Fillander, Johannes, 202, 223, 224, 333	Watson, Thomas A, 231
Γokarick, Michael, 142, 183, 198, 219,	Weber and Fields, 77, 168, 314, 328
223, 228, 326	Weber, Donald, 263, 273, 327
Fricarico, Donald, 170	Webster, Noah, 17, 328
Γully, Lee, 206, 207, 224, 265, 266, 274,	Weinberg, Mortimer, 205
327	Welch, Walter L., 11, 19, 322
Гurano, Anthony M., 226	Welk, Lawrence, 261
Furnverein, 40	Welsh
Turn Hall, 45	"old immigrants", 8
Tyrone Settlemier, 302	West Indians, 9
Ukrainians, 31	"new immigration", 9
Uscilowitz, Filip, 176, 333	West, Billy, 94, 168, 328
Valentino, Rudolph, 153, 154, 184, 185,	White Christmas, 16, 21, 156
304, 308, 317, 323	White, James, 234, 254, 328
Van and Schenck, 102, 172, 327	White, Jim, 76
Van Eps, Fred, 86	Widden, Charles G., 148, 184, 194, 202,
Van, Gus, 102, 172, 327	222, 223, 328, 333
Varacalli, Joseph A., 63, 64, 303, 322	Widener
vaudeville, 14, 15, 45, 153, 168	Choice Dialect and Vaudeville Stage
Vecchione, Glen, 333	Jokes, 163, 306
Victor catalogues, 12, 16, 20, 31, 32, 60,	Williams, Bert, 15, 88, 89, 150, 166, 304,
327	328
Victor supplements, 31	Wilson, Mitchell, 257, 328
Victor Talking Machine Company, 11, 12,	Wolfe, Gerard, 60, 328
14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 23, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30,	women, role of, 6, 23, 24, 25, 26, 41, 42,
31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 42, 58, 59,	151, 152, 153, 239, 256
, ,,- ,,- ,, ,,- - ,,,	- , - ,,,

Birns, Dorothy promotion and sales of records and phonographs, 25 Bowers, Nathan David Creating a Home Culture for the Phonograph Women and the Rise of Sound Recordings in the United States, 1877-1913, 24 Burchfield, Rebekah Advertising and Images of Female Interaction with Early Recorded Music Technology, 1905-1948, 24 customers' wants, 25 Finley, Jean Moore promotion and sale of records and phonographs, 25 flapper, 26, 27, 242 Gibson girl, 24, 26 Kenney, William Howland Recorded Music in American Life

The Phonograph and Popular Memory, 1890-1945, 25 promotion and sale of records and phonographs, 25 suffrage, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 184, 218 use of telephone, 239 Victorian home, 24 Victorian manners, 26 Victorian sensibilities, 25 Yorgesson, Yogi, 264, 265, 267, 270, 273, 274, 275, 313, 328 Young, Bruce, 333 Zeeman, Anna, 144, 215, 218 Zeitz, Joshua, 27, 57, 242, 258, 329 Zhitlowsky, Chaim, 225 Ziegenlaub, William, 131 Zielinski, Stefan J., 178, 329, 331 Zonophone records, 167, 322 Zucker, Sheva, 333 Zuronas, Juozas, 150 Zwarg, Christian, 329