

Folk Music of the United States
Music Division
Recording Laboratory AFS L67

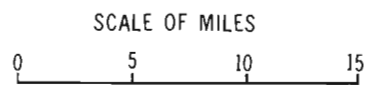
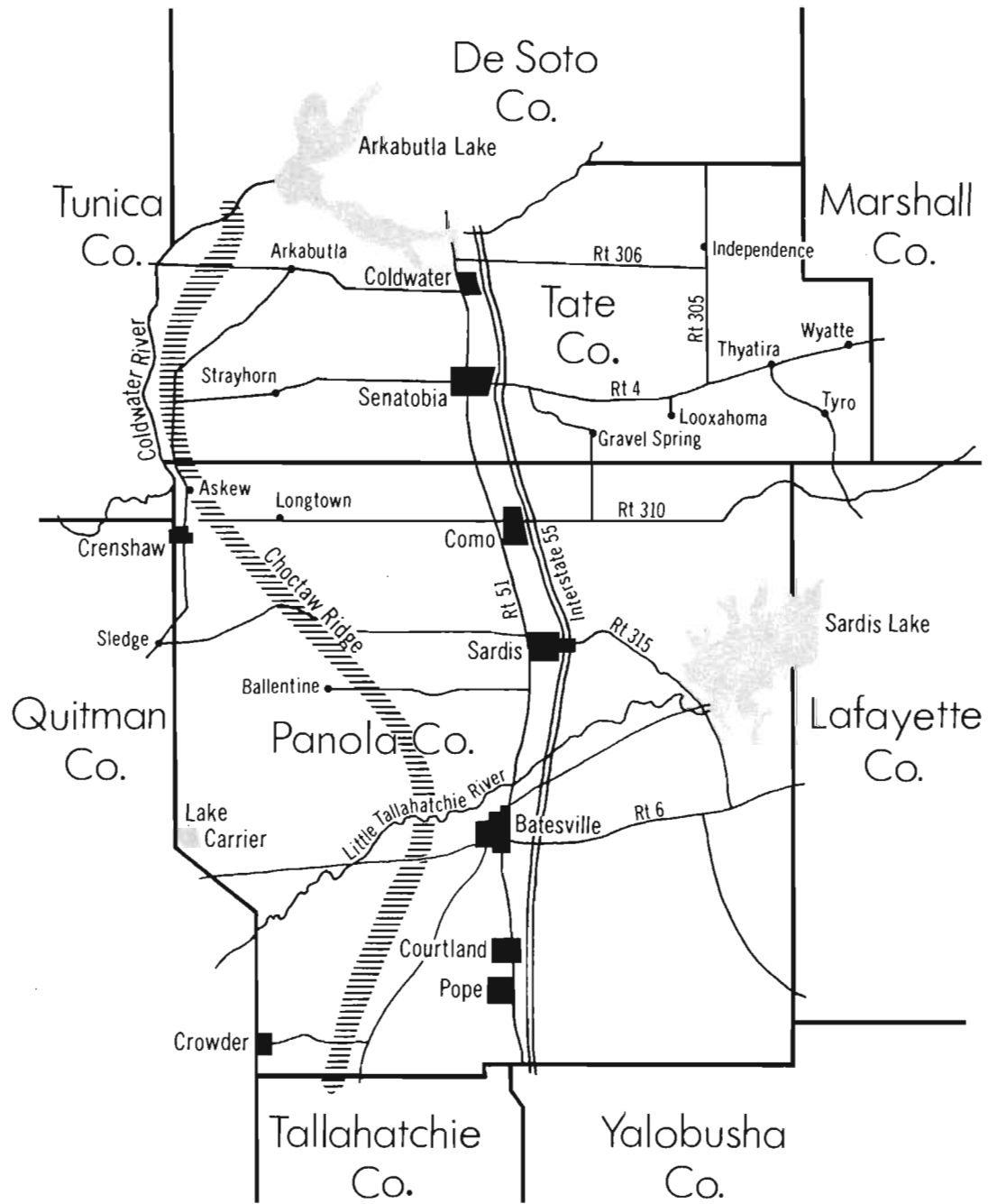
Afro-American Folk Music *from Tate and Panola Counties, Mississippi*

From the Archive of Folk Song

Edited by David Evans



Library of Congress Washington



Preface

TATE AND PANOLA COUNTIES are in the northwestern part of the state of Mississippi, due south of Memphis, Tennessee. Coldwater, the northernmost town in Tate County, is thirty miles from downtown Memphis, and from there it is another thirty-five miles to the southern edge of Panola County. Running north and south, U.S. Highway 51 bisects the two counties and was formerly the main artery of travel. Along it are the main towns, Coldwater and Senatobia in Tate, and Como, Sardis, Batesville, Courtland, and Pope in Panola. Senatobia is the Tate county seat, and Sardis and Batesville are the joint seats of Panola County. Only the county seats and Coldwater have populations above one thousand, and Batesville, the largest, has less than four thousand. Running parallel to Highway 51 is Interstate Highway 55, which cuts down the driving time to Memphis. The main towns are also connected along a north-south route by the Illinois Central railroad. Running from east to west are five state highways. A number of very small towns lie on both sides of the main north-south communications axis.

The Choctaw Ridge runs north to south in the western part of the two counties. To the west of the ridge stretch flat, rich bottomlands all the way to the Mississippi River. This lowland area is known as the Delta, a region famed for its huge cotton plantations. Most of the land in the two counties, however, and most of the people are in what is known as the Hill Country to the east of the Delta. Here the land is poorer and the farms smaller. Readers of American literature know this area as "Faulkner Country" after the late novelist William Faulkner from Lafayette County, adjacent to Panola on the east. The performers on this record are from the Hill Country, which has a quite different musical tradition and style from the Delta.

About forty-five thousand people live in the two counties, approximately three-quarters of them in the country. The population is almost equally divided between black and white citizens, although in earlier times the black percentage was larger. The decline of sharecropping since World War II has driven blacks off the land in large numbers, some to the towns and many more to Memphis and cities farther north. With the mechanization of agriculture and the improvement of roads, many white landowners have moved into the towns and left only one or a few black families on their farms. Most of the other whites live on the paved country roads or in the tiny country crossroads towns. Along the dirt and gravel country roads lives much of the area's black population. Some are hired hands or sharecroppers on white-owned land, but a good many own or rent their farms. Other black families live in the new housing developments or in small lots in the towns. Thus in recent years the neighborhoods have become somewhat segregated racially. The rural Gravel Spring community, for instance, where most of these performances were recorded, is over 95 percent black, even though much of the land is owned by town-dwelling whites.

The economy of the area is heavily agricultural, especially for the black population. In former times the main crop was cotton, and much of the land was worked by black sharecroppers. This pattern has changed considerably since cotton prices went down and agriculture became mechanized. Now much of the land is planted with corn and soybeans, although cotton is still an important crop. Some large landowners have turned to cattle grazing. The few black workers left on the large farms are living there because of the indulgence of the owners, because the house rent is cheap, or because they are retained to do such odd jobs as mending fences, feeding cattle, or driving a tractor. A considerable number of other black families rent their farm land, usually plots of about ten acres, on which they barely manage a subsistence living, often supplemented by government welfare and commodities and sometimes through employment of one of the family members in a low-paying job in town or as domestic help. Many of these renters are former sharecroppers, having attained their current status after years or even a lifetime of hard work, with little or no formal education and with large families to support. If they still have any energy and will left, and many of them do, they can, with a lot of luck, rise to the higher status of landowner. Before mechanization very few blacks had much capital with which to buy land. Now that economic conditions have improved somewhat for the blacks, they still find it hard to buy land in the country, because very little is for sale. The mechanization of agriculture and the introduction of new crops and cattle raising have made it worthwhile for owners to retain all their land or sell it only at a very high price. Despite these obstacles, some black farmers manage to buy a few acres. In economic terms their lives are not much better than those of the renters, but they have a great deal more respect from others and, most important, more self-respect. Besides the renters and small landowners there are a few hundred black families that have intermediate-sized landholdings of about a hundred acres and a good number with even larger farms. Many of these families have inherited their land from grandparents and great-grandparents who obtained large parcels during the nineteenth century.

Over the years many of these holdings have been subdivided among the children of large farm families, so that today one can drive down a road and find that all or most of the people in the houses along the way are related. The independent farmers with fairly substantial landholdings tend to be the leaders in the religious, economic, social, and, more recently, political life of the communities. All the black farmers derive most of their subsistence from their land. As a cash crop cotton has declined considerably in popularity in recent years, being replaced by soybeans. The larger landholders can make a fairly good cash income from truck farming, but the renters, small landholders, and remaining sharecroppers can expect to clear only a few hundred dollars a year from such activities as selling pigs or molasses to the people in town.

The area supports other economic activities besides farming. For many of the white people and a few of the blacks, businesses in the towns provide work. Then there are a few service jobs for blacks at the stores and work for women as domestics. With the recent lessening of discrimination, a number of fairly well paying civil service jobs have opened for blacks. Starting in the 1960s, small industry has increased considerably, mainly in Senatobia and Batesville, and now employs about two thousand workers, most of them white. Since the new interstate highway was built, many blacks in Tate and northern Panola Counties have found fairly well paying jobs in Memphis and commute there daily. Thus with the coming of industry and better transportation, the area's population, which had been declining due to the change in farming, shows signs of leveling off.

The area has both a caste structure drawn strictly along racial lines and a class structure within the racial groups. Among the whites, the wealthy planters and, more recently, the town merchants and leaders of industry form the upper class and dominate the local economy. Below them is the white working class in the towns and the farmers with intermediate-sized holdings. Most of the poor rural whites have sought wage work in the towns in recent years or left the area altogether. Most of the town-dwelling blacks could be considered, by the standards of the region, to belong to the lower middle class. They usually own their homes, have some education, and receive a steady but small cash income. Those in the country fall, by their own description, into two groups—the “upper class” and the “lower class.” The members of the upper class are distinguished by their fairly substantial landholdings and usually by modern houses with front lawns and indoor plumbing. Members of the lower class own either small farms or no land at all. Those who in the course of their lives have bettered themselves economically are often distinguished from the others as being “up and coming” or as having “come a long way.” The class distinctions along economic lines do not prevent considerable social interaction between the classes, nor do they have much relationship to participation in music. Singers and musicians come from both classes. Class, however, plays a part in the organization and sponsorship of music. Since town dwellers and members of the rural upper class tend to be community leaders, they are often cast in the roles of sponsoring and organizing musical or partly musical events, including evening church activities, large community picnics, and the running of “juke joints” in the country for evening dancing and recreation. It is safe to say that without the presence and participation of this economically secure group of blacks, the music of the area would lack many of its more spectacular manifestations.

The political life of the area, once the exclusive province of whites, has changed considerably in recent years. Since the middle 1960s blacks have been registering to vote in great numbers and organizing Voters' Leagues. These leagues have been especially active in Panola County, but Tate County, too, is beginning to feel their effect. As a result of black political organization, many of the most overt signs of discrimination have disappeared, and the white political leadership has become more responsive. Blacks are now hired as policemen and hold some government and civil service jobs. Black candidates now run for most political offices, and most of the white candidates solicit votes actively in the black communities and try to gain influence with the leaders of the Voters' Leagues.

The two main religions for the blacks are Baptist and Methodist, with the former predominating. A much smaller proportion attend the Church of Christ and the Sanctified Church (Church of God in Christ). There is little of the interdenominational rivalry between Baptists and Methodists that characterizes some other black communities. In fact, there is considerable visiting back and forth at services, particularly by Sunday school children and choir members. Many of the gospel quartets have members from different churches and denominations, and further crosscutting factors are the interdenominational Masonic Lodge and the Eastern Star.

Most of the churches are located in the country and consist of a single meeting hall which can hold about 150 people. In many churches Sunday morning preaching services are held only once a month, and one minister may be pastor to several churches; some ministers even live in Memphis and commute. On other Sundays a Sunday school for the children is run by the church superintendent. Frequently on weekend evenings a church member will sponsor gospel performances by a quartet. The churches are also used during the week for quartet and choir practice as well as for community meetings and meetings of the Voters' Leagues. Around August the various churches hold revivals, during which the regular ministers are aided by many visiting preachers. The revivals consist of sermons and a great deal of singing and culminate in a baptizing.

In spite of the changes in economy and residence in recent years, most of the active social life for blacks, and thus much of the music, continues to take place in the country. The town dwellers all have relatives there, as do many city dwellers from Memphis and farther north, and visiting is frequent. But more important, most of the churches, the picnic grounds, and the juke joints where social activities take place are in the country. The towns are fairly quiet at night, and if black people want entertainment and music, they drive out to the country where there is no danger of bothering white people with noise and bringing on retaliation. Thus, although life in the area has changed greatly in recent years, the music continues to have a strongly rural flavor.

The music of the area has a long history of investigation and recording by folklorists. Between 1905 and 1908 folklorist Howard W. Odum collected many folk songs from the black tradition of Lafayette County, adjacent to Panola County on the east. The music of all these counties is part of a homogeneous tradition today, and residents state that it was in the past, too. Thus, Odum's songs were probably similar to what was being sung in Tate and Panola Counties and other parts of the nearby Hill Country. Unfortunately Odum did not print music with his texts or identify his informants. He stated, however, that most of the secular songs had instrumental accompaniment, usually a guitar, fiddle, or banjo, or some combination of them. Interestingly, very few of the songs he collected are sung in the area today, an indication of the rapidity with which a black repertoire can change even though stylistic characteristics may persist. In addition to many spirituals, Odum collected a great many blues—his was, in fact, the first major documentation of this genre—along with ballads, work songs, and social songs in a lighthearted vein. He makes no mention of purely instrumental band performances, which have long been a feature of the area's music.



Othar Turner on fife. Copyright © Cheryl Evans 1978.

Although many blues and gospel singers from Mississippi have made commercial records for the black buying public from the 1920s on, no commercial records featured music from Tate and Panola Counties until the 1960s, when a gospel record by a group from Sardis was issued locally. The lack of representation on early records is quite unusual considering the proximity to the Delta, which has always been the heartland of blues country and the home of many singers who made records. Some blues singers were recorded from De Soto County, to the north of Tate, but they never interacted with blues singers or other musicians to the south. Instead, their music was more in the Delta tradition. Tate and Panola Counties have maintained a separate blues tradition which, if it was ever encountered by a talent scout, was never considered of sufficient commercial potential to warrant recording.

Although the WPA Federal Writers' Project collected some texts from both black and white residents of the two counties in the 1930s, the first recordings of this area's music were not made until 1942. Alan Lomax, recording black folk music for the Library of Congress's Archive of Folk Song in the Delta county of Coahoma, heard about Sid Hemphill's band, which had been playing there recently, and traced the group to the town of Sledge, which is on the edge of the Delta near the Panola County line. Hemphill and his fellow musicians were all from Panola County, however. In one long session with the band, Lomax made a remarkable collection of fiddle tunes with string band accompaniment, ballads, one spiritual, and pieces played on quills and the fife and drums. The quills—panpipes made

from cane (see note to A4 for full description)—had been known previously only from a few commercial recordings, and the fife and drum tradition had never been recorded before. When one also considers the rarity of recordings of black string bands, it becomes apparent that this 1942 session is one of the most important of all time in the documentation of black folk music. The performances are also of a very high quality and of great intrinsic interest. Unfortunately they remained unpublished until now (A2, A4, A6) and little known to scholars.

Hemphill was interviewed by James W. Silver in 1954, and in 1959 Alan Lomax returned to the area to make a remarkable series of field recordings, which were issued on a number of phonograph records. He revisited Sid Hemphill and another surviving member of his band. Recordings of a guitar and fiddle combination, the nucleus of a string band, as well as another outstanding fife and drum band, some singers of children's songs, and several excellent singers of spirituals were made at this time. He recorded Sid Hemphill's daughter singing blues, but perhaps his outstanding discovery was the extraordinary blues singer and guitarist Fred McDowell. Several of the other artists he recorded made occasional concert appearances as a result of Lomax's sponsorship, but McDowell became world famous and recorded over fifteen record albums before his death in 1972. He was without a doubt a master of the "bottleneck" guitar style (cf. B3) and one of the greatest folk blues singers ever recorded.

In 1967 writer and reporter George Mitchell and his wife, Cathy, revisited the area and made another important series of recordings, which

testified to the continuing richness of the area's musical traditions. The Mitchells revisited some of Lomax's informants but found many new ones as well. They made the first recordings of fife and drum music at a picnic and in a book documented this important aspect of the area's musical culture. Also in the book were song lyrics, a description of a church service, and interviews with four musicians from the area.

In 1969, 1970, 1971, and 1973 I made recordings in the area, the last two times with my wife, Cheryl. Starting with old informants of Lomax and Mitchell, I managed to branch out and find many other fine musicians who had not yet been recorded. Just as Odum discovered the blues and Lomax found the quills and fife and drum music, there were some musical surprises awaiting me. Perhaps the outstanding types of music, which had seldom been recorded in black tradition, were the homemade percussion (A3 and A5), banjo pieces (B1), and the one-string diddley bow (see note to B2 for description of this instrument). Most heartening of all was the fact that folk music was still being made by children and teenagers (A1, A3, B6, and B7). For me this was a sign that there would be folk music in this area for many years to come.

One of the most important features of this region's music is its strong instrumental emphasis. The majority of songs are performed here with some kind of accompaniment, even if it consists simply of hand clapping, foot tapping, body slapping, or beating on chairs and cans. Complex vocals with elaborate texts are largely a thing of the past (A6). Today the vocals frequently occupy only a small part of the total performance (A1) or, if longer, are highly repetitious (A3, A5, B1, B2, B4, B5, B6, and B8). Sometimes a singer will let his instrument finish a vocal line (B1), or there may be long instrumental breaks or choruses between sung lines and stanzas (A6, B1, B2, B3, and B4). Many pieces, of course, lack a vocal part altogether (A2 and A4) or only include one at the whim of the performer (A1).

All the musical instruments in the area are known elsewhere in Afro-American folk music tradition, but rarely does one encounter such a variety in one place. Some locally popular instruments are additionally distinctive for having been seldom recorded in other parts of the country. Among percussion instruments, one such example is the solo drum (A1, A2, A4, and A6). The combination of a bass drum with one or two snare drums and a fife is quite common in this area and neighboring regions of the Hill Country but has been recorded elsewhere only in Georgia. In recent years drum sets have been used locally to accompany blues played on guitars and harmonicas, a development which has taken place throughout the American blues tradition. Another type of drum used in the area is the tambourine. The bass drum player in Sid Hemphill's string band would sometimes beat a tambourine against his knee while striking the drum with a stick held in the other hand. The tambourine has also been used to accompany singing in the Sanctified Church. Other simpler types of percussion include tubs, cans, crates, chairs, benches, and woodblocks (A3 and A5), and the striking of the human body itself (B6 and B7).

The "jazz horn" (kazoo) and comb with wax paper have been encountered here as vocal modifiers and are well known outside the area. True wind instruments are rare in black folk music, with the exception of the harmonica. Although not represented on this album, the harmonica

is widely used in the area to accompany blues played on the guitar and as a solo instrument for blues, old fiddle tunes, and other novelty pieces. The fact that other wind instruments are played makes the music here quite unusual and distinctive. The most common of these is the fife (A1 and A2), which is made by burning holes in a stalk of cane cut from a creek bottom. It is usually played in a fife and drum band, although sometimes it is played as a solo instrument for the amusement of the performer himself or a small group of friends. It is not customary for more than one fife to be played simultaneously. The panpipes, or "quills," were also common at one time in the area but may have died out recently. Their current status is hard to determine, however, because they are usually played as home music or by children and are seldom thought by the people in the area to be worthy of mention when they talk about music and music making. They can be fairly complex instruments, though, and Sid Hemphill's band used them with drums on a few specialty pieces (A4). Trombones and saxophones have also been reported in the area's folk music, but they have never been recorded. A cow horn is used by farmers and hunters as a signaling device, but the player makes no attempt to control its pitch.

A great variety of stringed instruments have been played in this area. The string band was once common (A6) but is now no longer heard. It included such instruments as the fiddle, guitar, banjo, string bass, and mandolin, although the last two instruments have not been recorded locally. The fiddle has now been replaced by the harmonica, and the banjo lingers only among a few elderly performers (B1). It used to be played either in a band or as a solo instrument. The guitar here, as elsewhere, became the popular instrument for the blues (B3 and B4), although it is also frequently heard in accompaniment to religious music. In the latter function it never appears in the regular preaching service, except in the Sanctified Church, but only in quartet or solo performances. In the last few decades the electric guitar has gained in popularity for both blues and religious music. Sometimes the electric bass is added. One characteristic of the area's guitar playing, the frequent use of the slide or "bottleneck" style (see note to B3), has been adapted to the guitar from the one-stringed diddley bow (B2), perhaps the most unusual instrument in the region and one rarely recorded in the Afro-American tradition. The piano was once played by a few blues singers in the area but was never as popular for this kind of music as the guitar and harmonica. Pianos are found in most churches, however, and are the only instrument played in Sunday morning services. A few gospel quartets are accompanied by a piano, but most favor a guitar.

Although a number of the songs in this area's black folk music tradition are of white origin (A2, B7, and possibly A3, A4, A5, B5, and B8), the overwhelming stylistic influence on the music is Afro-American or African. In fact, black music may exhibit more African traits here than anywhere else in the country. The selections on this record show several of these traits. Perhaps most prominent is the emphasis on percussion, especially evident in the fife and drum music of the picnics and its counterpart in home music (A1, A2, A3, A4, and A5). The summer picnics are the most important and best attended musical events in the area, emphasizing all the more the primary status of percussion. But this trait is also a feature

of most religious songs (B6) and almost all children's songs (B7). It is present in the music of stringed instruments, which are not usually thought of as percussive (B1, B2, and B4), and was incorporated into Sid Hemphill's string band in the form of a bass drum (A6). There is even a dim trace in the area of one of the important functions of African percussion, the "talking drum" (A5).

African rhythmic and vocal stylistic features are also common here. One is polyrhythm, or the use of more than one rhythm within the same metric structure (A1, A3, and B6). Another common rhythmic trait is syncopation—the shifting of an accent from the beat where it would normally be expected to fall. A melodic trait is the use of "blue notes," or neutral tones pitched between the semitones of the Western scale. They occur most commonly around the third and seventh degrees of the scale but can be found elsewhere as well. Another prominent African trait in this area is antiphonal organization, sometimes known as "call and response." It is especially common in the gospel quartet style (B6) but can also be heard in the phrases of the blues guitar as it "answers" the vocal (B2, B3, and B4).

Finally, some of the musical instruments themselves are of African origin. Best known is the banjo (B1), which was common in black music during slavery and up to the early years of the twentieth century but is gradually being abandoned to white folk music today. Its African origin is beyond dispute, even though it has undergone modifications in American manufacture. Another instrument of African origin which has undergone modification in construction in this country is the one-stringed diddley bow (B2). It is derived from an African form of the musical bow, an instrument which has survived in the black music of several New World countries. The style of playing the diddley bow has been carried over to a popular guitar style in the area (B3). The panpipes are known in both Europe and Africa, as well as other parts of the world, but their playing style in this area, which alternates blown and "whooped" notes, is strictly African.

The African traits account for much of the vigor of the area's folk music. They pervade almost all the music and are the dominant features

of many performances. The traits must not be viewed as mere survivals, however, for in fact they often occur in songs of white origin. The instruments of African origin have all been changed in appearance and adapted to American conditions, and no song, melody, or instrument here could be called purely African. On the other hand, the African traits are becoming more prominent today as the black communities of the area become more independent. This can be noted in the modern style of quartet singing (B6) with its antiphonal organization and percussive hand clapping and foot tapping and in the polyrhythmic fife and drum playing of younger musicians (A1). Since these are the two most popular types of folk music in the area today, it appears that African traits will play an important part in music there for many years to come.

This record presents examples of the various genres and styles of Afro-American folk music from Tate and Panola Counties, insofar as is possible on a single longplaying record. It is hoped that focusing on a limited geographical area can clarify the interrelationships between musical genres and the historical developments and changes of musical styles. The notes to the selections provide information on the performers, the context of performance, and the role of each kind of piece in the musical life of the community or its meaning for the individual performer; some of the notes also discuss the history of the genre or style and musical or textual aspects of the performance. I have limited the comparative references in most cases to published examples of the pieces from the same immediate geographical area. For those songs which are more widespread in American folk music traditions, I have printed only enough references to indicate their traditional status. Likewise, for pieces with commercial origins I have been concerned only to point out their first appearance as a recording or in print. This record is not intended to be a song collection, nor were the songs and tunes selected because they were typical of the themes and types of black folk song as a whole. Instead, I have tried to present examples of related musical styles from one small area. This portrait of the area's music may help to reveal processes which have affected the music of other areas and of the Afro-American and American folk music traditions as a whole.

Acknowledgments

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The Recordings

A1 Soft Black Jersey Cow

Sung and played on the fife by Napoleon Strickland, with Jimmie Buford on snare drum and R. L. Boyce on bass drum, near Senatobia, Mississippi, September 4, 1970. Recorded by David Evans.

This piece is a good example of the kind of fife and drum music currently popular in Tate and Panola Counties. Bands such as that heard here are known in Tate, Panola, Marshall, and Lafayette Counties in Mississippi and a few counties across the state line in Tennessee. A separate black fife and drum tradition has been recorded in Harris and Talbot Counties in Georgia, and a type of fife and drum music is also played on some of the English-speaking islands of the Caribbean. Reports of blacks playing fife and drum music in local militia units date back to British colonial times. Their music, which was probably almost indistinguishable from that of their white counterparts, consisted of marches and the popular tunes of the time. Blacks continued to play in such units through the Civil War, after which military fife and drum music was largely replaced by brass band music. Fife and drum music, however, lingered on in some parts of the South and has been adapted to the changing needs of black



Napoleon Strickland on fife, Jimmie Buford on bass drum, R. L. Boyce on snare drum, and Othar Turner dancing. Copyright © Cheryl Evans 1978.

folk communities. Now it is played for dancing at large, outdoor community picnics held in the summertime, usually sponsored by some prominent citizen, such as a store owner or large farmer, who can afford to hire the musicians. He sells sandwiches and drinks and may make some money in the end. Eight pigs were slaughtered for the Labor Day weekend picnic at which this piece was recorded. The sponsor had a large farm and owned a country store. Perhaps four or five hundred people came each day, many of them back from northern cities visiting relatives and friends. Poorer farmers hold smaller picnics throughout the summer months, perhaps killing only a single pig or goat. There is a tendency for musicians in the area to form family bands, and these families will sometimes hold picnics, so that the cost of hiring the musicians is eliminated.

Saturdays are the most popular days for picnics. The music begins in the late afternoon, often following a baseball game, and lasts until midnight, when the players usher in Sunday with a spiritual such as "When the Saints Go Marching In." During the nonreligious pieces a few individuals dance, while most of the crowd remain spectators and urge on the players and dancers with shouts of encouragement. The musicians themselves dance while playing and often perform stunts with their instruments.

The drums are of commercial manufacture and are typical of the kinds used in marching bands. There is one bass drum and either one or two snare drums, which are often called "kettle drums" by the musicians. The use of these kinds of drums and the fact that the dancing of the musicians is called "marching" are indications of the origin of this fife and drum tradition in military music. The fifes are homemade from cane and have either five or six fingering holes. In either case, the farthest hole from the mouth is always left open. Napoleon Strickland's fife has five fingering holes.

Since the Civil War black fife and drum music has gradually evolved from a military music to something more in keeping with the traditions of black folk music as a whole. The pieces are mainly instrumental with only incidental singing, in large part because the sheer volume of the drums drowns out most other sound and only the strongest voice can be heard above them for any considerable range. A few spirituals will be played for listening only. The remainder of the pieces are old fiddle and banjo dancing tunes, such blues as "Sitting on Top of the World" and "My Babe," and such tunes as the one presented here. This piece is often called "Shimmie She Wobble," after a dance of that name which was popular in the early decades of this century. Also known locally as "Ida Reed," which Alan Lomax apparently heard as "Oree," it consists of one primary, repeated, one-measure phrase on the fife, interspersed with a few other one-measure phrases. The drums play highly syncopated one-measure phrases in accompaniment. No performance of this "Shimmie She Wobble" configuration is quite like any other. If he feels the urge, the fife player may sing some lines from a blues, field holler, or any other type of song which crosses his mind. The first stanza of "Soft Black Jersey Cow" is known in the area as a children's song. Its melody is unlike the fife tune but comes instead from the blues and field holler tradition.



Wilson Bogan barbecuing meat for a picnic in 1971. Copyright © Cheryl Evans 1978.

The singer, Napoleon Strickland, works for a white farmer, and one of his main tasks is feeding, tending, and milking the cows. He had to finish these tasks before coming out to the picnic and also had to perform them early the next morning after a long night of partying. From the thought of milking a cow in the first stanza, Strickland moves into the metaphorical realm in the second stanza. These lines are known to many blues singers and would normally be taken to mean that the singer's wife or girl friend has left him. This kind of associative lyric development is typical of much country blues singing.

Strickland is one of the most versatile and active musicians in the area. He is an outstanding player of the fife, harmonica, and one-string diddley bow, or "jitterbug," a good guitarist, and he claims to be able to play several other instruments. Often sought after for parties and picnics, he describes himself as "the fife blowingest man in the state of Mississippi," an indication of his valued capacity for endurance through long hours of playing. Music making is hard work, and the players are forced by the shouts of dancers and spectators to exert themselves to the fullest. I once heard Strickland complain that the people expected him to "blow his eyes out." Indeed, his eyes do bug out as he bobs, sways, and dances while blowing his fife to the beat of the drums. Tongue-tied in speech and not considered a good singer by many in the community, he becomes the center of attention when playing an instrument. His intense personal involvement in music is perhaps unmatched in the area. He was fifty years old at the time this recording was made.

The drummers, Jimmie Buford and R. L. Boyce, were only thirteen and fifteen years old, respectively. They were not hired for the picnic, since younger musicians are usually considered unreliable and apt to leave a picnic to ride around, drink, or chase women. It is normal, though, for the older musicians to let youngsters play in quite a few of the pieces, giving the older men a rest and an opportunity for socializing and the younger players a chance to prove themselves as musicians and show off to the crowd. There is a good deal of rivalry between older and younger generations at picnics, which is partly resolved and kept at a friendly level by allowing anyone to play. Naturally, the person who attempts to play had better be good if he does not want to be ridiculed by the crowd and the other musicians. Buford and Boyce are rather young to be playing at a picnic, but they have had more opportunity to play than most youngsters their age. Buford's father owns a set of drums and sponsors many picnics, including the one at which this piece was recorded. Boyce is a friend and neighbor, and the two boys often practice together. Their playing exhibits considerable improvisation and syncopation, which is typical of more modern fife and drum playing in the area. It shows the increasing use of an African-derived stylistic approach in a genre of music that originated in the British military band.

"Oree," by Lonnie Young, vocal and bass drum; Ed Young, fife; Lonnie Young, Jr., snare drum, Atlantic SD-1348, *Roots of the Blues*, 12" LP.

Spoken: *Hit it. Hit it.*

Soft black Jersey, back your leg.

Mama's gonna milk her or kill you dead.

Soft black Jersey, back your, back your leg.

Mama gonna milk you or either kill you dead.

Soft black Jersey, where you been?

Had the bells on. Hear this holler.

Soft black Jersey, where you been so long?

Had no milk and butter since old Jersey been gone.

Spoken: *Eeyow!*

A2 After the Ball Is Over

Played by Sid Hemphill's Band (fife, two snare drums, bass drum): Sid Hemphill (probably on fife), Lucius Smith, Alec Askew, and Will Head, near Sledge, Mississippi, August 15, 1942. Recorded by Alan Lomax.

Illustrating an older approach to fife and drum music than the preceding piece, "After the Ball," composed by Charles K. Harris in 1892, remains a popular waltz in the repertoires of country string bands. Its occurrence in the black fife and drum tradition is a reflection of the origin of that tradition; military fife and drum music drew upon American popular songs as well as march tunes for its material. The four fife and drum pieces recorded by Sid Hemphill's band in 1942 include, besides the piece presented here, another popular song, "The Sidewalks of New York"; "Jesse James," a well-known folk song performed mainly by whites; and a piece called "The Death March." The last title indicates that Hemphill's band might have played at funerals, although none of the current bands do, and nobody in the area can remember such a practice.

Hemphill was born in 1876, and his style of music probably represents what was popular around 1900 in the area. The bass drum is restricted to keeping time, while the snare drums play practically in unison and exhibit little improvisation and no syncopation. The fife departs little from Harris's published melody. Since the turn of the century the black fife and drum music in this area has abandoned these characteristics, which are more typical of white music, and has become more syncopated and improvisational. Older drummers today can be heard to criticize the younger ones for improvising too much and failing to "keep time" (i.e., make the drum beats correspond with the rhythm of the words or tune of the piece).

Charles K. Harris, *After the Ball, Forty Years of Melody; an Autobiography* (New York: Frank-Maurice, Inc., 1926), pp. 50-90.
After the Ball, words and music by Charles K. Harris (Milwaukee: Chas. K. Harris & Co., 1892).

A3 Old Dick Jones Is Dead and Gone

Sung, whistled, and played on the washtub by Compton Jones, with Virgie Mae Jones on "bow diddley," Willie B. Wren beating a chair, Dollie Mae and Standley Jones beating cans, and Annie Lee and Melvin Jones beating benches, near Senatobia, Mississippi, July 6, 1971. Recorded by David and Cheryl Evans.

The style recorded here represents home music in imitation of a fife and drum band. Compton Jones's whistling is the equivalent of the fife, and his washtub roughly matches the bass drum. The beating on cans, benches, and a chair actually amounts to the equivalent of several snare drums. The group consists of Compton Jones, his wife, their four children, and a nephew who lives next door. They play this kind of music in front of their house where the washtub is kept, along with several chairs, benches, and a pile of wood scraps. The chairs, benches, and cans are beaten with either sticks or hands, and Jones stands holding the washtub in his left hand and striking it with his right thumb and fingers. Mrs. Jones does not really play the one-stringed "bow diddley" but simply taps it rhythmically with her finger. It just happened to be constructed on the front of their house for her husband's playing (see B2). Mrs. Jones wanted to participate in this performance and chose it as a convenient sound-producing device. The chairs, benches, and cans were chosen just as spontaneously by the youngsters. They considered themselves to be "helping" Compton Jones, who usually performs alone on his washtub. This readiness to use almost any object at hand to produce sound has often been noted as one of the distinctive features of black music in America. It is not unusual to hear a rich variety of tones and timbres produced on such common household items as washboards, cowbells, jugs, and cans.

This type of music would never be performed publicly at a picnic. It is, however, the kind of music that youngsters play at home to practice for picnics. If teenagers exhibit a strong interest in and talent for drumming, they may eventually ask to play a real drum at a picnic when they are about eighteen or twenty. Before that they must play such music as the piece recorded here at "play picnics" at home.

Compton Jones, born in 1926, began playing the washtub as a child at "play picnics" but never felt like playing at a real picnic. He is unusual



Home percussion. The chair in the foreground was made by Compton Jones. Copyright © Cheryl Evans 1978.

in having continued this kind of music in his adult life. His washtub repertoire consists mainly of spirituals, on which he omits the whistling, and a few dance pieces from the fife and drum repertoire, such as "Old Dick Jones Is Dead and Gone." Although this piece has a sombre theme, it is related to a lively square-dance song, which has been recorded by Huddie Ledbetter (Leadbelly). A variant of Jones's couplet is also found in a children's song, "Green Sally Up," recorded in this area by Alan Lomax in 1959. Compton Jones seems to have personalized it, for he says that Dick Jones, commonly known as "Uncle Dick," was his grandfather. Jones uses an unusual hexatonic scale lacking the third and with a minor seventh. A very similar melody was used in "Hen Duck," a fife and drum piece recorded in this area in 1959 by Alan Lomax. Jones's performance is most interesting because he transposes the melody higher by a fifth when he whistles. This practice of transposition is fairly common among fife and harmonica players of this area. It does not occur, however, in performances with stringed instruments where the vocal and instrument would sound together and clash. Jones's whistling here is occasionally supplemented by that of one of the youngsters.

The variety of wooden and metallic sounds in this performance serves to link it to African music, where percussion ensembles of drums, xylophones, and metallophones are quite common. Elements of African music seem to persist strongly in the United States in the music of black children, which emphasizes rhythm, percussion, homemade instruments, and responsorial organization. As the children grow older, they adapt these elements to adult musical styles. The result is that African musical elements are constantly reinvigorating black American music even though contact with African culture and music was broken more than a hundred years ago. There is absolutely no awareness among the people in this area of African cultural or musical elements in their lives. In fact, when she heard the playback of this performance, Dollie Mae Jones said that it sounded "like Indians."

John A. Lomax and Alan Lomax, *Negro Folk Songs As Sung by Lead Belly* (New York: Macmillan, 1936), pp. 73-75 ("Po' Howard").
 "Green Sally Up," by Jessie Pratcher, Mattie Gardner, and Mary Gardner, vocals and hand clapping, Atlantic SD-1350, *American Folk Songs for Children*, 12" LP.
 "Hen Duck," by Lonnie Young, vocal and bass drum; Ed Young, fife; Lonnie Young, Jr., snare drum, Atlantic SD-1346, *Sounds of the South*, 12" LP.

Old Dick Jones is dead and gone.
Left me here to weep and moan, ob.

Old Dick Jones is dead and gone, ob, ob.
Old Dick Jones is dead and gone, ob.
Dick Jones is dead and gone, ob.

Old Dick Jones is dead and gone, ob, ob.
Old Dick Jones is dead and gone, ob.
Old Dick Jones is dead and gone, ob, ob.
Old Dick Jones is dead and gone.
Left me here to weep and moan, ob.

Old Dick Jones is dead and gone, ob.
Old Dick Jones is dead and gone, ob, ob.
Old Dick Jones is dead and gone.
Left me here to weep and moan, ob.

Old Dick Jones is dead and gone, ob, ob.
Old Dick Jones is dead and gone, ob, ob.
Old Dick Jones is dead and gone.
Left me here to weep and moan, ob.

Old Dick Jones is dead and gone, ob, ob.
Old Dick Jones is dead and gone.
Left me here to weep and moan, ob.
Uncle Dick is dead and gone, ob, ob.
Old Dick Jones is dead and gone, ob.
Old Dick Jones is dead and gone.
Left me here to weep and moan, ob, ob.

A4 The Devil's Dream

Played on the ten-note quills with vocal effects by Sid Hemphill, with snare drum and bass drum, near Sledge, Mississippi, August 15, 1942. Recorded by Alan Lomax.

Although there is a well-known British-American fiddle tune called "The Devil's Dream," this performance seems to be only distantly related

to its second strain. Sid Hemphill was an accomplished fiddler (see A6), but in this performance the fiddle tune has been transformed into an entirely different instrumental piece.

The quills are panpipes made out of the same kind of cane as the fife. They have been reported a few times in black folk music tradition but rather rarely recorded. It appears likely that they have been largely replaced by the harmonica, which is more versatile and inexpensive; I have not found any quill players in the area today. Most people there associate the instrument with Sid Hemphill, who had two sets of quills, one with four reeds and one with ten. The reeds were arranged in ascending order of pitch. The ten-note set produced an unusual hexatonic scale lacking the just fourth and fifth. On this performance, however, Hemphill plays only the lower four notes. The remainder of the notes in the piece are produced by "whooping" or hooting. Hemphill recorded this piece again for Alan Lomax in 1959 using the four-note set of quills. The unusual sound of the piece is due to the fact that the octave was "stretched" by a semitone. In constructing the set of quills, Hemphill did not measure his intervals in precise tones and semitones. Here is an approximation of the scale transposed to the key of C:



Panpipes are known both in European and African music, but their use here would seem to owe more to the African tradition, where the technique of alternating blown and whooped notes is very common, as is the use of non-Western intervals. Many fifes in the area use similar intervals, and I have never heard any member of the community remark on the fact or suggest that the music was "out of tune." The practice of whooping has been retained in harmonica playing in black folk music and is used occasionally by harmonica players in this part of Mississippi.

Hemphill's band recorded only three pieces with quills, all of them probably stemming from the nineteenth-century tradition of black social folk music. The quills were probably a novelty instrument in Hemphill's band and served as a substitute for the fife. In most other known instances in the Afro-American tradition the quills were played solo, although in one case the player also beat a tambourine and in another tuned his guitar with them. Hemphill is not known to have played quills with a stringed instrument. I have been present on several occasions, however, when it was suggested that a fife and guitar be played together, but in all instances the idea was rejected by one or both of the players.

"Old Devil's Dream," by Sid Hemphill, four-note quills and vocal effects; Lucius Smith, drum, Prestige/International 25010, *Yazoo Delta . . . Blues and Spirituals*, 12" LP.

A5 Granny, Will Your Dog Bite

Spoken and played on the washtub by Compton Jones, near Senatobia, Mississippi, September 5, 1970. Recorded by David Evans.

This highly repetitious piece, which consists here of fifteen almost identical couplets, is one of the most popular in this community. I have recorded it as a banjo piece, a children's rhyme, a fife and drum piece, a piece played on the drums only, and a chant by teenage girl cheerleaders at a community baseball game, accompanied by beating on the grandstand. Its popularity lies in the fact that the drum or other percussion instrument is made to correspond in its beats to the rhythm of the words. When drummers do this, they say that they are making the drum "talk it." This ability to make the drums "talk it" is highly regarded in the community and is considered the sign of a good drummer. Older drummers often criticize the younger ones for making their beats depart too much from the rhythm of the words.

Some performers in the area substitute "Sally" for "Granny" in this piece. The words are commonly encountered in both the black and white folk song traditions of the South, and Dorothy Scarborough says that it is a piece that "every Southerner knows." Its usual form is something like the following:

*Chicken in the bread tray scratching out dough.
Granny, will your dog bite? No, child, no.*

These lines are commonly heard as a "floating" couplet in various square-dance fiddle tunes.

The importance placed upon making a drum "talk it" can probably be related to the widespread African (especially West African) institution of "talking drums." In many African languages pitch and rhythm are important factors in the determination of word meaning. As a result, messages, usually of a proverbial or traditional nature, can be beaten on drums and understood by the speakers of the language. It would appear that this concept has persisted, in a considerably diluted and altered form, among black people in the United States. In the English language proper pitch and rhythm are not necessary for understanding, but something of the value placed upon them in African languages has been retained, as has the idea that speech can be reproduced on a musical instrument. The ability to make a guitar, harmonica, saxophone, or any instrument "talk" is one of the most important aesthetic criteria in all forms of black music and is particularly highly valued in this area of Mississippi. Usually, however, this expression is used only metaphorically, and it is not expected that the musician will actually play something that can be understood as a spoken statement. The recordings in this part of Mississippi of "Granny, Will Your Dog Bite" are, therefore, rather unusual in their strong emphasis upon correspondence between spoken text and instrumental rhythm. Like many African talking-drum messages, the words of this piece are almost proverbial. The real significance of the expression, if any, is difficult to determine. Questions about it only produce laughter and chuckles and the repetition of the phrase "Granny, will your dog bite? No, child, no." A probable reason for the laughter is the fact that the line is popular among children and therefore not to be given serious consideration. It functions with children as a practice rhythm for percussion

Barbara, Nettie Mae, and Aleneda Turner playing in 1971. Copyright © Cheryl Evans 1978.



playing. It is very similar to the kinds of one-measure phrases that form the rhythmic units in fife and drum music (cf. A1) and in much of the string-band dance music, which is moribund in the area today.

Dorothy Scarborough, *On the Trail of Negro Folk-Songs* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1925; reprint ed., Hatboro, Pa.: Folklore Associates, 1963), p. 194.

Newman I. White, *American Negro Folk-Songs* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928; reprint ed., Hatboro, Pa.: Folklore Associates, 1963), p. 241.

Thomas W. Talley, *Negro Folk Rhymes, Wise and Otherwise* (New York: Macmillan, 1922; reprint ed., Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1968), p. 7.

Henry M. Belden and Arthur Palmer Hudson, eds., "Folk Songs from North Carolina," *The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore*, vol. 3 (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1952), pp. 205-6 ("Chicken in the Bread Tray").

Granny, will your dog bite? Granny, will she bite?

Granny, will your dog bite? No, child, no.

Granny, will your dog bite? Granny, will she bite?

Granny, will your dog bite? No, child, no, child, no, child, no.

Etc.

A6 The Carrier Line

Sung and played on the fiddle by Sid Hemphill, with Lucius Smith on banjo, Alec Askew on guitar, and Will Head on bass drum, near Sledge, Mississippi, August 15, 1942. Recorded by Alan Lomax.

This song is an example of a "blues ballad," combining the narrative quality of balladry with the loose, shifting, and subjective approach of blues singing (see B2, B3, and B4). A blues ballad often assumes a prior knowledge of the underlying events of the story on the part of the audience. Most ballads in black folk song are blues ballads, as are quite a few in southern white folk song. Often the same piece is known in both black and white traditions (e.g., "John Henry," "Frankie and Albert"), so that it may be difficult to determine its origin. This particular blues ballad was composed by Sid Hemphill, a black man, but all the main characters in the story were white.

Robert Carrier owned a logging company and in 1901 built the Sardis and Delta Railroad, called simply Mr. Carrier's line in the song, to haul logs to Sardis in Panola County from Bobo Lake (renamed Lake Carrier), twenty-two miles to the west in the Delta. Hemphill told Alan Lomax that he composed the song in 1903, but he may have been a few years off. Lucius Smith, Hemphill's banjo player, said that the wreck occurred in 1905 or 1906, but possibly it occurred at the same time as the other event referred to in the song—the financial panic of 1907. Local newspapers for this period are unenlightening about these events. In any case, the song has two themes, which are not clearly connected to each other in the text. Stanzas 1, 14 through 17, and 23 refer to the panic. Carrier paid his workers with brass scrip while the banks were closed, but many of them became discouraged and took up farming near Malone's Trestle, where the wreck was to occur. The remaining stanzas refer to the wreck. Carrier had two engineers, "Pop" Bailey and Dave Cowart. Hemphill described Cowart to Alan Lomax as "a rough engineer." Carrier had warned Cowart on several occasions not to run his train so fast. He transferred Cowart to another engine and threatened to fire him.

Stanza 13 indicates that he actually did fire Cowart, but in stanza 18 he is back running his original engine, the "Seven Spot." Cowart wrecked the train at Malone's Trestle. Nobody was killed, but several were scalded badly by the steam, including a preacher named Lovey Lemons who worked on the railroad. The refrain after every stanza is unrelated to the text of the song. In its full form it should be "Oh, my honey babe, why don't you come home?" Hemphill, however, plays the last half of the line on his fiddle. The first half actually sounds like "Oh, my heart beat," but Hemphill insisted to Alan Lomax, who heard it similarly, that he had actually sung "Oh, my honey babe." A similar refrain has been reported elsewhere in black folk music for blues ballads and blues. Howard Odum noted it in adjacent Lafayette County, Mississippi, and Dorothy Scarborough in Texas.

Hemphill was fond of singing blues ballads and, in addition to this piece, he also composed ballads about a local bad man, a mob at the Senatobia jail, and one of the world wars. Among traditional ballads he sang versions of "Joe Turner," "The Boll Weevil," "John Henry," "Old Blue," and "Casey Jones." Except for a nine-stanza version of "The Carrier Line" collected by George Mitchell from Hemphill's daughter, none of Hemphill's composed ballads has survived in the folk tradition of the area. Lucius Smith can only remember the banjo parts to a few ballads and one stanza of "The Carrier Line." He says that he never paid much attention to the words. There seem to be several reasons why these ballads are not well known in the area despite the fact that Hemphill was generally acknowledged as one of the best local musicians and has been dead for only about fifteen years. Blues ballad singing has declined in general among blacks in recent years. New ones are not being composed, and only a few old ones are kept alive in tradition, mainly through the influence of such phonograph records as Lloyd Price's "Stagger Lee" (ABC-Paramount 9972) and Buster Brown's "John Henry" (Fire 1020).

Hemphill's own ballads were performed with a string band. This type of ensemble no longer exists in the area, a fact that has undoubtedly contributed to the disappearance of the repertoire of songs associated with such bands. Furthermore, there exists a strong feeling in this area that songs like "The Carrier Line" belonged to Hemphill only. Several people have said that Hemphill performed mostly "his own" songs, so that other performers avoided them. Hemphill himself made it well known that he had composed "The Carrier Line" and some other songs. Although the tune, stanza structure, and refrain are traditional, most of the words of "The Carrier Line" are very much Hemphill's own creation; it contains very few of the lyric phrases that seem to "float" freely from one blues ballad to another. A final reason may be that Hemphill performed some of his songs mainly for white people. He was asked to write "The Carrier Line" by a Mr. Willard, a white section foreman on the line. Hemphill said he sang it for all the participants in the events except Mr. Carrier himself, although Lucius Smith said that the band often performed at Mr. Carrier's house in the country as well as for picnics held by "all them big rich folks in Senatobia." Another musician has stated that Hemphill would sing this song for Mr. Carrier every Saturday morning and collect ten dollars for his efforts. No doubt this is an exaggeration, although Hemphill may have done this once or twice and bragged about it to others, so that a legend arose locally.

Blues ballads are rarely sung today in the black tradition and seem to be a somewhat antiquated genre. The events which can be dated in most ballads occurred within a few years of 1900, and it was in this period that blues ballads probably enjoyed their greatest popularity. Hemphill's own compositions deal with events which took place shortly after 1900. Although the genre is moribund, it seems to have left its mark on the blues. The pattern of a rhymed couplet with one-line refrain, such as occurs in "The Carrier Line," undoubtedly contributed to the shaping of the *a a b* stanza structure so common in blues. The six-measure stanzas and characteristic chord progressions in the accompaniments of so many blues ballads could also have contributed to the popularity of the twelve-measure blues. Our earliest documented reports of the blues also come from around 1900, when blues ballads were at their peak of popularity in black folk song tradition. But although the twelve-bar blues with *a a b* stanza structure became the predominant pattern for the blues generally, it did not in this part of Mississippi. Such blues are extremely rare here (cf. B2, B3, and B4), and the few examples that do occur are due mainly to the influence of phonograph records.

String bands seem to have died out a decade or more ago in the black folk music tradition of this area. The combination of fiddle, guitar, banjo, and string bass was gradually replaced by other combinations of guitars, pianos, and harmonicas in the early decades of this century, as the style of music changed from breakdowns to blues, and the style of dancing from square dances with called sets to various types of couple dances. There had been many black string bands in the area, playing for both black and white dances. Many of them could also convert to fife and drum units for picnics, and some even added brass instruments. Their flexibility is exemplified by the use of the bass drum in Hemphill's string band, which was included because no string bass was available. Often the player would use only one stick and hold a tambourine in his other hand, beating it against his knee. The drumming for string band music was thus not as complex as with the fife. Hemphill's string band also frequently used the kazoo, which was called a "jazz horn." Their repertoire consisted mainly of fiddle tunes for dancing, with the addition of some blues ballads and spirituals. The band rarely played blues.

James W. Silver, "Paul Bunyan Comes to Mississippi," *Journal of Mississippi History* 19 (1957): 96-101.

Howard W. Odum and Guy B. Jackson, *The Negro and His Songs* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1925; reprint ed., Hatboro, Pa.: Folklore Associates, 1964), pp. 182-83.

Dorothy Scarborough, *On the Trail of Negro Folk Songs* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1925; reprint ed., Hatboro, Pa.: Folklore Associates, 1963), pp. 90-91.

*Nobody had a nickle. You couldn't get a dime.
If you want to make your money, boys, work on Mr. Carrier's time.
Oh, my honey babe . . .* (Refrain repeated after each stanza)

*Mr. Dave Cowart went on Mr. Carrier's engine. Mr. Carrier, he looked and laughed.
"Tell you, Dave Cowart, don't run my train too fast."*

*Mr. Dave told Mr. Carrier, "Man, don't you know I know your rule?
Tell you, Mr. Carrier, a train ain't no mule."*

*Mr. Dave Cowart went down to Baptist. Mr. Carrier stood on the railroad track.
"Send back Dave Cowart. Get Mr. Bailey back."*

*Mr. Dave told Mr. Carrier, "Man, fire me if you will.
Every time it come a shower of rain, he can't run it up Jobson Hill."*

*Mr. Carrier said, "Dave Cowart, see what you have done.
You left Sardis at twelve o'clock. Done made it back at one."*

*Mr. Dave said, "Well, Mr. Carrier, let me have my way.
Let me run this Seven Spot. I'll make three trips a day."*

*Mr. Carrier said, "No, Dave Cowart, tell you in time.
Can't let you run the Seven no more." "Well, I'll have to run the Nine."*

*Everybody around Sardis said, "Mr. Carrier, I know you got your way.
Mr. Bailey's much too old a man to run your train like Dave."*

*Last one Monday morning, it come a shower of rain.
Nine come to Ballentine, blowing like a fast train.*

*When the Nine got over to Sardis with a large load of logs,
Mr. Carrier told the people at the plant, "Yonder train off the Yellow Dog."*

*They said to Mr. Carrier, "Man, ain't you 'shamed,
Looking out the window, don't know your own train?"*

*Mr. Carrier went to Dave Cowart. "Dave, I done told you so.
Train cost too much. You can't run my train no more."*

*Mr. Carrier's timber mens quit too. Thought they all was mad.
They didn't like his paydays, 'cause he was paying 'em off in brass.*

*Mr. Carrier's timber mens left, and they thought they was going home.
Stopped down the railroad, farming at Malone's.*

*Mr. Carrier went down to Malone's. He didn't mean no harm.
He didn't know his timber men knowed how to farm.*

*Oh, they couldn't pay 'em no greenbacks, couldn't pay 'em no gold.
Couldn't pay 'em no silver. All his banks done closed.*

*Mr. Carrier's engine left Sardis then. She left there mighty hot.
Got down to Malone's Trestle, where he could wreck that Seven Spot.*

*Well, they telephoned to Mr. Carrier, "Don't you think it'd be nice?
Telephone to Sardis, and get Dr. Rice?"*

*Mr. Carrier said to Dave Cowart, "Man, ain't you 'shamed?
You done wrecked my Seven Spot, done scalded preacher's hand."*

*Mr. Carrier said to the conductor, "Doctor, think you can save his life?"
Conductor says, "He's a lazy man. He won't hardly die."*

*He wore a mighty fine coat, boys, mighty fine shirt.
Rid that train every day. He didn't never work.*

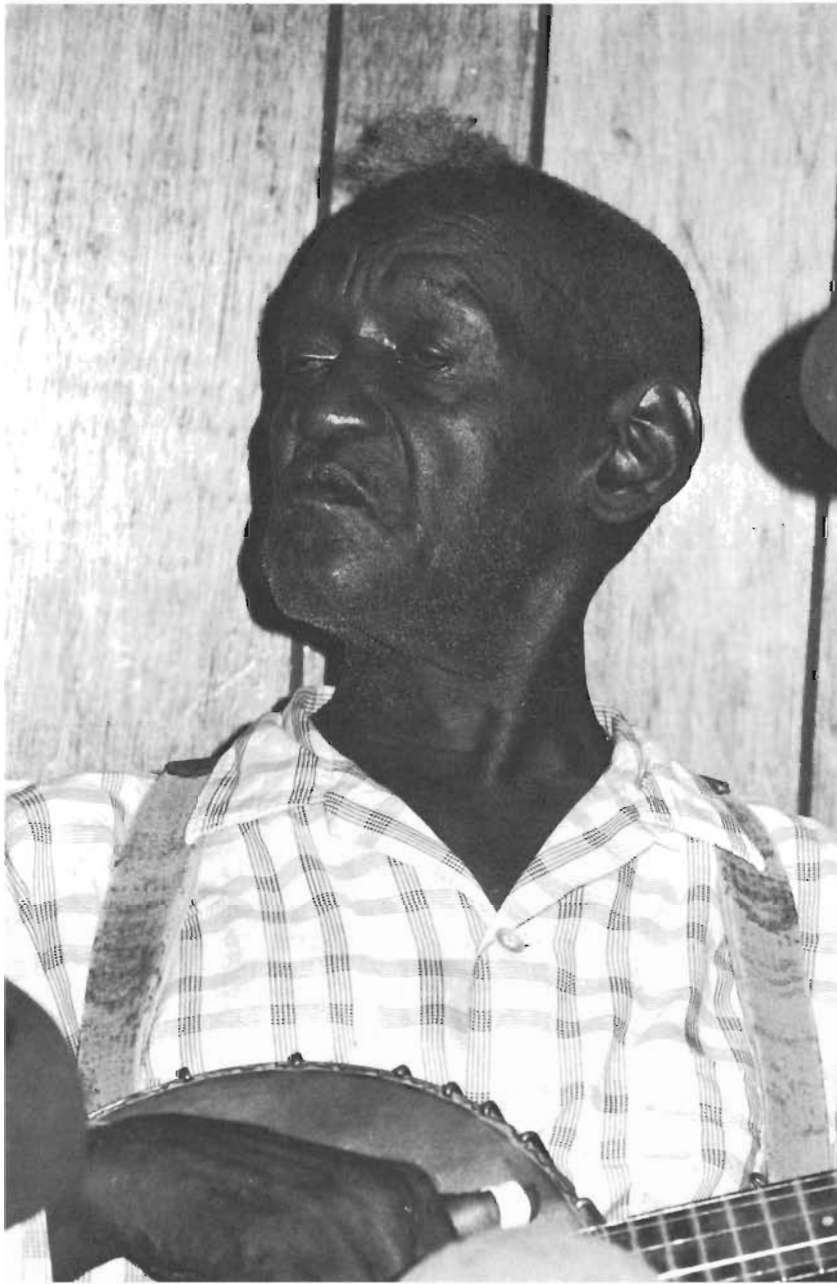
*I played on Mr. Carrier's railroad, Sardis on Main and Beale.
I made dollars down there without working in the field.*

*Tried to carry him down to Emma's. Aunt Emma hollered and screamed.
"Needn't cry, Miss Emma, but he got scalded by the steam."*

B1 New Railroad

*Sung and played on the banjo by Lucius Smith at Sardis, Mississippi,
June 27, 1971. Recorded by David and Cheryl Evans.*

The banjo has practically died out in the folk music tradition of Tate and Panola Counties, and Lucius Smith may be the last competent player left. At one time there were many black banjo players in the area, but they were all older than Smith, who was born in 1892. He learned to play from Sid Hemphill, after making a start on the instrument himself. He and Hemphill played together for fifty-four years until



Lucius Smith. Copyright © Cheryl Evans 1978.

Hemphill's death around 1963. Since then Smith has had nobody to play music with, though he still plays banjo for his own amusement.

Smith has made several modifications in his five-string banjo to produce the somewhat unusual sound heard on this piece. Long ago he removed the first four frets, because he said they caused the strings to rattle. As he seldom plays above the fifth fret, he is essentially playing a fretless banjo. He has also raised the strings rather high off the neck by using a special bridge of his own manufacture. Finally, although he

plays here in the very common open G tuning (D-B-G-D-G¹), the B string is tuned to a neutral third, the so-called blue note. Most of Smith's playing is single note work, rather than chords and chord positions, but when he brushes across the open strings, the neutral third lends a non-Western flavor to the chord. One might suppose that the banjo was out of tune, but the effect is quite deliberate and is used by other musicians in the area, especially guitarists (see B3). The neutral third in Smith's banjo playing is paralleled in his singing.

Smith plays in two different styles. One is the downstroke style widely known as "frailing," and the other, which is heard in this piece, is a type of finger picking which he calls "the flat way," employing the thumb and index finger. Smith considers it to be a more recent style than frailing and says that it was introduced to the area from the East. Smith believes that all the best banjo players came from the Hill Country east of the Delta and from Alabama. He appears to associate this picking style with black banjo players exclusively, as he claims that Uncle Dave Macon and other white banjo players he has heard "over the air" cannot play in this style. Actually white banjo players use quite a few picking styles as well as frailing styles, some of them fairly similar to Smith's, although his is probably more syncopated and percussive than most.

The interesting problem of the relationship between black and white banjo playing is complicated by the scarcity of recorded examples by black players. The banjo is, after all, an instrument of African origin, although it has undergone some modifications in the United States. It became very popular in American music during the minstrelsy craze of the nineteenth century and has remained an important instrument in southern white folk music while gradually dying out in the black tradition. It is likely that black playing styles influenced the white styles, but this is difficult to prove without more recordings of banjo playing by black musicians. It is my contention, nevertheless, that Smith's playing represents a very early banjo style, the kind of playing that countless white musicians must have heard and adapted to their own tastes. Smith was able to name about a dozen black banjo players, all older men who influenced his own playing when he was young, and other people in the area have named more. According to these reports, both styles—frailing and picking—were used, and there was a large shared repertoire of pieces among the various players. Smith believes that some of his pieces are at least a hundred years old. He himself has either preserved or reverted to certain characteristics of the African instrument in the use of a high bridge, fretless neck, neutral third in the tuning, and a high degree of percussion and syncopation.

"New Railroad" is Smith's favorite piece. He says that nobody was considered a "real banjo picker" until he could play it. It probably derives from the song of a railroad worker, since one of the lines which Smith does not sing in this version is "Grading that new railroad, grading from Shelby, Tennessee." Like many banjo songs, this one has little textual development. The singer remarks that he is leaving on the new railroad, apparently as a worker, and will return some day. Smith only half sings the words, preferring to let his banjo do the talking (cf. A5). This is not by any means a halfhearted performance; he plays all his pieces this way, as is typical of many musicians in the area and in black folk song

tradition in general, who prefer to express themselves through their playing rather than singing.

*Oh, that road, new railroad down, babe.
Long lonesome road, way down that lonesome. . . .*

*Oh, that road, new railroad down.
Long lonesome road, be back on the new rail. . . .*

*Now you know, babe. . . . Oh, that road.
Railroad down. Be back on the lonesome. . . .*

*Oh, that road, long lonesome road.
Be back on the lonesome. . . .*

*New railroad down, long lonesome road.
Be back on the lonesome. . . .*

*New railroad, long lonesome road.
Be back on the lonesome. . . .*

New railroad. . . .

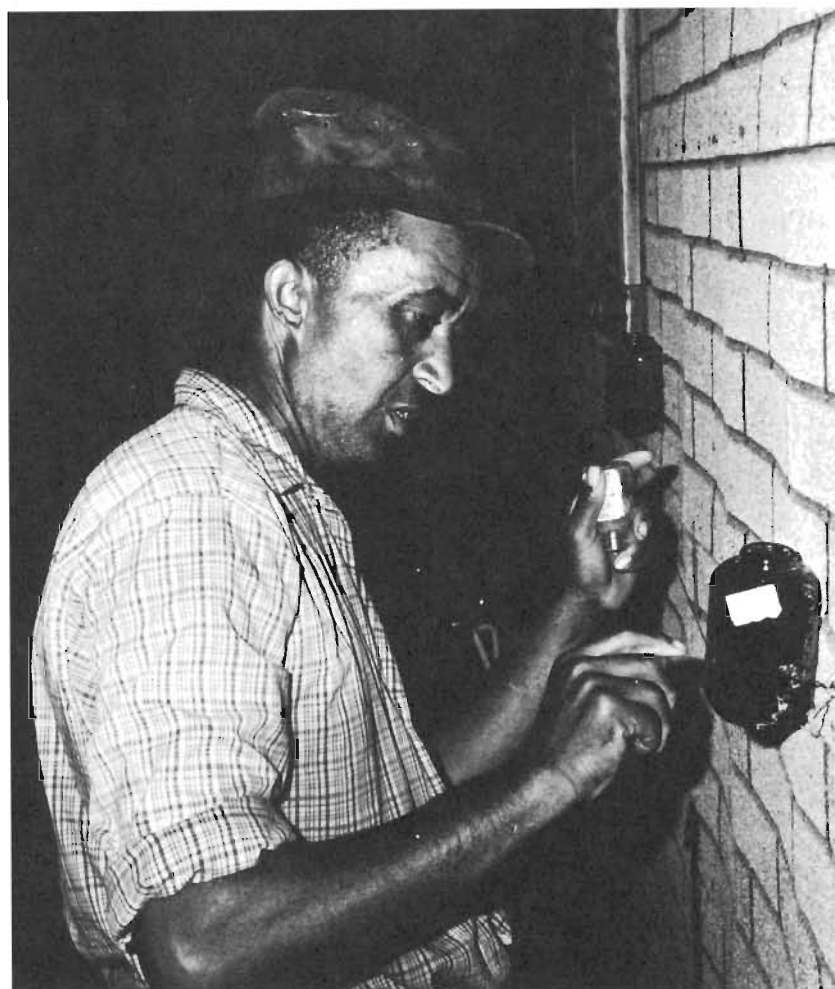
B2 Shake 'Em on Down

Sung and played on the "bow diddley" by Compton Jones, near Senatobia, Mississippi, September 5, 1970. Recorded by David Evans.

The "bow diddley," or jitterbug, is most commonly known in the area by the name diddley bow. It is a homemade instrument, constructed by stringing about four feet of broom wire horizontally on a wall between two staples. A bottle is wedged under the wire at each end to keep it taut. Snuff bottles are preferred for their square shape and large resonance chambers. The player strikes the string with the index finger of the right hand and changes pitch by pressing or sliding another bottle, held in the left hand, on the string. This instrument is very common in the black folk music tradition of Mississippi and less well known in other areas. It has never been reported in white folk music tradition.

The diddley bow is commonly considered to be a children's instrument in the area. If a child proves his ability on it, he may advance to a guitar (see B3). If an adult does not own a guitar, however, he may continue to play this one-stringed instrument. Compton Jones has never learned to play a guitar, so that he still plays the diddley bow. At other times it will be played at parties when a guitar is unavailable.

The diddley bow is an adaptation of an African musical bow. The African instrument may use one or both of two techniques for changing pitch. The first is to use the player's mouth as a resonating chamber and to enhance or suppress various harmonics of the string's ground tone by changing the size and shape of the mouth opening. A mouth bow played by means of this principle is known in both white and black folk music traditions in the United States and is probably of African origin. The second method used in Africa is to press some hard object against the string of the bow, thereby shortening it and raising its pitch. This is the method used on the diddley bow. Retention of the word "bow" in the name of the American instrument as well as its manner of playing reflect its African origin, although nobody in this area is aware of this fact. Apparently the instrument has existed in its present form in the area



Compton Jones playing the one-string diddley bow. Copyright © Cheryl Evans 1978.

for quite some time, as nobody can recall any instrument with the appearance of a bow. The construction of the instrument on a wall frees the left hand of the player from holding the instrument and allows him to slide the bottle up and down the string to produce a considerable variety of notes. This practice is not known in the playing of the African musical bow and is apparently an American innovation facilitated by the new method of constructing the instrument. In fact, technically speaking, the American instrument is no longer a bow but has become a type of zither.

"Shake 'Em on Down" was first recorded in 1937 by Bukka White and has been remade under a variety of titles by several blues singers. The song has entered the blues tradition of this area and become very popular locally. Fred McDowell even used the title as his nickname. Compton Jones's version here differs considerably from the various commercially recorded versions, not only in the accompaniment but also in the lyrics and melody. The greatest similarity is in the refrain, "Must I

holler, or must I shake 'em on down?" The second stanza is also somewhat like one of Bukka White's original lyrics:

*I ain't been to Georgia, but I been told.
Georgia women got the best jelly roll.*

Probably Jones never heard any of the commercial recordings of this song but has simply refashioned it from the local folk song tradition in the typical manner of blues singers. There is a similar traditional couplet known to many blues singers which runs something like this:

*I ain't never been to heaven, but I been told.
Angels in heaven got the best jelly roll.*

There is considerable use of metaphor in Jones's short text. A biscuit baker is, of course, a wife or girl friend. "Jelly roll" refers to lovemaking and sex, as can the expression "shake 'em on down," although the latter probably has the more general meaning of simply "balling" (dancing, partying, flirting, lovemaking). In this version of the song the singer succinctly and starkly interweaves the themes of death and departure ("biscuit baker gone," "been to heaven," "kill somebody"), food ("biscuit baker," "jelly roll"), and love ("jelly roll," "shake 'em on down"). One wonders whether this was intentional or simply a product of the unconscious. Jones sings the same lyrics in every performance of this piece.

David Evans, "Afro-American One-Stringed Instruments," *Western Folklore* 29 (1970): 229-45.

Bukka White, "Shake 'Em on Down," Vocalion 03711 (recorded Chicago, September 2, 1937), reissued on Columbia C 30036, *Bukka White/Parchman Farm*, 12" LP.

*What you gonna do when your biscuit baker gone?
What you gonna do when your biscuit baker gone?*

*I ain't been to heaven, but I been told.
Kill somebody 'bout my jelly roll.
Must I holler, or must I shake 'em on down?*

Repeats.

B3 Shake 'Em on Down

Sung and played on the guitar by Ranie Burnette at Senatobia, Mississippi, September 3, 1970. Recorded by David Evans.

This is the same song as the previous one, played on the guitar. Ranie Burnette started out on a diddley bow as a boy but soon advanced to the guitar. His style of playing on this piece, however, betrays many characteristics of his first instrument. He tunes the six strings to an open D chord, with a neutral third, and uses a small bottle placed over a finger of the left hand to press or slide on the strings. On this piece he uses the bottle only on the first string in close approximation of the manner of playing the one-string diddley bow. Burnette uses the other five strings of the guitar simply as a drone and for percussion. He obtains a variety of tonal textures by muffling these strings lightly with his right wrist while allowing the first string to sound clearly. His playing is also notable for its acceleration of tempo, a common characteristic of much Afro-American and African music. The piece moves from ♩ = 138 at the beginning to ♩ = 192 at the end.

The technique of using a glass bottle, bottleneck, bone, or metal ring worn over a finger, or a knife held in the hand, to slide on the strings of the guitar is fairly old. W. C. Handy, who observed it in 1903, said it was "the weirdest music I had ever heard." It is clearly derived from the playing of the diddley bow, as this and the preceding piece show. It is



Bottleneck-style guitar playing. Copyright © Cheryl Evans 1978.

closely associated with the blues and was probably responsible in part for the initial popularity of this genre around the turn of the century. It has continued to be popular in this area of Mississippi for some blues and church songs.

Ranie Burnette was born in 1918, the son of a banjo player. He showed no interest in his father's music but instead turned to the guitar and the blues, which he began playing in the 1930s. After returning from military service in 1945, he became one of the most popular local bluesmen, playing frequently at weekend dances at the various local "jukes" and stores. Like many of his contemporaries, he switched to an electric guitar during this period. He would usually play with another guitarist or harmonica player. Although he has played less often since his marriage in 1956, he still plays occasionally at house parties given by his cousin out in the country and has been accompanying a gospel quartet in recent years. The change from blues to church music is a common pattern among musicians as they grow older and settle down. For some people the change is dramatic and is accompanied by a complete alteration of lifestyle. Such is rarely the case, however, in this part of Mississippi, where church life and secular life seem to coexist quite easily. If the change comes here, it is usually a gradual one. I rarely heard church people in this area speak out strongly against the blues, nor did I ever encounter any blues players who did not also perform church songs.

Ranie Burnette learned "Shake 'Em on Down" in the 1930s, probably not long after it was first recorded in 1937 by Bukka White. Burnette and Fred McDowell were the ones who popularized it in the area. The guitar part, however, had probably been first worked out by somebody on the diddley bow. It is in all respects unlike the guitar on Bukka White's record, which is not played with a "slider." Although Burnette's version is musically quite similar to Compton Jones's version, the texts are quite different, having only the refrains in common. Even these are not exactly the same. Jones's refrain lasts only one line, and he sings it with only half of his stanzas. Burnette's refrain runs three lines with an instrumental break after the second. His text, though longer, is much more straightforward than Jones's, concentrating mainly on the theme of the man-woman relationship and the imagery of "shake 'em on down," which occurs as a phrase with much greater insistence here.

W. C. Handy, *Father of the Blues* (New York: Macmillan, 1941; reprint ed., New York: Collier Books, 1970), p. 74.
 "Shake 'Em on Down," by Fred McDowell, vocal and guitar: Miles Pratcher, guitar; Fannie Davis, comb, Atlantic SD-1348, *Roots of the Blues*, 12" LP.

*Come to my house, find nobody 'round.
 Me and my baby, we gon' shake 'em on down.
 Must I holler, yeab, must I shake 'em on down?
 Yeab, must I holler, baby, must I shake 'em on down?
 Yeab, done stopped hollering, baby now, believe I'll shake 'em on down.*

*One and one is two, baby, two and two is four.
 Got you, woman, and I sive ain't gon' let you go.
 Now must I holler, yeab, must I shake 'em on down?
 Well now, done stopped hollering, baby now, believe I'll shake 'em on down.
 Yeab now, done stopped hollering, baby now, believe I'll shake 'em on down.*

*Looka here, baby now, don't you see?
 Shaking that thing is done 'bout got poor me.
 Must I holler, yeab, believe I'll shake 'em on down.
 Well, I done stopped hollering now, believe I'll shake 'em on down.
 Yeab now, I done stopped hollering, baby, believe I'll shake 'em on down.*

*Told my baby the week before last.
 Gait she's carrying is just little too fast.
 Now must I holler, yeab, believe I'll shake 'em on down.
 Well now, I done stopped hollering, baby now, believe I'll shake 'em on down.
 Well, I done stopped hollering, baby, I believe I'll shake 'em on down.*

B4 Black Woman

Sung and played on the guitar by Othar Turner, followed by interview and vocal solo, near Senatobia, Mississippi, March 22, 1969. Recorded by David Evans.

This song is the best example I know of how the blues are created. In fact, it probably illustrates the situation in which blues were first performed. The farmer, in the course of monotonous work in his fields behind a mule and plow, sets his mind on some subject, perhaps his balky mule, a desire to leave and go somewhere else, or, as in this song, his woman. His thoughts come out as a "field holler," or what Othar Turner calls "the old cornfield blues." The words are usually traditional and widely known by other singers, although each singer will have a few favorite verses that he sings often. Similarly, the melodic patterns of most field-holler tunes are traditional, but each singer has a few idiosyncratic turns of phrase that enable anyone else to recognize his voice at a distance. The farmer singing one of these songs is often alone in his field or at a considerable distance from other workers, so that he is essentially singing for himself as a means of self-expression, a release of pent-up emotions, or simply a relief from boredom. At other times, however, workers may be close by and answer him with hollers of their own. Or he may sing to inform his wife that he is headed home and that she should have his dinner ready. These rather limited social usages of the field holler are enlarged upon during such occasions as courting or house parties, when the social interaction is more complex and intimate. For these, the field holler becomes transformed into a blues by the addition of an accompanying instrument. The instrument marks a basic musical difference between the field holler and the blues, for it not only backs up the singing but is also played solo after each vocal line as a kind of response to the singing, a second voice. The use of responsorial instrumental breaks is illustrated here in Othar Turner's guitar-accompanied performance of "Black Woman." His vocal solo version, however, is sung without a break. The structural difference between the two genres is matched by a difference in function. The field holler functions mainly for the singer himself and only secondarily for others, but the blues are just as much directed toward an audience as they are sung for the singer's own benefit. We are dealing then with two structurally and functionally distinct song genres, one derived from the other, which have a considerable similarity in lyrical content and melodic phrasing.

There are reports of field hollers from the period of slavery. There are even comparable genres in the music of many West African societies, and it might be possible to trace some singing techniques and tunes of hollers to African music. Certainly the use of "blue notes" and the rather freely ranging descending melodies have African parallels, though these characteristics are not specific enough to establish any definite connections. The urge to sing while alone is, after all, probably universal. Then too, much of African horticultural work was communal, whereas the field holler seems to be mainly the product of the solitary worker. For the communal kinds of farm work in America, other types of work songs have been sung that have had less influence on the blues. (For examples of communal work songs see *Afro-American Spirituals, Work Songs, and Ballads*, AFS L3.)

The field holler may be a very old type of song, but the instrumentally accompanied blues are comparatively recent. It is very likely that the blues are a distinct product of the American experience, a uniquely American synthesis. The first reports of blues are from the 1890s. In only a few years they began to be performed by professional and semiprofessional black entertainers. Then they entered the white folk song tradition of the South. Very early in their career the twelve-bar *a a b* stanza structure began to predominate (see A6). In 1912 a blues piece was first published in sheet music form, and since 1920 thousands of blues have been composed and recorded by both black and white performers. These commercialized blues have had a great influence in shaping and standardizing the folk blues tradition, although originally it was the folk tradition that provided material for the commercial outlets. It is impossible to know exactly what the first blues sounded like, but we can guess that Othar Turner's performance here is a fairly close approximation. The folklorist Howard W. Odum, who collected some of the earliest blues between 1905 and 1908 in adjacent Lafayette County, Mississippi, noted the existence of large numbers of "one-verse songs," consisting simply of a single blues line repeated as long as the singer wanted. Some singers, Odum observed, would then rhyme this with another line and perhaps create additional lines. One of the simple, repetitious songs that Odum recorded in this area contained a couplet similar to the lines in Othar Turner's "Black Woman."

*Make me a pallet on de flo',
Make it in de kitchen behin' de do'.*

Even earlier, in 1903 at nearby Clarksdale, Mississippi, W. C. Handy noted a local tune called "Make Me a Pallet on Your Floor."

It is easy to imagine Turner's song evolving from the kind of "one-verse songs" that Odum observed long ago. Indeed, I have recorded many such blues from singers in this area. Their frequent occurrence here, along with the rarity of twelve-bar *a a b* stanza structures, is an indication that the blues of the region have been relatively uninfluenced by commercialized blues and are close to the very wellsprings of the blues genre. The type of blues heard here has constantly reinvigorated the tradition as a whole and kept it close to the folk roots that first gave birth to the blues.

Othar Turner was born June 2, 1907, near Jackson, Mississippi, but has lived in Tate and Panola Counties since infancy. He has been on a

farm all his life, working for many years as a sharecropper and renter. It was not until 1970 that he was able to buy some land of his own. Since then his lot has improved considerably, and he is now very much admired in his community for having "come a long way," even though it has taken him a lifetime of hard work to do it. As a musician he is better known in the community for his drum and fife playing. He never had much opportunity to own a guitar but over the years has managed to learn to play one to accompany his blues. He still sings out in his fields, a practice declining in popularity even in this area, and adapts his songs to a guitar when one is available. He tunes the strings to an open chord and flails at them percussively with the fingers of his right hand while making a few simple runs on the frets with his left. His singing is strident, in fact overwhelming, the product of years of hollering in the fields of this hill country. When he sings, he rocks and sways back and forth in his chair. His eyes take on a glazed look, and his face contorts into an expression of deep emotion, neither agony nor exhilaration but something indescribable that seems to cover that whole range of feelings that we call the blues. He seems sometimes to be almost in a trance when he sings. Then suddenly he will break it by abruptly clapping his hand over the strings, smothering their tone. He played this song for me only a few hours after I had first met him. I was totally unprepared for the power of his singing, and watching him holler and rock and whip the guitar strings was one of the most moving experiences of my career in recording folk music. The performance in his home surrounded by family and friends had all the feeling of someone hollering alone in a huge field behind a mule and plow and under a blazing sun, someone who didn't care who heard his lonesome call. I felt as if I were a witness to the birth of the blues.

"Black Woman" is known in the community as Othar Turner's own song. He calls it "my song of my make myself." Actually, in his other performances the words vary considerably, and the only stable lyric element is the addressing of the song to a "Black Woman." Turner says that he courted his wife with this song. He also would sing it while riding a horse down country dirt roads in the evening, so that people would know that it was Othar Turner coming. I have recorded the song from another singer, but no one would dare sing it in Turner's presence simply because it is considered inconceivable that anyone could sing it better than he.

W. C. Handy, *Father of the Blues* (New York: Macmillan, 1941; reprint ed., New York: Collier Books, 1970), p. 82.
Howard W. Odum and Guy B. Johnson, *The Negro and His Songs* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1925; reprint ed., Hatboro, Pa.: Folklore Associates, 1964), pp. 151-53, 183.

*Lord, I ain't so sleepy, baby. Oh Lord, I feel like lying down.
Oh, ain't so sleepy, black woman, oh Lord, but I feel like lying down.*

*Oh, make me down a pallet, black woman. Oh Lord, make it down on your floor.
Oh, make it calm and easy. Make it right down on your floor.
Oh, I got something to tell you, black woman, oh Lord, just before I go.*

*Oh, make me down a pallet, oh Lord, on your floor.
If your bed break down, black woman, oh Lord, make it right down behind your door.*

*Oh, if your bed break down, baby, make it down on the floor.
I got something to tell you, black woman, oh Lord, just before I go.*

Evans: And that last song, what do you call that?

Turner: "Black Woman"? Just nothing but just the old cornfield blues, just plowing a mule out in the field. That's all I can tell you. Just picked it up. That's my song of my make myself.

Evans: Can you sing that same song without the guitar?

Turner: Yes, sure. Yeah, I can sing it.

Evans: Would you do that?

Turner: Yeah, I can sing it, sure can, without a box. I can.

*Oh, black woman, oh Lord, I got something to tell you just before I go.
Oh, make me down a pallet, black woman. Make it down on your floor.
I got something to tell you, black woman, oh Lord, before you go.*

*Oh, if your bed break down, baby, make it down on the floor.
I got something to tell you. Make it calm and easy, oh Lord, before I go.*

Turner: That's it.

Evans: And what do you call singing like that without the guitar?

Turner: Just nothing but the cornfield blues. That's all I can tell you, just out in the field plowing. It's something come to you, you know, just like anything else. You just pick up a habit of it, just start to mumbling along. It'll come to you gradually.

B5 This Little Light of Mine

Sung with churning by Ada Turner, near Senatobia, Mississippi, September 4, 1970. Recorded by David Evans.

Should we call this a spiritual or a work song? Really it is both. As a religious song of fairly modern composition, it is well known in both black and white singing traditions. Yet despite its recent creation, the song uses the very old format of *a a a b* quatrains with incremental repetition. Only the first phrase of the *a* line really changes. This and other simple formats proved popular in the nineteenth century at large revival meetings because they made such songs easy to learn and promoted group singing. These songs are frequently performed at Sunday morning church services, and a version of this same song was recorded at a church in the area by Alan Lomax in 1959, but they are just as often performed on such other occasions as weekday prayer meetings, revivals, around the house, and at work. Although there are many field hollers and communal work songs in the black tradition, any song can be sung during work. Spirituals actually comprise a large proportion of these songs, and for the more active churchgoers they may be the only kind of work song ever performed.

Ada Turner is the wife of Othar Turner (see B4). She was married at the age of eighteen and is twenty years younger than her husband. On a farm all her life, she now presides over a household of her five daughters and two granddaughters. Her father and her mother's father were preachers, and from them she learned many hymns and spirituals. Like many other farm wives in the area, she often sings these church songs while carrying out such household tasks as cleaning, cooking, churning, or feeding the chickens. Since these activities require a certain amount of attention, simple, repetitious songs such as this one are ideal for the purpose. A good number of her songs deal in their lyrics with the theme

of leading a Christian life and setting an example for others. "This Little Light of Mine" was probably inspired by the passage from Christ's Sermon on the Mount in Matthew 5:16, "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven." Songs such as this are heard by Mrs. Turner's daughters when they help her with her work, and thus they serve to instill moral and religious values in the family. Mrs. Turner also goes to church with her family as many Sundays as possible and is quite regular about attending meetings of the Eastern Star order for women.

The rhythm of the song is coordinated with that of churning butter. This song immediately followed another spiritual, and after the two songs she continued churning. Sometimes during work she will only sing fragments of songs, and often she will simply hum the tune.

"This Little Light of Mine," by James Shorty, Viola James, and Congregation, vocals, Atlantic SD-1351, *Negro Church Music* (1961), 12" LP. (Recorded in Como, Mississippi, 1959.)

*This little light of mine, I'm gonna let it shine.
Ab, this little light of mine, I'm gonna let it shine.
This little light of mine, I'm gonna let it shine.
Let it shine, shine, shine, let it shine.*

*Everywhere I go, I'm gonna let it shine.
Everywhere I go, I'm gonna let it shine.
Everywhere I go, I'm gonna let it shine.
Let it shine, shine, shine, Lord, let it shine.*

*God give it to me. I'm gonna let it shine.
God give it to me. I'm gonna let it shine.
God give it to me. I'm gonna let it shine.
Shine, shine, shine, Lord, let it shine.*

*All in my home I'm gonna let it shine.
All in my home I'm gonna let it shine.
All in my home I'm gonna let it shine.
Let it shine, shine, shine, Lord, let it shine.*

*God said, "Don't hide your light." I'm gonna let it shine.
"Don't hide your light." I'm gonna let it shine.
"Don't hide your light." I'm gonna let it shine.
Let it shine, shine, shine, Lord, let it shine.*

B6 He's Calling Me

Sung by the choir of the Hunter Chapel Missionary Baptist Church, near Como, Mississippi, June 27, 1971. Recorded by David and Cheryl Evans.

Unfortunately, because of space limitations not all the types of music performed in local churches could be included in this record. Most of the religious music, however, is typical of the music heard in black churches all over the rural South, of which many fine examples are available to the listener. (See especially *Afro-American Spirituals, Work Songs, and Ballads*, AFS L3, and *Negro Religious Songs and Services*, AFS L10.)

Music is a very important feature of church services in this area. Even the sermons and prayers are musical and rhythmic. Among the various types of songs are old lined-out hymns with texts composed by British clergymen in colonial days and the "congregational songs" or spirituals which go back to slavery times and nineteenth-century camp meetings. Until quite recently the black Methodist churches in the area

sang shape-note tunes from the southern white spiritual tradition. There are also songs from modern hymnbooks that are known throughout the United States. Finally, there are songs, like the present one, performed in the gospel quartet style.

Quartet singing has been a feature of black music throughout the twentieth century. Like blues singing, it has been touched with professionalism and commercialism. In this part of Mississippi the "quartets" may have from four to six singers with one or two instrumental accompanists, usually playing an electric guitar and perhaps an electric bass or piano. Generally the groups are all young or middle-aged males, although some are female or mixed. Often the members of one quartet are from different churches or denominations. They sing by invitation at special evening programs held at the various local churches and usually sponsored, like the community picnics, by an individual church member. Two or more quartets and perhaps a soloist or duet will be invited to a program. They are paid from the collection that is taken up. Although this provides the singers a little extra cash after expenses are deducted, it hardly earns them a living. All have other jobs and perform in quartets mainly for social and religious reasons. These evening programs concentrate on singing and lack the sermon and much of the praying and announcements of a regular Sunday morning service. People come to listen to the singing rather than to participate in it, except for their calls of encouragement to the quartet members.

Quartet singing represents a style of arrangement and performance rather than a distinct genre of song. Any kind of religious song can be done in a quartet style. Until ten or twenty years ago most quartet singing emphasized interlocking parts and very complex harmonies. A more modern trend has developed, however, which stresses a semi-improvised litany within a stanzaic framework. In this style there is often only one real stanza, usually sung in antiphonal style once or twice. After this the stanza becomes extended by the lead singer, who strings together traditional and improvised lines while the chorus repeats one or more phrases after him. The stanza finally returns at the end to its original text. These extended stanzas usually consist of a description of how the singer was saved by Jesus or called by God, or they may be an exhortation to the audience to become saved. The pace of the song quickens, and the audience becomes more excited and exclamatory. The purpose of all of this is to make the Holy Spirit's presence felt in the church.

"He's Calling Me" was not recorded at an evening program, nor was it sung by a regular gospel quartet. Instead, it was performed at a Children's Day Sunday school service by the church choir, which on this occasion consisted of six members in their late teens or early twenties, all female except the lead singer. At regular Sunday morning services they would be supplemented by some older singers. Stylistically this piece is performed like a quartet song, except that there are no accompanying instruments. Because of a threat of rain the pianist was absent. Instead, the singers keep time by tapping their feet on the beat and clapping off the beat. The applause at the end of the performance is more characteristic of an evening program than a regular church service. This style of music is rarely performed in a regular preaching service, but preaching occurs only once or twice a month in most churches. On the other Sundays

there is Sunday school for the children, conducted by the church superintendent. Here songs showing the quartet influence can be performed, and it is not surprising to hear this influence, since many of the local quartet singers are young friends of these choir members.

The extended, semi-improvised antiphonal style of modern quartet singing actually preserves one of the oldest forms of black religious music, the ring shout, a type of song performed during and for a while following slavery. It gradually died out in most churches in the twentieth century, surviving only in the isolated Sea Islands of Georgia and South Carolina and in the Holiness and Sanctified denominations. The ring shout preserved many African musical elements. The singers did a circular, shuffling dance while singing to the accompaniment of hand clapping and beating on the floor. Most of the reported shout songs were in an extended, semi-improvised antiphonal style with a leader doing the improvising and the chorus responding with a repeated phrase. The gospel quartets of today have simply incorporated this style into other stanzaic types of song, adding instrumental accompaniment and eliminating the dancing. As with ring shouts, the singing, and in this particular performance the percussion, becomes more intense as the song progresses. Ring shouts also were normally performed not at regular Sunday services but at special meetings for prayer and song or after the regular service was over. In the Georgia Sea Islands they have been performed in separate buildings called Praise Houses at evening meetings. Thus there are many stylistic and functional parallels between the two musical forms.

This performance also resembles a sermon in several respects. Stylistically there are the responses from the congregation, which become more intense and frequent as the song progresses. Another similarity is the gradual acceleration in tempo (cf. also B3). This piece moves from $\text{♩} = 148$ at the beginning to $\text{♩} = 156$ at the end. It is also like a sermon in its thematic development. The simple statement of the main theme, "He's calling me," occurs in the first stanza and is repeated intermittently by the chorus throughout the performance. The second stanza is a slightly more intense version of the first. Then in the third stanza the process of extension begins. What would have been the first line of call and response is replaced by eight lines with responses, consisting of two examples from the Old Testament of people who were "called" by God. The pace picks up noticeably here, and the percussion becomes more complex. The whole effect resembles the sermon, which begins with the statement of the main theme and a few paraphrases of it followed by biblical illustrations, usually from the Old Testament. In the fourth and final stanza the pace becomes even more intense, and the lead singer begins improvising. He repeats lines for emphasis, which are echoed by the chorus. Now he is relating the song's theme to his own personal experience, his conversion, his "calling." The preacher in his sermon will do the same thing. He will relate the sermon's theme and its biblical examples to problems that trouble the community and individual members of the congregation. He will draw from his own experience and show how events in the Bible are being relived today. Finally the song ends with a return to its original statement in the last three lines and a deceleration of the tempo. The sermon too will display characteristics of improvisation in its final stages as the preacher begins chanting and repeating lines for empha-

sis. At the end he will pause suddenly and then begin again at a decreased tempo for the final few lines, in which he returns to the initial theme. Thus, during the fewer than three minutes of this performance, the congregation undergoes a parallel experience to that of the sermon, which usually takes about half an hour or more.

"He's Calling Me" was composed in 1954 by Dorothy Love and was a popular gospel record for her group, The Gospel Harmonettes. At that time, of course, the members of the Hunter Chapel Choir were all young children. Their 1971 version reflects variations resulting from its being passed on by oral tradition and their own improvisation at the time of performance. The text of the original has been compressed, but the improvised extensions of stanza 4 have been added. The original version lacks the repetitions of the lead lines, "I heard a voice," "I didn't want to go," and "My feets got light." There are a number of other minor textual changes as well. The original version uses a wider melodic range with harmony in the choral responses and instrumental accompaniment, and instead of a choral response to the lines of stanza 3 there is a hummed background. Although these changes are not as extensive as can be encountered in other local gospel performances of pieces derived from popular phonograph records, they illustrate typical patterns in the oral tradition of gospel singing.

Sallie Martin and Kenneth Morris, eds., *Gospel Harmonettes Specials*, Martin and Morris Gospel Star Song Book No. 2 (Chicago, 1959), pp. 20-22.

The Gospel Harmonettes, "He's Calling Me," Specialty 874, reissued on Specialty SPS 2134, *The Best of Dorothy Love Coates and the Original Gospel Harmonettes*, vol. 1, 12" LP.

Oh, He's calling me. (Leader)
He's calling me. (Chorus)
He's calling me.
He's calling me.
Every day of my life. . . .
He's calling me.
He's calling me.
He's calling me.
Don't you know He's calling?
Calling me from labor.
Calling.
Life eternity.
Seems like I. . . .
I can bear Jesus calling me, calling me.

He's calling me.
He's calling me.
He's calling me.
He's calling me.
Every day of my life. . . .
He's calling me.
He's calling me.
He's calling me.
Don't you know He's calling?
Calling me from labor.
Calling.
Life eternity.
Seems like I. . . .
I can bear Jesus calling me, calling me.

You know, He called Moses. . . .
He's calling me.
On the mountain top.
He's calling me.
He stamped His laws. . . .
He's calling me.
In Moses's heart.
He's calling me.
You know, God called David. . . .
He's calling me.
A little shepherd boy.
He's calling me.
Made him a great king.
He's calling me.
David shouted for joy.
He's calling me.
He's calling me.
He's calling me.
Every day of my life. . . .
He's calling me.
He's calling me.
He's calling me.
Don't you know He's calling?
Calling me from labor.
Calling.
Life eternity.
Seems like I. . . .
I can bear Jesus calling me, calling me.

And I heard a voice.
I heard a voice.
I heard a voice.
I heard a voice.
I heard a voice.
Well, I didn't want to go.
I didn't want to go.
Say, I didn't want to go.
I didn't want to go.
All at once. . . .
Something happened.
My feets got light.
Feets got light.
My feets got light.
Feets got light.
My feets got light.
Feets got light.
Soul got happy.
Soul got happy.
Began to feel all right.
Began to feel all right.
I went running to Jesus,
He's calling me.
Fell on my bended knees,
He's calling me.
Said, "Lord, I'll serve You,
He's calling me.
If You'll just give me ease."
He's calling me.
Don't you know He's calling?
Calling me from labor.
Calling.
Life eternity.
Seems like I. . . .
I can bear Jesus calling me, calling me.

B7 Little Sally Walker

Sung with hand clapping by Nettie Mae and Aleneda Turner, near Senatobia, Mississippi, July 9, 1971. Recorded by Cberyl Evans.

Nettie Mae and Aleneda are the daughter and granddaughter of Othar and Ada Turner, about nine and six years old at the time of this recording. During the summer they play on the farm, mostly with each other and their sisters, as their house is the last one on the road. In addition to singing and clapping games, they may while away hours playing house, chasing each other around outdoors, and playing with the puppies, pigs, and kids that are roaming the back yard. It is during the school year that they have their main opportunity to learn games and rhymes from others and play them in large groups. These games and rhymes offer children their first real opportunity to practice percussion and syncopation, two very important factors in the adult music of the community. Many of the children's songs, like the piece recorded here, also help to introduce the children to adolescent and adult concerns, particularly love and courtship.

"Little Sally Walker" is derived from an old English children's game. It is well known all over America among both black and white children. Often in white tradition the girl is known as Little Sally Water. Alan Lomax recorded a version of this rhyme sung by three adult women in 1959 in this same part of Mississippi. The version recorded here is probably typical of the black tradition of this piece, containing more syncopation than one would expect from white children.

William Wells Newell, *Games and Songs of American Children* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1883, 1903; reprint ed., New York: Dover Publications, 1963), p. 70.

"Little Sally Walker," by Mattie Gardner, Ida Mae Towns, and Jessie Lee Pratcher, vocals and hand clapping, Prestige/International 25010, Yazoo Delta . . . *Blues and Spirituals*, 12" LP.

*Little Sally Walker sitting in a saucer.
Rise, Sally, rise. Wipe your weeping eyes.
Put your hand on your hip, and let your backbone slip.
Oh, shake it to the east. Oh, shake it to the west.
Oh, shake it to the one that you love the best.*

*Your mama says so. Your papa says so.
That's the way you do it, and you'll never catch a beau.
The milk in the pitcher, the butter in the bowl.
You can't catch a sweetheart to save your soul.*

B8 Go to Sleepy, Baby

Sung by Mary Mabeary, near Senatobia, Mississippi, June 26, 1971. Recorded by David and Cberyl Evans.

This recording is a short version of one of the best known lullabies in the South. It would be difficult to say whether it is of white or black origin. Songs like this and the preceding children's song are passed on freely and probably have a universal appeal. This is illustrated by the fact that Mary Mabeary learned this song from her mother but has sung it mainly for white babies in households where she has worked.

Mary Mabeary, born in 1936, is the niece of Ranie Burnette (see B3). As she has no children of her own, she does not perform many lulla-



Mary Mabeary with her grandnephew Anthony Howard in 1971. Copyright © Cberyl Evans 1978.

bies. Mostly she sings church songs and her uncle's blues around the house. She will often sing blues between fife and drum pieces at picnics or for the entertainment of friends in the grandstand at local baseball games. Sometimes she is joined by her aunt, who plays harmonica. This lullaby is typical of those that I have recorded in this community. All are short with simple texts that urge the baby either to go to sleep or stop crying.

Dorothy Scarborough, *On the Trail of Negro Folk-Songs* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1925; reprint ed., Hatboro, Pa.: Folklore Associates, 1963), pp. 145-47.

Altona Trent-Jones, *Play Songs of the Deep South* (Washington, D. C.: Associated Publishers, Inc., 1944), pp. 20-21.

Henry M. Belden and Arthur Palmer Hudson, "Folk Songs from North Carolina," *The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore*, vol. 3 (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1952), pp. 150-51.

*Go to sleepy, baby. Baby, don't you cry.
Mother gon' buy you a rocking horse. Baby, don't you cry.*

*Baby, don't you cry. Little baby, don't you cry.
Mama gon' buy you a rocking horse. Baby, don't you cry.*

*Go to sleepy, baby. Baby, don't you cry.
Mama gon' buy you a rocking chair.*

Related Publications, Recordings, and Films

(Note: Several of the later records by Fred McDowell and articles about him in ephemeral publications have not been included.)

Books and Articles

- David Evans, "Afro-American One-Stringed Instruments," *Western Folklore* 29 (October 1970): 229-45.
- David Evans, "Black Fife and Drum Music in Mississippi," *Mississippi Folklore Register* 6 (Fall 1972): 94-107.
- Barry Foster, "Mississippi Fred McDowell," *Journal of Popular Culture* 5 (Fall 1971): 446-51.
- Larry Gunn, "Three Negro Folk Songs from the Northern Mississippi Delta," *Mississippi Folklore Register* 3 (Fall 1969): 89-94.
- John W. Kyle, *Reconstruction in Panola County*, Mississippi Historical Society Publications, vol. 13 (University, Mississippi, 1913), pp. 9-98.
- George Mitchell, *Blow My Blues Away* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971).
- Howard W. Odum, "Folk-Song and Folk-Poetry as Found in the Secular Songs of the Southern Negroes," *Journal of American Folklore* 24 (July/September, October/December 1911): 255-94, 351-96.
- Howard W. Odom, "Religious Folk-Songs of the Southern Negro," *American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education* 3 (July 1909): 265-365.
- Howard W. Odum and Guy B. Johnson, *The Negro and His Songs: A Study of Typical Negro Songs in the South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1925; reprint ed., Hatboro, Pa.: Folklore Associates, 1964).
- James W. Silver, "Paul Bunyan Comes to Mississippi," *Journal of Mississippi History* 19 (April 1957): 93-119.
- Peter J. Welding, "Fred McDowell Talking," in Mike Leadbitter, ed., *Nothing But the Blues, an Illustrated Documentary* (London: Hanover Books, 1971), pp. 145-46.
- Frederick M. Wirt, *Politics of Southern Equality: Law and Social Change in a Mississippi County* (Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co., © 1970). Foreword by Gunnar Myrdal.

Records

LP's

- American Folk Songs for Children*, Atlantic SD-1350. Contains two children's songs from this area, recorded by Alan Lomax.
- The Blues Roll On*, Atlantic SD-1352. Contains four blues from this area, recorded by Alan Lomax.
- Deep South . . . Sacred and Sinful*, Prestige/International 25005. Contains four pieces from this area, including a blues, spirituals, and a fiddle piece, recorded by Alan Lomax.
- Fred McDowell*, Arhoolie F 1021, 1927. [1964-67] Two slipcases; cover title of vol. 1: *Delta Blues*. Fred McDowell, vocals and guitar. Program notes by Chris Strachwitz and Pete Welding on slipcases.
- Fred McDowell—Amazing Grace*, Testament T-2219. Spirituals with the Hunter Chapel Singers, a gospel quartet, in an older harmonizing style.
- Fred McDowell & His Blues Boys*, Arhoolie 1046. [1970] Fred McDowell, vocals and guitar; Mike Russo, second guitar; John Kahn, double bass; Bob Jones, drums. Program notes by Pete Welding on slipcase.
- Long Way from Home—The Blues of Fred McDowell*, Milestone MSP 93003. Nine more blues, most without bottleneck.
- Memphis Swamp Jam*, Blue Thumb BTS 6000. 12" double LP. Contains two blues, one spiritual, and three fife and drum pieces from this area.
- Mississippi Delta Blues, Vol. 1*, Arhoolie 1041. Contains one blues and one fife and drum piece from this area, recorded by George Mitchell.
- Mississippi Delta Blues, Vol. 2*, Arhoolie 1042. Contains six blues by R. L. Burnside and one by Rosa Lee Hill from this area, recorded by George Mitchell.
- My Home Is in the Delta*, Testament Records T-2208. [1965?] Blues and spirituals sung and played by Fred McDowell, in part with his wife Annie Mae. Recorded November 24, 1963, and February 24, 1964. Program notes by Peter J. Welding on slipcase.
- Negro Church Music*, Atlantic SD-1351. Contains six spirituals from this area, some with instrumental accompaniment, recorded by Alan Lomax.
- O. B. McClinton Country*, Enterprise ENS 1023. Country and western music by a black singer raised in the Gravel Spring community, recorded in 1972. (Note: McClinton started singing country and western only after he had left this area. His music is in no way typical of the black folk music of Tate and Panola Counties.)
- O. B. McClinton Live at Randy's Rodeo*, Enterprise ENS 1037.
- Obie from Senatobia*, Enterprise ENS 1029. More of the same by McClinton, including the humorous title song about his home town.
- Roots of the Blues*, Atlantic SD-1348. Contains seven pieces from this area, including blues and fife and drums, recorded by Alan Lomax.

Sounds of the South, Atlantic SD-1346. Contains four pieces from this area, including fife and drums, quills, and spirituals, recorded by Alan Lomax.

Traveling through the Jungle, Testament 2223, 12" LP. Contains twelve pieces from this area, including home percussion, fife and drums, and quills, recorded by Alan Lomax and David Evans.

45's

The Golden Travelers, "Jesus Loves Me/New Walk," Designer PAG 7090. Two gospel songs by a group from Coldwater.

The Golden Travelers, "To (*sic*) Close to Turn Around/I Know for Myself I Been Borne Again," Designer 45-6889. Two more gospel songs.

The Harmonia Harminee, "Jesus Will Lead Me/He Is Mine," Tateco 445. Two gospel songs by a quartet from Sardis in existence since 1940. Recorded at the Senatobia radio station in the 1960s, this is the first record of the music of this area produced especially for the black buying public.

The Spiritual Harmonizers, "John Don't Write No More/Will He Welcome Me," Designer 45-6993. Two gospel songs by a Tate County quartet.

The Spiritual Harmonizers, "Over the Hill/It's a Needy Time," JCR Gospel 105-6. Two more gospel songs.

Joe Townsend, "If I Could Not Say a Word/Going Over the Hill," Designer 45-6885. Two church songs by a gospel singer from Coldwater, with guitar accompaniment.

Johnny Woods, "Long Haired Doney/Three O'Clock in the Morning," Oblivion 2. Two blues by a harmonica player from Como, recorded in 1972 by Tom Pomposello.

Films

Buckdancer. 16 mm, black-and-white film, Radim Films. Produced by Bess Lomax Hawes, Alan Lomax, and Edmund Carpenter. Performance by fife player Ed Young from Como.

Gravel Springs Fife and Drum. 16 mm, color film, Center for Southern Folklore and Indiana University Audio-Visual Center. Produced by William Ferris, David Evans, and Judy Peiser.

Fred McDowell: Blues Maker. 16 mm film, Film Extension Department, University of Mississippi.



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Afro-American Folk Music

from Tate and Panola Counties, Mississippi

Edited by David Evans

The Archive of Folk Song in the Library of Congress has, since 1928, been the chief repository in the United States for field recordings and manuscripts of American folk music and folklore. In addition, the Archive has acquired—through gift, exchange, and field-collecting projects—material from virtually every region of the world. From this extensive and varied collection, the Library of Congress has, since 1941, issued selected recordings for the use of universities, schools, libraries, students, and other interested organizations and individuals. These long-playing recordings include traditional folktales; authentic songs of the sailor, cowboy, and lumberman; songs of the Mormons; ballads of the Civil War; Anglo-American songs and ballads; black blues, worksongs and spirituals; fiddle and banjo tunes; songs of numerous Indian tribes and ethnic groups; and music recorded in Brazil, Mexico, Puerto Rico, Venezuela, and Morocco.

These traditional songs and tales, usually recorded with portable equipment in the field, are sung and played by people who have learned them in the hand-me-down manner of folklore from their parents or neighbors. The performers are untrained, and their voices reflect the natural world rather than the broadcasting studio or the concert stage. This does not in any sense minimize their worth, but, on the contrary, points up the unique value of these recordings, for through them is preserved the pure tradition of folk song and lore.

The brochures which accompany most of the long-playing records supply transcriptions of the texts of the songs together with information about their origin and background and include references to authoritative books and leading scholarly articles and recordings so that students may further pursue their studies in the various fields of folklore and music.

To the collectors who have given unselfishly of their time to record this material, and to the performers who freely cooperated with them, we owe a continuing debt of gratitude. Without their effort and without their recognition of the value of the material to our history and traditions, the great majority of these songs and tales would have disappeared forever. Here they are preserved in the voices of the people themselves, for us and coming generations.

A descriptive brochure is included with this record.

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SIDE A

- A1 *Soft Black Jersey Cow*. Napoleon Strickland, vocal and fife; Jimmie Buford, snare drum; R. L. Boyce, bass drum. September 4, 1970. Recorded by David Evans.
- A2 *After the Ball Is Over*. Sid Hemphill's Band (fife, two snare drums, bass drum). August 15, 1942. Recorded by Alan Lomax.
- A3 *Old Dick Jones Is Dead and Gone*. Compton Jones, vocal; with family on "bow diddley," chair, cans, benches. July 6, 1971. Recorded by David and Cheryl Evans.
- A4 *The Devil's Dream*. Sid Hemphill on ten-note quills, with snare drum and bass drum. August 15, 1942. Recorded by Alan Lomax.
- A5 *Granny, Will Your Dog Bite*. Compton Jones, vocal and washtub. September 5, 1970. Recorded by David Evans.
- A6 *The Carrier Line*. Sid Hemphill, vocal and fiddle; Lucius Smith, banjo; Alec Askew, guitar; Will Head, bass drum. August 15, 1942. Recorded by Alan Lomax.

SIDE B

- B1 *New Railroad*. Lucius Smith, vocal and banjo. June 27, 1971. Recorded by David and Cheryl Evans.
- B2 *Shake 'Em on Down*. Compton Jones, vocal and "bow diddley." September 5, 1970. Recorded by David Evans.
- B3 *Shake 'Em on Down*. Ranie Burnette, vocal and guitar. September 3, 1970. Recorded by David Evans.
- B4 *Black Woman*. Othar Turner, vocal, guitar, and narration. March 22, 1969. Recorded by David Evans.
- B5 *This Little Light of Mine*. Ada Turner, singing while churning. September 4, 1970. Recorded by David Evans.
- B6 *He's Calling Me*. The Hunter Chapel Missionary Baptist Church Choir. June 27, 1971. Recorded by David and Cheryl Evans.
- B7 *Little Sally Walker*. Nettie Mae and Aleneda Turner, vocal and clapping. July 9, 1971. Recorded by Cheryl Evans.
- B8 *Go to Sleepy, Baby*. Mary Mabeary, vocal. June 26, 1971. Recorded by David and Cheryl Evans.

Cover: Othar Turner hauling kitchen stove wood. Copyright © Cheryl Evans 1978.