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From the Barn to the Bowery and Back Again: Musical Routes in Rural Ohio, 1800-1929 [Phillips Barry Lecture, October 2000]

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From the Barn to the Bowery and Back Again: Musical Routes in Rural Ohio, 1800–1929
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Drawing on a community study of musicians from Mount Vernon, Ohio, I examine the interpenetration of regional and national musical cultures by examining the repertoires and life histories of Dan Emmett, founder of the first professional blackface minstrel troupe in 1843; the Snowden Family Band, African American stringband musicians who performed in the 1850s through 1920; and John Baltzell, a champion fiddler of the 1920s. Instead of viewing national trends as destructive of regionality, I propose that artists are (and were) selective, active participants in the process of forming repertoire and style. Community-based musicians respond to a variety of national musical influences while maintaining a continuing attachment to locality.

Trained as a sociologist, I have—like many scholars in recent years—taken up issues that cross traditional disciplinary boundaries. I recognize that the relationship of folkloristics to other disciplines is currently being debated in the field, including in sessions at this AFS meeting. Perhaps some of my remarks will stimulate a conversation about this issue.

I, for one, am happy that the academy is increasingly open to such interdisciplinary inquiry. At the same time, these endeavors can leave scholars of my generation feeling rather homeless. My work does not easily fit into the established subdisciplines of sociology, yet I cannot claim to be a professional folklorist or historian or ethnomusicologist. So this invitation to speak offers me a welcome bit of legitimacy for my endeavors.

As I understand it, the Phillips Barry Lecture carries two expectations: first, that I address issues related to folk music and song; and second, that I convey something about the character of the place in which we have gathered for these AFS meetings in Columbus, Ohio. I accept both tasks readily, having spent the past twenty-five years exploring the musical life of this region, and, in particular, the county that I now call home. Preparing this lecture has afforded me an opportunity to revisit that work and consider what implications I might draw from it.

The subject I want to consider is, in the broadest sense, “musical dynamics.” I do not use this phrase as a musicologist might, to denote variations in volume or tempo.
within a particular musical piece. Instead, I begin with the assertion that music is embedded in an ongoing—and hence dynamic—social process. I am interested in the changing character of musical creation, exchange, and meaning in relation to the social conditions in which musical activity occurs.

The title of this talk conveys something about my specific focus with respect to this dynamic. The barn, of course, is a potent symbol of rural communities. Even today, barns are a prominent feature of the local landscape just beyond the edge of Columbus’s urban sprawl. Barns have served as sites not only of agricultural production but of amateur music making as well. The Bowery conjures up a different musical world: that of New York City’s old theater district, where professional musicians made music that radiated far beyond the urban core. In examining musical dynamics “from the barn to the Bowery and back again,” I intend to focus on the movement of music and song between the local and national levels, between amateurs and professionals, across the color line, and, finally, between the folk and popular musical spheres.

Scholars in folkloristics and related fields have long explored the dynamic relationship between local and national cultures (Manuel 1988; Singer 1972; Redfield 1955), at times expressing concern over the perceived loss or commodification of traditions in the face of economic and political pressures toward modernization (Lomax 1968; Marcuse 1964). Country music research in particular has provided detailed portraits of the complex interplay between folk music and such factors as technological innovation and the business of commercial music (Peterson 1997; Wolfe 1997; Porterfield 1992). My own inquiry reflects such well-established themes, which I explore on distinctive terrain.

I have posed these musical issues abstractly, but understanding them relies on our interpretation of the historical record. Like all human behavior, music making takes shape within real social contexts. In my efforts to understand the character of folk music, I have long favored an inductive method that draws theoretical generalizations from grounded observations of community life. I have chosen here to examine what went on in Knox County, Ohio, from its earliest frontier settlement around 1800 to the advent of the Great Depression.

Focusing as I do here on a single community, this research is best understood as a case study (Ragin and Becker 1992). I find significant benefits to this kind of research. Case studies enable us to explore musical relationships as lived experience rather than solely as the reified concepts and categories of scholars. At their best, these studies begin to capture the points of view of actors, whether through interview, direct observation, or historical documents. Community studies also offer a holistic approach. Within a community, the social influences on musical dynamics—family, religion, race, politics, technology—jointly constitute the context for musical activity.

The focused investigation of a single locale is common in folkloristics, but in sociology community studies have for the most part gone out of favor. The use of a case-study approach inevitably raises the question of validity and reliability, challenging our ability to draw broad generalizations from the research. On what basis can I claim that this case is worthy of research? Does what I am about to say about music in a central Ohio community apply to anywhere else? Because I suggest that there are larger...
lessons to be learned from this single case, I want to take on this methodological issue at the start.

Knox County, Ohio, located some fifty miles northeast of Columbus, exhibits a musical history typical of small towns and rural communities across the Midwest (Tawa 2000; Sonnedecker 1957; Baer 1956). Pioneer settlers danced to fiddle music at a variety of social gatherings. The stirring music of the fife and drum accompanied the local militia called to battle in the War of 1812. Community singing was a favorite pastime, encouraged by annual singing schools and camp meetings.

By the 1830s, the county seat of Mount Vernon had begun the transformation from a frontier settlement to an established community (Hill 1881:358–85). Expansion of mass communication and transportation spurred commercial growth and fostered contact with America’s emerging popular culture. By midcentury, local stores and mail-order companies advertised the sale of guitars, violins, flutes, and massive collections of sheet music in the newspapers. The most current popular music could be heard from the stage of the new Woodward Theater and in the parlors of stately homes on High Street.

At century’s end, the windows of the large music store on the public square displayed “Victor and Edison Talking Machines and Records” alongside sheet music, fiddles, and guitars. Symbolic of the intertwined nature of local and national musical cultures, the floor directly above the shop was the scene of a regular square dance. In the 1920s this rural county’s residents could attend live concert performances ranging from contralto sopranos to colored quartets (as they were called at the time), or enjoy a diverse range of music on radio stations whose schedules appeared in the daily papers.1

Beyond its thriving homebased musical environment, Knox County is distinctive in its contribution of nationally significant musicians. Daniel Decatur Emmett, born in Mount Vernon in 1815, achieved national acclaim as a music instructor, song composer, and pioneer of blackface minstrelsy. He is best known for several musical compositions still sung today, including “Dixie,” “Old Dan Tucker,” and “Turkey in the Straw.” In the 1920s, Emmett’s protégé, Knox County native John Baltzell, became one of America’s most recorded old-time fiddlers and a first-tier competitor for the title of the nation’s greatest fiddler. To these names I would add those of the Snowdens, a remarkable family of African American musicians who traveled widely throughout central Ohio from the 1850s until the 1920s, performing a variety of fiddle tunes, popular songs, and original compositions. According to local African American folklore, among those original compositions is the song “Dixie,” brought to national fame by Dan Emmett.2 Ordinary and extraordinary, Knox County exhibits elements of both in its musical character. I contend that the county’s typicality, in terms of its musical history, allows us to draw generalizations with some confidence. At the same time, the dramatic experiences of the county’s regionally and nationally recognized musicians enable us to observe the musical dynamics that interest us in particularly sharp relief.

What I offer, then, is really three biographical cases, contextualized historically, and provided through a community study. In this way I hope to avoid “dramatically overemphasiz[ing] the role played by broad, impersonal forces . . . or gran[ting] too...
much credit for [musical] change to ‘great’ individuals” (Rodman 1999:42). Instead, I follow the intellectual marching orders of C. Wright Mills, who maintained that the promise of a sociological imagination rested in our ability “to grasp history and biography and the relations between them within society” (Mills 1959:6).

Dan Emmett: Revisiting the Local Community

Born in Knox County in 1815, Dan Emmett represented the third generation of his family to settle on the frontier. The Knox County of his youth was, in many respects, barely more than a wilderness. Tree stumps impeded travelers on Mount Vernon’s Main Street, and wolves continually plagued rural settlers. Farmers cleared virgin forest to make way for planting and made most of the goods that were required for everyday existence at home.

Music, especially fiddling, played an essential part in this fledgling society (Sacks 1985a). More than mere amusement, the dance music provided by a local fiddler both reflected and supported the collective enterprise central to the labor of preparing homesteads. Cabin or barn raisings, planting, and harvesting all required many hands. Births and weddings also constituted occasions for communal celebration. None of these events were complete without a meal and a dance. The wedding party of Dan’s parents, Abraham Emmett and Sally Zerrick, is typical of the period:

The dancing commenced immediately after the dinner and lasted till nearly morning. It was all square dancing with the newly weds leading. There were dance figures of the three or four handed reels, square sets of eight, and jigs. The fiddler and caller was from Newark, Ohio, and he was assisted by some young men playing the accordion and jews harp. After a few hours of this, “jigging it off” began. That is, when either of the parties became tired, a signal brot another member of the company, not then dancing, into the group and the dance went on uninterrupted. Sometimes the musician was worn out, and then the dance stopped. (McClane 1935:n.p.)

So significant was this pastime that the first county history devoted an entire chapter to the area’s most prominent pioneer fiddler, Seeley Simpkins. Indeed, Simpkins received the only biographical sketch in the entire volume:

He was a great favorite with the squaws and papooses, by reason of his uncommon musical talent. He could mimic the sound of varmit or human, surpassed the lute of Orpheus, and outwhistled all creation. He furnished the music for early musters, and when it took four counties to make a regiment he gave a challenge to outwhistle any man within them. He frequented race tracks, and drew crowds and supplied hoedowns on demand. (Norton 1862:16–17)

The hyperbole notwithstanding, these and other similar descriptions indicate the fiddler’s elevated status, which undoubtedly impressed young Dan Emmett, who took up the instrument at an early age.

The musical and social experiences that planted Emmett firmly within local culture were complemented by other forces that drew him into the larger world. The occupations of both Dan’s father and grandfather offered him a vision of broader horizons. His grandfather, John Emmett, was a circuit-riding preacher, who in his travels would gather news from the surrounding counties. Abraham Emmett oper-
ated a blacksmith shop frequented by nearly everyone in the county as well as by travelers on horseback. Reportedly, it was in this shop that a group of traveling musicians first recruited young Dan as a replacement fiddler for their act. Emmett himself made contact with the outside world when he left Mount Vernon for a year as a teen to work on a newspaper (Nathan 1962:98–106; Wintemute 1955:14–29).

Despite Knox County’s relative isolation on the frontier, elements of a national vocabulary were already evident in its military music. A militia had formed to fight in the War of 1812, and the town’s military gatherings constituted a major public event. It was Dan Emmett who ultimately formalized this musical vocabulary for a nationwide audience in his *Standard Drummer*, the manual adopted by the U.S. Army.

Two forces dissuaded Emmett from a career as a traveling musician: the specific resistance of his family, and the more general public disapproval of performers. I draw here on a remarkable unpublished manuscript written in the 1930s by May McClane, a distant relative of Emmett’s (1935). She reports that Emmett “met with considerable opposition from his family and friends . . . [who] tried in vain to dissuade him from entering . . . this work,” explaining that “it was generally regarded . . . as a ‘good-for-nothing way of making a living.’ And the fiddle was still, in the minds of some folks, a wicked thing and the work of his Satanic Majesty” (n.p.). However much the fiddle was valued in some circles, many of the conservative religious orders that settled in Ohio rejected it as the devil’s work. Moreover, fiddle music was associated with dances, themselves suspect because of the well-known practice of making merry with the aid of alcohol (Shaffer 1867:1).

Traveling entertainers of all sorts were met with suspicion as characters of poor reputation. In communities where most people knew one another over time, often for generations, it was easy enough to establish one’s reputation; in contrast, a decent suit of clothes could easily grant a cloak of respectability to transient bad characters. Traveling entertainers, who offered no productive work and stayed only briefly, invited particular concern. Warnings about their possible impropriety surfaced regularly in newspaper and magazine articles (Sacks and Sacks 1993:102).

As we know, Emmett overcame the protests of his community to set out on a national musical career in the military, in the circus, and on the minstrel stage. What interests me here are not his professional accomplishments, which have been well documented elsewhere, but rather his continuing connection to his Ohio birthplace. It is not widely known that Emmett returned regularly to Mount Vernon throughout his adult life. He lived there for a year after his military service and visited frequently throughout his professional life. The significance of his birthplace is further underscored by his retirement in 1888 to Mount Vernon. That choice was not made without hardships; his second wife, a Chicago native, felt compelled to leave rather than live in that rural town (Wintemute 1955:48).

Emmett assumed several roles during his visits to and eventual retirement in Knox County. As a musician, he appears to have reentered local folk culture rather easily, performing in various musical settings. During that year after his military service, Emmett supported himself playing local dances. At the height of his career with Bryant’s Minstrels in the 1850s, Emmett joined the local drum corps during his visits to play for military affairs. Area youngsters frequently visited his retirement home to hear a tune; a neighbor, William McGee, recalled:
Figure 1. Dan Emmett, ca. 1900. Emmett regularly returned to his boyhood home of Mount Vernon, retiring there following his professional stage career. Courtesy Knox County Historical Society, Knox County, Ohio.
One day in 1901 while playing around, we heard the strains of a violin in the distance. . . . We began . . . to go in the direction from which they came. . . . They were very attractive; we followed on, and over the fence and directly up to a beautifully neat little cabin surrounded by gardens. . . . We were a bit timid, but as the music continued we drew closer . . . to the little house from which the sounds came, when we discovered, through a doorway an old man swaying back and forth keeping perfect time to his playing. He came to the door and motioned us to come in, going on with his playing. When he had finished he came out into the yard and in his kindly genial way with us shy boys, all were soon acquainted, and when we knew it was time for us to skedaddle, we did it with great reluctance, but made arrangements to "come again." You may be sure we did it, too, not once, but probably hundreds of times, for he was the most delightful companion. (McClane 1935:n.p.)

Of course, like other professional entertainers, Emmett did find his discretionary time limited by a busy schedule. The McClane manuscript illuminates his competing status as both a local and a national-level artist in an account of Knox Countians anxious to hire Emmett to play for their wedding reception parties:

It would have been a keen disappointment if [Emmett] had not been able to come for this wonderful event, for he and he alone had played for the dances at the infames [sic] of many of my relatives, no less than six couples that I am positively aware of. And not in my relationship alone, but for dozens of people here and in the county. If you could not get Dan Emmett to play for your wedding, you were simply "out of luck." And it was not always easy to get him, because of his increasing engagements throughout the year when he was more often away from home than at home. Though he came as often as he could, his visits were not long ones, only in his vacations and many a couple put their wedding date in those times when he was sure to be here. (McClane 1935:n.p.)

Emmett's national prominence as a musician naturally led to an additional role, that of teacher. During his trips home in 1856–57, Emmett gave drumming lessons to a young man named David McClane. His daughter, May, recalled that "he desired very much to learn to play the snare drum, and knowing that Mr. Emmett was the best authority on the subject of drumming in the United States, and that his book on the subject was used in the army bands by their leaders, he had no hesitancy in engaging Mr. Emmett as his teacher" (McClane 1935:n.p.). When his teacher was away, McClane furthered his studies with the use of Emmett's Standard Drummer. In these years he came to know a young fiddler named John Baltzell, passing on many of his tunes and becoming close friends of the Baltzell family. Thirty-five years later Baltzell would himself gain national attention as a recording artist in the golden age of recorded fiddle music, a subject to which we shall return.

Well known as a Knox County performer and teacher of music, Emmett played yet another role in central Ohio—that of collector. Like many professional minstrels, Emmett claimed to seek out tunes from musicians he encountered in his travels, and it is only logical to suppose that he did the same in his home town. Hans Nathan, in Dan Emmett and the Rise of Early Negro Minstrelsy (1962), noted the tune bearing the name of the county's pioneer fiddler, Seeley Simpkins. Interestingly, that tune also appears on a page of Emmett's jig notebook (see Figure 2), along with another melody entitled "Authentic Negro Jig." The pairing is intriguing and may represent more than mere accident. For adjacent to Seeley Simpkins's home was the property of another pioneer resident, Thomas Snowden, who, freed from slavery, had accompanied his former master to Mount Vernon in 1828 (see Figure 3). Like Simpkins, Snowden was known as a master whistler; in those days, whistlers were respected as sources for tunes.
My suggestion is that these two documents provide clues to a neighborhood field trip by a young Dan Emmett, possibly in 1834, when he returned home from the military. The territory in question was just north of the Emmett homestead, a place so special to Emmett that he took great pains to purchase a bit of that land for his retirement home. Indeed, as an old man Emmett would take regular walks in these very woods, recounting to others the ways in which the area had changed since his youth (McClane 1935).

It is Emmett’s role as a collector and his connection to local black culture that lie at the heart of the story, carried by four generations of Knox County’s black residents, that Emmett drew on the Snowden family for inspiration, if not the entire composition, of his most famous song, “Dixie.” In summary, Dan Emmett was an artist with a foot firmly
planted in two musical worlds, those of the barn and the Bowery. The link between these two worlds was largely interpersonal in nature, based on continuing ties to family and friends in a folk community. In Emmett’s case, it was national media and a national infrastructure—the publishing firm that produced Standard Drummer, the railroad on which he traveled, the postal service that delivered the entreaties of local folks to perform—that enabled an artist to circulate between a commercial, professional context and a home community in which relationships depended on personal familiarity and oral tradition. A very different set of dynamics played themselves out in the musical lives of Emmett’s neighbors, the black musicians Thomas Snowden and his family.

The Snowden Family Band: Engaging Popular Music

Born into slavery in Maryland in the early nineteenth century, Thomas Snowden and Ellen Cooper migrated to Ohio in the 1820s as members of separate white households. Their marriage in 1835 was the first recorded black marriage in Knox County. Thomas and Ellen built a homestead in northern Mount Vernon, started farming, and raised a family that would achieve regional renown as a talented stringband, the Snowden Family Band. Under Thomas’s direction until his death in 1856, the Snowden children—Ben, Sophia, Lew, Annie, Elsie, Phebe, and Martha—sang a broad repertoire of songs, danced, and played fiddle, banjo, guitar, and bones. Blacks and
whites alike came to hear them perform at concerts on their farm, on the north side of Mount Vernon, where the family had modified its second-story gable into a performance stage (see Figure 4). Only footsteps from Dan Emmett’s grandparents’ farm, the Snowdens sang sentimental, comic, sacred, and minstrel songs and played instrumental dance tunes featuring three fiddlers; in fact, the band’s advertising handbill claimed that “they have two female violinists” and urged would-be patrons in large display lettering “to come see the infant violinist.”6 The band’s reach extended to other farm communities in a roughly seventy-five-mile radius around their home. But unlike the professional Emmett, the Snowdens made their living mainly as farmers and laborers who raised and sold crops and poultry, chopped and hauled wood, and performed chores for their neighbors.

One aspect of their social context in the 1850s through the 1870s affected their music making significantly: the cluster of issues concerning race. Whites in Knox County split almost evenly on the major race-related issues of the day. Those who had emigrated from the mid-Atlantic states supported abolitionism, rejected the movement to resettle American black people to Liberia, and believed in voting rights for people of color. An equal number, whose roots lay in the slave South, reflected opinions to the polar opposite. Before the Civil War, the black population had no social institutions that might speak publicly to these concerns. After the war, when people of color migrated in larger numbers to Knox County, the African Methodist Episcopal Church provided the spiritual and communal support vital for negotiating an often racially hostile environment.

For the Snowdens, satisfying a politically and racially divided audience meant engaging in a complex process of alternately resisting white oppression, accommodating local opinion, and asserting African American musical tradition. Aware of strong antiblack sentiment, the band avoided overtly abolitionist songs, yet they signaled support of Republican values by performing temperance and antitobacco songs. Minstrel songs appear in their repertoire, but only relatively benign, parodic ones; they evidently rejected those with demeaning imagery and phony dialect (Sacks and Sacks 1993:77).7 The Snowdens’ repertoire also reflected their grounding in black folk tradition. Proficient banjo and fiddle players, they no doubt drew on the Maryland slave culture that Thomas and Ellen had experienced in childhood. Ellen had grown up in the Nanjemoy district of Charles County, Maryland, where slaves regularly played banjo and fiddle music; when the British traveler Nicholas Cresswell visited that district in 1774, he wrote in his journal about the lively music performed on the “banjo”—the first recorded use of the term (1924:18–19).8 Another example of the family’s traditionality is their repertoire of spirituals, including “Goodbye” and “There’s a Meeting Here Tonight,” songs dating back to slavery years (Allen et al. 1867:iv–v; Epstein 1977:217–29).

In an interesting parallel to Emmett’s continuing connection to his past, both Thomas and Ellen Snowden communicated with the people and places of their Southern experience long after their migration to Ohio. Ellen received letters from her parents for over a decade after her departure from Maryland, conveyed by members of her former master’s family. Thomas also maintained a relationship with his former master’s kin; according to a member of that white family, Thomas as a free man enjoyed “filling up the hours with stories, patting juba, and songs of olden times, ‘from de plantations of de Souf’” (Burgess 1892:101).
Figure 4. Ben and Lew Snowden regularly gave concerts from the second-story gable of their home in Clinton, ca. 1890s. Ohio Historical Society, Columbus.
The Snowdens were valued as a song resource by members of their community. Numerous letters have survived that attest to an informal, interracial musical exchange that does not neatly fit within a simple scheme of white appropriation of black art. Their friends wrote often to ask for “their” songs, by which they simply meant anything from the family’s repertoire (lyrics only; no notated music has been found). For example, in the late 1860s the white schoolgirl Almeda Lewis mailed lyrics to Sophia Snowden and requested a song in exchange:

sis I want you to write me that song about forty years ago I would give all I am wort if I new that . . . sis be sure and rite me that song if you please I will look for a letter the next mail . . . tell lu [Lew Snowden] I hant forgot hope duden do . . . tell benny I want him to rite me the [Grecian] bend song tell him I will speak a good word to some girl out here for him . . . remember me when this you see your true friend Almeda. Sis don’t forget forty years ago. (Sacks and Sacks 1993:90)

Similarly, on the eve of the Civil War, George Root, a white farmer from a nearby town, earnestly pleaded for fiddle lessons not only from Ben but from his two sisters, Sophia and Annie; according to the letter, Ben had recently spent two weeks living in Root’s household, teaching him fiddle tunes. In addition to revealing a fluid process in which music crossed the color line, the letters documenting the Snowdens’ musical life testify to the rapid shift of music from the national to the local level. That their repertoire was utterly up to date seems clear from an 1855 letter from a friend in West Virginia, who asked Ben and Lew Snowden for Stephen Foster’s “Old Kentucky Home.” The song had been copyrighted only since 1853.

These rare documents show a context of swift, cross-racial musical exchange—precisely the cultural conditions in which Dan Emmett could have borrowed from the Snowdens. It is not possible to know definitively whether Emmett gathered specific song ideas from the Snowden family that he then took to the national minstrel stage, but our research certainly confirms the process by which this might have occurred. Very different from the professional minstrel who earned his living copyrighting and publishing songs under his own name, the Snowden Family Band functioned as a resource, without any apparent struggle to assert ownership of the material they performed. In fact, when people wrote to ask for songs, no correspondent voiced concern over whether the song was a Snowden composition or from another hand; it was all Snowden material, because they were the ones who performed it.

If we can appreciate how a professional might adapt material from a folk musical environment, it is equally important to recognize that amateur musicians, black and white, interacted creatively with published material. One Snowden song in particular provides a unique opportunity to explore the transformation of a popular song in local context. Touring for several weeks at a time, the band announced their arrival by playing from atop a horsedrawn wagon as they entered each new country village. Their signature piece, “We Are Going to Leave Knox County,” recounted their musical exploits and encouraged audiences to “come out and hear the Snowden band.” But while the surviving handwritten lyric sheet identifies the song as “composed and sung by the Snowden family,” its melody and lyrical structure actually were adapted from a Stephen Foster minstrel song, “Farewell My Lilly Dear” (see Figure 5). “Lilly Dear” is not considered one of Foster’s classic works, but the song was popu-
We Are Going to Leave Knox County

Composed and Sung by the Snowden Family on Leaving Knox County

c. 1856
Air: "Lilly Dear"

We are a going to leave Knox County
To lands we have never seen
With nothing but our violins
To make the music ring

Chorus:
Farewell Knox County
Farewell for a while
Farewell Knox County dear
And friends that on us smile

7. When we start out in the morning
Unto another town
We sing to you a pleasing song
To all that stands around

Chorus:

8. And when we reach the next station
A pleasant tale we will tell
We all had a very good dance
And the music please them well

Chorus:

2. We are young but yet courageous
[From] home we are bound [to roam]
And never give up trying
[When the sea doth sail a wave]

Chorus:

9. And if we are return again
Unto your happy land
We hope you will all come out
To hear the Snowden Band

Chorus:

3. We will save the pence and penny
Until they count a bread
And ten times ten is a hundred
And [that a sum we spend]

Chorus:

10. And when we travel round and round
And to our home return
We will meet a hearty welcome
saying, ["I am glad you home"]

Chorus:

4. Without your silks and satin
We can perform you see
And that will save the penny
And soon will [count the bread]

Chorus:

11. Ohio is our native state
And Knox County is our home
Morris Township give us birth
And Ben and Lewis has [roamed]

Chorus:

5. When we get up in the morning
And walk around the room
We think of old Knox County
And of our good old home

Chorus:

Farewell you social friend
Farewell for a while
Farewell you social friend
And strangers on us smile

6. When we are sad and [weary]
We will make our music play
To mind us of Knox County
And friends that far away

Chorus:


Figure 5. Lyrics to "Farewell My Lilly Dear" by Stephen Foster and "We Are Going to Leave Knox County," by the Snowden family.
Farewell My Lilly Dear
Written and composed by Stephen C. Foster
1851

Oh! Lilly dear, it grieves me
The tale I have to tell;
Old massa sends me roaming,
So Lilly, fare-you-well!
Oh! Fare-you-well my true love,
Farewell old Tennessee,
Then let me weep for you love,
But do not weep for me.

Chorus (2):
Farewell forever to Old Tennessee;
Farewell my Lilly dear,
Don’t weep for me.

2. I’s guine to roam the wide world
In lands I’ve never hoed,
With nothing but my banjo
To cheer me on the road;
For when I’m sad and weary
I’ll make the banjo play,
To mind me of my true love
When I am far away.

Chorus (2):

3. I wake up in the morning,
And walk out on the farm;
Oh! Lilly am a darling _
She take me by the arm,
We wander through the clover
Down by the river side,
I tell her that I love her
And she must be my bride.

Chorus (2):

4. Oh! Lilly dear ‘tis mournful
To leave you here alone,
You’ll smile before I leave you
And weep when I am gone,
The sun can never shine, love
So bright for you and me,
As when I worked beside you
In good old Tennessee.

Chorus (2):

lar. In his 1857 accounting of his compositions’ total earnings (both realized and anticipated), Foster listed “Lilly Dear” seventh, alongside “Nelly Bly” and “Ellen Bayne” (Howard 1943:266–67). Insuring its success, the song was associated with E. P. Christy, the preeminent blackface minstrel, who had paid Foster $15 for first-performance rights (Howard 1943:187; Milligan 1920:66). In 1854, when Firth and Pond published a collection of instrumental pieces arranged by Foster, entitled *The Social Orchestra*, the melody line and title of “Lilly Dear” were among the four Foster plantation melodies adorning the cover (Emerson 1997:213).

“Lilly Dear” follows the winning formula of Foster’s earlier plantation melodies, mixing genteel sentimentalism with generalized references to Southern slavery. Lyrically, the song is a carry-me-back, relating the tale of a slave’s impending removal from the plantation and his longing for the love and home he leaves behind (Glazer and Key 1996). It is mostly free of Negro dialect, but the Southern setting of the minstrel stage is nonetheless apparent. In the opening verse we learn that the protagonist is separated from his love because “Old massa sends me roaming” from “old Tennes-see.” Subsequent verses allude to the agricultural tasks of slaves (“to lands I’ve never hoed”) and to the banjo, the instrument firmly associated with plantation blacks on the minstrel stage.

But “Lilly Dear” is less a song evoking the plantation than a sentimental/tragic love song, a genre that dominated popular music by the early 1850s (Winans 1984:148). The theme of sympathy for the partings of lovers and the profound sadness of separation resonated with many Americans during this period of increased geographic and social mobility. As William Austin notes, “Foster’s pathetic blackface singer of... ‘Farewell My Lilly Dear’ has now reached out to join all the lonely white singers of the dream of home” (1975:246). Perhaps revealing a scholarly bias that insists on segregated social experience, Austin fails to consider that Foster’s composition apparently spoke as well to African Americans. Given their immersion in popular culture, a result of the Snowden children’s literacy, it is not surprising that the band revamped a popular song. Unlike their parents, the young Snowdens were able to compile a scrapbook of song lyrics and poetry taken from the local newspapers, not only saving them for use but adding their own handwritten alterations. The many surviving letters written to them requesting song lyrics also indicate the influence of both literacy and popular music. The conventions of popular song, moreover, encouraged borrowing and adaptation. “With popularity,” notes Nicholas Tawa, “a song ceased to belong to the composer or publisher but became ‘especially the property of the people’” (1993:107). When newspapers published poems, they routinely indicated the tune to be used as accompaniment. Professional songwriters themselves lifted successful material, with only slight adaptation, for use in a new composition. In “Lilly Dear,” for example, the concluding line of the chorus (“Don’t weep for me”) echoes the “Don’t you cry for me” of “Oh! Susanna” (Emerson 1997:184).

The Snowdens’ indebtedness to Foster is unmistakable. Setting their song to the “Air: Lilly Dear,” they echoed the theme of separation and reworked Foster’s key images. Their entire opening verse closely follows the second verse of “Lilly Dear.” They exchanged the role of the banjo for violins, probably because fiddlers dominated their performances. The opening lines in Foster’s third verse (“I wake up in the morn-
ing / And walk out on the farm”) appear slightly modified in the Snowden’s fifth verse (“When we get up in the morning / And walk around the room”). And the Snowdens’ sixth verse (“When we are sad and [weary] / We will make our music play”) borrows from Foster’s second: “For when I’m sad and weary / I’ll make the banjo play.”

“We Are Going to Leave Knox County,” however, differs significantly from Foster’s song in both content and emotional tone. The Foster song characterizes slavery in remarkably vague terms. Typical of minstrel songs at midcentury, “Lilly Dear” avoids specific references to the slave’s condition and focuses instead on the individual slave (Glazer and Key 1996:13–14; Saxton 1990:177). Foster’s protagonist therefore proclaims only that “I’s guine to roam the wide world / In lands I’ve never hoed.” We learn nothing of the conditions that send him roaming; we do not know if he is being sold South (and therefore heading toward even greater hardship) or running away to the North, on the verge of experiencing freedom. W. T. Lhamon notes that ambiguous references to a slave’s status enabled blackface minstrels to portray free-moving black characters at a time when black people were subject to capture because of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 (1998:132–33). The amateur singer in the parlor, untouched by the realities of slavery, could similarly convey the song’s theme of parting and lost love with emotional sincerity, fulfilling the chief aesthetic criterion for successful performance.

In contrast to Foster’s avoidance of the particulars of racial realities, the Snowden piece virtually documents their life as black folk in the rural free North. Textually, their song embeds black tradition by signifying on “Lilly Dear.” From the very start they set up their audience for an intertextual experience. But signifying involves more than revisiting an authoritative text: it also means expressing admiration, inverting its meaning, even destroying the signified object. Clearly, the band transformed Foster’s structure, wording, mood, and meaning. Consider each song’s significant mood-setting words: “Lilly Dear” is riddled with sadness, reinforced in such words as “sad and weary,” “grieves,” “mournful,” “alone,” and “weep”; the Snowden song conveys daring and optimism using key words such as “smile,” “courageous,” “pleasant/pleasing/please,” “happy land,” “hearty welcome,” “glad,” and “friend/friendship.” The Snowdens also use repetition and self-references, other aspects of signifying much admired within black aesthetics. For example, in a sequence unimaginable to a professional white songwriter, the Snowdens sing “a pleasing song” and then immediately describe “a pleasant tale” in which “the music please them well.” And unlike the faceless, unnamed narrator of “Lilly Dear,” the Snowdens create a collective protagonist, “we,” and announce themselves as “the Snowden band,” giving particulars of their origins. As Henry Louis Gates reminds us, signifying is serious verbal play whose social purpose, for black people, is the “valorization of the signifier.” The point of the classic tale “The Signifying Monkey” is precisely about power relations: Through clever talk, the trickster Monkey masters the seemingly stronger Lion (Gates 1988:55, 61). Here we can propose an analogous act of daring: In taking on a lion of popular songwriting, black musicians in rural Ohio attempted to earn musical acclaim and personal dignity.

Black musicians at midcentury had more than their dignity at stake, of course. Following enactment of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, the Snowdens, like all black
Americans in the North, faced capture and enslavement if they dared to move among whites who might challenge their status as free people. This was no abstract possibility for central Ohioans: their newspapers regularly reported on African Americans in Oberlin or Columbus or Cincinnati who had been kidnapped and sent to the slave South.\textsuperscript{10} For musicians who traveled widely among rural whites, often along deserted country roads, it was a matter of personal safety to announce loudly, in song, that this family \textit{belonged} here, identifying themselves from the most general of terms to the most particular: first by state of birth, county, township of residence, and finally by the actual names of band members. Furthermore, the song noted, plenty of people back home could vouch for them: in Knox County there were “friends”—presumably including white people—“who on us smile.”\textsuperscript{11}

Against this subtext of danger, the song ultimately reveals a hopefulness based in a new sort of social experience—that of black people born in the free North. A sense of mobility and agency marked the Snowden children’s lives as very different from that of their parents. Whereas Foster offers a world of unmitigated despair over present and future circumstances, the Snowden children, though mindful of their present difficulties, anticipate improved economic conditions (“And that will save the penny / And soon will [count the bread]”), successful performances (“We all had a very good dance / And the music please them well”), and a reunion with friends upon returning home (“We will meet a hearty welcome, saying [‘I am glad you come’]”). Free Ohio, in short, was the land of possibility, despite the hardships facing people of color.

Whatever the possibilities, the politics of race posed severe limits on the potential musical careers of the Snowden Family Band. “You and Lou could make a fortune here giving concerts,” wrote friends from Missouri. Certainly, the Snowdens knew the dangers of travel beyond the locale in which they were known, and this must have figured into their choice to remain amateur musicians in rural Ohio. A different path awaited another local fiddler, John Baltzell, whose music would draw national attention.

\textit{John Baltzell: Exporting Local Tradition}

The career of John Baltzell epitomizes the complex interplay between the forces of modernization and locally based musical traditions. Baltzell was born in a log cabin, evidence that in some respects life in 1860 in Knox County continued the lifestyle of the early settlers. He took up the fiddle as a young boy, procuring his first real instrument from some farm children he observed dragging a fiddle case around in the dirt. A laborer in the small community of Danville, Baltzell moved to Mount Vernon in 1888, where he found work in the roundhouse for the Pennsylvania Railroad (Sacks 1985b; Bronner 1978).

Baltzell learned from area fiddlers, noting in an autobiographical sketch that “all the music that Mr. Baltzell plays is played by ear.” Like generations of Knox County fiddlers before him, Baltzell played regularly for local dances and neighborhood gatherings, and neighbors frequently stopped by the Baltzell home to hear his music (see Figure 6). But he came into contact with regional and national musicians as well. By the turn of the century, Mount Vernon had become a railroad town. The Baltzell family owned two houses located just a few blocks from the roundhouse. Living in one home,
Figure 6. John Baltzell, a country fiddler, donned a tuxedo in this publicity photograph for the Edison Recording Company, ca. 1923. From the collections of the Henry Ford Museum and Greenfield Village.
they rented out space in the other to itinerant railroad workers. Musicians traveling by rail were among the visitors to the Baltzell home. A fiddler of national reputation frequently visited the Baltzell household: the retired Dan Emmett. The two fiddlers established a lasting relationship, described by Baltzell’s piano accompanist, Ada Bedell Wootton: “Emmett and Baltzell played together for dances, and in cafes for years, and many a Sunday found Emmett trudging across the fields to the Baltzell home, with his fiddle under one arm, and a chicken under the other—the latter transformed by Mrs. Baltzell into Emmett’s favorite dish—chicken potpie” (Wootton 1936:809). As in most master-apprentice relationships between country fiddlers, then and now, Emmett exerted considerable influence on the younger fiddler; he taught Baltzell much of his repertoire, including “Dixie.” Unlike most traditional fiddlers, however, Baltzell received encouragement from his mentor to compose original tunes.

Most fine country fiddlers in the nineteenth century were known only to residents of the immediate region. But three twentieth-century innovations enabled Baltzell to establish his own professional career. Two of these innovations involved technological changes that transformed popular culture as a whole: radio and sound recording. The third was brought about by one of the major technological innovators of the modern world, Henry Ford.

Ford’s hostility to “foreign” influences in American society—primarily the expressive culture of Jews, black people, and immigrants in general—was evident in his support of Anglo country fiddling and dance (Wolfe 1977:56). By 1926 Ford dealerships throughout much of the nation were sponsoring fiddle contests whose winners went on to regional competitions, with a national championship held at the Ford headquarters in Dearborn, Michigan. These competitions, and Ford’s frequent invitations to fiddlers to visit his home, received national attention and contributed to a wave of fiddling contests in the mid-1920s. John Baltzell, like many other fiddlers young and old, joined the fiddle contest craze, competing successfully in Ohio and adjacent states.

Baltzell’s regional success soon brought him national media attention. A feature article in the February 1926 Radio Digest discussed who legitimately holds the title of national champion fiddler—an honor generated principally as a result of Ford’s fiddle contests—and cited two major contenders. One was seventy-seven-year-old Mellie Dunham of Norway, Maine, who received considerable press coverage after being invited to Ford’s home for a visit. The other was eighty-two-year-old Uncle Jimmy Thompson, whose popular broadcasts on Nashville radio station WSM led to the creation of the Grand Ole Opry (Wolfe 1977:56–59). These two fiddlers had achieved well-deserved prominence, but they were certainly not the only fine fiddlers in America, as the article’s author observed:

When the honors have been decided between Mellie and Uncle Jimmy the winner will doubtless be confronted by a score of new challengers. For instance there will be Mr. John Baltzell who is the “champion old-time fiddler of Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky”; also Edison and Okeh artist and very well known as a radio personality. (Old Style Dances Win Favor 1926:24)

Baltzell’s career on radio and records likely resulted from his regional exposure in those early fiddle contests. On September 7, 1923, John Baltzell found himself in the New
York studios of the Edison Recording Company. He was not only among the earliest fiddlers on record, but one of the most extensively recorded as well. In the next six years he would record thirty-two sides for Edison, Okeh, and the Plaza group. Baltzell’s reputation as a fiddler and entertainer brought him to radio. The era of radio broadcasts began in 1920, and among the first was WEAO, owned by the Ohio State University in Columbus. Even in those early days, WEAO broadcasts were received over a radius of 100 miles. By the mid-1920s, John Baltzell performed live on WEAO each Friday afternoon.

The rising national popularity of fiddle music and dance garnered regular attention in central Ohio newspapers. Pictures of Mellie Dunham and Uncle Jimmy Thompson appeared on the front page, and articles on local dances and dance caller contests were commonplace. One article, written by an Episcopal clergyman, expressed doubts about Ford’s effort to promote dance as chaste family entertainment. Nonetheless, he noted that “the automobile undoubtedly is luring more girls to immorality than the dance ever did, and that is saying a good deal” (Dance Will Not Become Denatured 1926:3).

Baltzell’s career was newsworthy as well. Articles regularly announced the fiddler’s intention to enter area competitions, and his frequent successes garnered headlines. But his new professional status also set him apart from fellow fiddlers. For example, when a local theater held an old-time fiddle contest as part of its regularly scheduled amateur night, Baltzell was invited to play “but will not be eligible in the contest” (Amateur Night 1926:n.p.). Like his performing career, Baltzell’s recorded music reflects the interplay of local and national influences. Record companies exercised considerable influence in determining the style and repertoire of fiddlers’ recorded selections. At the Edison studios, Baltzell was teamed with a studio piano player, John F. Burkhardt, and not to good effect. Unfamiliar with Baltzell’s playing, Burkhardt frequently missed the shifts from one tune to the next in the medleys. Particularly in the 1923 session, Burkhardt used a plodding alternation of bass note and chord that chained the melody to an overbearing meter. Within this constraint, Baltzell’s playing often lost its drive.

In contrast to the Edison recordings are the six solo selections released on Okeh and Plaza. These have a liveliness and flowing character lacking on many of the Edison recordings. While the Okeh sides are similar in repertory to those recorded for Edison—show pieces emphasizing complex schottisches, jigs, and quadrilles—in the Plaza recordings we have the most popular tunes of the day in Knox County: “Arkansas Traveler,” “Sailor’s Hornpipe,” “The Girl I Left Behind,” and Dan Emmett’s “Turkey in the Straw.” Indeed, it seems certain that Baltzell learned his version of “Turkey in the Straw” from Emmett; thus, Baltzell’s recording of the tune represents the closest we might get to the fiddling of that pioneer minstrel.

The imprint of local tastes on these nationally distributed recordings is especially evident in Baltzell’s selection of tunes and accompanists. In a 1927 Edison recording session, Baltzell was joined by Sam Shultz, a fiddler and dance caller from the fiddler’s original hometown of Danville. Their performance of the “New Century Hornpipe” is decidedly less commercial and more spontaneous, much like the music heard at weekly square dances in Knox County. Interestingly, Edison chose not to issue the selection.
Edison did, however, issue a number of selections whose titles bear the mark of the locale in which John Baltzell was born and raised. “Clinton Quadrille” was named for a town on the northern boundary of Mount Vernon, and “Kenion Clog” referred to nearby Kenyon College. More interesting is Baltzell’s recording of “Emmett’s Quadrille.” The name likely identifies the tune’s author, in the same manner as Emmett’s “Seely Simpkins Jig.” Even today in central Ohio, tunes identified by a person’s name invariably identify the provenance of the melody, a practice common among Anglo-Irish fiddlers on both sides of the Atlantic. Here, then, is a tune created by a nationally popular composer, taught orally to a local fiddler on the front porch, and subsequently returned to the national arena, to be learned by fiddlers nationwide.

In terms of his own musical preferences, Baltzell paralleled the Snowdens in exerting significant selectivity with regard to national musical trends. From its earliest years, the recording industry marketed recordings through catalogs and advertisements designed to target specific audiences. Certain labels distinguished highbrow recordings from those presumably designed for less sophisticated tastes, and some catalogs promoted foreign-language recordings to ethnic populations. The creation of “hillbilly” and “race” record divisions in the 1920s sought to capitalize on Appalachians and African Americans as consumer groups.

These marketing ploys were successful, but actual individuals’ musical tastes did not conform to narrowly specialized catalogs. Baltzell, himself a part of the recording industry, formed a collection reflecting diverse tastes, ranging from traditional fiddling to classical music, to the minstrelsy and vaudeville of his day. He bought records of the Irish fiddler Patrick J. Scanlon and Scottish dialect songs by Glen Ellison; the hillbilly music of Ernest Stoneman and the cornpone humor of Uncle Josh (Cal Stewart); coon sketches by Golden and Hughes and vaudeville routines by Orbin and Drew; light classics by soprano Marie Rappold and piano solos by Rachmaninoff; sentimental singing by tenor Walter Scanlan; and the novelty whistling of Sibyl Sanderson Fagan.

**National Culture and Sense of Place**

What conclusions can we draw from these three cases about the movement of folk and popular music across time and space? The current discussion makes it clear that folk musicians have a long tradition of actively navigating musical options that exist between folk and popular culture, across the color line, from the national to the local and back, and between geographic regions. As folklorists and music fans, we have had the opportunity to appreciate the creative responses to multiple influences of musicians in our own era. For example, the renowned guitarists Doc Watson and John Jackson both incorporated songs they had learned from the radio into their repertoires. In doing so, they altered the material and their performance to reflect their own aesthetic and that of their communities. We see this at work in the Snowdens’ selection of repertoire and their rewriting of Foster’s song, and in the makeup of John Baltzell’s record collection.

At the same time, national renown transformed the role of these musicians in their folk community, with both positive and negative consequences. Emmett was sought
out as a teacher and performer precisely because he was nationally known. But in a conservative climate, his notoriety as a stage performer contributed to the ostracism he encountered in retirement. Baltzell, too, gained status for his success in fiddle contests and as a noted performer, but that very success created a barrier between himself and other fiddlers: he was branded as too professional to compete on even terms.

It is difficult to determine from the existing historical record how such tensions affected these musicians. But their historical circumstances lead me to ask how contemporary musicians fare in their local communities when they achieve a measure of commercial success or attention, such as the National Heritage Fellowship. While there are numerous reasons to applaud these accomplishments, they may also carry negative consequences worthy of exploration. The tensions inherent in these dynamics remind us, too, that individual careers take place within real historical conditions. Some of these, like the technological innovations that brought John Baltzell to a national audience or the railroad that facilitated Emmett’s frequent visits to his hometown, are relatively benign. At the same time, it is clear that values, attitudes, and the law—ranging from church prohibitions on dance music to institutionalized racism—bracketed the possibilities for musical exchange.

Another recurring theme is the significant sense of place evident in these musical lives. At the most obvious level, all of these artists maintained a strong connection to the place of their birth, as is particularly evident in Emmett’s life course. Both Emmett and Baltzell regularly named tunes to honor local people and places. And the Snowdens redefined the lyrics of a popular song to evoke place, a decision that carried both personal meaning and strategic significance. This act stands in sharp contrast to popular music’s tendency to remove local color, something brought home to my coauthor, Judy Sacks, and me while researching our book on the Snowdens and “Dixie.”

As part of that work we traveled to southern Maryland, the childhood home of Ellen Cooper Snowden. On one occasion, we obtained access to Smith’s Point along the Potomac River, site of the plantation on which Ellen was born. Standing at the river’s edge, alongside the very dock from which Ellen embarked upon her trip to Ohio, Judy reached down to pick up a handful of sand and seashells washed ashore by the current that extends from the Atlantic Ocean into the Chesapeake Bay. Indeed, at high tide, sand is routinely deposited in the undulating bottom land along the Potomac. A nearby road leading to the Potomac is called Sandy Road, and the area’s one-room school house was known as Sandy Bottom School. Turning to the African American caretaker who had accompanied us to the site, I asked, “Are there any persimmon trees in these parts?” He turned to look up toward the place where the big house once stood, and, gesturing across the landscape, replied: “’Simmon tree there, and there, and there. ’Simmon trees all over.”

I recalled what Hans Nathan (1962:250–51) identified as the earliest known opening lyrics of “Dixie”: “Oh, I wish I was in the land of cotton / ’simmon seed and sandy bottom.” This line would have carried deep meaning for the Snowdens, recounting a sense of geography and history central to the family’s origins. But it would have conveyed little to Dan Emmett or to the mass audience that embraced the song he first performed on a New York stage in 1859. By the time Firth and Pond published “Dixie”
in 1860, "simmon seed and sandy bottom" had been changed to the generic "old times there are not forgotten." But for the artists who left their homes in the rolling hills of Knox County or the bottom land of southern Maryland to perform their music, it was of no little importance to convey a sense of place. In the final analysis, it may be this enduring sense of place that is the common thread that unites folk music and culture, a thread that musicians make every effort to weave into their compositions and that takes on particular significance as they travel far from home. Popular culture may try to capitalize on local color, but in the end it gets transformed into a mere metaphor of itself, only to be reappropriated and transformed again within a local setting.

For me, and I am sure for many of you reading this, it is that sense of place that is a major source of our attraction to folk music and song. In a world increasingly characterized by rootlessness, maintaining a sense of place remains an essential part of our identities. Apparently, this lesson was not lost on the artists who traveled from the barn to the Bowery and back again.

Notes

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1. Luella Meltus, of the Chicago Civic Opera Company, was one of several artists booked for the 1926 Community Concert Series: "Artists Names for Community Concert," (Mount Vernon) Daily Banner, June 12, 1926. The Jackson Jubilee Singers offered the "subtle witchery in negro singing that charms an American audience" at a local chautauqua; "Songs of South at Chautauqua," Daily Banner, July 14, 1925. Radio broadcasts could be picked up from across the nation: Daily Radio Program, Daily Banner, Oct. 23, 1926.

2. Beyond their musical performances, the Snowdens were also admired as song composers in an era when Dan Emmett regularly visited family and friends in Knox County. For generations, local African Americans have claimed that the Snowden family was the unacknowledged source of the minstrel song "Dixie." The song gained national popularity with its New York City debut on April 4, 1859, by Emmett, who performed with Bryant’s Minstrels. When Southern states seceded from the Union in 1861, they adopted "Dixie" as their national anthem. Way Up North in Dixie (Sacks and Sacks 1993) investigates the Snowden family’s musical and social relationships and their link to "Dixie."

3. For additional descriptions of pioneer fiddling and dances in central Ohio, see Howe 1891:271; Hill 1881:230; and Welker 1892:88-89. McClane’s reference to an accordion may be erroneous, as the earliest documentation of the instrument dates its origin to the 1820s (Harrington 2001:60–61).

4. Norton was not alone in his superlative accounts of the extraordinary powers of pioneer fiddlers; see Jewett 1898:16–17.

5. Residents would sometimes circumvent religious prohibitions against dancing by producing a smuggled fiddle only after stricter leaders and children had left the gathering; see Buley 1950:327.

6. The Snowden handbill is reproduced in Sacks and Sacks 1993:58.

7. For general discussions of parody in minstrelsy, see Mahar 1999; Lott 1993; and Dennison 1982.

8. While earlier reports of banjo-like instruments in America exist, Cresswell’s diary is the first to use the word "banjo" to refer to the instrument; see Conway 1995:304 and Epstein 1977:360.

9. Repetition of familiar elements in popular songs was not restricted to lyrics. The "striking octave leap, 1–8, and the descent through 6 to 5" in "Lilly Dear" manifest close melodic kinship to Foster’s "Massa’s in the Cold, Cold Ground"; see Tawa 1993:162.
10. For example, the local paper ran a story about a black man who lived nearby and was tricked into traveling to Columbus, only to be captured and taken into slavery in Kentucky: see "A Kidnapping Case," *Mount Vernon Republican*, Nov. 5, 1859.

11. To further assure their protection, as well as to declare the family’s respectability, the Snowden handbill notes that “they have with them hundreds of certificates of recommendation . . . which they will be pleased to show all who may desire it” (Sacks and Sacks 1993:233 n. 24).


14. John Baltzell’s record collection is privately owned.

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