

## **Introduction**

At a bluegrass jam in a Prague pub in 2003 a guitar player, upon learning that I was an American fiddler, came up to me and confessed that he had originally thought (before the age of the internet) that the song "Orange Blossom Special" was a Czech creation. I didn't get a chance to speak further with that individual, but the interaction sticks with me, especially since I grew up in North Florida not far from the actual origin of that song in the Jacksonville area. That a Czech would think this is a song about an orange-colored train moving through a Czech landscape seemed inconceivable to me.

I however, had yet to learn about the Greenhorns, a group who helped spread bluegrass-related music making among Czech speakers in their heyday during the 1960s and '70s. I was just beginning to grasp the extent of Czech Americanism—projects by which Europeans recreate aspects of the United States on their own soil and on their own terms—and the degree to which terms like “country” and “bluegrass” have come to have their won meaning in the Czech landscape.

Ideas about authenticity are key to place-identities in bluegrass—and scholarship, as Carney's study of origins and Cherre's reliance on Appalachian linguistic traits indicate. Many insider and outsider descriptions of bluegrass music characterize it as an intensely "real" form of country music, due to its acoustic sound, rural origin stories, the small-scale nature of bluegrass industries, etc. Scholars are more reserved about this characterization but acknowledge the existence of the perception, for example stating that bluegrass has attracted fans "with a traditional bent" (Malone and Neal 323). Richard

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Peterson discusses the role bluegrass served within the country music industry as a venue for "hard core" expression of traditionalism in (150-155).

Peterson further maintains that authenticities in country music are fabricated as part of a renewable industrial system that hinges on audience imagination and artist creativity. I extend his ideas by arguing that Bluegrass' appeal to bluegrass participants is based in a sense of place that is to a significant degree constructed and/or imagined. In seeking to understand the connections between place and imagination, I provide an alternative to essentializing narratives of heritage and place-identity that have accrued to bluegrass in its relatively short history.

I will contrast some of the early history of bluegrass with cases from my research in bluegrass-related music making in the Czech Republic to make points through this essay, to provide extreme examples of the imaginative fabrication of place that is part of the production of bluegrass. My intent in this essay is not to compare Czech and American approaches to bluegrass, but treat them as equally part of the same "Bluegrass diaspora" that followed the postwar folk boom. It was in this period (when it saw the greatest geographic growth) that bluegrass became culturally embedded as an icon of rurality and placedness. Bluegrass is thus an excellent case for considering how music making and the imagination of geography are key parts of the manipulation of space and sound that make life livable.

### **Real Imaginary Geographies**

The idea of an imagined geography is not new.<sup>1</sup> Colonialist "perceived geographies" are a central part of the problem that Edward Said found in *Orientalism*.<sup>1</sup>

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This line of thinking that has been maintained, for example in Morgan's critique (2000) of political ideologies instilled through geography pedagogy (Morgan) and in Gregory's casting of the United States' "war on terror" as a similarly biased form of colonialist place-making (2004). Considering imagination and sense of space is becoming more common in current geographic literature, including the volume from Janowski and Ingold that highlights heritage, archaeology, and anthropology, as well as courses like Bruce Erickson's "Imagined Landscapes" (GEOG 4250) at York University.<sup>1</sup>

While bluegrass music is deeply rooted in a sense of place, and is subject to an array of imagination (including idealization, and nostalgia), geographical studies of bluegrass-music making have not connected the two. Carney's factual geographies of bluegrass and country music address the more "apolitical" issues of diffusion and development in spatial understandings of culture and change, with a heavy emphasis on the birthplace of musicians that leaves the actual impact of their music unconsidered (Robbins 10). Studies by Vincent Cherre Matthew Sweet focus on song texts, and include reception as a part of the phenomenon of bluegrass, but focus on the Appalachian region and on text in ways that limit their findings. John Bealle's study of stage talk, while not focused on place-making, provides tantalizing discussion of the way performers use place-references to structure festival performance interactions (Bealle).

The practice of translating or transforming a landscape is a common practice among European Americanist hobbyists. Americanism is a common Central European project, one that has flourished before, during, and after the Communist era as a distinctly regional and bottom-up response to global socio-political situations. Americanism often emerges as a transformation of commercial media—in forms of active consumption.

The media that are significant for Czech bluegrass-related Americanists come from the United States, partly—some are European in origin. For example, many of my Czech colleagues have told me in interviews that they were inspired to play bluegrass by images of the Wild West informed in part by American cowboy films, but were shaped more profoundly by the Western novels of German author Karl May. May's stories, about the Apache Winnetou and the German immigrant gunfighter Old Shatterhand were published in the 1890s. They were later translated into most European languages and made into German films that present a distinctively European (and largely fictional) image of "Amerika" that is still widely circulated through TV reruns. Sammons (1998) provides a critique of May and other Americanist German authors from a United States-centered perspective, while Goral's work (2014) on use of "western" imagery in the two cold-war-era German states provides a view more rooted in Central European mentalities.

Persisting into the twenty-first century, Czech Americanists embody Alexei Yurchak's reinterpretation of "re-territorialization" in the Soviet sphere—they reproduce elements of "America" but at the same time have "shifted, built upon, and added new meanings to it" (Yurchak 116). Yurchak's view of discourse (Bakhtin 75) imagines voices that are not "self-enclosed" but which "call back and forth to each other, and are reflected in one another," an idea that takes on spatiality in geographer Doreen Massey's characterization of places as socially illuminated collections of simultaneously interactive stories (Massey 130). The discourse of Czech Americanist music-making, then, while "transitional" (Schechner 99) can emerge in durable re-creative sites.<sup>1</sup> The recasting of place in bluegrass can occur over years, among vast numbers of people, and while I describe the process as imagination, this process can have very real effects

I add to this framework the playful consideration of European re-creation of "America" by Ruth Ellen Gruber in her work on Jewish tourist sites and the "European Wild West." Gruber's notion of the "real imaginary" is a way of considering the production of fanciful and factual elements in the construction of expressive spaces (Gruber 1994). Using terms like "hyperreality" and "new authenticities," Gruber emphasizes the additive nature of the European creation of "real-imaginary" Americanist projects that resonate with the work of nostalgia and ingenuity in societies that have been traumatized by events like State Socialism or the Holocaust—the sorts of culture-space interactions geographers Massey (1994) and Mitchell (2000) describe in their work to outline space and place not as fixed entities but as fluid interactions.<sup>1</sup> Music is fruitfully considered as music-making, and thus place as well, through processes of place-making.<sup>1</sup>

I choose these ideas as foundations for this study since they present the bluegrass experience as an emergent process that starts with acts of music making and space making on a small-scale level (Small). This music takes place in a thriving subculture that affords participants agency and flexibility as they negotiate space and sound with local and globalized forces (Slobin; Krister and Malm). Although they may be inspired by fantasy, musical sound provides bluegrassers with a means to carve out actual spaces for their dreams.

### **Bluegrass Background: Strategic Geographic Essentialism**

The history of the term "bluegrass" reveals considerable imaginative effort at the root of the music's history. While bluegrass is often considered an iconic element in Southern culture, geographic examination of putative "Father of Bluegrass" Bill Monroe's

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life might tend to associate him with the Midwest more than the South. Furthermore, Monroe's creative and entrepreneurial image-creation as a performer and bandleader wove a mythical history and "place" for bluegrass music, one that has even come to inform factual geographies.

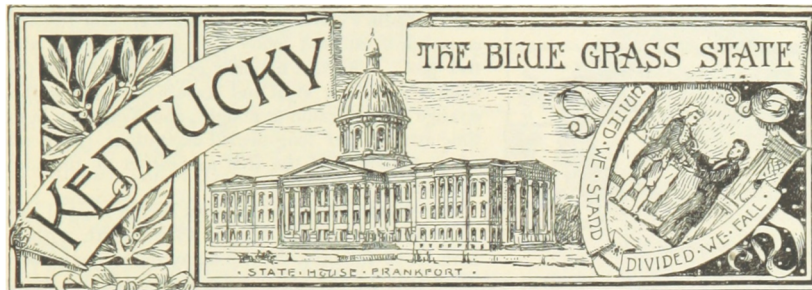


**[2. Image: “Gray's Map of Kentucky and Tennessee, detail” - 3. Image: “Kentucky, 1895” – CAPTION: “Gray's Map of Kentucky and Tennessee shows Rosine Kentucky's situation on the Paducah and Elizabethton line, what later became the Illinois Central Railroad; the 1895 image shows Ohio County's location in the western part of the state, in the orbit of metropolises like St. Louis and the northern Indiana industrial centers near Chicago, where Monroe would eventually migrate for work. Maps courtesy of [Kentucky Secretary of State.](#)”]**

Monroe was born in an area more linked to the Ohio River and the industrial and agricultural economy of the Plains and Great Lakes than that of Appalachia or the Piedmont, regions often linked with the development of bluegrass (Huber). In his biographical portrait of Monroe, Richard Smith indicates that Monroe's hometown of Rosine lies far from the bluegrass region of the state in the hardscrabble farm and coal fields of the Pennyroyal area and on opposite end of Kentucky from the Appalachian mountains with which bluegrass music is often associated (Smith 206). Like many low-income rural families, the Monroes were subject to the pressures that pushed the "great migration"; Bill and his brothers moved north seeking industrial jobs. Monroe's work in

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the Chicago area in the oil industry led both to exposure to mid-western swing and New Orleans jazz (which Monroe has alluded to in his discussions about the tune "Milenberg Joy," and to his first musical employment as a precision square dancer for the WLS National Barn Dance touring company (Rosenberg 29; Cantwell 47).



**[4. Image: "Blue Grass State" – CAPTION: "This image of Kentucky as the "Blue Grass" state was published in London in 1891." ]**

The "Blue Grass" regional designation was adopted through strategic synecdoche as the nickname of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, calling attention to the relatively wealthy region around Lexington in the central-northern part of the state. After separating from his brother Charlie, Bill Monroe as a savvy entrepreneur chose the "Blue Grass Boys" band name to establish, through a bit of geographic creativity and essentialism, a recognizable brand associated with his home state. Instead of opting for hillbilly garb or simple suits, Monroe chose to dress his early band in jodhpurs and snappy Stetson hats. With these gestures Monroe followed Kentucky in seeking to cultivate a refined image of rural gentility in referring to the high-class horse-country of the Blue Grass region.



[5. Image: MonroeBand – Caption: “Bill Monroe and his Blue Grass Boys in the early 1940s, wearing their riding britches and high-class Stetson hats. Image © Grand Ole Opry, LLC, used with permission]



[6. IMAGE – MonroePoster – CAPTION: “A publicity poster for Monroe’s band as part of the Opry cast, likely from the early 1940s. Courtesy of Archives of Appalachia, East Tennessee State University, Leon McIntyre Collection.]

Monroe assembled a cast of "Blue Grass Boys" and annealed an array of musical and theatrical elements together with his own fiery spirit and searing mandolin chops to create his distinctive "bluegrass" sound and show. The mix of new compositions and instrumental innovations, popular song, gospel, fiddle tunes, brother duet harmonies, comedy, heritage, and reverence made Monroe sound both new and old, an in-between state that would persist through the establishment of "bluegrass" in the 1950s and beyond

As this sound grew popular with other performers in the nascent country music scene, Monroe's territorial possessiveness also led to use of the term "bluegrass" out of exigency, on radio broadcasts. When Monroe's rivals played an imitation of his style, it could be called "bluegrass" so as to avoid invoking Monroe's actual name--and provoking



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a quarrel with the notoriously hot-tempered Monroe. Everett Lilly recalls that while performing with Lester Flatt and Earl Scruggs after their stormy departure from Monroe's band, he heard audience members asking "would you please do an old bluegrass tune?" In Lilly's view, "the public named bluegrass music...through the fear to speak Bill's name to them" (Rosenberg 102).

The new "bluegrass" designation soon came to indicate a rural-rooted expressivity with powerful emotional and commercial resonance not limited to musical practice. A shift in usage from "Blue Grass" to "bluegrass" in business, government, and informal terminology that paralleled or followed the rise of the musical term indicates the currency of "bluegrass" as an imagined territorial designation.<sup>2</sup>



[7. Image: "Blue Grass Restaurant" - Bluegrass Restaurant

<https://www.flickr.com/photos/ctod/2682641173>

Photo credit: [ctbirdsong](#)

No changes were made to the original image.

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[8. Image: "Bluegrass Inn on Broadway in Nashville"

<https://www.flickr.com/photos/edgebrook/4804789342>

Photo credit: [Marko Forsten](#)

No changes were made to the original image.

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**License: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/2.0/legalcode> - CAPTION : "These two images show the range of usage for the "Bluegrass" and "Blue Grass" terms today. "]**

As the "bluegrass" term became commonplace in the 1950s and '60s, Monroe lost his distinctive musical "brand" but gained folkloric cachet as the "Father of bluegrass music." The other side of this coin, however, was that by the end of the 1960s bluegrass had developed—through the poetic license of the folkloric process celebrated during this period--into a panoply of -grass forms: jazzgrass, rockgrass, newgrass, etc. The dilution of what remained of the geographic relationship with the Blue Grass was compounded by the blurring of music-stylistic boundaries as well. Through the second half of the twentieth century "bluegrass" became a flexible and intrinsically "representational" (Cantwell ix) medium that afforded diverse participants means to convey a variety of meanings--meanings that were real and tangible even for participants from places far removed from rural areas of Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, or any of the homelands claimed for the music. Gardner's work on music festivals and the creation of portable community is a recent case study, but earlier examples abound, for example the innovations of the Kentucky Colonels while they were working in California, and the string band scene of Boston and NYC in the 1960s-70s (Rosenberg 132-161, 192). In the twenty-first century, the place-making involved in bluegrass music-making has become less about actual geography, and more about imagined connections as well as sonic and social relationships.

## **Media and movement**

As in the United States, Czech interest in bluegrass was from the beginning

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mediated by the exigencies of performers' lifestyles, as well as the nature of broadcast and recording technology. Rosenberg has pointed out that the Monroe Brothers and other early country groups undertook "Great migrations" very different from their contemporaries in rural locations through the South. Groups like the Monroe Brothers followed media forces, traveling to seek jobs at radio stations, not taking part in the larger flows north and west from the west of the Appalachians, or east from the ridge.

These movements, shaped by the contours of the mediascape, not the actual landscape, have become a normal part of life for professional musicians of all kinds, but it is striking that these artists who were forging the prototypes for the most place-based of musics (country and bluegrass) would have done it at the same time that they were leading the least placed-based of lifestyles.

In contrast Czech musicians do not experience the "road life" nearly as much as their American counterparts do as the country in which they travel to perform is small enough to traverse in a few hours of driving. Czech artists (even bluegrass ones) do tour abroad, but the vast majority work within the boundaries of their own country. There are many American country songs about traveling, "the road" and the hardships of the life of traveling musicians. While there are Czech songs about traveling—and hard traveling by musicians—many of them are translations of American songs. I sense that when Czechs sing about travel, therefore, they are imagining a geographic malaise: what it must feel like to be so far away from home.

Media have provided another way to cast sounds and feelings in space—for both American and Czech bluegrassers. Rosenberg's account of the early development of

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bluegrass in the United States and Canada indicates how central radio and other media were important to the growing interest in this style (Rosenberg 68-103). The genesis of the Greenhorns (one of the early Czech bluegrass-related bands) reveals the important role that media has played in spreading and shaping bluegrass as both a large-scale and local phenomenon. Marko Čermák, the group's founding banjoist, first heard bluegrass sounds from US military radio broadcast out of the AFN studios in Munich, West Germany. Čermák recalls hearing "bluegrass as it should be" played by Earl Scruggs and his banjo--likely on the daily afternoon show "Stickbuddy Jamboree" in which deejay "Wagon Wheel Willy" spun thirty minutes of "country and western RE-corded music."

Tuning in to the show, Czechs like Čermák became part of the network of audiences in the United States who heard and were electrified by the sounds of the five-string banjo and the bluegrass lineup.<sup>3</sup> In a very real way, European listeners were in another version of the same mediascape as those listening to those same sounds in the United States—the boundaries between physical territories were blurred by media.

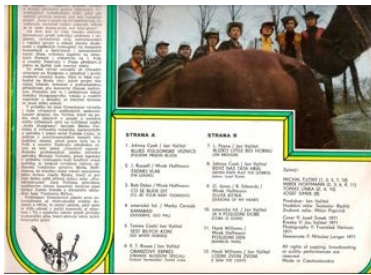
The rise of social media has meant that Czech bluegrassers today are even more at home in the mediascape that surrounds them. Firstly, they, like the rest of us, can find a panoply of historic recordings by significant players and recorded concerts by current stars, just a click away. The wealth of instructional videos on sites like YouTube, as well as the growing industry of lessons taught through video chat applications online, or through asynchronous video exchange makes learning about bluegrass much easier than it was in past decades.

In addition, production of media on sites like YouTube and Facebook allows

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Czech bluegrassers to create their own thriving music mediascapes, with complicated topographies of aesthetics, relationships, and even commerce. In addition to building a sense of community, this activity maps the virtual world of music within Czech-language cyberspace, and in faint ways, upon the Czech landscape itself. At the same time, social media sites place Czech and American videos side-by-side, or in the same lists of search results, eliding the geographical distance that separates these musicians in real life.

### Bluegrass as part of the Czech Landscape: Photos



[16. Image - Greenhorns71back CAPTION: "The album "Greenhorns '71"—featuring the group's adaptation of "Orange Blossom Special"—ushered in the era of the group's greatest success, when they gained an enduring foothold in Czech musical life. From author's collection."]

A photograph of the exterior of the Club County building. The building has a light-colored facade with dark-framed windows. A prominent sign above the entrance reads "CLUB COUNTY" in blue and red lettering, with a small star logo. To the right of this sign is a red circular logo featuring a sunburst design. Further right, a white sign displays the text "Pilsner Urquell" in a stylized script. The entrance consists of dark double doors with vertical glass panels, framed by a red pillar. A small number "21" is visible above the right door.

[illegible]

**[10. Image: Hustopece-Dilna-2009-PIC\_1661 – CAPTION: “Daily schedule at the 2009 bluegrass workshop in Hustopeče, one of the largest weekend teaching events held in the Czech Republic. Photo by the author.”]**

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[11: Image: BanjoJamboreePoster2004. CAPTION: “As the poster announces, Banjo Jamboree is the oldest European Bluegrass festival. The official festival of the Czech bluegrass association, it is held annually just east of Prague in the town of Čáslav. Photo by the author.”]



[12. Image – Jamgrass festival-Blackjack CAPTION: Blackjack performing at the Jamgrass festival in the southern Bohemian town of Jindřichův Hradec under a banner indicating that hybridized forms of the “bluegrass” term proliferate in Czech as well. Photo by the author.”]

### **Bluegrass: Invasion vs. cultivation**

The natural landscape often provides a sense of fixity in space, as it seems more permanent than human-built environments. Doreen Massey (2005) contends that this view is an illusion as natural landscapes, like socially created spaces, are events that are in flux—albeit often in a slower state of change. Biological communities are part of the fluidity of natural spaces. If we might consider bluegrass as a transplant in the Czech Republic—part of the changing ecology—we might also see it as a weed, one that has been so prolific that it has outcompeted existing "native varieties" of vernacular or "folkloric" music.<sup>4</sup> The flourishing of tramping and tramp song within Czech society underscores the problem of "folklore" in Bohemia, especially in the region surrounding Prague. I have found that many Czechs—including Czech ethnomusicologists—cite a lack of a vital local Bohemian folklore among their reasons for explaining the flourishing of Czech bluegrass.<sup>5</sup>

The patchwork of microregions in Moravia (the region to the east and south of Prague)—each with their own kroj (folk costume), dialects, dance and song styles—presents a different situation. Antonín Dvořák and other collector-arrangers of folkloric music drew heavily on these regions, more than they did from the western part of the Czech-speaking lands. In the heartland of Bohemia there are fewer distinctive "folkloric" practices to celebrate. The south Bohemian Strakonice bagpipe traditions and the songs of the Chodsko region located near Domažlice on the western border with Germany are exceptions that seem to prove the rule (Markl and Karbusicky).

Another way of looking at the transplanted practices that make up Czech



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Americanism, though, is to view them as non-native varieties that have been intentionally cultivated. Invasive plants are often identified as those that thrive and spread in disturbed areas of a landscape, and there has been a riot of disturbance in Central Europe during the last 150 years, the period in which I argue that Czech Americanism emerged. However, my person-centered perspective leads me to consider Czechs' Americanist projects as acts of cultivation, not submission to a globalizing invasion. I am reframing our view on Czech Americanism thus both in terms of the timeline of transplantation (dating back to ca. 1900 if not earlier) and the intimate and purposeful integration of the transplanted American elements into the Czech landscape.

Thus adoption of American elements could be seen as part of the continuity of urban folkloric music, such as staropražské písničky of composer Karel Hašler and other "old Prague" songs" comparable to the 19th century musics preserved in Vienna, the Wienerlied and Schrammelmusik (Jurková 2012) The overlap between these musics and bluegrass-related music-making is slight but strong - an example is Petr Kůs, who is a pillar of the Czech bluegrass world as a mandolinist, bandleader, and songwriter, and also plays bass with the band "Šlapeto," who play staropražské lidové písničky.

## **Conclusion**

There are arguments that bluegrass as a species has Old World roots. Many horticulturists and biogeographers hold that Kentucky bluegrass itself (known formally as *poa pratensis* L.) is not native to the Americas, but was brought by European settlers.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, while it is cultivated for its durability and utility for applications like golf

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courses and ball fields, in some habitats on the United States' plains the grass is considered an invasive that harmfully outcompetes native species.<sup>7</sup> This bit of biological trivia becomes a playful way for European bluegrassers to establish their connections to the music: The Bluegrass Boogiemens, one of the top bands in the Netherlands list on their website an early modern classification of bluegrass as "any of several American grasses of the *Poa* genus and having a bluish cast, earlier called Dutch grass."<sup>8</sup> Geographer and political ecologist Paul Robbins argues that a critically informed sense of space and place can serve as a "seed" rather than a "hatchet," leading to progressive, reparative understandings of phenomena such as the imagined spatiality of bluegrass as it is cultivated by Czechs (Robbins 13; Sedgwick 124). European Americanism, blending humor, passion, and calculation is indeed a richly diverse—perhaps organic—bottom-up response to the pressures of global economies and politics.

This essay's juxtaposition of Bill Monroe's creative place-making with the production of bluegrass as an emplaced part of Czech life is a striking one, but one that indicates the importance of considering imagination in music making. Fictions are an important part of culture—and fictional (and partly-fictional) places are similarly significant. Bluegrass has become a productive imagined geography, worldwide, and serves as a prime example how place as a fluid, constructed aspect of culture. The commitment of Czech bluegrassers to the real imaginary places they build through bluegrass shows that considering these spaces is a necessary part of studying the geography of music.

Ethnomusicology today emphasizes views of music as a social process—one, I

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would add, that can thrive in individual or corporate imagination, but which can also real in powerfully tangible ways in the spaces between people. Doreen Massey's description of space articulated in time—with spaces negotiated by different and sometimes competing senses of time—thus illuminates Schutz's conception of musical participation as the mutual-tuning-in relationship" of simultaneity (Massey 2005, 140; Schutz, 161). Actors inevitably imagine themselves into or out of simultaneity not only in the organized time of sound, but in the resonant architecture of space. Thinking of that resonating space in-between as a place requires an additional step, however, understanding the meanings and beliefs that shape participants' perceptions and their imaginations. Our understanding of musical sound gains greater depth when we consider the real-imagined territories where sound relationships take place.

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## Endnotes

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<sup>1</sup> More on the York class here: <http://imaginedlandscapes.wordpress.com/>

<sup>2</sup> Ambiguity persists, with both terms used seemingly interchangeably. Lexington's Blue Grass airport (founded 1940) keeps the two-word phrase (<https://www.bluegrassairport.com/history.html> accessed 7/26/2014) and the Kentucky governmental website provides mixed messages, with the State Nickname as "The Bluegrass State" but the State Silverware Pattern as "Old Kentucky Blue Grass, the Georgetown Pattern" (<http://migration.kentucky.gov/stateSymbols.htm> accessed 7/26/2014). In the present day, use of the term of "Blue Grass" tends to indicate a feeling of antiquity or heritage.

<sup>3</sup> Musicians often listened the radio as they traveled by car; Robert S. Jamieson explains that he had to pull over the car into the ditch the first time he heard Bill Monroe (Jamieson 53). John Hartford's song "On the radio" described how he "bounced off-a all for walls" hearing early bluegrass-style broadcasts; John Hartford, *Good Old Boys* [Audio CD] (Rounder, 1999).

<sup>4</sup> Defining "folk" can be contentious: Anthropologist Andrew Lass (1989) critiques the Czech construction of "the folk" and traces modern ideologies and conceptions of

Czechness and of "Czech folk culture." Evoking present-day concerns of identity politics, Lass argues that Czech notions of an "other" ca. 1900 used Moravian folkness to support constructions of *Českosť* (Czechness) based on exclusion of non-Czech groups such as Germans and Roma (gypsies).

<sup>5</sup> Prominent Czech ethnomusicologist Zuzana Jurková once proposed this theory in a conversation in 2008.

<sup>6</sup> For a discussion of arguments for and against the "native" hypothesis for *Poa pratensis* see Cronquist et al. (1977).

<sup>7</sup> While the USDA NRCS fact sheet on *Poa pratensis* notes that the variety "is excellent for ball fields and other heavy use areas such as camp grounds, golf fairways, and picnic areas"; see Tony Bush, "Kentucky Bluegrass Plant Fact Sheet,"

[http://plants.usda.gov/factsheet/pdf/fs\\_popr.pdf](http://plants.usda.gov/factsheet/pdf/fs_popr.pdf). On the other hand, the Global Invasive Species Database includes it in their listing of non-native invasive plants, outlining its negative effects on native species in the northern Great Plains; see <http://www.issg.org/database/species/ecology.asp?si=1419&fr=1>.

<sup>8</sup> <http://bluegrassboogiemen.nl/introduction/> accessed 4/7/2015.