The Jazz Republic
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The Jazz Republic: Music, Race, and American Culture in Weimar Germany.
Notes

INTRODUCTION

The quotation cited in the front matter is from Hans Janowitz, Jazz, Roman [1927] (Berlin: Weidle, 1999), 8. Unless otherwise noted, all translations from the German are my own. This novel is further discussed in chapter 3.

1. The following details regarding the Admiralspalast are based upon Jost Lehne, Der Admiralspalast. Die Geschichte eines Berliner “Gebrauchs” Theaters (Berlin: Be.bra-Wissenschaft Verlag, 2006), 53–79.


3. Significantly, Lion and his later label partner Francis Wolff (see below) were to no small degree responsible for making Wooding’s Berlin recordings known to an American audience. Based upon their personal collections, there appeared in 1941 a short discussion of Wooding in the periodical Jazz Information (“Sam Wooding and His Orchestra,” Jazz Information 2:16 [November 1941]: 89).


7. Francis Wolff saw Wooding and the Chocolate Kiddies in 1925, though it is unclear whether Lion and Wolff saw the show together or separately. On Wolff’s activities in the 1930s, see Michael Kater, Different Drummers: Jazz in the Culture of Nazi Germany (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 75–77.


23. Lennox, “From Postcolonial to Transnational Approaches in German Studies,” lxii.

24. Fatima El-Tayeb, Schwarze Deutsche: Der Diskurs um Rasse und nationale Identität 1890–1933 (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2001), 18–38.


33. To be sure, numerous researchers have long shown the significance of African American performers and other peoples of African descent in Europe in the pre-1914 era. On this, see Jeffrey Green, Rainer E. Lotz, and Howard Rye, Black Europe: Sounds and Images of Black People in Europe Pre-1927, 2 vols. (Hambergen: Bear Family Records, 2013).

34. Horst Lange, Jazz in Deutschland. Die deutsche Jazzchronik bis 1960, 2nd edition (Hildesheim: Olms Presse, 1996). Errors in Lange’s work, originally published in 1966, have been corrected and amended in numerous works, e.g., those of Rainer Lotz and Konrad Nowakowski, but have long remained the foundation for “facts” regarding
which jazz bands played where and when. To take but one example, Lange claims that in 1924, the “Ohio Lido Venice Band” was the very first American jazz band to play in Berlin. As is discussed in chapters 1 and 2, this can no longer be considered the case.

36. Ibid., 531.
37. On Duke Ellington’s role in Weimar jazz culture, see the discussion in chapter 2.
39. Ibid., 131.
40. One further issue with Robinson’s work is that he does not differentiate between Germany and Austria, which share some similarities but are hardly identical histories in terms of their exposure to jazz. For criticism of Robinson’s application of his analytic model to Alban Berg and Austria, see Konrad Nowakowski, “Jazz in Wien: Die An- fänge,” Ankaenze 2011/2012, Special Issue: Jazz unlimited. Beiträge zur Jazz-Rezeption in Österreich (Wien: Mille Tre Verlag, 2012), 127–31.
41. Ibid. Ellington and Armstrong were hardly known in the US mainstream press during the early 1920s, especially compared to Paul Whiteman (Damon J. Philips, Shaping Jazz: Cities, Labels, and the Global Emergence of an Art Form [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013], 59). Indeed, even in the African American press, references to Armstrong remain irregular through 1926 and only in the final years of the decade will he and Duke Ellington become more common subjects of reporting (see Charlene B. Regester, Black Entertainers in African American Newspaper Articles, 2 vols. [Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, 2002/2010]).
46. As Philips shows, Berlin had more record labels involved in the production of jazz than either Paris or London and issued more jazz records than Paris in the same period. For Philips, the reason jazz produced in Germany is relatively unknown today is
not its difference or aberration from the norm of jazz in the 1920s, but its very same-
ness. As he notes, “Germany was unique within Europe as it had the most advanced and
intensive record production, but the bulk of the jazz produced from this system stylisti-
cally replicated the symphonic jazz from places like New York and London” (Philips,
Shaping Jazz, 75, see further 53–62).

CHAPTER 1

The quotation cited in the epigraph is from Hans Siemsen, “Jazz-Band,” Die Weltbühne
10 (March 1921), 288.

1. Ignoring its presence within contemporary writings, Siemsen’s article was one
of a few German ruminations on jazz to garner mention in the US press. See “Jazz
Would Have Saved World from War, He Says,” Baltimore Sun, April 10, 1921, 5;
George Seldes, “German Writer Asserts America Now ‘Drinks’ Jazz,” Washington Her-
ald, April 11, 1921, 10.

2. For biographical information on Siemsen, see Wolfgang Delseit, “Siemsen, Jo-
www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd11884699X.html

3. Damon J. Phillips, Shaping Jazz: Cities, Labels, and the Global Emergence of

4. Henry Ernst, “Meine Jagd nach der ‘Tschetzpend,’” Der Artist 2134 (November
11, 1926). Der Artist contains no page numbers. This text is also reprinted, with some
minor passages omitted, in Heribert Schröder, Tanz- und Unterhaltungsmusik in
Deutschland 1918–1933 (Bonn: Verlag für systematische Musikwissenschaft, 1990),
274–77.

5. Other than in Schröder, one finds discussion of Ernst’s article in J. Bradford
Robinson, “Jazz Reception in Weimar Germany: In Search of a Shimmy Figure,” Music
and Performance during the Weimar Republic, ed. Bryan Gilliam (New York: Cam-
bridge University Press, 1994), 117–19; Cornelius Partsch, Schräge Töne: Jazz und
Unterhaltungsmusik in der Kultur der Weimarer Republik (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler,
2000), 61. Most recently, Michel J. Schmidt uses Ernst’s story to argue for jazz recep-
tion in Weimar as predominantly marked by visual, rather than sound, culture (Schmidt,
“Visual Music: Jazz, Synaesthesia and the History of the Senses in the Weimar Repub-
lic,” German History 32:2 [June 2014], 201–2).


7. “Henry Ernst †,” Der Artist 2153 (March 25, 1927). On Ernst in Dortmund, see
further “Kapellen und Ensembles,” Der Artist 1323 (June 19, 1910). See as well his
advertisement for “Henry Ernst’s Wiener Salonorchester,” then performing in Hamburg,
where it is claimed he has been performing since 1904 (Der Artist 1349 [December 18,
1910]).

8. In October 1919, Wieninger published one of the first German compositions
with the word jazz in it, “Ducky. Jazzband Rag” (Leipzig: Schuberth, 1919), as adver-
tised in Hofmeisters Musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht 91 (October 1919): 122.
On similar compositions from the period, see the appendices in Rainer Lotz, “That Foolishness Rag: Ragtime in Europa—Neue Gedanken zu alten Tonträgern,” Jazzforschung = Jazz Research 21 (1989), 110–35.


10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

12. Jazz’s entry into Berlin via the zones of occupation was first discussed in Konrad Nowakowski, “Jazz in Wien: Die Anfänge,” Anklänge 2011/2012, Special Issue: Jazz unlimited. Beiträge zur Jazz-Rezeption in Österreich (Wien: Mille Tre Verlag, 2012), 43–44. Along with Nowakowski, Hans Pehl, an independent researcher in Frankfurt am Main has contributed to this project through several crucial discoveries about the presence of early jazz bands in Wiesbaden, most notably the Original Piccadilly Four (see below).


16. George Bartheleme, “Jazz,” Kölnische Zeitung, June 5, 1919. Unfortunately, the occasion for Bartheleme’s article is the tragic death of Europe, who was murdered in May 1919.

17. “A German Interpreter of Jazz,” Literary Digest (August 23, 1919), 31. The translation was heavily edited, making the ironic tone of the source text all but invisible. Reference to Bartheleme within the American literature on jazz can be found, for example, in Lawrence W. Levine, “Jazz and American Culture,” The Jazz Cadence of American Culture, ed. Robert G. O’Meally (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 441.

18. Bartheleme, “Jazz.”

19. Ibid.

20. Advertisement for the Apollo Restaurant, “Tanz mit Jazz-Band. Zum erstenmal in Deutschland!” Wiesbadener Bade-Blatt, December 13, 1919. The name of the group is specified in the same paper on December 18 as “Marcel’s American Jazz Band and the Comic Trap-Drummer Harry,” with the further detail that they are the jazz band from the Folies Bergère coming on February 1–2, 1920, in the Wiesbadener Bade-Blatt. This French jazz band, better known as “Marcel’s Jazz Band des Folies Bergère,” recorded in Paris in Spring 1919 before disappearing from the discographical record (http://www.redhotjazz.com/marcelsjazzband.html).


22. Advertisement in Der Artist 1872 (February 3, 1921).

23. Advertisement in Der Artist 1881 (April 7, 1921).

24. Advertisement in Der Artist 1880 (March 31, 1921).

25. Advertisement in Der Artist 1878 (March 17, 1921).
26. Advertisement in Der Artist 1903 (August 8, 1921).
27. Ibid.
28. Advertisement in Der Artist 1880 (March 31, 1921). See further Aitken and Rosenhaft, Black Germany, 150.
29. Advertisement for “Neger-Orchester” in Wiesbadener Bade-Blatt (October 1, 1921). My thanks to Hans Pehl for alerting me to the presence of this advertisement. Despite joint efforts, it has not been possible to further document this group.
33. On the performances of the SSO in Vienna, see Konrad Nowakowski, “‘30 Negros (Ladies and Gentlemen’): The Syncopated Orchestra in Vienna,” Black Music Research Journal 29 (Fall 2009): 229–82. Further details, as well as new information regarding the development of the SSO in Vienna and beyond, can be found in Nowakowski, “Jazz in Wien,” 58–77.
34. Bernhard Etté, “Zurück zur Geige!” Berliner Montagspost, September 6, 1926.
35. Ernst, “Meine Jagd nach der ’Tschetzpend.’”
37. For example, Siegwart Ehrlich’s “Erry-Merry. Jazztanz” was similarly named for the dance pair Erry & Merry, as was Bernhard Minte’s “Damarow-Jazz. Threestep” for the duo Damarow. All three songs, as well as Garter and Spink’s “Jazz. American Dance,” the song whose advertisement marks the first incidence of the word “jazz” in Der Artist, are listed in the June issue of Hofmeisters Musikalisch-literarischer Monatsheft 91 (June 1919): 64–65. A reproduction of the advertisement in Der Artist 1790 (June 1, 1919) can be found in Schröder, Tanz- und Unterhaltungsmusik, 267.
38. Advertisement for Simplicissimus in 8 Uhr Abendblatt, April 16, 17, and 22, 1919. The advertisement is also present on April 20, 1919, in the Vossische Zeitung.
41. There are two Berlin recordings of “Dolores Jazz” along with a few others that carry the word “jazz” in their title from fall 1919. The dance orchestra of a Kapellmeis-
ter Tauber recorded Byjacco’s “Dolores Jazz” (Polyphon 15598) as did Marek Weber (Parlophon 1058–1). “Cuyaba Jazz” was recorded on Homokord (15852) in 1919 by an unnamed orchestra. For recordings and further examples, see: http://grammophon-platten.de/e107_plugins/forum/forum_viewtopic.php?8393
42. Ernst, “Meine Jagd nach der ‘Tschetzpend.’”
43. Ibid.
44. Advertisement in Der Artist 1873 (February 10, 1921).
45. Ernst, “Meine Jagd nach der ‘Tschetzpend.’”
47. Schröder, Tanz- und Unterhaltungsmusik, 345.
50. Ibid.
51. As Catherine Parsonage writes: “The fact that American syncopated styles had been the basis for most popular dance music in Britain from the late nineteenth century meant that jazz was perceived, initially at least, as merely another dance craze” (Parsonage, The Evolution of Jazz in Britain, 16). On the situation in France, see Mathew Jordan, Le Jazz: Jazz and French Cultural Identity (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 45–47.
53. A high-resolution digital copy of this image can be found at: http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2004665821/
54. The poster itself seems to have been constructed by the artist van Santen, who had ties to both the Anti-Bolshevist League and the German Publicity Office. See Sherwin Simmons, “Grimaces on the Walls: Anti-Bolshevist Posters and the Debate about Kitsch,” Design Issues 14:2 (Summer 1998), 27. See further Kate Elswit, “‘Berlin . . . Your Dance Partner Is Death,’” The Drama Review 53:1 (Spring 2009): 73–92.
56. Further information on this recording, long assumed to have been the product of a misguided German Kapellmeister, can be found at http://grammophon-platten.de/page.php?477


62. On these examples as well as others, see Rainer Lotz, *Black People: Entertainers of African Descent in Europe, and Germany* (Bonn: Birgit Lotz Verlag, 1999), as well as the more recent two-volume *Black Europe* (2013). On minstrel imagery in German advertising, see David Ciarlo, *Advertising Empire: Race and Advertising* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010).


71. Tom Black is described as a “Negro” (Neger), whose dances enthralled the audience at the relatively up-scale establishment in Berlin West (Poldi Schmidl, “Berlin,” Der Artist 1839 [May 13, 1920]). See also advertisements for Adi-Haus in Berliner Tageblatt, May 8, 15, 22, and 29, 1920.

72. Popular theater and revue culture in Berlin is discussed further in chapter 4.

73. Advertisement for Haremsnächte in Berliner Tageblatt, October 1, 1920.


77. Poley, Decolonization in Germany, 172–74.


79. The two affected groups were the Lola-Bach Ballet and its own Haremsnächte as well as the scene “Erotik” by the Erna Offeney Ballet. These prohibitions were issued not because of lewdness but out of concern for “public order” (Peter Jelavich, Berlin Cabaret [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993], 174–75).

80. Poley, Decolonization in Germany, 172–75.


82. Nagl, Die unheimliche Maschine, 155ff.


85. Advertisement for Schall und Rauch, featuring “Kirchner’s Original-Jazz-Band” Berliner Tageblatt, April 15, 1921, while a later advertisement references “The High Life Jazz-Band” (Berliner Tageblatt, May 1, 1921).

86. Tucholsky’s activities within Sound and Smoke are documented, for example, in Lareau, The Wild Stage, 28–32, 39–49. Jaap Kool, discussed below, appears in the program for Sound and Smoke as providing music for one of Anita Berber’s dances (Program for “Schall und Rauch,” April 1920, Schall und Rauch [April 1920], 4).


88. “Dada-Trott,” Schall und Rauch. Dada-Heft (May 1920), 1mm [sic].


90. Like his “Jonny (fox erotic),” which is discussed below, the music for this song was announced in December 1920 (Hofmeister Musikalisich-literarischer Monatsbericht 92:12 [December 1920], 203).
92. In a 1922 discussion, Herwarth Walden references recordings by early jazz artists Eric Borchard and the Original Piccadilly Four in addition to Hollaender’s “Jonny” (“Von den schönen Künsten,” Der Sturm 13 [May 5, 1922], 71).
95. Mehring’s version was performed by cabaret artist Gussy Holl and set to music by Werner Richard Heymann (Walter Mehring, “If the man in the moon were a coon,” Chronik der Lustbarkeiten: Die Gedichte, Lieder und Chansons, 1918–1933 [Düsseldorf: Claasen Verlag, 1981], 95–98). Originally published in Das politische Cabaret: Chansons, Songs, Couplets (Dresden: Rudolf Kaemmerer, 1920): 71–74.
97. Mehring, “If the man in the moon were a coon,” Chronik der Lustbarkeiten, 96. English in original italicized.
98. As noted above, the first documented appearance of the word “jazz” this author has found for Berlin is the April 16, 1919 advertisement for Bella Chitta and Arthur Dolores’ jazz dance in the 8 Uhr Abendblatt. It is, of course, possible that earlier examples will be found. These would likely resemble one of three examples of the article “Die ‘Jazz band’ in Paris,” which were published in Vienna (Neues 8 Uhr-Blatt, October 16, 1918), Bern (Intelligenzblatt, October 18, 1918), and Constance (Konstanzer Zeitung, October 30, 1918). As Konrad Nowakowski has shown, the Vienna article derives from eminent Clement Vautel’s column “Mon Film” in Le Journal, here from September 27, 1918 (Nowakowski, “Jazz in Wien,” 34–35). There are thus potentially other versions of this article that appeared around mid-October 1918, but the Konstanzer Zeitung’s publication is currently the first published reference to jazz music within Germany’s political boundaries. This article is discussed, albeit in a different context, in Wilfried Witte, Erklärungsnotstand: die Grippeepidemie 1918–1920 in Deutschland unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Badens (Herbolzheim: Centaurus-Verlag, 2006), 102.
99. There is some indication that “jazz bands” may have been present in the capital before January 1921 (Franz Wolfgang Koebner, Jazz und Shimmy: Brevier der neuesten Tänze [Berlin: Eysler, 1921], 3). However, thus far no evidence has surfaced regarding their presence, either in the form of advertisements or critical writing.
100. Rasula, “Jazzbandism,” 70–71. As Arthur Briggs, who performed in Austria, Germany, France, and elsewhere, later stated: “For the French people the jazz band was the drums. They called [the drums] the jazz band” (Arthur Briggs, quoted in Mark Miller, Some Hustling This: Taking Jazz to the World [Toronto: Mercury Press, 2005], 72). On the terminology of jazz bands and jazz in Australia, see John Whiteoak, “‘Jazzing’ and Australia’s First Jazz Band,” Popular Music 13:3 (October 1994), 279–95.

101. Beginning in January, one finds advertisements for jazz bands in the B.Z. am Mittag and 8 Uhr Abendblatt, while they begin in other newspapers (Berliner Tageblatt, Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger, Vossische Zeitung, Berliner Montagspost) in March and April. Though not included in this list, a second wave of jazz bands comes to Berlin in September 1921.

102. Advertisement for the “Cosmo Jazz Band” at Wien-Berlin in Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger March 6, 1921. Most advertisements repeat over a few days, in some cases longer, and appear simultaneously in multiple newspapers, e.g., the advertisements for “Cosmo Jazz Band” in B.Z. am Mittag, March 5, 1921, or the Berliner Tageblatt, March 6, 1921.

103. Advertisement for “Jimmi-Jazz-Band” at the Rokoko in Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger April 21, 1921. This formation may be identical to earlier advertisements for “Jimy Tanz mit Jazz Band” at the Palais des Westens, which began appearing in early March (Berliner Tageblatt and B.Z. am Mittag, March 5, 1921).

104. Advertisement for “Ballorchester Boesing mit Original Jazz Band” at the Palais der Friedrichstadt in Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger, April 3, 1921.

105. Advertisement for the “High Life Jazz-Band” at the Schall und Rauch in Berliner Tageblatt, May 1, 1921.

106. Advertisement for “Jazz-Band Max de Groot” at the Luna-Palais in Berliner Tageblatt, May 8, 1921.

107. At the Apollo in Wiesbaden, they are first advertised as “Neuer JAZZ-BAND. Die Original Piccadilly [sic] direkt von London” in Wiesbadener Bade-Blatt, October 14, 1920. They perform in Wiesbaden at the Apollo at least until January 1 (Wiesbadener Bade-Blatt, January 1–3, 1921). The group’s presence in Wiesbaden was first discovered by Hans Pehl.

108. See Journal de Geneve, January 14, 1922; Neue Zürcher Zeitung, April 5, 1922; Feuille d’avis de Lausanne, June 16, 1923. This last advertisement refers to performances by the “Merry Harmony Makers and the Piccadilly Jazz Band.” Whether this band is identical to the Original Piccadilly Four or merely an imitator is, at this point, unclear.

109. An overview of the group’s discography and discussion of previous speculations regarding the group’s personnel, in addition to recordings and reproductions of records and advertisements are available at: http://grammophon-platten.de/page.php?397

110. Advertisement for the Scala-Casino in B.Z. am Mittag, February 19, 1921. This band, too, may have come from Wiesbaden. In the Wiesbadener Bade-Blatt, one finds the last advertisement for an Original American Jazz Band on February 10, 1921, which fits well with the information regarding Eric Borchard contained in footnote 112. My thanks to Konrad Nowakowski for pointing this out to me.


114. Though Borchard’s earliest recordings had originally been dated to October 1920, this has been corrected to May 1921 (Rainer Lotz and Horst Bergmeier, *Der Jazz in Deutschland*, vol. 1 [Hambergen: Bear Family Records, 2008], 80). Though not included in the above discussion, note should be made of one further German jazz pioneer, Fred Ross, who recorded six sides for Beka in July 1921. Pianist Fred Ross, likely born as Erwin Rosenthal in Berlin, may also have spent time in the United States as indicated in advertisements for his group as “Ross Brothers from New York with Jazz Band” (*B.Z. am Mittag*, April 8, 1921). Unlike the case of Borchard, documentation of residency in the United States for Ross has yet to be found.

115. Roberts had originally come to Germany in the prewar era to study music from either Trinidad or Barbados, but, as a British subject, he was interned during the war. When the hostilities ended, he continued to perform music, only this time it was as a jazz drummer, in Wiesbaden, Berlin and beyond. My thanks to Konrad Nowakowski for sharing with me information on Roberts’ background gleaned from his son, Ronald Roberts’ memoirs (Ronald Roberts, “Autobiographical Account,” *Personal Papers and Correspondence 1913–1994*, The Wiener Library, London).

116. “Köln,” *Der Artist* 1904 (September 15, 1921).
Advertisement for Philipps-Neger-Jazz-Band at the Scala-Casino in B.Z. am Mittag, November 26, 1921.

Hans Erich Winckler, "Der rote Jazz," Das schiefe Podium: Ein buntes Brett’l Buch, ed. Walter Wenng (Berlin: Eysler, 1921), 104–6; Walter Mehring, "Grotesksong," Die Weltbühne 17:13 (March 31, 1921), 364; reprinted as Walter Mehring, "Jazz-band," Das Ketzerbrevier (Munich: Kurt Wolff, 1921), 36–38. Winckler’s piece was set to music by Hermann Krome, reproduced in part in Das Schiefe Podium, while in 1923, Mehring’s “Jazz-band” was set to music by Mischa Spoliansky (Lareau, “Jonny’s Jazz,” 38–40).

Franz Wolfgang Koebner, Jazz und Shimmy: Brevier der neuesten Tänze (Berlin: Eysler, 1921).


Like “jazz” and “jazz band,” the word “shimmy” was given a variety of spellings, most notably “Jimmy.”


"Der Jimmy und der Shimney [sic]," Berliner Illustirte Zeitung 30 (April 17, 1921), 232.


Kurt Tucholsky also refers to the girth of the jazz band players, though he specifies them as fat banjo players and fat clarinetists (“Die neuen Troubadoure," Die Weltbühne 17 [March 24, 1921], 343).

Koebner, Jazz und Shimmy, 109.


Pol., “Jazz-Band und Jimmy," Berliner Illustirte Zeitung 30 (February 17, 1921), 116. This author here is likely Heinz Pollack, who wrote an early treatment of
popular dance *Die Revolution des Gesellschaftstanzes* (Dresden: Sibyllen-Verlag, 1922).


134. Richard Effner, “Etwas über den Jazz,” *Der Artist* 1890 (June 6, 1921).


139. Futurism is referenced in Koebner, *Jazz und Shimmy*, 4, as well as in the three texts by Curt Max Roehr from *Berliner Tageblatt, Der Artist*, and *Jazz und Shimmy*, 11.


141. Herwarth Walden writes: “The musical arts are being Einsteined (vereinsteint). All knowledge is relative” (“Von den schönen Künsten,” 70–71).

142. Herwarth Walden, “Shimmy,” *Der Sturm* 13 (April 5, 1922) and Wedderkop, “Shimmi greift ein.” These two authors will continue the debate over jazz in 1925 on the occasion of the Berlin performances of the African American revue *Chocolate Kiddies*. See chapter 2.


145. Ibid., 46, 47.


155. Schmalhausen’s image is found on page 41 of Jaap Kool, “Vom Negerdorf zur Philharmonie” and is available online at: http://magazine.illustrierte-presse.de/zeitschriften/werkansicht/dlf/73406/53/0/

156. For example, both Kool’s “Tanzmusik” and Siemsen’s “Jazz-Band” frame their judgments of jazz with prewar experiences of Black musicians (Kool, “Tanzmusik,” *Jazz und Shimmy*, 100; Siemsen, “Jazz-Band,” 167).


162. As Schmidl writes: “A true jazz band despises everything that is even somewhat musical and instead prefers Negro melodies. Now we understand why the drum plays such a tremendously important role” (Poldi Schmidl Der Artist 1872 [March 2, 1921]).


165. Poldi Schmidl Der Artist 1922 (January 19, 1922).

166. Ibid.

167. That Schmidl also has the occupation in mind is evidenced when he writes towards the end: “Let’s assume that the French and with them their brothers, the honorable Senegal Negroes, marched out from the occupied territories and some of the Senegal Negroes stayed in Germany. This will one day likely be the case. With the blacks, the French will leave us a legacy undesirable to the civilian population, but that will be embraced as a sensation by the German audience of the entertainment establishments” (Schmidl, “Berlin,” Der Artist 1922 [January 19, 1922]).


169. Though he is listed as a dancer for the first two appearances at Chemnitz in
1924. Tom Boston is elsewhere billed “the American Original-Jazz-Band-Canon,” likely meaning that he was the drummer, in Das Programm (Hans Pehl, personal correspondence with the author, March 1 and 3, 2013; Rainer Lotz, personal correspondence with the author, January 22, 2013).

170. Both Dix and Gotsch were active in Dresden during the same period and in the same year, 1922, when Gotsch produced the woodcut “Jimmy [Tanzbar]” (“Jimmy [Dance Bar]”). On Gotsch, Dix and “Tom Boston,” see Sell-Tower, Envisioning America: Prints, Drawings, and Photographs by George Grosz and his Contemporaries 1915–1933 (Cambridge, MA: Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard University, 1990), 92; Reinhold Heller et al., eds., Stark Impressions: Graphic Production in Germany, 1918–1933 (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1993), 152–53.

171. On jazz in Dresden, see the discussion below regarding Otto Dix’s work, An die Schönheit. In Danzig, “Marcel’s Jazz Band” appeared in November 1920 at the Wintergarten (Gazete Gdanska, November 24, 1920), though it is unclear whether this group is identical to the one that had appeared earlier in Wiesbaden. The group depicted here likely performed in the period between 1920 and 1923. In Prague, the early jazz formation, the “Ross Brothers,” performed there with a Black dancer named “Mr. Bob” (Prager Tagblatt, October 8, 1921). For the developments in Vienna, as well as the connection with Berlin, see Nowakowski “Jazz in Wien.”


173. It is important that my argument here not be taken to indicate directionality in German jazz reception, e.g., from a consideration of jazz as white to one of jazz as Black music. Instead, throughout the period, both points of view are present and can, only with difficulty, be mapped chronologically and/or politically. The African American jazz musician Sam Wooding and the white jazz musician Paul Whiteman, examined in chapters 2 and 3, are examples of this difficulty.


CHAPTER 2

The quotation cited in the epigraph is from Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, “Lob der Revue,” Musikblätter des Anbruch 8 (March/April 1926), 55.


2. As O. M. Seibt wrote from Berlin in the Billboard: “Ever since the French occupied large slices of German territory with thousands of black soldiers, who at the moment of writing are still stationed there, the majority of the German people do not exactly crave to see colored performers, and repeated experiences with such acts turned out indifferent successes, no matter how clever the individual artiste may have been” (Seibt, quoted in Mark Miller, Some Hustling This: Taking Jazz to the World 1914–1929 [Toronto: Mercury Press, 2005], 123). In addition, Garvin Bushell, a member of Wooding’s band, later reported the following story: “After opening night at the Admiral’s Palace there were people out front crowding around the performers and musicians. Everybody was commenting on how well we’d performed, how much they loved our work,
and what a great show it was. But one German evidently had had too many drinks. He came right up into the crowd and tore open his shirt, saying in German (which I spoke), ‘I’m a German to my heart. I don’t understand why the government allows these black people to come to our country. During the war they cut off our noses and our ears.’ He was speaking about the Senegalese, you know. The Senegalese didn’t take prisoners: when a German went down they just cut off the end of his nose or an ear and put it on a string. That way when they went back home they could show how many men they’d killed. So this guy went on, saying, ‘I have not forgotten what they did to us, and I won’t stand for it. They should run them out of Germany’” (Garvin Bushell, as told to Mark Tucker, Jazz From The Beginning [Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988, 57]).

3. One indication of the increasing importance of Wooding’s jazz band to the show’s success is that while original advertisements mentioned neither jazz nor Wooding, by the end of the show’s run in July, the Berliner Tageblatt ran ads that referenced both jazz and Sam Wooding’s name specifically (Berliner Tageblatt, July 2–5, 1925).


6. The following examples were to my knowledge first traced in the BZ am Mittag by Konrad Nowakowski. See his “Jazz in Wien: Die Anfänge” Anklaenge 2011/2012, Special Issue: Jazz Unlimited: Beiträge zur Jazz- Rezeption in Österreich (Vienna: Mille Tre Verlag, 2012), 134–36.


9. Advertisements for Clapham’s band appear, for example, in the *Berliner Morgenpost*, *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, and *BZ am Mittag* between May 6 and May 12, 1924.

10. On Clapham and these recordings, of which no known copy exists, see “George Clapham,” *Black Europe*, vol. 2, 232–34.

11. On the biographies of these jazz musicians in relation to the Southern Syncopated Orchestra, see Howard Rye, “Southern Syncopated Orchestra: The Roster,” *Black Music Research Journal* 30:1 (Spring 2010), 22 (Boucher), 26 (Clapham), 34–35 (Buddy Gilmore), 36 (Mattie Gilmore). Rye indicates that Hines may also have been a member of the SSO at one point, but this remains unconfirmed (39).

12. Julian Fuhs (also Fuss) was born in Berlin but emigrated to the United States in 1910. In 1924, he returned to Germany and made a name for himself as a popular bandleader, in particular by performing jazz-like music in revues such as An Alle at the Grosses Schauspielhaus or Wild West Mädel at the Neues Theater am Zoo in late 1924 and early 1925. See Ulrich Biller’s collection of facts and articles related to Fuhs’ career at http://grammophon-platten.de/page.php?478.0. Significant here is that James Horton Boucher, a Black British violinist, also performed with the Julian Fuhs band in Berlin Wild West Mädel. Boucher had been a member of the SSO as well (Rye, “Southern Syncopated Orchestra: The Roster,” 22).


14. The London Sonora Band was a formation under drummer and saxophonist Bobby Hind. Like previous groups, it premiered at the Scala in September 1924 and then, in December, moved to the Barberina, where it would remain until May 1925, when Alex Hyde’s formation replaced it. See “Aus den Varieteprogrammen,” *Berliner Tageblatt*, September 12, 1924; advertisement for Barberina, “London Sonora Band. Das beste Jazz-Orchester der Welt,” *Berliner Tageblatt*, December 14, 1924. On this band, see the collection of materials by Ulrich Biller at http://grammophon-platten.de/page.php?503

15. On this American group’s very early appearance in Munich, see Nowakowski, “Jazz in Wien,” 951241. The group appeared in the Lessing Theater’s production in Berlin (Programm for “Wien gib acht!”; ca. 1924, Theater, Berlin Collection; AR 3048/MF 450; box 1; folder 3; Leo Baeck Institute).

16. Other than the evidence the group left in the discographical record, little is known about this group’s impact in Berlin or its exact arrival. Period references to the band’s presence in Berlin include: “Berlin Now Dancing Nightly; Ban Lifted,” *Variety* (May 1925): 50; Rez., “Amateurjazzkapellen,” *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, March 4, 1926.

17. Fritz Zielesch did, however, connect the Fisk Jubilee Singers with the Chocolate Kiddies revue in a discussion of race relations in America that appeared before the premiere of the revue (“Der Lebenskampf der schwarzen Rasse,” *Berliner Tageblatt*, May
In addition, critic Leopold Schmidt, in a later piece from July 1925, contrasted the authenticity of the Fisk Jubilee Singers with the “ghastly [gräßliche] jazz band” in the *Admiralspalast* (“Rückblick,” *Berliner Tageblatt*, July 22, 1925.).

18. For example, while the 1928 article “Jazz-Band” contains photographs of other African American jazz bands, Wooding’s individual portrait and name are featured alongside white American, German, and European jazz musicians like Vincent Lopez, Paul Whiteman, Jack Hylton, Eric Borchard, and Fred Ross (Eduard Duisberg, “Jazz-Band,” *Das Magazin* 4 [May 1928], 2265).


22. Though the complete history of the group remains to be written, Wooding and the Chocolate Kiddies toured Europe from May 1925 through June 1926. The show then fell apart, and Wooding continued on individually with some of the show’s performers, e.g., Greenlee and Drayton. Wooding toured like this for the remainder of 1926 and into 1927 when he next departed for South America, touring there until around July when Dave Peyton wrote of Wooding’s performance in Argentina (Dave Peyton, “The Musical Bunch,” *Chicago Defender*, July 2, 1927; Miller, *Some Hustling This*, 155–59). After returning to the United States, Wooding performed in New York and then left again for Europe and Berlin in June 1928 to premiere *Die schwarze Revue* (*The Black Revue*), discussed in chapter 4. After Berlin, he played in Brussels, Paris, Copenhagen, and elsewhere. He left Europe in December 1931 and was back performing at Harlem’s *Lafayette Theatre* (Advertisement for Sam Wooding and His International Chocolate Kiddies’ Orchestra, *New York Amsterdam News*, January 27, 1932, 10). Though it differs in some details than what is presented here, see “Sam Wooding,” Green, Lotz, and Rye, *Black Europe*, vol. 2, 280–90. Further details on the path of the Chocolate Kiddies revue across Germany and Europe between 1925 and 1926 are presented in Bo Lindström and Dan Vernhettés, *Travelling Blues: The Life and Music of Tommy Ladnier* (Paris: Jazz’Edit, 2009), 87–110.

23. The December 1925 return of the Chocolate Kiddies did not garner much notice in the Berlin press. Though advertisements can be found in major newspapers such as *Die Berliner Tageblatt*, *Vossische Zeitung*, *Neue Berliner Zeitung*, *Das 12 Uhr Blatt* beginning on December 20, 1925.


31. Ibid.


34. The information in this initial release was available by April 24 in Germany. *Der Artist* has a short note about a performance by forty African American artists that will premiere on May 25. Under the rubric “Was uns gerade noch fehlt” (The Last Thing We Need), an anonymous author bemoans the plan as yet another example of the “invasion” of Black artists in Berlin’s entertainment district (*Der Artist* 2053 [April 24, 1925]). On the wider response to the *Chocolate Kiddies*, see below.


36. The transliteration of Leonidoff’s name varies. It is given both as “Leonidow” and as “Leonidov.” The following discussion of Leonidoff’s role is based on the author’s joint research with Konrad Nowakowski.

37. On Leonidoff’s activities with the MAT, see the retrospective account offered in his memoirs, published as Leonid Leonidov, *Rampa i zhizn* (Paris: Russkoe teatral’noe izdatel’stvo za-Granitsei, 1955). This account focuses almost exclusively on the person-
alties he encountered in the Russian theater, with no mention of his involvement with the Chocolate Kiddies. My thanks to Vlad Bilenkin for help in assessing this work.


40. “Negerexotik im Raimund-Theater,” Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung, November 17, 1925. Leonidoff relates, however, that this initial project stalled when the salary demands became too high.


45. On issues facing Black performers in the period immediately preceding the 1920s, see, for example, Karen Sotiropoulos, Staging Race: Black Performers in Turn of the Century America (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009).


47. Sam Wooding, interviewed by Chris Albertson, New York, April 26, 1975. Originally conducted for the Smithsonian, these interviews with Wooding have been posted by Albertson on his website. The relevant section is at minute 44.00 and can be found at: http://stomp-off.blogspot.com/2012/03/sam-wooding-iii.html

48. It seems to have reached the Black community in Harlem as well. Abbie Mitchell remarks that when she returned from Europe in 1923, acting in New York had changed dramatically and everyone was speaking of Stanislavski (Abbie Mitchell, “Autobiographical Notes re: 1920s,” Will Mercer Cook Papers, Series G, 157–7, folder 19, Moorland-Springarn Research Center, Howard University).


50. On this period of Ellington’s career, see Mark Tucker, Ellington: The Early Years (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991).


52. Tucker, Ellington: The Early Years, 126.
53. “Jig Walk” alone was recorded on twelve separate occasions after its Berlin premiere (Tucker, Ellington: The Early Years, 135). See also the discography of European recordings of Ellington’s tunes in the 1920s in Björn Englund, “Chocolate Kiddies: The Show That Brought Jazz to Europe,” Storyville 62 (December 1975–January 1976), 50.


56. Floyd G. Snelson, “Chocolate Kiddies’ Company Sails for Germany,” the Pittsburgh Courier, May 16, 1925, 10. Though it is beyond the scope of this chapter, it is important to note that the revue received treatment in the African American press as well as in Variety throughout the summer, especially due to contract disputes that arose while the group played in Berlin. For example: “Two Artists Abroad May Quit Show,” Baltimore Afro-American, July 4, 1925, A4.


60. Advertisement for Chocolate Kiddies, Berliner Tageblatt, May 27, 1925.

61. Advertisement for Chocolate Kiddies, Berliner Tageblatt, June 6, 1925.


63. A number of scenes of the group’s appearance in Moscow can be seen in Dziga Vertov’s film A Sixth Part of the World (1926).


65. On the role of Ellington and his music in the revue, see below.

66. According to the program, the performers were Thadeaus Greenlee and Rufus Drayton, the Three Eddies (Shakey Beasley, Tiny Ray, and Chick Horsey), Lottie Gee, Margaret Sims, Arthur Bryson, Bobby and Babe Goins, Arthur Strut Payne, Adelaide Hall, Charles Davis, George Statson, and Sam Wooding’s Orchestra. The chorus was made up of Jessie Crawford, Viola Branch, Rita Walker, Thelma Green, Bobby Vincent, Thelma Watkins, Marie Bushell, Bernice Miles, Mamie Savoy, Allegritta Anderson, Lydia Jones, Helen Miles, and Ruth Williams.

67. This is a reference to the popular series of language instruction books promising to teach Germans 1000 words of a foreign language, e.g., 1000 Worte English (Berlin: Ullstein Verlag 1925).

68. “Program of Chocolate Kiddies Revue.”
69. Bushell, *Jazz From the Beginning*, 55.

70. Further details on song names and writers for all of the acts can be found in Englund, “Chocolate Kiddies: The Show that Brought Jazz to Europe,” 45–46.

71. Ian Cameron Williams, *Underneath a Harlem Moon: The Harlem to Paris Years of Adelaide Hall* (New York: Continuum, 2002), 75.

72. Bushell, *Jazz From the Beginning*, 55.


77. Fritz Giese, *Girlkultur: Vergleiche zwischen europäischem und amerikanischem Lebens- und Rhythmusgefühl* (Munich: Delphin Verlag, 1925), 33. See chapter 4 for further discussion of Giese’s work.


80. Ibid., 159, trans. altered.

81. Here I am not as concerned about rehashing the Adorno-Benjamin debate of the 1930s in relation to experience as to read out of Adorno’s own texts on music a set of questions and problematics. For a comparative view of their respective employments of the concept of experience, however, see Martin Jay, *Songs of Experience: Modern American and European Variations on a Universal Theme* (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 312–60.


84. Ibid., 508.

85. Ibid.

86. Ibid., 509.
89. Ibid.
92. Ibid.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid.
100. One article recounts a confrontation in a Berlin bar between two African American performers from the group and German nationalists. In this account, the nationalists are thrown out of the bar after the patrons stand up against this injustice (A. A., “Weiße Kulturträger,” Welt am Montag, June 2, 1925). Regardless of whether the event took place in this manner, as noted earlier in footnote 2, troupe members later recalled similar incidents with German nationalists.

101. Sam Wooding quoted in Biagioni, Herb Flemming, 19–20. Various versions of this story have been given by Wooding and others from the band (Bushell, Jazz from the Beginning, 55; Deffaa, Voices of the Jazz Age, 17). “Bis” here refers not to the German preposition meaning “until,” but to the French-language term for “encore.”


103. Bie, “Chocolate Kiddies.”

104. Fritz Zielesch, “Chocolate Kiddies.”

105. Michel, “Chocolate Kiddies.”


110. Nonetheless and demonstrating the wide range of views present at the time, the reviewer for the Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger suggested in a generally negative article that the “squawking and squeaking (Gequäke und Gequieke) was not as annoying” as usual, and that German jazz bands would do well to learn from them (P., “Chocolate Kiddies,” Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger).

111. Rumpelstilzchen [Adolf Stein], Haste Worte? (Berlin: Winkler, 1925), 321.

112. Fred Hildebrandt, “Negertheater.”


115. Ibid.

116. Ibid., 818–19.

117. Bie, “Chocolate Kiddies.”

118. St., “Theater im Admiralspalast.”


120. Ibid., 26–27.

121. RK, “Negertheater.”

122. Fritz Zielesch, “Chocolate Kiddies.”


124. Born in Hungary, Ernő Rapée was an American composer of popular, jazz-inflected music of the 1920s, but who remained active in Europe and Berlin through his activities with music for silent film.
125. The Funkstunde was the first radio station in Berlin and all of Germany, opening in 1923.


127. On Rathaus’ as well as other composers’ use of jazz and America, see the discussion in chapter 7.


129. Ibid., 333, 335.

130. Ibid. Italics in original.

131. Ibid., 336.

132. Ibid.

133. Ibid. Italics in original.

134. Ibid.


136. See note 27 for further reviews of Wooding’s last performances in Berlin.

137. David, “Abschied vom Jazz,” 413.

138. Ibid., 415.


CHAPTER 3

The quotation cited in the epigraph is from Jaap Kool, “Vom Negerdorf zur Philharmonie,” Uhu 1:2 (November 1924), 31.


2. It should be noted that while all three were born outside of Germany’s borders at the time, each of their works were published by a German press, Berlin in the cases of Janowitz and Schickele and Leipzig in the case of Renker.
3. The recent collection edited by Kristen Krick-Aigner and Marc-Oliver Schuster, *Jazz in German-Language Literature* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2013), does address Schickele and Janowitz in articles by Eileen Simonow, Jürgen Grandt, and Pascale Cohen-Avenel, along with other examples of jazz in German-language literature. There is no mention of either Renker or the symphony in these works, however.


7. Max Brod, “Shimmy und Foxtrott” *Der Auftakt* 2 (1922), 256–59. This piece was also published under the same title in *Prager Tagblatt*, October 8, 1922.


14. *Lustige Blätter*, Paul Whiteman Collection, Berlin Folder, Williams College, ca. June 1926. My thanks to librarian Linda Hall, Whiteman author Don Rayno, and Meredith Soeder for helping make these materials available to me. Any document contained within the Whiteman Collection will be designated in the footnotes.


20. “Whiteman sucht den besten Foxtrott,” *Vossische Zeitung*, June 12, 1926; an identical article is published in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* on June 14, 1926, as well.

27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Whiteman, “Paul Whiteman.”
30. Ibid.
33. Stuckenschmidt, “Paul Whiteman.”
34. Aside from Stuckenschmidt’s and Siemsen’s early pre-readings of the concert, Hungarian pianist and critic Arpad Sándor published “Jazz” in the *Berliner Tageblatt* on June 9, 1926, in which he, too, discusses Whiteman, though more generally. In addition, an excerpt from Henry Osgood’s *So This Is Jazz* was reprinted as “Jazz-Anatomie. Zu dem Berliner Gastspiel des Whiteman Jazz-Symphonie-Orchesters,” *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, June 24, 1926. Finally, Arthur Rundt, discussed in chapter 6, published an article about jazz, largely based upon his travelogue, *Amerika ist anders* (Arthur Rundt, “Jazz,” *Berliner Börsen-Courier*, June 25, 1926. Paul Whiteman Collection, Berlin Folder, Williams College).
37. Further details regarding Whiteman’s itinerary and reception abroad are given in Rayno, *Paul Whiteman*, 127–38.
39. Goldmann wrote back home to Vienna: “Just like everywhere else, Paul Whiteman was an enormous success with the audience in Berlin. During the concerts there was tremendous applause after each number. The Berlin critics, however, rejected the ‘symphonic jazz orchestra’ for the most part, despite all recognition of the technical achievement” (“Paul Whiteman und sein Jazzorchester”).


47. Ibid.


55. Other than those discussed below, another possible exception to this rule is Erwin Sedding’s *Jazzyn* (Berlin: Weltbücher Verlag, 1927). Sedding was a critic for *Der Artist* and wrote at least three articles on jazz: “Jazz,” *Der Artist* 2072 (September 4, 1925); “Klavier und Jazzband,” *Der Artist* 2076 (October 2, 1925); “La. Jazzschläger,” *Der Artist* 2086 (December 11, 1925). On Sedding’s novel, see Pascale Cohen-Avenel, “An Epidemic of Jazz in German-Language Literature: 1920–1931,” *Jazz in German Language Literature*, 137–46.


58. Ibid.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid.

68. These include modernist parody, as seen in the opening’s homage to Dickens’ *A Tale of Two Cities* and the modernist melding of music and text in Tolstoy’s *Kreutzer Sonata*, as well as more vernacular variants like the detective novel implicated through the introduction of a serial killer and painter, Mr. Astragalus, to the novel. See further Cornelius Partsch, “That Weimar Jazz,” *New England Review* 23:4 (Fall 2002), 189–91.
71. On this aspect in Janowitz, see Brady, 467–68.
76. On production statistics for the saxophone, see ibid., 132. On the saxophone’s cultural uses in the context of jazz and otherwise, see Daniel M. Bell, “The Saxophone

77. Schröder, *Tanz- und Unterhaltungsmusik*, 132. Though Schröder refers here to Baresel’s 1929 *Das neue Jazzbuch*, the practice of doubling obviously starts much earlier, in Germany as well as in the United States.

78. For van Maray, the perfect jazz is that performed by the seagulls over the lake by the hotel, where he and Johanna first hear the jazz drummer and he decides to write his jazz symphony. They excite him because of their ability to travel between airy heights and watery depths: “They dove so deep that the tips of their wings became wet. Then they darted back above and the next cycle was a bit higher than the one from which they’d fallen. They gave me courage, the seagulls! They fit my music” (SFJ 56).


81. Hirsch’s Jewishness is referenced, for example, in his “sickly yellow (fahl-gelbes) face marked by metropolis and civilization” (SUJ 89).


83. Ibid., 623.

84. For Renker, the saxophone enables Makua-Taka to accommodate his African sound to the European ear, thus the statement: “The mediator to the world of culture was the saxophone that floated above it [the music], that gave the ears of whites the lyrical melody they demanded” (SUJ 35).

85. Advertisement for *Chocolate Kiddies Hamburger Anzeiger*, August 7, 1925, as well as *Altonaer Neueste Nachrichten*, August 12, 1925. This was also used in advertisements of the return of the *Chocolate Kiddies* to Berlin (advertisement in *Berliner Tageblatt*, December 20, 1925).

86. On the role of the Alps and mountains within German culture, see the recent collection *Heights of Reflection: Mountains in the German Imagination from the Middle Ages to the Present*, eds. Sean Moore Ireton and Caroline Schumann (Rochester, Camden House, 2012).

87. Janowitz writes that jazz band boys are all “sailors who always get seasick” (JR 18), it is a lake that marks the beginning of John van Maray’s symphony and the end of his saxophone, while in Renker, Ricki Wehrberg is initially introduced as having a “passion for sailing” (SUJ 26).

CHAPTER 4


1. While obviously the gender of a noun in German must not necessarily correspond to biological sex, there remains something uncanny to the neuter gendering of *Weib*. The entry for *Weib* in Grimm’s *Wörterbuch* from the late nineteenth century, for example, states that any description of *Weib* must begin with a satisfactory explanation
of “the so conspicuous neuter gender of the word” (Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* [Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1878], s.v. Weib).


8. German discourse often employed the English term *Girl* instead of the German word for girl, *Mädchen*. I have therefore capitalized the word *Girl* throughout this chapter as a means of signifying the term’s use as a conceptual device.


12. Fritz Giese, *Girlkultur: Vergleiche zwischen amerikanischem und europäischem Rhythmus- und Lebensgefühl* (Munich: Delphin Verlag, 1925). All further references will be made parenthetically and indicated by “GK.”

14. This image from 1924 is from a scene at cabaret *Die Gondel (The Gondola)*. It originally appeared as “Karikatur einer Neger-Jazzband-Kapelle aus dem Kabarett ‘Die Gondel,' *Uhu* 1:2 (November 1924), 31 as an illustration to Jaap Kool’s article “Vom Negerdorf zur Philharmonie,” which is also referenced in chapter 3.


Notes to Pages 124–25


27. Theodor Lücke, “Gedanken der Revue,” Scene 16 (1926), 114. See also Jelavich’s discussion in Berlin Cabaret, 169.


29. On rationalization discourse and the experience of it by women during the Weimar Republic, see Grossmann, “Girlichkeit” or Thoroughly Rationalized Female: A New Woman in Weimar Germany?”

30. Here it should be pointed out that in addition to Berlin, individual performers as well as entire shows travelled across Germany to large- and medium-sized towns, as well as touring internationally. Though my focus in this chapter remains on Berlin, individual histories of Black performers in other large cities are necessary as well. One important example of such work for Frankfurt am Main is Hans Pehl, Afroamerikanische Unterhaltungskünstler in Frankfurt am Main. Eine Chronik von 1844 bis 1945 (Frankfurt am Main: n.p., 2010).


33. Program for “Die schwarze Revue” at the Ufa-Palast am Zoo (ca. June 1928), n.p. My thanks to Hans Pehl for providing me with a copy of the program.


35. For the 1931 show, see ML., “‘Louisiana,’ Douglas’ Revue-Operette im Deutschen Künstlertheater,” Berliner Morgenpost July 15, 1931. On Louisiana and Douglas’ work during the late 1920s and early 1930s more generally, see Lotz, Black People, 341–377.


39. Reviews of Welch’s performances can be found in: Das kleine Journal (June 24, 1932); Das 12-Uhr Blatt (June 22, 1932); Berliner Wochenschau (June 24, 1932), and Berliner Tribüne (June 28, 1932). My thanks to Stephen Bourne for providing me with copies of these texts.

40. A photograph of Douglas at the Biguine alongside the identical Black staff members from Tempo is reproduced in Martin and Alonzo, Zwischen Charleston und Stechschritt, 366. It is mistakenly dated to 1929 by the Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz. While it is clear from this photograph that Douglas was at the Biguine sometime in 1932, there is as of yet no further documentation.


42. Adolf Stein [Rumpelstilzchen], Nu wenn schon (Berlin: Brunnen Verlag, 1932), 231.

44. In the 1927 edition of the yearbook, which details performers for the previous year, individual members of the dance company at the Theater am Admiralspalast are listed, including African American and Afro-German performers, Ralph Grayson and Louis Brody (*Deutsches Bühnen-Jahrbuch*, vol. 38 [Berlin: Genossenschaft Deutscher Bühnen-Angehöriger, 1927], 245). The very next year, this section of this publication disappears (*Deutsches Bühnen-Jahrbuch*, vol. 39 [Berlin: Verlag Deutscher Bühnen-Angehöriger, 1928], 265) and with it references to African American, Afro-German, and Afro-European performers.


47. It was reported in the African American press that Bayton earned a total of $200,000 during her almost two years in Germany (Floyd J. Calvin, “Earns $200,000 on German Stage in 19 Months,” the *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 11, 1928). Additional examples of such performers as reported in the African American press can be found in the writings of Ivan H. Browning, himself a performer with the Four Harmony Kings. See Ivan H. Browning, “Across the Pond,” *Chicago Defender*, May 28, 1927, 6; “European Notes,” *New York Amsterdam News*, February 9, 1927, 10; “News of Our Entertainers in Europe,” *New York Amsterdam News*, April 18, 1928, 7; “News of London,” *New York Amsterdam News*, August 1, 1928, 6.


50. See, for example, Yva’s photographs of Louis Brody as saxophone player overlaid alongside images of dancing women (Marion Beckers and Elisabeth Moortgat, eds., *Yva : Photographien 1925–1938* [Tübingen: Wasmuth, 2001]) that originally appeared in *Die Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung* or Frans Masereel’s visual work *Jazz* from 1931, which depicts three Black saxophone players standing over a white female dancer (reprinted in Sell Tower, *Envisioning America*, 105).

52. The image of Helm is reprinted in Cowan, *Technology’s Pulse*, 205. A photograph of Rosa Valetti with a saxophone can be found in *Uhu* 2: 2 (November 1925), 38; Schroeter can be seen in Beckers and Moortgat, eds., *Yva: Photographien 1925–1938*, 28; Trude Hesterberg’s performance was reprinted in the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* 35 (September 5, 1926), 1151; For Knight’s painting, see *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* 35 (July 11, 1926), 871.

53. My thanks to Konrad Nowakowski and Hans Pehl for their invaluable help in identifying Jones.


56. For a discussion of examples of female blackface, see Martin and Alonzo, eds., *Zwischen Charleston und Stechschritt*, 352–71.


63. *The Great Attraction* premiered three months later than Kortner’s *The Good Sinner* and it is unclear whether the two productions had any influence on each other. On *The Good Sinner*, see Nagl, *Die unheimliche Maschine*, 696–99.

64. The document has been reprinted as “Erlaß wider die Negerkultur für deutsches Volkstum,” *Quellen zur Geschichte Thüringens*, ed. Jürgen John, vol. 3 (Erfurt: LZT, 1996), 140–41. Numerous, mostly negative reactions to the decree were published, e.g.: “Frict blamiert sich nach Jazz-Noten,” *8 Uhr Abendblatt*, April 15, 1930; “Frick zieht gegen den Drachen Jazz,” *Vossische Zeitung*, April 15, 1930; “Ehrenrettung des Jazz,”...
Berlin Volkszeitung, April 24, 1930; Josef Freudenthal, “Jazzmusik verboten!” Der Artist 2315 (May 2, 1930); Eberhard Preußner, “Kultur-Reaktion,” Musik und Gesellschaft 1 (July 1930): 96–98. On the 1930 ban, see chapter 7 for further discussion.


66. “Frick blamiert sich nach Jazz-Noten.” That this may be Kurt Weill, rather than “Bruno Weil,” is hinted at in the text through references to this composer producing “songs” and that he found it unsurprising that this came from Weimar, supposedly the only German city which has yet to produce the Threepenny Opera. The article also includes the anonymous opinion of a Black musician. This was possibly Sam Wooding, who was performing in Berlin in April 1930 when the decree was issued (see chapter 2).

67. Ibid., 86.

68. Kitty is shadowed throughout the film by a portly white American named Tommy, who is infatuated with her and eventually orchestrates her release from the contract with Jackson. By the end of the film, however, Tommy gives up his claim on Kitty, thus removing one further impediment to Kitty’s own recuperation as white, German woman and wife.

69. “Du warst mir ein Roman” features music by Bronislaw Kaper and lyrics by Fritz Rotter. It was released by the Odeon record company as O-4984a in 1931 as performed by Richard Tauber and the Odeon Künstler-Orchester.


71. Hans Pehl, Afroamerikanische Unterhaltungskünstler in Frankfurt am Main, 92. Kracauer’s original text is “Exzentriktänzer in den Ufa-Lichtspielen,” Frankfurter Zeitung (Stadt-Blatt), October 16, 1928. Further examples of Kracauer’s writing about Black performers and jazz are discussed below.


74. Ibid., 50.


76. On Kracauer’s position on jazz and Blackness, see Rippey, “Rationalization, Race, and the Weimar Response to Jazz,” 89–92.


79. Ibid.

80. Ibid., 32.

83. Ibid.
84. Ibid.
85. Ibid., 128.
86. Making the connection between Blackness qua performance even more strongly, Kracauer suggests “that these common Negroes would first have to be translated into American in order to be Negroes” (Ibid.). On this idea, see further, Rippey, “Rationalization, Race, and the Weimar Response to Jazz,” 93–94.
87. Ibid., 129.
88. Ibid.
89. Rippey, “Rationalization, Race, and the Weimar Response to Jazz,” 95.
91. Ibid.

CHAPTER 5

The quotation cited in the epigraph is from Alfred Baresel, quoted in Karl Holl, “Jazz im Konservatorium,” Melos 7 (1928), 31.
4. Quoted in Peter Cahn, Das Hoch’sche Konservatorium in Frankfurt am Main (1878–1978) (Frankfurt am Main: Dr. Waldemar Kramer, 1979), 21.


13. Bernhard Sekles, *Grundzüge der Formenlehre*, unpublished and undated manuscript held at the *Hochschule für Musik und darstellende Kunst* in Frankfurt am Main, 131. Italics in original.


15. Sekles also wrote a text on improvisation for children. See Bernhard Sekles, *Elementarschule der Improvisation*, unpublished and undated manuscript held at the *Hochschule für Musik und darstellende Kunst* in Frankfurt am Main, n.d. (likely after 1925).


19. Seiber’s vision of jazz and activities as head of the *Jazzklasse* are discussed in the concluding section of this chapter.


22. The national scope of the announcement was already on display through the two articles published in Berlin’s *Vossische Zeitung* (“Du lernst Jazz nach Noten,” *Vossische Zeitung*, November 12, 1927; Ernst Klein, “Der Frankfurter Jazzskandal,” *Vossische Zeitung*, December 10, 1927) as well as the caricature “Lehrstuhl für Jazz” from *Simplicissimus* 32:38 (December 19, 1927): 527. The announcement was also reprinted in Hamburg in “Ein Konservatoriumsklasse für Jazz,” *Hamburgischer Correspondent*, November 11, 1927.

26. On the linkage of “Jewishness” and modernism and modernity in German-speaking Central Europe, see also the discussions of this idea in chapters 3 and 6.
27. Schwers, “Jazz als akademisches Lehrfach!” 1195.
28. Ibid.
29. As Schwers writes a bit later, jazz’s “white slaves suffer under it” (ibid.).
32. Ibid.
33. Karl Holl, “Jazz im Konservatorium,” Melos 7 (1928), 32. Although printed a few months later, this article, appearing in the progressive music journal Melos, draws heavily on the original publication from the Frankfurter Zeitung. There are only slight modifications, such as the above quote.
34. Holl, “Jazz am Konservatorium.”
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Bernhard Sekles, quoted in “Kreuz und Quer. Weiteres vom Jazz-Konservatorium,” 32–33. It is also partially reprinted in “Zum letzten Mal: ‘Jazz im Konservatorium,’” Frankfurter Zeitung, December 13, 1927. The later article would make reference to the Jazzklasse as a “fresh wind” in the halls of music. This phrase was picked up by Nazi ideologue, Alfred Rosenberg, in his discussion of the Jazzklasse in Der Sumpf: Querschnitte durch das ‘Geistes-’Leben der November-Demokratie (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1939 [1930], 34–35).
38. Sekles, quoted in “Kreuz und Quer. Weiteres vom Jazz-Konservatorium,” 32. It is important to make clear that Sekles was not only replying to Schwers and the voices assembled in this article, but also to the Münchner Tonkünstler Verein and the protest of Hermann W. v. Waltershausen.
40. It is interesting to note the anonymous poem published just underneath Sekles’ second announcement. Replete with anti-Black and anti-Semitic racism, it suggests, for example, that the “Hottentots” will build a memorial to Sekles (“Kreuz und Quer. Weiteres vom Jazz-Konservatorium,” 33).
42. Alfred Baresel, Das Jazzbuch (Leipzig: Zimmerman, 1925). Published in late 1925, by the end of 1926, Baresel’s work had already gone through four printings.
44. Ibid.
46. Ibid., 355. Here, he cites Paul Whiteman’s 1926 book *Jazz* as proof, remarking that even Whiteman, “King of Jazz,” whom Baresel labels one of the greatest “corruptors” (*Verderber*) of a new musical idea, admitted that it was left to the European to discover the artistic possibilities of jazz.
47. Ibid., 356.
51. Stapper, *Unterhaltungsmusik im Rundfunk der Weimarer Republik*, 60.
55. Ibid., 281.
59. Ibid., 285.
60. Cook makes the argument that in a 1945 essay, “Rhythmic Freedom in Jazz?” Seiber gave up on jazz and its potential (“Jazz as Deliverance,” 42). Smith Bowers, on the other hand, counters that Seiber is more likely referring in this passage to popular tunes with jazz-like effects (“East Meets West,” 139).
61. Alban Berg, *Handschriftliche Briefe, Briefentwürfe und Notizen aus den Beständen der Musiksammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, vol. 1, ed. Herwig Knaus (Wilhelmshaven: F. Noetzel, 2004), 98. This was one of a set of comments Berg


64. Ibid.

65. Seiber, “Jazz und die musikstudierende Jugend.”


67. Ibid. Behind the Singing Sophomores were the very same Revelers, who only used this alternate name when working for Columbia Records.

68. Ibid. Italics in original.

69. Ibid.


71. Ibid. On Henkel, see Michael Kater, *Different Drummers: Jazz in the Culture of Nazi Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 44.


76. Recordings of his two *Jazzolettes* further reveal that he drew specific inspiration from Gershwin’s *Rhapsody in Blue*, e.g., in instrumentation and tonality (Ebony Band, *Dancing the Jazz Fever of Milhaud, Martinu, Seiber, Burian & Wolpe*, Compact Disc [Channel Classics CCS 30611, 2011]).


78. The number of students annually enrolled in the jazz program at Hoch’s Conservatory between 1928 and 1932 varied between 10 and 19 (Cahn, *Das Hoch’sche Konervatorium, 378*).
80. In 1938, the conservatory was made public and renamed the Hochschule für Musik und darstehende Kunst.
81. On the history of jazz in Frankfurt, see Jürgen Schwab, ed., Der Frankfurt Sound.
82. Schulz-Köhn did receive a doctorate in 1940 with the publication of his important study of the recording industry, Die Schallplatte auf dem Weltmarkt (Berlin: Reher, 1940).

CHAPTER 6

The quotation cited in the epigraph is from Langston Hughes, Fine Clothes to the Jew (New York: Knopf, 1927), xiii.
2. Hughes, I Wonder as I Wander, 71.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., 72. Lenox Avenue was a famous street in 1920s Harlem. Today it is also known as Malcolm X Boulevard.
5. The exchange has primarily been considered from the perspective of the history of the Harlem Renaissance and the individual biographies of figures like Langston Hughes. Recently, however, scholars have begun to explore the connections between the Harlem Renaissance and Weimar modernism. See A. B. Christa Schwarz, “New Negro Renaissance—‘Neger-Renaissance’: Crossovers between African America and Germany during the Era of the Harlem Renaissance,” From Black to Schwarz: Cultural Crossovers between African America and Germany, eds. Maria I. Diedrich and Jürgen Heinrichs (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2010), 49–74; Leroy Hopkins, “Louis Douglas and the Weimar Reception of Harlemania,” Germans and African Americans, eds. Larry A. Greene and Anke Ortlepp (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2011): 50–69.


18. On travel literature in Weimar, in particular on the role played by African Americans, see Sara Markham, *Workers, Women, and Afro-Americans: Images of the United States in German Travel Literature from 1923–1933* (New York: Peter Lang, 1986).


24. Ibid., 76.

25. Ibid., 68.


27. Ibid., 430.


29. Langston Hughes, “Negro,” *CPLH*, 26. In *CPLH*, lines 2 and 3 are rendered as separate lines. However, like Goslar’s translation, the original publication in *Crisis* ren-
ordered them as one line, which has been maintained here (see Langston Hughes, “Ne-
gro,” the Crisis 23.3 [January 1922]: 113).

30. Goslar, Amerika 1922, 71. Again, this layout is identical to that which one finds
in Goslar’s text, i.e., with the last two words of the second line pushed to the right mar-
gin.

31. Lawrence Venuti, The Translator’s Invisibility: A History of Translation (New

32. Ibid., 71.

33. Georg Widenbauer, “Die schwarze Weltgefahr” Deutschlands Erneuerung 7:12
(1923), 735.

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid., 736.

36. Ibid., 735.

37. English-language reprints of Hughes’ work can be found in Franz Friedrich
Oberhauser, “Black City Haarlem [sic],” Kölnische Zeitung, September 4, 1929; also
published in Neue Freie Presse, September 22, 1929; Marie Leitner, Langston Hughes,
and Countee Cullen, “The Weary Blues / She of the Dancing Feet Sings,” Der Quer-

38. Alain Locke—Arthur Rundt Correspondence, 1926–28, Alain Locke Papers,
164–82, Folder 7, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University.

39. In a letter to Alain Locke from 1926 (the exact date is obscured by an ink stain),
Rundt sends his regards to Hughes and mentions that he was pleased by the card he
received from Hughes. Hughes also appears to have mentioned Rundt in a later letter to
Anna Nussbaum. See her response to Hughes on January 28, 1928 (Langston Hughes
Papers, James Weldon Johnson Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Li-
brary, Yale University. Further references to the Langston Hughes Papers will be ab-
breviated hereafter as LHP).

40. “Communism Practised in Palestine Colonies,” New York Times, March 8, 1925,
X15. See further: Arthur Rundt and Richard A. Bermann, Palästina: Ein Reisebuch

41. Arthur Rundt, Der Mensch wird umgebaut. Ein Russlandbuch (Berlin: Rowohlt,
1932).

42. Paul Huldersmann translated two articles by Alain Locke into German and pub-
lished them in the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung (Alain Locke, “Der Neger in der ameri-
He also attempted to publish a translation of a new work by Locke that would have been
similar to New Negro as is discussed in his correspondence with Locke (Alain Locke—
Paul Huldersmann, Correspondence, Alain Locke Papers, Box 164–38, Folder 10,
Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University). See further Schwarz “New
Negro Renaissance—‘Neger-Renaissance,’” 61.


44. Ibid., 76.


46. Rundt translates Angelina Grimke’s “The Black Finger”; Joseph Cotters’, “And


49. Rundt, Amerika ist anders, 75. English in original italicized.


52. Rundt, Amerika ist anders, 71. Again, it must be borne in mind that slight variations exist between all four published examples of Rundt’s translation, in particular between the opening line and treatment of the last three lines of the poem.

53. That this was no mere misreading is indicated by the fact that Rundt correctly reads the future tense in the more difficulty parsed “Nobody’ll” of Hughes’ poem and translates it as “Keiner wird.” Moreover, Rundt is the only translator out of the seven who translate “I, too” to use “wollen” (to want) rather than “werden” (to become).


55. Nussbaum corresponded with Dreiser from 1926–29, the result of which being the publication of Theodor Dreiser, Schwester Carrie, trans. Anna Nussbaum (Berlin: Zsolnay, 1929).


59. I cannot here do justice to the broader cultural, historical determinants at work in 1920s Vienna, a context that in many ways led to the unique creation that was Nussbaum’s Africa Sings. Rather, and standing in parallel to the absent consideration of the equally rich background of Langston Hughes, a thoroughgoing discussion of Nussbaum’s development during the mid-1920s must be bracketed out here. On jazz and the
African diasporic presence in Vienna more generally during these years, see Nowakowski, “Jazz in Wien: Die Anfänge.”


61. Anna Nussbaum to Langston Hughes, December 7, 1927, LHP.

62. Anna Nussbaum, “Afrika singt,” Der Tag, December 25, 1927. The translations are by Josef Luitpold and Nussbaum. She mentions sending a clipping of the article to Hughes in her second letter to him from January 20, 1928, LHP.

63. Anna Nussbaum to Langston Hughes, December 7, 1927, LHP.

64. For example, in April 1928, she wrote to Claude McKay to request a copy of his 1922 collection Harlem Shadows. Published just over six months later, Afrika singt contains 19 poems from this collection (Anna Nussbaum to Claude McKay, March 30, 1928. Claude McKay Collection. James Weldon Johnson Collection. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Yale University).


67. Schuyler, “Views and Reviews.”


73. Hanna Meuter and Paul Therstappen, eds. and trans. Amerika singe auch ich. Dichtungen amerikanischer Neger (Dresden: Jess, 1932), 89. On Meuter and this collection, see footnote 126. At the same time, this is not to suggest that Nussbaum was the only translator who retained these proper names. For example, Austrian translator and poet Josef Kainer did so as well in his 1926 translation of “Negro” (Josef Kainer, “Negerdichtungen,” Arbeiter-Zeitung [Vienna], August 6, 1926).

74. Nussbaum, Afrika singt, 8.

75. Ibid., 9.

76. Ibid., 10.


79. Ibid.


89. Ibid.

90. Joachim-Felix Leonard, ed., *Programmgeschichte des Hörfunks in der Wei-
Radio played a role in disseminating the poems in non-musical form as well. In early 1929, Ernst Glaeser produced a presentation using readings of poetry from *Afrika Sings* (Ibid., 954). Around the same time, the radio program “Song” included a recitation of Hughes’ “Negro” as translated by Nussbaum (Ibid., 955–56).


92. It is unclear how Abbie Mitchell came to know these works, though one strong possibility is through her daughter, Marion Cook, or her son-in-law, Louis Douglas, who is discussed in chapter 4.


94. Ibid.

95. “Kundgebungen am Theater,” *Stuttgarter Neues Tagblatt*, October 20, 1930, LBW.


98. “Der Kulturbolschewismus auf der Bühne,” *Völkischer Beobachter*, October 24, 1930, LBW.


101. To be sure, the Nazis did not forget, and as Kim Kowalke notes, in 1940, after an initial raid of Universal Edition, the Viennese publisher of modern music, to confiscate music by Weill and Eisler, they returned to collect, amongst other things, 160 copies of music from *Schatten über Harlem* (Kim Kowalke, “Dancing with the Devil: Publishing Modern Music in the Third Reich,” *Modernism/Modernity* 8:1 [2001], 27).


105. Ossip Dymow, *Schatten über Harlem. Komödie in Vier Akten* (Berlin: C. Sommer, 1930), 19. Held at the New York Public Library’s Theater Division, this is the only
known copy of the script. After the scandal, however, a brief excerpt was published in

106. Ibid., 26.

107. News of the lynching reached Germany on May 10, with articles on the case
appearing, for example, in _Die Vossische Zeitung_ (“Furchtbare Lynchjustiz in Texas”) and
_Berliner Volkszeitung_ (“Lynchmord in Texas”). More pointedly, the pro-democratic
weekly _Welt am Montag_ published three articles about this single case within one
month. First, it highlighted the case in a front-page headline, “Neue Neger-Progrome in
Amerika,” on May 12, 1930, which was followed later with an article discussing Walter
White’s work on lynching, highlighting the cases where African Americans were burned
and lynched (“Der geröstete Neger,” _Die Welt am Montag_, June 2, 1930).

108. For example “Theaterskandale im Reich,” _Danziger Neueste Nachrichten_, Oc-
tober 20, 1930, LBW.

109. “Staatliche Verseuchung,” _Der Angriff_, October 26, 1930, LBW.

110. F. Sch., “Württ. Landestheater. Uraufführung: ‘Schatten über Harlem,’” _Süd-
deutsche Zeitung_, October 20, 1930, LBW. First italics in original, English “colored peo-
ple” in original italicized.

111. Gabriele Hayden develops this argument for Dymow and _Shadows over Harlem_
in her “Performing Blackness in Weimar Germany,” unpublished conference paper,
ACLA Convention, Providence, RI, March 29, 2012.


113. Ibid., 620–21.

114. Dymow, _Schatten über Harlem_, 66.

115. Part of the confusion on the part of the audience can be put at the feet of the
director, Friedrich Brandenburg, who, as some critics noted, emphasized the tragic ele-
ments of the play at the expense of its comedy (M. G., “Skandal im Landestheater,”
_Deutsches Volksblatt_, October 20, 1930, LBW; Hermann Wissenharter, “Schatten über
Harlem,” _Württemberger Zeitung_, October 26, 1930, LBW).

116. Düssel, “Uraufführung und Theaterskandal. ‘Schatten über Harlem’ im Landes-
theater.”


118. Langston Hughes, _Fine Clothes to the Jew_ (New York: Knopf, 1927), xiii.

119. Langston Hughes, Review of W. C. Handy, _The Blues, Opportunity_ (August
1926), 258.

120. Ossip Dymow, “Neger-Getto [sic] Harlem. Die schwarze Stadt im Völkerbaber
von Neuyork,” _Das kleine Blatt_ (Vienna), April 27, 1931.

121. Another leading African American newspaper, the _Chicago Defender_, referred
similarly to the fascist objection to “Harlem culture” (“Harlem Play Results in German
Uprising,” the _Chicago Defender_, October 25, 1930, 8).

122. “Germans Start Riot at Negro Play,” _Baltimore Afro-American_, October 25,
1930, 9.

123. “German Fascists in Riot over Negro Play,” _New York Times_, October 20, 1930,
9.


126. One more anthology of African American poetry would be published before Weimar’s end: Meuter and Therstappen’s Amerika singe auch ich (I, too, sing America). The impetus behind this project was Hannah Meuter, a young sociologist with an interest in African American culture (Hannah Meuter, “Der neue Neger in der amerikanischen Literatur,” Kölner Vierteljahreshefte für Soziologie 6:3 [1927]: 269–73). The collection was the only volume published of a planned series on “Der neue Neger” (the New Negro) and includes translations side-by-side with the English source text. Still, despite its later date of publication, the collection was much less current than Africa Sings as it is based on Robert T. Kerlin’s anthology American Negro Poetry from 1923. Finally, for a variety of reasons, the work simply did not enjoy the same resonance with the literary public or with composers of the period.


CHAPTER 7


1. Bernd Hoffmann shows through quantitative analysis of references to jazz in the music journals Die Musik and Deutsche Tonkünstlerzeitung that “there is a turn away from the positive reception [of jazz] already before the influence of the cultural-political coordination by the National Socialists” (Aspekte zur Jazz-Rezeption in Deutschland: Afro-amerikanische Musik im Spiegel der Musikpresse 1900–1945 [Graz: Akademische Druck & Verlaganstalt, 2003], 46). At the same time, it must be borne in mind that Hoffmann’s analysis also shows that modernist journals like Der Querschnitt and Melos continued to contain positive references to jazz into the early 1930s. See figures B4 and B5 in his Aspekte zur Jazz-Rezeption in Deutschland, 218–19.


9. Theodor W. Adorno, Der Schatz des Indianer Joe. Singspiel nach Mark Twain (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1979). Hereafter cited in the body text with the abbreviation S.


16. On Adorno’s activities during the first months of the Nazi regime, see Stefan Müller-Doohm, Adorno: Eine Biographie (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2003), 262–76.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.


20. In addition to the differences discussed below, Adorno excises one of the major figures of the plot, Becky Thatcher, who is Tom’s love interest and subject of much of the novel. Becky’s femininity and Tom’s relationship with her is, in part, substituted through the figure of Huck.


23. In both German translations and the English original of Twain’s The Adventures of Tom Sawyer, a forward by the author specifies that the story takes place some thirty or forty years in the past, that is to say in the period between 1836 and 1846.

24. Hemminghaus, Mark Twain in Germany, 130–31.

25. Mark Twain, Tom Sawyers Abenteuer und Streiche, trans. Margarete Jacobi (Stuttgart: Lutz, 1892). On the various editions produced of Twain’s works before and during the 1930s, see Hemminghaus, Mark Twain in Germany, 83–96, 123–31.

26. Though not all passages display this level of similarity, the montage quality of
Adorno’s work is obviously intentional, as can be seen in the following comparison of Jacobi’s translation and Adorno’s *Treasure*.

First, Jacobi’s text:

“Heut’ Nacht. Ich denk’, da werden sie den alten Williams holen kommen.”

“Der ist aber schon am Sonnabend begraben worden, warum haben sie ihn da nicht schon in der Nacht geholt?”

“Na, du redst auch, wie du’s verstehst! Sonnabend Mitternacht ist doch schon Sonntag und da hat kein Teufel mehr was zu suchen hier oben. Der wird sich schwer hüten, sich am Sonntag blicken zu lassen (Twain, *Tom Sawyers Abenteuer und Streiche*, 59–60)

Next, Adorno’s version of the same scene:

HUCK: Da werden sie den alten Williams holen kommen, der war schon schlecht genug.

TOM: Der ist aber schon am Sonnabend beerdigt worden, warum haben sie ihn da nicht in der Nacht geholt?

HUCK: Können vor Lachen. Sonnabend Mitternacht ist schon Sonntag. Da hat kein Teufel mehr was zu suchen hier oben. Der wird sich schwer hüten, sich am Sonntag blicken zu lassen. (§ 20)


28. Ibid., 26

29. Ibid., 24.

30. Ibid., 25.


32. Ibid., 118.


39. On the significance of such unnamed animals in *Schatz*, see Morris, “Impossible Alternatives to Tom Sawyer’s Delusion in Twain and Adorno,” 240–41.


42. Morris, “Impossible Alternatives to Tom Sawyer’s Delusions in Twain and Adorno,” 238.
44. Ibid., 56.
53. Godo Remszhardt to Langston Hughes, July 15, 1930, *Langston Hughes Papers*, James Weldon Johnson Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.
56. Roy Wright, thirteen years old in 1931, would later state that before his testimony, he was taken into a separate room and beaten by the deputy sheriff until he agreed to implicate the other African American riders (Goodman, *Stories of Scottsboro*, 94).
58. Goodman, *Stories of Scottsboro*, 21–22. That this idea was present in Germany is partially confirmed by the following statement from Alfons Goldschmidt: “At first both girls vigorously denied having been attacked by the boys. But they are prostitutes, entirely in the hands of the police, who can convict them for perjury or other crimes punishable with years of imprisonment” (“Aus dem Lande der ‘Freiheit,’” *Der Funke*, May 10, 1932).


62. Hans Th. David, “Abschied vom Jazz,” Melos 9 (1930): 413–17. Indeed, between 1926 and 1933 no less than four separate articles bore the title “Twilight of Jazz” (Jazz-Dämmerung) and two the title “Farewell to Jazz.”

63. A discussion of the multiple and uneven legal measures taken against jazz by the Nazis can be found in Schröder, “Zur Kontinuität nationalsozialistischer Maßnahmen gegen Jazz und Swing in der Weimarer Republik und im Dritten Reich.” On the history of jazz and entertainment music in Weimar radio, see Michael Stapper, Unterhaltungs-musik im Rundfunk der Weimarer Republik (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2001). For jazz in Weimar and Nazi radio, see Joachim Ernst Berendt, “Jazz als Indiz: Beiträge zu einer Geschichte des Jazz am deutschen Rundfunk (1924–1975),” Ein Fenster aus Jazz: Essays, Portraits, Reflexionen (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1977), 290–309.

64. Kolb had been made director of the Funkstunde in February, yet his tenure there was short-lived. Already in April, he was replaced by the writer Friedrich Arenhövel, who had been handpicked by Goebbels. On Kolb’s position within the Nazi hierarchy, see Ansgar Diller, Rundfunkpolitik im Dritten Reich (Munich: dtv, 1980), 56–59, 114. On Kolb and the Funkstunde ban, see Axel Jockwer, Unterhaltungsmusik im Dritten Reich (University of Constance, PhD diss., 2005), 287–88.

65. Press release of the Berliner Funk-Stunde, March 8, 1933. Reprinted in Albrecht Dümling and Peter Girth, eds., Entartete Musik. Dokumentation und Kommentar (Düsseldorf: Der kleine Verlag, 1993), 120. The ban is further referenced in “Keine Jazz-musik mehr!” NS Funk 1 (March 19, 1933), 27; “Haben Sie schon gehört, dass . . . ?” Der Artist 2466 (March 24, 1933).

66. Ibid.

71. ibid., 497–98. Translation slightly modified.

72. Thus in the 1953 “Perennial Fashion—Jazz,” he writes: “The fact is that what jazz has to offer rhythmically is extremely limited. The most striking traits in jazz were all independently produced, developed and surpassed by serious music since Brahms” (Adorno, “Perennial Fashion—Jazz,” Prisms, trans. Samuel and Shierry Weber [Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1983], 123).

73. Adorno, “Farewell to Jazz,” 499.


78. The three songs remain unpublished and are located in the Theodor W. Adorno Archiv at the Akademie der Künste in Berlin.

CONCLUSION

The quotation cited in the epigraph is from “Good Bye Jonny” (1939), music by Peter Kreuder, text by Hans-Fritz Beckmann.

1. A powerful example of the synthesis of anti-Black and anti-Semitic racism that took place during the final years of the Weimar Republic is Alfred Rosenberg, Der Sumpf: Querschnitte durch das ‘Geistes-’Leben der November-Demokratie (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1939 [1930]), 26–43.


5. Ibid., 215.

6. Ibid., 175.


8. Marita Gründgens, “Ich wünsche dir Glück, Jonny” (Electrola 3161). See also the recordings by Nina Buser (Brilliant 319, DeBeGe 2116) and Carla Carlsen (Telefunken A 1700). Further details on these recordings are included in Rainer Lotz ed., Die deutsche National-Discographie, Series 1 “Discographie der deutschen Kleinkunst,” eds. Klaus Krüger and Rainer Lotz, vols. 4 and 5 (Bonn: Birgit Lotz Verlag, 1996 and 1998).


14. See the entry for the Nina Buser recording in Lotz, ed., Die deutsche National-Discographie, Series 1 “Discographie der deutschen Kleinkunst,” vol. 5, 1143. Though here “blues” indicates tempo rather than genre, the association “blues” had with African American popular music remained.
17. See the entry in Hofmeisters Musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht 107 (January 1935), 4.
18. Hans Bund mit seinem Streichorchester with vocals by Eric Helgar, “Jonny hat Sehnsucht nach Hawaii” (Telefunken A 1716); Quartettgesang, “Johnny hat Sehnsucht nach Hawaii” (Woolco 10706); Fritz Domina with vocals by Paul Dorn, “Johnny hat Sehnsucht nach Hawaii” (Kristall 3103).
20. It is present, for example, on the Austrian Schlager singer Freddy Quinn’s album Überall ist es schön (Polydor 1973) as well as the German Schlager singer Lolita on Ihre größten Erfolge (Bear Family Records 2004).
21. Dishwashing is referenced directly within the “interview” with Jonny in Der Deutsche Rundfunk (see below). The title Jonny spült ab, nonetheless, has an older history and possibly originated from the caricature “Daitsche Kunst” in the Nazi periodical Die Brennessel (5:5 [January 30, 1934], 69) by an illustrator with the initials T. E. S. See the reproduction in Eckhard John, Musikbolchewismus: Die Politisierung der Musik in Deutschland 1918–1938 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1994), 364.

26. Ibid., 131–32.


29. Ibid. Ellipsis in original.

30. Ibid.


32. Ibid.


34. Ibid.


38. Ibid.

39. This claim is based upon known discographical records as well as the listings in the volumes of Hofmeisters Musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht from 1935 to 1941.

40. On this exhibition, see above all the two slightly different editions of Entartete Musik: Dokumentation zur Düsseldorfer Ausstellung von 1938, eds. Albrecht Dümling and Peter Girth (Düsseldorf: DKV, 1988 and 1993).


44. A more clearly jazzy example is Franz Thon’s recording featuring vocalist Rudi Schuricke (Franz Thon mit seinen Tanzrhythmkern, “Good-Bye Jonny” [Imperial 17244]).

45. For cases of Nazi persecution and intimidation of jazz musicians as well as jazz musicians’ often successful attempts at evasion, see Kater, Different Drummers, 38–56.


47. The two instrumental versions are both by bandleader Will Glahé (Electrola E.G. 6722 and Columbia DW 4823). Recordings with vocals include Peter Kreuder, vocals by Kurt Mühlhardt (Telefunken A 2855); Egon Wolff with unnamed vocalist (Odeon O-31 483a); Otto Stenzel, vocals by Paul Erdtmann (Gloria GO 41 293 a); Franz Thon mit seinen Tanz-Rhythmkern, vocals by Rudi Schuricke (Imperial 17244);
Iska Geri und die Neun Casaleons (Imperial 19119); Jan Behrens featuring vocals by the Heyn Quartett (Polydor and Grammophon 11074A).


49. Geri, “Good bye, Jonny!”

50. Iska Geri, “Känguruh” (Deutsche Grammophon Gr 47 532).

51. Peter Kreuder cites the identical section from “Old Folks at Home” in his “Piano-Medley aus dem Tonfilm Wasser für Canitoga” (Telefunken A 2854).

52. The singer Lottie Gee performed it as the fourth song in the program (“Program of Chocolate Kiddies Revue,” Institut für Theaterwissenschaft der Freien Universität Berlin, ca. May 1925).


54. Marita Gründgens does parody “Good Bye, Jonny!” and Albers’ performance of it in her “Filmrückblick 1940” (“Film Review 1940”) (Electrola 7068), in a sense closing the Nazi-era Jonny cycle that had begun with her.