2009

Ballads as "poetic" rhetoric in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries

Norma Jeanne Peterson

BALLADS AS "POETIC" RHETORIC IN THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

A Thesis

Presented to the

Faculty of

California State University,

San Bernardino

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

in

English Composition

---

by

Norma Jeanne Peterson

June 2009

BALLADS AS "POETIC" RHETORIC IN THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

A Thesis

Presented to the

Faculty of

California State University,

San Bernardino

by

Norma Jeanne Peterson

June 2009

Approved by:

[redacted]

Jacqueline Rhodes, Chair, English

06/10/09

Date

[redacted]

Jennifer Andersen

[redacted]

David Carlson

ABSTRACT

Music is an ageless power that influences us in various ways, so while planning my thesis and doing the necessary research, one area reached out to me: the ballad as a voice of a mostly uneducated and powerless community that speaks out its frustrations by means of a poetry of the people, whether by telling stories, singing, or circulating broadside ballads.

The rhetorical aspect of ballads has been quite clear to me because of its history. For example, the traditional ballads of the Irish traveled with them during their emigration, in the mid-nineteenth century, to the United States. They were not immediately accepted, and their voice of the struggle was to create ballads and sing as they worked.

Three men are responsible for capturing the rhetorical influence that these ballads have offered for many generations: Harry Smith, John and Alan Lomax. The various ballads they have collected and recorded carry stories of those who have suffered in some way and have voiced that frustration with songs.

Kenneth Burke, described as the most influential rhetorical theorist and critic of the twentieth century,

assures us that languages can be arranged by methods other than parts of speech and grammar and by the way we communicate. He has been interested in the rhetorical aspect of film and its music.

Ballads are rhetorical in their method of persuading mostly musicians to write songs of misfortune from early ballads, written anonymously, to the present time. Listening to ballads is not only pleasant but educational and discloses the rhetorical effect of sound and music in the significant distinctions and improvements found in the recent recording technologies.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to acknowledge Professors Jacqueline Rhodes and Jenny Andersen. They have encouraged and helped me throughout this rather long process.

I would also like to thank my husband Milt, my daughters Pam, Vicki, Debbi, and my son Dave. They have continually encouraged me to finish this thesis. I am very fortunate to have all of this support.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE

VOICE OF THE BALLAD

Music is an ageless power that influences us in various ways, so while planning my thesis and doing the necessary research, one area reached out to me: the ballad as a voice of a mostly uneducated and powerless community that speaks out its frustrations by means of a poetry of the people, whether by telling stories, singing, or circulating broadside ballads. This means of communication has lived for centuries and has been passed on to modern times. The ballad, I believe, speaks to us poetically and by tradition reveals human interests emerging from distress and frustration. Three men (John Lomax, Alan Lomax, and Harry Smith) were instrumental in collecting and recording early ballads before they were lost; my thesis will explore the rhetorical effect those ballads have had as a medium of argument for those who were "free of literary influences and fairly homogeneous in character…" (Grummere 2). This effect has lingered from an early period in time to the 1960s, and beyond when the value of ballads was rediscovered.

To fully comprehend the importance and longevity of the ballad, it is necessary to travel back to the dawn of the genre's existence. M.J.C. Hodgart, in his book The Ballads, writes that "traditional ballads are often called medieval" (66). They are usually associated with the Middle Ages in both anthologies and textbooks, and it is difficult to date any of them with accuracy. Some historical evidence refers back to the fourteenth century; few ballads occurred earlier than the 1300s but none provides an existence prior to that date (Hodgart 66).

Hodgart defines a "ballad" as a folksong that tells a story with stress on the crucial situation. There is no doubt, according to the author, that ballads are songs and are incomplete without music, but the word "folksong" requires further definition: it is a song "transmitted orally that is learnt by word of mouth by one generation from preceding generations." With the invention of "cheap printing," however, printed broadside versions began to be transmitted throughout the country and were added to the "repertoire of folk singers" (Hodgart 11).

The term "ballad" refers to the "popular or traditional song type," and Nicholas Temperley writes that this form of song around the end of the thirteenth century

continued through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when broadside ballad singers "plied their trade" in various cities and village fairs. Broadside or broadsheet ballads were large sheets of paper cheaply printed and "hawked" in the English streets. In "The Changing Character of the Broadside Trade, 1550-1640," Tessa Watt tells the story of a London minstrel named Richard Sheale who was robbed of sixty pounds of gold, which he was taking to the city to clear his debts. Sheale soon turned this sad story of his misfortune into a song and used it to elicit help from sympathetic listeners.

On a more political note, Christopher Marsh introduced a ballad in the 1690s that was written to convince the people that William III, known as a "cold and suspicious Dutchman," was in reality "the bold, brave lovable answer to all their prayers." This tune's success as a propaganda tool, stated by Marsh, must have been the "infectious lilt":

> 'The Orange' [Prince of the Netherlands]
> There's none can express,
> Your great Happiness,
> The like was ne're seen since the Days of Queen Bess,

A Nation enslav'd,

And Justice outbrav'd,

To thus redeemed, and gallantly sav'd by an

Orange. (186)

Alfred Friedman, in his compilation of Folk Ballads, states that Sir Walter Scott, in an effort to flatter an old Scotswoman, showed her "the printed texts of the pieces she had sung to him"; she was not amused because, according to this woman, ballads "were made for singing" and they were not for reading. Friedman explains that "most of us...would remain blissfully ignorant of the folk ballads if to hear them meant a field trip for song-catching in the Appalachians. He further comments that the "key fact about balladry" holds that ballads are songs or performances, not poems. Friedman refers to them as "not literature, but illiterature." The reasoning behind Friedman's comment on "illiterature" is that poetry is the written or printed letter; balladry, however, "was strictly oral and existed only in the memory of the ballad folk," and it has flourished best in the "unlettered" culture—the illiterates of the depressed areas of the backwoods (Intro. ix-x).

Many scholars, however, disagree with the premise that ballads are not poems: Francis Grummere wrote in 1959 that

the ballad is a poem meant for singing, narrative in material and probably connected in its origins with the communal dance. Its transmission is a process of oral tradition among people who are free from literary influences and fairly homogeneous in character…"these are the people at large" (2). The origins of the ballad have been discussed and debated at length almost beyond resolution (21). Grummere, however, acknowledges most scholars agree that the folk ballad began in Europe; it is this music that has persuaded generations to continue singing for social justice.

The traditional ballads of the Irish, for example, traveled with them during their emigration in the mid-nineteenth century, to the United States, and broadside ballads "proliferated" within the country where they reached a high point around 1840-1880. Matthias Shaaber describes the broadside ballad as a vehicle of news, and some ballads were valuable for information; they must have served as news reports "describing murders, and domestic tragedies, and any happenings that were emotional enough to be sung and listened to." Though the richer the listeners were, the more they disapproved of this form of news, but to the poorer listeners, it was "the staff of

life" (189-193). What is unusual about broadside ballads is that they were written down, at least the lyrics; most ballads, however, because they were meant to be sung and listened to, tend to be ephemeral. They were not written down and could be lost to history.

Some ballads of the mid-1800s told stories of the immigration of the Irish to the northeastern United States because of the Great Famine of 1846-47. A web page of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania provides worthwhile information: potatoes were the main source of food for Ireland, and the "British rulers failed to help with the food shortage and the exporting of grain to pay landlords' rent…" Ireland, therefore, became unlivable. The threat of death as a result of starvation and disease caused Irish to leave their country and settle in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago. By 1850, there was a large population of Irish Catholic immigrants settling in a Protestant environment, and this brought about conflict, sometimes violent, with the Protestant majority. One way to deal with this struggle was to create ballads that "reflected the personal emotions, expectations, and challenges" as they struggled with emigrating from their

homeland to "carving out themselves in American society" ("Poor Pat…") and "Danny Boy."

Another online article added to the story of this determined group of people who traveled from Ireland to cities such as Boston, attempting to find work and a better way of life, but finding hostility awaiting them. Local businesses posted "No Irish Need Apply" signs on their windows. Their persistence, however, continued and they proved that the Irish were dedicated hard workers (YourIrish.com). Irish women, in particular, "flocked to domestic labor" because of the demand for household workers; daughters of middle-class and even lower-class Americans took advantage of educational opportunities available to them and did not want these jobs. (Diner 84).

These Irish immigrant women sang songs as they worked, and one of these is "the most easily recognized and most beloved of Irish ballads...." Rick Grant reviews the book Danny Boy. The author, Malachy McCourt, asks the question "Where did it [the famous ballad] come from?" He refers to this ballad and the questions that have "lain unanswered for nearly 100 years…" This song is sung to this day, usually by male tenors, but McCourt claims that the composer who first put the lyrics into a melody was a woman

by the name of Jane Ross of Limavady, County Derry in 1855. It was apparently a tune Ross heard played by "a blind Irish fiddler." There may be some question as to the sex of the composer, but the lyrics definitely appear to express a female lament for her loss:

Oh, Danny boy, the pipes, the pipes are calling
From glen to glen, and down the mountain side
The summer's gone, and all the flowers are dying
'Tis you, 'tis you must go and I must bide.
But come ye back when summer's in the meadow
Or when the valley's hushed and white with snow
'Tis I'll be here in sunshine or in shadow
Oh Danny boy, oh Danny boy, I love you so.
And if you come, when all the flowers are dying
And I am dead, as dead I well may be
You'll come and find the place where I am lying
And kneel and say an "Ave" there for me.
And I shall hear, tho' soft you tread above me
And all my dreams will warm and sweeter be
If you'll not fail to tell me that you love me
I'll simply sleep in peace until you come to me.
I'll simply sleep in peace until you come to me.

"Oh, Danny Boy" is only one of the songs sung by men or women. James Porter analyzes the effect women ballad singers of these European countries had in using these songs of the period beginning in the 1800s that tell of their experience in "weaving, spinning, lullabies and lamenting" their sorrows. These ballads were a means of showcasing their "often subjugated role in society." "Barbara Allen" was one of these ballads.

There are many examples of these ballads, but for my purpose, I will focus on three versions. Of course, the ballad composers were anonymous, so it is impossible to name specific authors of the different versions of "Barbara Allen." The first source is a book of The English and Scottish Popular Ballads collected by Francis James Child in the 1800s. The ballads in this collection are known by their numbers and Barbara Allen is #84. In addition, Albert Friedman, Editor of The Viking Book of Folk Ballads of the English-Speaking World, states that some of the Barbara Allen ballads have as many as "twenty-five versions" (xii). Friedman also claims that Child's collection of folk ballads is "the *norm,*" and he found three hundred and five ballads in the British tradition, and most of these were collected and written in the 1700s

and 1800s. There is some evidence, though, that the "little Scotch song of Barbary Allen" was sung as early as 1666 (88). The three versions were chosen because of their subtle differences. An abbreviated example of three versions follows (See full versions in APPENDIX A).

"Barbara Allen"

First:

It was in and about the Martinmas time,
When the green leaves were a-falling,
That Sir John Graeme in the west country
Fell in love with Barbara Allan.
He sent his man down through the town,
To the place where she was dwelling,

There are differences shown in APPENDIX A, not only in the spelling of the example ballads, but also in the time of year when these events are reported to have happened. For example, "It was in and about the time of Martinmas…." The American Heritage College Dictionary states the time as November when a feast commemorated the death of Saint Martin of Tours (849). Bob Waltz, however, in his online article, "Remembering the Old Songs: Barbara Allen," claims the time as early spring and possibly "All in the Merry Month of May." These differences may result from some

versions being created in Scotland and others in England. Waltz also alleges that the heroine of these ballads is sometimes called "Barbara Allen, then Barbara Allan, and then Bawbie Allan. Waltz also states that although there are many variations of spellings and names, the girl's name is "always Barbara/Barbary/Barbra Allen/Ellen." In contrast, the young man's name varies slightly: "Sweet William" and "Sir John Graham." The story, however, is always the same: The young man is dying for the love of Barbara Allen, and he sends his servant to bring her. She comes to him but shows little interest. (The explanation in some versions is that he was drinking in the tavern and drank a toast to all of the ladies but Barbara Allen). She leaves; he dies and is buried. She hears the death bell, repents, and dies also. Typically, the lovers are buried next to each other, but the ending varies somewhat (1).

Second:

It fell about a Marti[n]mas time,
When the green leaves were a-fallin,
That Sir John Graeme from the West country
Fell in love wi Bawbie Allan.
He sent his men down through the town
To the place where she was dwallin;

According to Friedman, the text of the second ballad was discovered fairly recently and "deserves to be better known." It follows the outline of the first ballad, but it also includes an award to her of a gold watch and prayer book. Actually, another gift is described, but as an example, this version is quite long even though the editor believes some stanzas may have been lost, but this lengthier version portrays the "heroine's transition from haughtiness to fatal remorse and repentance so poignantly" (88).

Third:

All in the merry month of May
When flowers were a-bloomin',
Sweet William on his deathbed lay
For love of Barbra Allen.
He sent his servant to the town,
To the place where she was dwellin',

The variations in this last version of the English/Scottish ballad are quite different from the other two because it is set in West Virginia and is a "typical American version that reasons out her remorse and warns 'ye virgins all'." This avoidance of fate is taken from "broadside reworkings of the ballad." It also brings "crude

touches of the rose and briar ending symbolizing the continuation of the lovers' earthly passion" (Friedman 89).

Friedman's reference to the American ballad, however, does not explain that it is a hybrid of many cultural forms, with deep ties to both European ballads (such as those coming out of the nineteenth-century immigrant population) and African American oral tradition, among other influences. However, regardless of the cultural beginnings, the sympathy and sentiment from their tunes with dancing and singing points out, according to Aristotle, this rhythmic and social material stamps their individual art (20).

Gummere, in 1959, discusses ballads as "poetry of the people, as distinguished from the poetry of art." Since the mid to late 1800s, in Rousseau's time, rich and wise men "circumnavigated the globe" and gathered literature of the "savage or half-savage," and scholars of the time could see "a reflection of poetry" in this primitive form. It demonstrates the importance of primitive verse in the beginning stages of "man's social career," and the long-lasting part played by choral rhythm in "the making of society" (21).

Some of the songs written during the late 1800s survived, and we now have access to a number of nineteenth and early twentieth-century ballads because of the collecting and archiving efforts of John Avery Lomax, his son Alan Lomax, and Harry Smith, folklorists and musicologists whose research traced ballads back to England, Ireland, and Scotland.

"Omie Wise" is Number 13 in Smith's classic Anthology of American Folk Music. This is another woman's tale of love, lamenting, and a fatal ending. In the booklet "Harry Smith Anthology Remixed," Smith summarizes this tale as "Greedy girl goes to Adams Spring with liar: lives just long enough to regret it" (4). The ballad is based on the real-life drowning of the pregnant Naomi Wise in North Carolina in 1808 by her lover, Jonathan Lewis. Bob Waltz has added this ballad to his "Remembering the Old Songs…Omie Wise" online collection. Waltz calls this song "The grand-daddy of them all" (1). Harry Smith recorded this in 1929. For the full text, see APPENDIX B.

I'll tell you a story about Omie Wise,
How she was deluded by John Lewis's lies.
He promised to marry her at Adam's spring:
He'd give her some money and other fine things.

He gave her no money, but flattered the case.
Says, "We will get married; there'll be no
disgrace."

"Omie Wise" is another ballad that has different verses, but all with the same plot. Ed Cray, who co-researched with Bob Waltz, suspects that the original "Barbara Allen" ballad is Scottish, but "Omie Wise" tells the story of an event in North Carolina and is an American folk ballad (1).

The old songs have been collected by Harry Smith and the Lomaxes, and the results of the historical research done are two major collections that have been assembled by the Library of Congress Archive of Folk Song and by Folkways records; these songs are still in print. The research into the past by these three men produced music of the folk culture that was captured on recordings beginning in the late 1920s.

Stambler and Landon include John and Alan Lomax in their Encyclopedia of Folk, Country and Western Music where they discuss how this father and son began their careers with field recordings of the simple songs that passed from generation to generation. Kim Ruehl, of About.com,describes John Lomax who combined collecting with teaching as Associate Professor of English at Texas A & M College.

Then, in 1933, he and his seventeen-year-old son Alan began another collecting tour for a book of folk songs. John had signed a contract to complement his limited finances due to the Depression. Soon, he and Alan built a 350 pound recorder into the back of their car on which they recorded hundreds of new songs. The music captured was recorded on these field trips and included the songs of laborers in those fields who sang of their troubles and concerns while working. In the years between 1934 and the year of his death, John gained a worldwide reputation as he and Alan continued to write books on folk music subjects (1). Alan Lomax is mentioned as a part of "the dynamic force" that helped make The Archive of American Folk Song of the Library of Congress one of the most comprehensive in the world (176).

Friedman also mentions, in his book of Folk Ballads, that we would most likely be unaware of folk ballads "if to hear them meant a field trip for song-catching in the Appalachians" Intro. xxxi. That method of collecting songs is the one that John and Alan Lomax used when beginning their careers.

One of their songs has been written about more than any other "native ballad," and that is the story of

"John Henry." According to Friedman, the historical John Henry appears to have been an African American of great strength. He was a steel driver who worked "between 1870 and 1872 on the Chesapeake and Ohio's Big Bend Tunnel just east of Hinton, West Virginia." The occupation of steel-drivers included hammering drills into the rock and boring holes where the blasting explosive was poured. Steam drills were just being introduced into tunneling in the 1870s, and it was after winning a "grueling all-day contest with one of those machines that John Henry dropped dead of exhaustion" (383). For what he terms a "Negro ballad," Friedman notes the structure is "remarkably formal and uniform." This comment suggests to Friedman that the form evolved through a broadside [ballad] by a "white redactor around 1900" (384).

A "Profiles in History" article in a recent magazine, however, refutes the 1900 date as incorrect, and author Scott R. Nelson, interviewed by A.P. writer Alanna Nash, estimates the date this song was composed as 1875-1880. There are those who claim that another historical John Henry, a convict, was not the same person as John Henry, the hero. It is possible that both stories are accurate because Nelson, in his research, claims that John Henry was

not just a legend but a "real living man." In this view, John Henry "was from New Jersey" and was arrested for shoplifting. The Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad was building the mile-long Lewis Tunnel through the mountains of western Virginia in the 1870s, and they couldn't get laborers to work next to the steam drill "because it produced bad air," so the railroad people located around 200 convicts who were "shuttled out to dig this tunnel in 1872" (18). Nelson reports that he searched through penitentiary and railroad records and located a prisoner named John Henry, "who battled side-by-side with a steam drill." The author also discovered some interviews done in the 1920s which identified either a round-house cook, or an unnamed water boy as the composer of the song around 1875-1880 (18).

Nash asked Scott Nelson how John Henry became a legend. The answer: "Railroad track liners used the song to remind others to work slowly and preserve themselves." John Henry, apparently, was not the very large man as the legend goes, but a smaller man who could work inside the tunnels; however, he did not slow down as he fought alongside that machine, but the "bad air" did kill him because the "granite dust generated from the steam drill" was sucked into his nose and lungs, and John Henry died of what is now

called "acute silicosis (18)". It was then referred to as "consumption." According to the author, John Henry died at age 23, and he was admired by those "fighting against capitalism" and those "fighting against the machine that saw him as one of their own". People still align themselves against impossible odds concerning something "that isn't even human—an engine that does the work of 50 men." It was a difficult time to work during that "shift from water and wood to steam and steel (18). Nelson finishes this interview by stating that many, close to 200, versions have been written, some by Alan and John Lomax and still live today(18).

Exactly who are the Lomaxes and why are their names so significant in the arena of folk music? Their biographies paint a vivid picture of educated men who spent their adult lives researching songs sung by the uneducated, while traveling in expeditions to explore and archive thousands of folk songs that were recorded in the fields and prisons. Their first expedition of folk song collecting began in 1933, and their goal was to capture African-American field recordings. They started in prisons where they discovered Huddie Ledbetter (a.k.a. Leadbelly) in Louisiana.(Ruehl 1).

Kim Ruehl of About.com wrote an article on folk music. This brief biography captures a glimpse into the life of John Lomax, who was born in Mississippi in 1867 and raised on a farm in central Texas. His early life focused on cowboy songs, and he studied English at the University of Texas in Austin. Later, he took a job teaching English at Texas A&M, and a few years later, he enrolled at Harvard University where he earned an M.A. in (possibly) Folklore. After graduation, he received a grant to research cowboy songs and ballads. In 1910, he released his first anthology. Later, he archived thousands of recordings for the U.S. Library of Congress, together with his son Alan, but in 1948, John Lomax died of a stroke at the age of 79. His son Alan and grandson John Lomax III continued his work as musicologists and folklorists (2).

Alan's work is recorded in a Library of Congress article celebrating with a symposium the folklorist's story. James Hardin writes "Alan Lomax's Legacy"; the date is March 2006, and Hardin states that Lomax's legacy of "research, scholarship, preservation, and dissemination" of music and the musicians who made the music lives on as this symposium celebrates the life of Alan Lomax, who died on July 19, 2002 (2).

Alan Lomax produced folksong anthologies, films, radio, and television programs. He developed a "system for analyzing and studying folk music…along with the dance tradition". When Lomax began, many folklorists were concerned commercially with "song and story text" and paid little attention to music or the performers themselves. Robert Baron, folklorist at the New York State Council of the Arts, states that Alan Lomax's mission was "to get the best singers and storytellers, and get them heard everywhere" (2). Deanna Marcum, Associate librarian for Library Services at the Library of Congress, noted that Lomax's life-long mission was "to give voice to the world's many diverse cultural communities." He used the latest technology available (3).

In addition to the other mementoes of Alan Lomax, Felix Contreras of National Public Radio (NPR), revealed some of Alan's archival gifts to The Library of Congress in the program *All Things Considered* on March 24, 2004. This collection had been housed at a college in New York. Contreras announced that "it is united in Washington, D.C. with the work he did with his father in the 1930s and '40s." The "united Lomax collection" includes approximately 5,000 hours of recordings, and 400,000 feet of motion

picture film, along with books, journals, and photos. Contreras informed the audience that the Library of Congress "now begins the enormous task of cataloging and eventually digitizing the collection" (1).

Unlike the Lomaxes, Harry Everett Smith did not do field collections, but he is depicted by Ben Wener in the article "He was Their Hero," as an innovative experimental filmmaker, an unorthodox anthropologist, linguist; Smith was also an eccentric musicologist with his own codification system," yet he most likely will be remembered for one significant endeavor: his "staggeringly influential" Anthology of American Folk Music (NewsBank 1).

Harry Smith's sense of music is deeply rhetorical, and if we follow the "the most·influential rhetorical theorist and critic of the twentieth century, Kenneth Burke, we learn that, "any language can be arranged not just by nouns, verbs, adjectives and other forms of grammar but by words that promote "motives" for reacting to the world around us. Burke, a rhythmic rhetorician, believes that 'persuasion' occurs when people perceive their interests are joined…others will share these interests and values…by their "ways of speaking" (Reading Rhetorical Theory 742-3).

Smith's ways of speaking are in his collections of music. Both Burke and Smith have similar interests. For example, Fred Shuster of the L.A. Daily News, referred to Smith as an experimental designer of film in addition to his love of collecting and recording music (1). In Burke's online article "Audovisual Rhetoric," he states, "Wherever there is design, there is rhetoric" (1). Burke believes that there is a "notation system" for different shots and sound structures with rhetorical patterns within the film "texture." It can be compared to a music notation or score that is designed for film; it is used as an analytical tool, but can also be a tool for concept and production. Thus, it is also a convenient tool for film makers (9).

In a tribute to Harry Smith in August 1997, it was acknowledged that he has become an artistic figure in the area of film and sound recordings. This collection of American musical history is now being "reissued by the Smithsonian." The writer of this online article is not identified but introduces some who had contributed "liner notes" of the reissue: Peter Stampfel (folk singer), John Fahey (existential guitarist), and Allen Ginsberg (poet laureate). All of them refer to this collection as an extraordinary range of music including the songs

and performances. They agree that it is a "musical Rosetta Stone"(4).

Allen Ginsberg is included in the same Harry Smith tribute articles in June 1993-97; this very unusual man named Harry Smith who loved visual art as well as ethnomusicology. Smith often had no money and would offer one of his films to Ginsberg. First he would get Ginsberg "high on grass" and then ask for $100 because he was starving. It was apparent to Ginsberg that Smith did this to many. "He had no source but he was a genius." Ginsberg closes with a comment that (in the last year of his life) he was awarded a Grammy for the advancement of American folk music. In a brief speech, Smith said that he was happy to live long enough "to see the American political culture affected, moved, and shaped somewhat by American folk music." Ginsberg added that Harry Smith had lived long enough to see the "philosophy" of the homeless, the Negro (his term), the minorities and the impoverished-"of which he was one-starving in the Bowery"- alter the consciousness of America sufficiently to affect the politics (5-6).

John Fahey added to the tribute, with an article dated April 1997, that if Harry Smith had never done anything with his life but this Anthology, "he would still have

borne the mark of genius across his forehead" (3). Fahey would match the Anthology against "any other compendium of important information ever assembled...including the Dead Sea Scrolls" (3). The Anthology covered the years when the advent of electronic recording greatly improved sound quality, from 1929 to 1933, when the Great Depression caused the collapse of the recording industry. It was clear, however, that there was no "folk canon" before Smith's work, and the lack of it did not become apparent as a "definitive document" until much later. It was then that "record-collecting types" like Fahey realized that "these were the true goods."

Why did Smith pick this grouping of songs as representative of "folk" music? Fahey believes that Smith was aware of "a very simple truth that took others...a great many years to realize." That truth was that "certain multi-cultural traditions were sympathetic to each other while others were not." Smith realized that White Americans and African Americans listened to and interchanged each other's music, which did not exist in this period as 'American' music. In addition, Harry Smith "had an encyclopedic knowledge of 78 rpm [records] and a preternatural feel for the connections across race and ethnic boundaries." He not

only codified them but persisted to make sure this was "an absolutely definitive and essential historical document" (Fahey 3).

Another contributor to Harry Smith's "unique vision of American music" was Peter Stampfel, who in May 1997 wrote of the extensive research study Smith had done on Native American peyote music and rituals in the 1940s. It wasn't until 1958 when Stampfel heard the ballads of Volume One of the Anthology that he decided to switch from playing the banjo to the fiddle. He decided to try and copy the version of "Omie Wise" that had "just one guy playing fiddle and singing." So, Stampfel decided to play along with this ballad in the Anthology, and he discovered "a past time which would come to have an almost religious significance." "Omie Wise" was in the key of "G". "G" was the "people's key," and he discovered that it was quite easy to play on both the fiddle and the banjo. Peter Stampfel said that the Anthology records changed his life and the lives of thousands of others. He has taken a number of the songs and given them new words which he has performed and recorded. Stampfel writes that Bob Dylan did the same thing when he was learning to be a songwriter in 1961 (3).

Even though Dylan chose songs from the Anthology and gave them new words, an interesting verbal addition is necessary. Francis Gummere sums up the case for our interest in ballads: "…all ballads of tradition carry with them the marks of two great interests…one is the natural desire of everybody to hear a good story; the other is an equally natural desire to gratify social and emotional propensities." Grummere believes that the actual ballads may be classified according to whether they belong in the categories of nature, art, or the poetry of the people (29).

Without the research and preservation by Harry Smith and the Lomaxes, we might not be aware of the early ballads and their influential stories. The results of the historical research done by Smith and the Lomaxes evolved into two major collections that survive today. Dean and Nancy Tudor, in Grass Roots Music refer to Smith's collection as "The Anthology" and as possibly the most significant issuance of any records at any time or place. These classics reveal tales of those who lived in conditions of frustration and hope, and their words have persuaded listeners to pay attention. The success of these

major collections proves that listeners have paid attention, and in many cases their lives have been changed.

Chapter Two introduces many of the poetically rhetorical ballads included in the 1920's recording of The Anthology of American Folk Music. The study of these ballads should reveal to the reader the definition of a ballad, and the frustrations and pain of many people that comes alive during the singing of these songs in the form of lyrics.

CHAPTER TWO

SONGS OF MISFORTUNE

Before I begin sharing these ballads, it seems necessary to describe exactly what constitutes a ballad. According to Albert B. Friedman in his Viking Book of Folk Ballads, "The ballad method of narration is unique, and until one gets used to it, it can be disconcerting" Friedman states that it is the character of this narration to begin with a "train of action" that steers the reader to a catastrophe; in a ballad, the story "is the thing" (xiii-xiv).

Hodgart's The Ballads expands from narration to his theory that "ballads are incomplete without music" (46; ch 3)."This powerful aid to memory… sounds strange to anyone familiar only with art" (49). It is actually based on the modes which are a series of scales forming a framework for the melodic line. According to Hodgart, there are six modes, but folksingers in Britain and America are "fondest" of the Ionian, which starts from C, the normal major scale; and the Dorian starting from a D with a flat third and seventh. Lastly, the Mixolydian is used a great deal from G, a flat seventh (50). The stanza most frequently found is

called the *Common Measure* as an iambic quatrain in which the first and third lines have eight syllables and four stresses; and the second and fourth lines have six syllables and three stresses of 4-3-4-3 (54-5).

My education in music has been limited to the poetic side of rhythm such as the modes including syllables and alliterative verse and "Sprung Rhythm," (imitating the rhythm of speech). The pattern is decided by the number of unstressed syllables (Minot, 363). So, while Friedman's and Hodgart's information is very interesting, I decided to look into The American Heritage College Dictionary for a simple definition. On page 108, the term "ballad" is defined as a narrative poem intended to be sung, of folk origin and with simple stanzas of eight or ten lines. This is what I wanted to hear; the various songs and the differences in the stanzas, recorded in the 1920s visually appeared to me and prompted a clear desire to introduce and describe some of these ballads.

During the 1920s, the "Tin Pan Alley songs" were the urban popular choice in music. "Other millions had music descended from the British heritage of rural America looking for ways to recoup ground lost to radio," and the phonograph industry reached out to this music in the

early twenties. In 1927, this music had "roots in a tradition": The British ballad in which "tales of personal misfortune, tragic death, and natural disasters…were routine." Many of the country songs concerned "cruel working conditions, unemployment, and hunger. (New World Records 6-7).

The introduction of these ballads begins with an industrialization song: "Peg and Awl." This is Number 12 in Smith's Anthology, and research on this particular song was somewhat difficult. I finally found an online letter sent in response to the question: Origins: when and where did "Peg and Awl" turn up? A woman named Mingulay Guest wrote that she was not familiar with the song, but she was "99% sure that it is American as it "took some time for the machinery to appear in English factories. Her paternal grandfather was an "outsole nailer" around the time of WWI, and he worked "from home for local factories." She describes an awl as a tool used to make holes "for a thread or wooden peg." This technique was before the "advent" of machine-made nails when soles were "clumped on" using hand made nails or "wooden pegs" (www.mudcat.org) (See APPENDIX C):

In the days of eighteen and one, peg and awl
In the days of eighteen and one, peg and awl
In the days of eighteen and one
Peggin' shoes was all I done
Hand me down my pegs, my awl, my peg and awl.
(playing by ear.com)

The next ballad falls within my argument that the lyrics emphasize a need to express anger and frustration from an uneducated man looking for a job. This is better known as "The State of Arkansas" and dates back to the minstrel show era. "My Name is John Johannah" is a tale of unemployment, hunger, and searching for a better life in Arkansas and is Number 14 in the Anthology (trad./Kelly Harrell) (see APPENDIX D):

My name is John Johannah, I come from Buffalo town,
For nine long years I've traveled this wide, wide world around.
Through ups and downs and miseries and some good days I've saw,
But I never knew what misery was, till I went to Arkansas. (www.bobdylanroots)

This ballad is different from others: Coleman Younger was the son of a slaveholding family, and when the Union troops invaded Missouri in 1861,they were met by both Confederate troops and guerilla bands. Jesse James and Cole Younger were in one of these bands formed by William Quantrill. They endured "humiliations and indignities from the North" and decided to go after the "rich entities of the North: railroads and banks. This gained them a Robin Hood reputation.

"Bandit Cole Younger," according to Lyle Lofgren, is a song of personal misfortune caused by the U.S. Civil War, when Union troops invaded Missouri in 1861. A guerilla band formed by William Quantrill included Jesse James' older brother Frank and Cole Younger, who set out to avenge the death of Quantrill and the "humiliations and indignities from the North" (1). They gained a Robin Hood reputation by robbing banks and railroads owned by the Northern enemies. They set out to rob the Northfield bank in St. Paul, Minnesota. "This robbery was a fiasco; they killed the cashier but got no money. The James brothers escaped, but the Younger brothers pleaded guilty and were sentenced to "life at the state penitentiary at Stillwater" (1). Cole and Frank James were paroled in 1901 and toured as the

Younger and James Wild West Company. They demonstrated their raids and gave lectures on how crime doesn't pay. John Lomax collected a version of Younger's ballad for his 1910 Cowboy Songs. It is listed as Number 15 in the Smith Anthology (Lyle Lofgren) (see APPENDIX E):

> I am a noted highwayman, Cole Younger is my name;
> 'Tis deeds and desperation that brought my name to shame.
> Robbing of the Northfield bank is a thing I'll never deny,
> But which I will be sorry of until the day I die.

John Henry's interesting story is described in Chapter One, with an anonymous composer, but the fascination of the lyrics has been kept alive by musicians such as Burl Ives and Pete Seeger. Regardless of the musicians and their changes to the lyrics, the story remains as one of the most popular ballads written in the 1800s and is still sung as a lament of the mechanization of the steam drill, and the difficulty men and women faced in adjusting.

The 1927 recorded version of "Gonna Die with My Hammer in My Hand" was played by the Williamson Brothers and Curry, with a vocal solo and duet chorus. The instruments

were a violin and two guitars. This ballad is Number 18 in Smith's Anthology (see APPENDIX F).

As in many references to ballads, there are usually various versions. The earliest recording of a "Titanic" ballad "When That Great Ship Went Down" was a duet by William and Versey Smith in Chicago in August, 1927, with tambourine and guitar. They can still be heard as Number 22 on Harry Smith's on the original version and the 1997 reissue of the Anthology of American Folk Music.

This famous ballad is sung today and lives to tell us that the poor and uneducated third class passengers were doomed to die. The rhythm is enticing and that may be the reason it is so well known and enjoyed today (The Harry Smith Project).

There are various disagreements regarding the titles and locations of the "Titanic" ballad: A statement is made of this early version that this is a song "similar to one in the Frank C. Brown Collection (1920) at Duke [University] and written by W.O. Smith of Oxford, North Carolina and is evidence that William and Versey Smith came from the Carolinas and not from Texas "as some had claimed" (1). Another "early version" is titled "The Great Titanic" and was contributed by a Miss Fanny Grogan on November 30,

1920 from Zionsville, North Carolina. In addition, another rendering is called "The Titanic I" and that was "obtained" in Gatlinburg, Tennessee in 1929. There is still another version reported by Newman I. White in his 1928 book American Negro Folk-Songs. This version "was heard in 1915 or 1916 sung by a Negro on the streets of Hackleburg in Northwest Alabama" (Harvard University Press).

Regardless of the various differences in collections and locations, this ballad describing the maiden voyage of the "unsinkable" ship, named "The Titanic," is a sad tale of the vessel that struck an iceberg at full speed and went down with approximately 2,200 passengers and crew aboard; 1,522 people lost their lives. Poor immigrants were fenced off in the third-class lower bowels of the ship and were the first to drown with little or no hope of being saved. According to the online encyclopedia-titanica.org, there were 708 passengers in third class (see APPENDIX G):

> It was on one Monday morning just about one
> o'clock
> When that great Titanic began to reel and rock;
> People began to scream and cry,
> Saying, "Lord, am I going to die?"
> [Chorus]

It was sad when that great ship went down.

(www.potw.ort)

The following song is an important selection because it enriches my argument that ballads can rhetorically send messages by musicians who can describe their situations in life by singing and using musical instruments.

"Down on Penny's Farm" is a ballad sung by The Bentley Boys with a vocal solo, banjo, and guitar. It is Number 25 on Smith's Anthology and was recorded in 1929. This song is about the sharecroppers who live in poverty with a landlord who is a miser, thief, and liar who mortgages everything they have. A relationship to everything being owned by The Company Store might appear within these lyrics. (see APPENDIX H):

"Down on Penny's Farm"

Come here ladies and gentlemen

Listen to my song

Play it to you right

But you may think it wrong

May make you mad

But I mean no harm

It's just about the renters

On Penny's farm

It's a hard time in the country

Down on Penny's farm. (www.azlyrics.com)

The setting changes from farm workers to miners and convicts in "Buddy Won't You Roll Down the Line." The first verse describes the leasing out of convicts to act as "scabs" in a miners' strike. An Online reference (csufreso.edu) identifies the following verses as "bad conditions for the convicts" (1). Uncle Dave Macon softens the racial overtones of the story told by the lament of an African American convict who's been sentenced to the chain gain. The song was recorded by Harry Smith in 1930 and is Number 79 in the Anthology. The information on Smith's Anthology liner notes states that Macon's songs often deal with southern history. This one is about the Coal Creek Rebellion, which took place in East Tennessee in the 1890s. Mining companies hired convict laborers to try to break the miners' union, and in an armed rebellion, the miners freed the convicts, but the leaders of the rebellion were sent to prison (see APPENDIX I):

Way back yonder in Tennessee, they leased the convicts out

To work down in the coal mine, against Free Labor South

Free Labor rebelled against it; the struggle took its toll

But while the lease was in effect, you bet they got that coal!

Buddy, won't you roll down the line, roll down the line

Yonder comes my darlin' comin'down the line

Buddy, won't you roll down the line, roll down the line. (www.cfsufresno.edu)

It is possible that the softening of the ballad produced lyrics other than the original song. For example: "the bread is not so well" and "the coffee black as heck? Why not "hell."? Then in the last stanza, there is "you all know well" and "you bet he'll give you hallelujah!" Where is "hell"? To find the answer to my question, I pulled out the CD of the original Harry Smith recording of this song and played it. It was sung by Uncle Dave Macon with an exciting banjo accompaniment, and he did sing "coffee black as heck" and "you bet he'll give you hallelujah!" It is possible, of course, that the listener will supply "hell" as the rhyming word while the balladeer can stay innocent of the charge of profanity. I was, however, pleased to listen to this folk song, once more, that has lasted for

many years; musicians in the 1960s also played and sang this song.

The ballad method of narration is unique, and Friedman refers to its characteristics as a "train of action…steering the reader to a catastrophe" that tells a story(xiii-xiv). My intent is to guide the reader into these ballads using stories of lamentation and frustration as rhetorical poetry that may affect the reader in several ways. For example, both the lyrics and the music of Smith's Anthology are used today as entertaining instruments of persuasion, and many musicians are convinced of their value.

Chapter Three moves us from music of the 1920s and Great Depression to the great 1997 reissue of Harry Smith's Anthology of American Folk Music.

CHAPTER THREE

LOMAX AND SMITH REVISITED

In this chapter, we move from the rural 1920s and 1930s to the urban 1960s, and beyond, when musicians were not just influenced by the earlier music, but also realized a need to break from the purist school within the folk music movement itself. In order to trace this movement, however, it is necessary to return to the music of the Great Depression of 1929-41. A surprising discovery of information from the Recorded Anthology of American Music, Inc. and New World Records provided evidence of American songs during that period.

The title of the article, "Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?" describes not only a song but a period when the popular music industry of "white urban America" was large, prosperous and dedicated to the "proposition that Americans turned to song for amusement, entertainment and escape." This period evaporated within a year after the election of Herbert Hoover in 1928, when financial disaster hit this country and the "white urbans of the Roaring Twenties roared for only a fraction of Americans." By 1930,

erstwhile men of wealth became "apple vendors" on the streets of New York (2).

Another major change occurred in music: there was a return to the "more simple music...from the more social reformers to the entertainers of the mountains of New Hampshire." Henry Russell began writing some of these songs "for the untrained musical public." Tin Pan Alley "determined this public taste" and encouraged composers such as George M. Cohan, Irving Berlin, and Cole Porter to write "simple yet sophisticated songs with personal emotions: romantic love and friendship" (3).

Radio broadcasts began in 1922, and the National Broadcasting System became a "nationwide network" in 1926. The major change, however, was the "sound movie: *The Jazz Singer* made in 1927. Music in movies and comedies dealt in fantasy and escape. Songwriter Richard Rodgers observed that Breadlines and the "political chaos" seemed easier to tolerate if one could sing and whistle "Bye Bye Blackbird" (4) (see APPENDIX J):

> All thru the winter you hung around
> Now I begin to feel homeward bound
> Blackbird, blackbird gotta be on my way
> Where there's sunshine galore

Pack up all my care and woe

Here I go, singing low

Bye bye blackbird

Where somebody waits for me

Sugar's sweet, so is she

By bye blackbird. (lyricsplayground.com)

Robert Altshuler provided the record collection, and Charles Hamm was responsible for some of literature throughout the entire New World Records article. Though the Tin Pan Alley songs reached millions of listeners through records, radio, and movies, "this was not the music of all Americans." Millions of others had inherited a certain music "descended from the British heritage of rural America." This music was rarely touched by "the style of urban popular music." Radio, however, discovered this "rich vein in 1922." The radio station WSB in Atlanta then began playing the hillbilly singers, fiddlers, and string bands. Within a few years, station WLS in Chicago was "beaming" the National Barn Dance throughout the rural Midwest and WSM in Nashville began "airing the Grand Ole Opry" (6).

Soon, the phonograph industry realized this "rich vein", and Ralph Peer of Okeh Records set up recording equipment in an empty loft. Columbia and Victor records

then rushed to this profitable venture, and soon "hillbilly" musicians like Uncle Dave Macon, Dock Boggs, and "the superstars of this genre," the Carter Family, had begun a long-running career (6). This music had "roots" in the British ballad tradition which focused on personal misfortunes, tragic deaths, and natural disasters. Many of the country songs of the Depression focused on inhumane working conditions, unemployment, lack of food and its distress, plus the loss of family and friends due to these conditions.

These songs, according to Herman Krawitz, President of New World Records.Org were like looking through collections of photographs showing "the bleak faces of country folk," but there was very little protest in the songs or the faces—just acceptance of hard times. Krawitz states that it would be other people, a little later, who would use the elements of this music for social and political protest (7).

Interestingly, in 1935, the Communist Party of America made an attempt to tap the feelings of those living in cruel working conditions, especially in the coal-mining country of Kentucky. At this same time, John Lomax was bringing "people's music" to eastern urban intellectual,

artistic, and political circles with Leadbelly (Haddie Ledbetter) and his Texas-Louisiana prison and work songs, but it was not until 1940 that the "intellectual-radical community of music and musicians of the working class" came together for a benefit program for migrant workers. These musicians included Leadbelly, Burl Ives, Woody Guthrie, and Bess and Alan Lomax, but in 1941, their anti-war songs were attacked by the press and by Congress for their "political affinities" (newworld 9).

The Harry Smith Project Anthology booklet situates the time in the 1950s when "the great folk revival began" and folk was the top selling music. The 1952 fans were able to buy "polished folk records" by The Weavers, Burl Ives and the Carter family. Jeff Place, head archivist of the Smithsonian Folklife Collection, states that this "was a breath of fresh air" for the musicians who could find material for their groups. The Anthology" collection kept alive many older songs that might have fallen into obscurity" (33).

Ben Wener, in an Online NewsBankNewsFile Collection, discusses "the diverse array of artists" who prepare to honor Harry Smith. "Dog-eared shop-worn copies of Smith's canon were traded like sacred scrolls among the stars of

the Greenwich Village scene" (1). For many, it was a "first introduction to true roots music." Bob Dylan learned scores of songs from it, later turning the 1929 Bently Brothers' "Down on Penny's Farm" into his own celebrated "Maggie's Farm (1).

Popular music acted as an escape or complaint during the late 1930s and 40s, but this music remained quiet until the "popular" protest music of the 1950s and especially the protest songs of the 1960s. This was a time when Dylan wanted to break away from the farm and move into a more sophisticated society. An Online article describes the Newport concerts on Vanguard Records: in 1963, a group of musicians appeared at the Evening Concerts in Newport, Rhode Island. The theme of the second album, recorded by Vanguard Records, was "topical songs," another term for protest songs. These were sung by Dylan along with Peter, Paul & Mary, Joan Baez, The Freedom Singers, Pete Seeger, and Theo Bikel (Newport/punkhart) (1-2).

Bob Dylan borrowed from the Anthology's "Down on Penny's Farm" to write "Maggie's Farm," and Dylan famously played this song on an electric guitar at the 1963 Newport Folk Festival. The lyrics are narrated on a bobdylan.com web page (1) (see APPENDIX K):

I ain't gonna work on Maggie's farm no more.

No, I ain't gonna work on Maggie's farm no more.

Well, I wake in the morning,

I got a head full of ideas

That are driving me insane.

It's a shame the way she makes me scrub the floor.

Another ballad-focused protest song on was released the year before "Maggie's Farm" by Columbia records in 1964, and a copy of the lyrics was printed on Dylan's website: "Only a Pawn in Their Game" protests the killing of Medgar Evers, an African American man, who was known for his struggles for civil rights in Mississippi. The song was recorded on The Times They are A-changin', (1) (see APPENDIX L):

"Only a Pawn in Their Game"

A bullet from the back of a bush took Medgar

Evers' blood.

A finger fired the trigger to his name.

A handle hid out in the dark

A hand set the spark

Two eyes took the air

Behind a man's brain

But he can't be blamed

He's only a pawn in their game.

The folk revival had begun and Smith's Anthology, recorded in 1952, was re-discovered. An Orange County Register article by Ben Wener states that a collection of 84 cuts "culled from more than 2,000 78-rpm discs recorded in 1927-32" quickly became a movement-shaping force after its 1952 release by Folkways Records; most "pop scholars" agree that, along with the works of Woody Guthrie, it was the chief inspiration for the revolutionary folk revival of the late 1950s and early 1960s (Copyright © 2001 1-4).

In addition, an article in the Smith Project booklet introduces Izzy Young who founded the Folklore Center in 1957, which was part guitar store, part meeting place and information center. The center was "ground zero" in the early days of the urban folk revival in Greenwich Village. Young states that before Harry Smith there was Alan Lomax; Young and others who were around 16-18 years of age began to like folk music; Lomax had collected and made early recordings titled Listen to Our Story and Mountain Frolic which included musicians such as Leadbelly, Richard Dye-Bennet, Woody Guthrie, Tony Kraber, and Rev. Gary Davis. Young bought those recordings and they were "from a time"

he could not even imagine. He and his friends learned these songs that took them by storm replacing the Saturday night Hit Parade that up to that time had been their source of music. Young assumed that Harry Smith, a man he had never heard of before, "was a pseudonym for Lomax or a least a substantial folklorist we might not know by name" (15).

I'm certain that Izzy Young soon became aware of this man named Harry Smith. There is so much to learn about this Hal Willner, eclectic producer of tributes and concerts for Smith, stated that Harry was definitely someone "who came from a special part of the forest" (Project booklet 8).

A Web source supplied a curriculum vitae/biography of Harry Smith. Born in 1923, and from that time until his death, Harry Smith's music collections, films, and paintings "put him at the center of the mid twentieth-century American avant-garde" (1). Harry spent his early childhood in the Pacific Northwest where his father was a "watchman for the local salmon canning company" and his mother taught school on the Lummi Indian reservation. By age 15, Smith had spent time recording many songs and observing the peyote rituals of the Lummi and Samish people, and he was "compiling a dictionary of several Puget Sound dialects" (1). Smith also studied anthropology at the

University of Washington for five semesters between 1943 and 1944, but after a weekend in Berkeley, when he had gone to a Woody Guthrie concert, Smith decided that "his intellectual stimulation was unavailable" within his studies at Washington University, so he moved to New York City, and recorded his six-album set of music that has been important in so many ways (harrysmitharchive).

Rani Singh, the director of the Harry Smith Archives, writes that the songs on the Anthology of American Folk Music, released in 1952 by Folkways Records,

> (. . .) communicate the universal truths of everyday experience, such as loves lost and found, the struggle to make a buck, death as a constant companion, historic events, natural disasters and crime.

Music can also bring about social change. Singh comments that these songs are sung by ordinary people who speak of things that affect their lives on a daily basis. The Anthology is a collection of songs, "captured at a particular moment in time." They were, however, formed over many generations from the countries and the cultures making up "American folk" (2).

National Public Radio's *Morning Edition* presented a program on "America's Folk Music Anthology" on July 17, 2002. The program was titled "50 Years Later, Harry Smith's Music Collection Still Rings True." Bob Edwards, the *Morning Edition* host, interviewed Jeff Place, an archivist at the Smithsonian Institution. Place states that Smith had "purchased thousands of 78 rpm recordings prior to World War II." Young singers such as Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, and the New Lost City Ramblers would later include many of the songs in their performances. The songs were also "adopted" by Dylan and (a well-known band) the Grateful Dead.

Singh also reports a remembrance of the Grateful Dead lyricist, Robert Hunter: Back in 1961, there was only one copy of the Anthology that they had access to in "their scene" of musicians. The six-boxed collection was too expensive for "guitar-playing hobos" like himself and Jerry Garcia. The owner was a woman named Grace Marie who had a job and lived in an apartment with a record player. Apparently, when she was at work, they would "jimmy' the lock on her door and go in to listen to those records (3).

Fans of the Anthology (musicians and folklorists) began going down South to see if they could locate these folk artists. Jeff Place says that when the organizers of

the Newport Folk Festival and other venues brought Mississippi John Hurt and Dock Boggs to perform, the audiences thought, "These are people from the Anthology. My gosh, they're still alive!" This brings up an interesting point: Harry Smith purposely left out "specific biographical information about the artists in the original package." Several of the musicians were African American and Smith did not want anybody "to have prejudice or think of these people in certain categories." He wanted the song to be more important than the person.

The songs were very important during the original issuance of The Anthology in 1952 and throughout the 1960s. During the late 1960s, many of the 84 songs were "covered" by popular folk music groups such as Peter, Paul and Mary, Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, The Kingston Trio, and The Journeymen. Sometime after this period, however, the album became commercially unavailable for many years. According to Anthony Seeger, Curator and Director of Smithsonian Folkways, when it was initially released, the Anthology "brought virtually unknown parts of America's musical landscape to the public's attention." It inspired a generation of musicians to go in search of the traditions,

and sometimes the musicians themselves whose recordings Harry Smith had selected.

Hal Willner first met Harry Smith in 1987 at the Bottom Line nightclub in New York, and at first glance, was convinced this man "came from a special part of the forest." He looked exactly like the guy at the beginning of Monty Python who would say "IT'S!" Allen Ginsberg told Hal about Smith and loaned him his beat-up copy of The Anthology of American Folk Music, and Hal soon realized that Harry Smith was an artist. Willner adds that this Anthology was one of the first uses of the LP form to put together obscure 78s. It was often imitated but none ever "approached the quality of Harry's because of the personal artistry of the set and his impeccable taste" Harry's death in 1991 came shortly after being given a Grammy award for his contribution to the advancement of music in the United States (Booklet 11-12).

The Anthology of American Folk Music has been so important, and Jeff Place speaks of the beginning when the "set was released in 1952 as three separate two-record LPs." The LP format was able to record "long pieces of uninterrupted music" which pleased the classical music fans. Place reminds the readers that the Anthology mostly

recorded in the 1920s and 1930s) has been "highly influential" for generations of musicians. Since it was first released in 1952 on LP and again in 1997 when it was released on LP and CD.

Finally, in 1997, after years of "proper permissions," Smithsonian Folkways was able to re-issue the Anthology in a 12" by 12" box containing 84 tracks on six CDs. With "meticulous digital remastering" of the selections, the best possible sound quality was ensured. Also included in the boxed set is an award-winning 100-page "Booklet of Essays, Appreciations, and Photos pertaining to The Anthology of American Folk Music." The importance and quality of the Anthology and "the accompanying documentation" was recognized by the National Academy of Recording Arts & Sciences, which "bestowed" two Grammy Awards on Folkways for this project: 1997 Best Historic Album, and 1997 Best Album Notes. The Booklet was compiled and edited by Jeff Place (1-38).

A footnote in the Booklet states: During a 1997 interview, Led Zeppelin bassist John Paul Jones was asked how he was spending his time during the tour of his old band mates, Robert Plant and Jimmy page, and he answered

that he "was content enjoying a newly acquired Anthology of American Folk Music" (20).

After the reissue in 1997, Hal Willner, the veteran producer, assembled shows celebrating the work of Harry Smith. His "bootlegged" compilations in this reissue "had annotations that accompanied the first three of what is now a four-volume collection" and has been a major inspiration to musicians of the 1960s folk scene including Phil Ochs, Bob Dylan, Jerry Garcia, "Holes" Courtney Love and "post-Goth noir Nick Cave; these along with other "disciples" requested Hal Willner's expertise to help set up a pair of 1999 Smith tributes in London and New York. Wilner stated, in a Press-Enterprise newspaper, that it was still amazing, the more he worked with the music in Smith's Anthology "how things are sequenced and categorized."

Willner introduced the collections to the Irish singer/artist Gavin Friday, who was a participant in each of the Smith tributes. He particularly enjoyed the "links" from Smith's music to his own country, particularly "When That Great Ship Went Down," because the ship Titanic was built in Ireland. Friday was "exhilarated" when he did the first show in London. Friday enjoyed working with other performers: Nick Cave, Beth Orton, and the

McGarrigle sisters. Gavin Friday was among some of the artists who put their "own stamp" on traditional tunes, and others did "radically different versions." At the 1999 New York performance, Friday recalled that Sonic Youth went "somewhere special," while some of the performers "offered interpretations" of tracks by the Carter Family, Blind Lemon Jefferson, Mississippi John Hurt, and Dock Boggs from Smith's exotic 84-song collection.

Fred Shuster, music writer for the Los Angeles Daily News, wrote an article that included a symposium on Smith's Anthology at the Getty Center: (The Getty Center is located in Los Angeles and is a "cultural and philanthropic institution" that collaborated with the Harry Smith Archives for this two-day event). Thomas Crow, director of the Getty Research Institute commented that the Anthology came from Smith's "own imagination and historic knowledge." Crow added the following information about Smith's work: "You have to marvel at what he achieved. The Anthology really became a model for scholarship of early recordings of folkloric material." Crow was convinced that Smith did not go down South with a tape recorder. He took what were commercial recordings produced by big companies for remote Southern markets. He ended up with an epic collage of

American folk forms. Crow concludes: "Once you get inside the anthology, it's a world of its own" (2).

Continuing with Shuster's article, he brings Hal Wilner into the conversation about the Getty Center performance: "I wanted to embrace all the things Smith was interested in along with the music from the anthology" (1). Wilner explains that there are connections between Allen Ginsberg's poetry, (avant-garde New York folk-rock group) the Fugs, and even Indian peyote ceremonies. Wilner believed that all of these connections would work together in shows of no dress rehearsals, where there is "sequencing, arranging a beginning, middle and end, and letting something extraordinary happen on stage" (1)

Elvis Costello, a contemporary musician, was fascinated by the original ballads and became a performer at the U.C.L.A Royce Hall, one of Hal Wilner's concerts promoting Harry Smith and his project. Costello said the introduction to this Anthology seemed "like a trip to a distant planet and discovering the secret script of so many familiar musical dramas." Costello added that "We are fortunate that someone collected these performances of such wildness, straightforward beauty and humanity."

Costello chose two of Smith's songs, recorded in 1927, to perform at Royce Hall. One is "The Butcher's Boy," and he sang it as originally done, but with different musicians accompanying him: Costello played acoustic guitar along with Bill Frisell on another acoustic guitar. Eliza Carthy played the fiddle and Don Byron, the clarinet, which was an updated instrument from the original. This Online song is one of my favorite ballads, and Elvis Costello brings an honest emotion to the lyrics (see APPENDIX M).

She went upstairs to make her bed
And not one word to her mother she said
Her mother she went upstairs too
Said, "Daughter, oh daughter, what troubles you?"
"Oh mother, oh mother, I cannot tell
That railroad boy I love so well
He's courted me my life away

During that same gathering of musicians at U.C.L.A.'s Royce Hall, Elvis Costello chose to revise the lyrics of G.B. Grayson's 1927 Anthology recording of "Omie Wise." He is accompanied by the McGarrigle sisters, Kate and Anna, doing background vocals. Bill Frisell plays acoustic guitar, and Joel Zifkin, fiddle. (Although not officially credited, Costello wrote an entirely new set of lyrics for

this song), "Ommie Wise Part 2 (What Lewis Did Last…" (see APPENDIX N).

"Ommie Wise Part 2 (What Lewis Did Last…."

The smoke from the battlefield drifted away
As Corporal J. Lewis deserted the fray
He ran from the bullets, evaded arrest
He told his companions I must get my rest
The faces of men I've dispatched in the fight
Their shades will approach me as I lie so still
They offer their hand but they wish me no ill
They're shaking their heads now at something they know.

Shuster concludes his article in the Daily News of Los Angeles, April 20, 2001, stating that the Harry Smith collection, which won two Grammy Awards after its reissue, "brought virtually unknown parts of America's musical heritage to light, and creating a cultural wave" (2). For example, Britain's Nick Cave and folk-rocker Richard Thompson, who said he was very familiar with the Carter Family, but Dock Boggs and Mississippi John Hurt "would not have been heard at all if not for Smith." Gavin Friday, the Irish singer-songwriter said the "reissued" anthology was really welcomed in Ireland, which has a "long history of

murder ballads and dark subjects like that in songs." Friday added that he sees people getting into "real songs again, and contemporary audiences can relate the same way people did in the '20s and '30s" (1-3).

Jeff Place informs us that the "buzz" about the 1952 collection was very slow at first, but musicians and folk enthusiasts soon realized that the set offered them a "raw version" instead of the "stylized folk offerings by mainstream artists like Burl Ives." Place says he is amazed at "the reverence" in which the artists in the collection were "held" by contemporary musicians and audiences, especially since the 84 tracks on the set were recorded between 1926 and 1934. It is amazing, says Place, "recordings from 1934 are less than 20 years old at this point, and these people are treating those songs like they were from another century…."

Place's article in "The Harry Smith Project Anthology of American Folk Music Revisited" states that without the Anthology, many of the older songs might have plunged into "obscurity," but the 1997 release "coincided" with a second revival of the roots of American music and "lightning struck twice." Place pleasingly relates that since 1997, the reissue has "gone gold," an amazing happening

considering this "type of collection." It has also been honored with many tributes that include these recordings. Music critics and older fans "welcomed the re-release of the set on CD." *Rolling Stone* magazine gave it a five-star review. Younger artists "embraced" this album with many of its songs "popping up in these bands' repertoires." Place ends his articles by informing us that "Smith's Anthology comes from the period when no one could get these recordings and is a fascinating and unique combination of great tunes". The set is a unique work thanks to the wonderful insights of Harry Smith. Hopefully it will continue to inspire and entertain us for many generations to come. (Booklet 33-4).

The voice of ballads continues to speak to us poetically and persuasively as it has done for generations, and men like Harry Smith, John and Alan Lomax have produced a rhetorical effect encompassing us in many ways.

Kenneth Burke, as well as Smith, has been interested in the rhetorical aspect of film: His interest in "…the relationship between the two disciplines of design and rhetoric". In addition, "The notation system is a set of icons within a framework that displays basic units… including linkages to a music notation or score that is

designed for film." Burke adds that the system is divided into two areas: in the upper part, the auditory parameters like sound, music or dialog are notated; whereas, in the lower part the visual elements are displayed... (Audiovisual Rhetoric 10).

Listening to and observing the ballads as "rhetorical patterns" (Burke 9) is not only pleasant but educational and discloses the rhetorical effect of sound and music in significant distinctions and improvements found in the recording technologies between the years of 1952 and 1999.

APPENDIX A

"BARBARA ALLEN"

"BARBARA ALLEN"

First:
It was in and about the Martinmas time,
When the green leaves were a-falling,
That Sir John Graeme in the west country
Fell in love with Barbara Allan.
He sent his man down through the town,
To the place where she was dwelling,
"O haste and come to my master dear,
Gin [if] ye be Barbara Allan."
"O dinna ye mind [don't you remember], young man,"
said she,
"When ye was in the tavern a-drinking,
That ye made the healths gae round and round,
And slighted Barbara Allan"
He turn'd his face unto the wall,
And death was with him dealing;
"Adieu, adieu, my dear friends all,
And be kind to Barbara Allan."
She had not gane a mile but twa,
When she heard the dead-bell geid,
And every jow [stroke] that the dead-bell geid,
It cry'd, Woe to Barbara Allan.
"O mother, mother, make my bed,
O make it saft and narrow,
Since my love died for me today,
I'll die for him tomorrow."

Second:

It fell about a Marti[n]mas time,
When the green leaves were a-fallin,
That Sir John Graeme from the West country
Fell in love wi Bawbie Allan.
He sent his men down through the town
To the place where she was dwallin;
O haste an' come to my master dear,
Gin [if] ye be Bawbie Allan."
O hooly, hooly, [slowly, quietly] rase she up,
Till she cam where he was lyin,
An' when she drew the curtains roun,
Said, "young man, I think ye're dyin."
"I am sick an' very sick,
An' it's a' for Bawbie Allan."
"But the better for me ye never shall be
Though your heart's blood were a-spillin.
"O don't you mind, young man," she said,
When in the tavern callin,
Ye made the toasts gang roun an' roun,
But ye slighted Bawbie Allan."
"A kiss o you would do me good,
My bonnie Bawbie Allan"
"But a kiss o me ye sanna get,
Though your heart's blood were a-spillin."
He's turned his face untae the wa'
For death was wi him dealin,
Said, "Fare ye well, my kind friends a',
But be kind to Bawbie Allan.

Third:

All in the merry month of May
When flowers were a-bloomin',
Sweet William on his deathbed lay
For love of Barbra Allen.
He sent his servant to the town,
To the place where she was dwellin',
Saying, "Master dear has sent me here
If your name be Barbra Allen."
Then slowly slowly she got up,
And slowly went she nigh him,
And all se said when she got there,
"Young man, I think you're dyin.'"
She looked to the east, she looked to the west,
She saw his corpse a-comin';
"O set him down for me," she cried,
"That I might gaze upon him."
"O mother, go and make my bed;
O make it long and narrow;
Sweet William died for me this day,
And I shall die tomorrow."
They buried Willie in the old church yard;
They buried Barbra by him.
From his grave grew a red red rose,
And out of hers a briar.
They grew and grew in the old church yard
Till they could grow no higher.
And there they formed a true love knot,
The red rose and the briar.

Waltz, Bob. "Barbara Allen." Remembering the Old Songs. Mar. 1996. <http://www.lizlyle.lofgrens.org/RmOlsngs/RTOS-BarbaraAllen.html>.

APPENDIX B

"OMIE WISE"

"OMIE WISE"

I'll tell you a story about Omie Wise,
How she was deluded by John Lewis's lies.
He promised to marry her at Adam's spring:
He'd give her some money and other fine things.
He gave her no money, but flattered the case.
Says, "We will get married; there'll be no disgrace."
She got up behind him; away they did go
They rode till they came where the Deep River flowed.
"Now Omie, little Omie, I'll tell you my mind:
My mind is to drown you and leave you behind."
"Oh, pity your poor infant and spare me my life!
Let me go rejected and not be your wife."
"No pity, no pity," the monster did cry.
"On Deep River's bottom your body will lie."
The wretch he did choke her as we understand;
He threw her in the river below the mill dam.
Now Omie is missing as we all do know,
And down to the river a-hunting we'll go.
Two little boys were fishing just at the break of dawn:
They spied poor Omie's body come floating along.
They arrested John Lewis; they arrested him today.
They buried little Omie down in the cold bay.
"Go hang me or kill me, for I am the man
Who murdered poor Naomi below the mill-dam."

Waltz, Bob. "Omie Wise." Remembering the Old Songs. Aug. 2000. 01 May 2009 <www.lizlyle.lofgrens.org/RM01/Songs-Omie.Wise.html>.

APPENDIX C

"PEG AND AWL"

"PEG AND AWL"

In the days of eighteen and one, peg and awl
In the days of eighteen and one, peg and awl
In the days of eighteen and one
Peggin' shoes was all I done
Hand me down my pegs, my awl, my peg and awl
In the days of eighteen and two, peg and awl,… (x2)
In the days of eighteen and two
Peggin' shoes is all I'd do
Hand me down my pegs, my awl, my peg and awl
In the days of eighteen and three, peg and awl,…(x2)
In the days of eighteen and three
New machine it set me free
Throw away my pegs, my awl, my peg and awl
They've invented a new machine, peg and awl,…(x2)
Prettiest little thing, you've ever seen
Throw away my pegs, my awl, my peg and awl
In the days of eighteen and four, peg and awl,…(x2)
In the days of eighteen and four
Peggin' shoes I'll do no more
Throw away my pegs, my awl, my peg and awl
Makes one hundred compared to my one, peg and awl,…(x2)
Makes one hundred compared to my one
Peggin' shoes it ain't no fun
Throw away my pegs, my awl, my peg and awl

Guest, Mingulay. "Peg and Awl." Mountain Music for Everyone: A Family Tradition. 21 Sep. 2004. 07 Mar. 2008 <http://www.playingbyear.com/songs/peg-and-awl>.

APPENDIX D

"MY NAME IS JOHN JOHANNAH"

"MY NAME IS JOHN JOHANNAH"

My name is John Johannah, I come from Buffalo town,
For nine long years I've traveled this wide, wide world around.
Through ups and downs and miseries and some good days I've saw,
But I never knew what misery was, till I went to Arkansas.
I went up to the station the operator to spy,
Told him my situation and where I wanted to ride,
Said, "Hand me down five dollars, lad, a ticket you shall draw
That'll land you safe by railway in the state of Arkansas."
I rode up to the station, I chanced to meet a friend.
Alan Catcher was his name, although they called him Cain.
His hair hung down in rat-tails below his under-jaw,
He said he run the best hotel in the state of Arkansas.
I followed my companion to his respected place,
Saw pity and starvation was pictured on his face.
His bread was old corn dodgers, his beef I could not chaw,
He charged me fifty cents a day in the state of Arkansas.
I got up that next morning to catch that early train.
He says, "Don't be in a hurry, lad, I have some land to drain.

You'll get your fifty cents a day and all that you can chaw,
You'll find yourself a different lad when you leave old Arkansas."
I worked six weeks for the son-of-a-gun, Alan Catcher was his name.
He stood seven feet two inches, as tall as any crane
I got so thin on sassafras tea I could hide behind a straw,
You bet I was a different lad when I left old Arkansas.
Farewell you old swamp rabbits, also you dodger pills,
Likewise you walking skeletons, you old sassafras.
If you ever see my face again, I'll hand you down my paw,
I'll be looking through a telescope from home to Arkansas.

Harrell, Kelly. (trad.) "My Name is John Johannah." Bob Dylan's Musical Roots. 23 Mar. 1927. 19 Feb. 2008 <http://www.bobdylanroots.com/myname.html>.

APPENDIX E

"BANDIT COLE YOUNGER"

"BANDIT COLE YOUNGER"

I am a noted highwayman, Cole Younger is my name;
'Tis deeds and desperation that brought my name to shame.
Robbing of the Northfield bank is a thing I'll never deny,
But which I will be sorry of until the day I die.
We started for old Texas, that grand old Lone Star State;
'Twas there on Nebraska prairies the James Boys we did meet.
With knives, gun, and revolvers, we all sit down to play
A game of good old poker to pass the time away.
Across Nebraska prairies a Denver train we spy.
I says to Bob, "We'll rob her as she goes rolling by."
We saddled up our horses, northwestward we did go
To the godforsaken country called Minnie-soh-tee-oh.
I had my eye on the Northfield bank when brother Bob did say,
"Cole, if you under-to-take the job, you'll always curse the day."
We stationed out our pickets, up to the bank did go,
'Twas there upon the counter, boys, we struck our fatal blow.
Saying, "Hand us out your money, sir, and make no long delay.
We are the noted Younger boys, and spend no time in play."

The cashier, being as true as steel, refused our noted band.
'Twas Jesse James that pulled the trigger that killed this noble man.
We run for life, for death was near, four hundred on our trail.
We soon was overtaken and landed safe in jail.
'Twas there in Stillwater jail we lay, a-wearing our lives away.
Two James boys left to tell the tale of the sad and fateful day

Lofgren, Lyle. "Bandit Cole Younger [Laws E3]." Sept. 2007. 26 Feb. 2008 <http://www.lizlyle.lofgrens.org/RmOlSngs/RTOS-ColeYounger.html>.

APPENDIX F

"GONNA DIE WITH MY HAMMER IN MY HAND"

"GONNA DIE WITH MY HAMMER IN MY HAND"

John Henry was about three days old,
Sittin' on his papa's knee.
He picked up a hammer and a little piece of steel;
Said, "Hammer's gonna be the death of me, Lord, Lord.
Hammer's gonna be the death of me."
The captain said to John Henry
"Gonna bring that steam drill 'round.
Gonna bring that steam drill out on the job.
Gonna whop that steel on down. Down, Down.
Whop that steel on down."
John Henry told his captain,
"A man ain't nothin' but a man,
But before I let your steam drill beat me
down, I'd die with a hammer in my hand. Lord, Lord.
I'd die with a hammer in my hand."
John Henry said to his shaker,
"Shaker, why don't you sing?
I'm throwin' thirty pounds from my hips on down.
Just listen to that cold steel ring. Lord, Lord.
Listen to that cold steel ring.
The man that invented the stream drill
Thought he was mighty fine,
But John Henry made fifteen feet;
The steam drill only made nine. Lord, Lord.
The steam drill only made nine.
John Henry hammered in the mountain
His hammer was striking fire.
But he worked so hard, he broke his poor heart.

He laid down his hammer and he died. Lord, Lord.
He laid down his hammer and he died.
John Henry had a little woman.
Her name was Polly Ann.
John Henry took sick and went to his bed,
Polly Ann drove steel like a man, Lord, Lord.
Polly Ann drove steel like a man.
John Henry had a little baby.
You could hold him in the palm of your hand.
The last words I heard that poor boy say,
"My daddy was a steel-driving man. Lord, Lord.
Well, every Monday morning
When the bluebirds begin to sing.
You can hear John Henry's hammer ring. Lord, Lord.
You can hear John Henry's hammer ring.

Nash, Alanna. "Finding the Real John Henry." Rev. of Steel Drivin' Man. by Scott Reynolds Nelson. Profiles in History. Apr. 2009: 18.

APPENDIX G

"WHEN THAT GREAT SHIP WENT DOWN"

"WHEN THAT GREAT SHIP WENT DOWN"

It was on one Monday morning just about one o'clock
When that great Titanic began to reel and rock;
People began to scream and cry,
Saying, "Lord, am I going to die?"

[Chorus]

It was sad when that great ship went down,
It was sad when that great ship went down,
Husbands and wives and little children lost their lives,
It was sad when that great ship went down.
Then that ship left England it was making for the shore,
The rich had declared that they would not ride with the poor,
So they put the poor below,
They were the first to go.
While they were building they said what they would do,
We will build a ship that water can't go through;
But God with power in hand
Showed the world that it could not stand.
Those people on that ship were a long ways from home,
With friends all around they didn't know that the time had come;
Death came riding by,
Fifteen hundred had to die.
While Paul was sailing his men around,
God told him that not a man should drown;

If you trust and obey,
I will save you all to-day.
You know it must have been awful with those people on the sea,
They say that they were singing, "Nearer My God to Thee."
While some were homeward bound,
Fifteen hundred had to drown.

"The Great Titanic" ("When That Great Ship Went Down"). American Folk Song (c.1915). 02 Feb. 2008 <http://www.potw.org/archive/potw76.html>.

APPENDIX H

"DOWN ON PENNY'S FARM"

"DOWN ON PENNY'S FARM"

Come here ladies and gentlemen
Listen to my song
Play it to you right
But you may think it wrong
May make you mad
But I mean no harm
It's just about the renters
On Penny's far
It's a hard time in the country
Down on Penny's farm
Go into the fields
And you work all day
Deep into the night
But you get no pay
Promise you some meat
Or a little bucket of lard
It's hard to make a living
On Penny's farm
It's a hard time in the country
Down on Penny's farm
Hear George Penny
He'll be coming into town
With a wagon load of peaches
Not a one of them sound
Gotta get his money
Gotta get a check
Pay you for a bushel
But you never get a peck

It's a hard time in the country
Down on Penny's farm
George Penny's renters
They be coming into town
With their hands in the pockets
And their heads hanging down
Go to the merchant
And the merchant he'll say,
"your mortgage it is due
And I'm looking for my pay"
It's a hard time in the country
Down on Penny's farm
Deep into his pocket
With a trembling hand,
"can't pay you what I owe
But I'll pay you what I can"
Down to the merchant
And the merchant makes a call
Put you on the chain gang
Don't pay at all
It's a hard time in the country
Down on Penny's farm

"Down on Penny's Farm." Natalie Merchant Lyrics, Perf. Bob Dylan. 18 Jan.2008 <http://www.azlyrics.com/lyrics/nataliemerchant/downonpennysfarm…>.

APPENDIX I

"BUDDY WON'T YOU ROLL DOWN THE LINE"

"BUDDY WON'T YOU ROLL DOWN THE LINE"

Way back yonder in Tennessee, they leased the convicts out
To work down in the coal mine, against Free Labor South
Free Labor rebelled against it; the struggle took its toll
But while the lease was in effect, you bet they got that coal!
Buddy, won't you roll down the line, roll down the line
Yonder comes my darlin' comin'down the line
Buddy, won't you roll down the line, roll down the line
Every Monday mornin' they made 'em rise and shine
March them down to Long Rock, said look down in that mine
March you down to Long Rock, say look down in that hole
The very last thing the captain says, "You better get your coal!"
Now the beans are all half-baked, the bread is not so well
The meat is all burnt up and the coffee black as heck
But when you get your work done, and you hear the call
You're gonna love it every bite, whether done or raw!
Now the banker is a hard man, one you all know well
If you don't get your work done, you bet he'll give you hallelujah!

Throw you in the stockade, and on the floor you fall
The next time that they call you, you bet you get your coal!

Macon, Uncle Dave. "Buddy Won't You Roll Down the Line." 1925. #79 Harry Smith Anthology. 09 Oct. 2008 <http://www.csufresno.edu/folklore/ballads/html>.

APPENDIX J

"BYE BYE BLACKBIRD"

"BYE BYE BLACKBIRD"

Right outside of my door
Blackbird, blackbird who do you sit and say
There's no sunshine in store
All thru the winter you hung around
Now I begin to feel homeward bound
Blackbird, blackbird gotta be on my way
Where there's sunshine galore
Pack up all my care and woe
Here I go, singing low
Bye bye blackbird
Where somebody waits for me
Sugar's sweet, so is she
Bye bye blackbird
No one here can love and understand me
Oh, what hard luck stories they all hand me
Make my bed and light the light
I'll arrive late tonight
Blackbird, bye bye

Dixon, Mort and Ray Henderson. "Bye Bye Blackbird." International Lyrics Playground, Andy & Spryte, 2004. 05 Jan. 2009 <http://lyricsplayground.com/arpna/songs/byebye>.

APPENDIX K

"MAGGIE'S FARM"

"MAGGIE'S FARM"

I ain't gonna work on Maggie's farm no more.
No, I ain't gonna work on Maggie's farm no more.
Well, I wake in the morning,
I got a head full of ideas
That are driving me insane.
It's a shame the way she makes me scrub the floor.
I ain't gonna work on Maggie's farm no more.
I ain't gonna work on Maggie's farm no more.
No, I ain't gonna work on Maggie's farm no more.
I ain't gonna work for Maggie's brother no more.
No, I ain't gonna work for Maggie's brother no more.
Well, he hands you a nickel,
He hands you a dime,
He asks you with a grin
If you're havin' a good time
Then he fines you every time you slam the door.
I ain't gonna work for Maggie's brother no more.
I ain't gonna work for Maggie's pa no more.
No, I ain't gonna work for Maggie's pa no more.
Well, he puts his cigar
Out in your face just for kicks.
His bedroom window
It is made of bricks.
The National Guard stands around his door.
Ah, I ain't gonna work for Maggie's pa no more.
I ain't gonna work for Maggie's ma no more.
No, I ain't gonna work for Maggie's ma no more.
Well, she talks to all the servants

About man and God and law.
Everybody says
She's the brains behind pa.
She's sixty-eight, but she says she's
Twenty-four.
Ain't gonna work for Maggie's ma no more.
Well, I try my best
To be just like I am,
But everybody wants you
To be just like them.
They sing while you slave and I just get bored.
I ain't gonna work on Maggie's farm no more

Dylan, Bob. "Maggie's Farm." Columbia 1965; renewed 1993. <http://www.bobdylan.com/songs/maggie.html>.

APPENDIX L

"ONLY A PAWN IN THEIR GAME"

"ONLY A PAWN IN THEIR GAME"

A bullet from the back of a bush took Medgar Evers' blood.
A finger fired the trigger to his name.
A handle hid out in the dark
A hand set the spark
Two eyes took the air
Behind a man's brain
But he can't be blamed
He's only a pawn in their game.
A South politician preaches to the poor white man,
"You got more than the blacks, don't complain.
You're better than them, you been born with white skin," they explain.
And the Negro's name
Is used it is plain
For the politician's gain
As he rises to fame
And the poor white remains
On the caboose of the train
But it ain't him to blame
He's only a pawn in their game.

Ostrem, Eyolf. Perf. Bob Dylan. "Only A Pawn in Their Game." The Times They Are A-changin'. Columbia, 1964. 27 Nov. 2005 <http:www.dylanchords.com/03_times/only_a_pawn_in/their/game>.

APPENDIX M

"THE BUTCHER'S BOY"

"THE BUTCHER'S BOY"

She went upstairs to make her bed
And not one word to her mother she said
Her mother she went upstairs too
Said, "Daughter, oh daughter, what troubles you?"
"Oh mother, oh mother, I cannot tell
That railroad boy I love so well
He's courted me my life away
And now at home he will not stay
There is a place in London town
Where that railroad boy goes and sits down
And he takes that strange girl on his knee
And he tells to her what he won't tell me."
Father he came in from work
He said, "Where's daughter, she looks so hurt"
He went upstairs to give her hope
But he found her hanging from a rope
He took his knife and cut her down
And in her bosom these words they found:
"Dig my grave both wide and deep
Put a marble slab at my head and feet
And over my bones put a snow white dove
So, this world can see that I died for love

Costello, Elvis. "The Butcher's Boy." Internet Archive. 28 Oct. 2006. 28 Dec. 2008 <http://www.archive.org/details/Butcher>.

APPENDIX N

"OMMIE WISE, PART 2 (WHAT LEWIS DID LAST…)"

"OMMIE WISE, PART 2 (WHAT LEWIS DID LAST…)"

The smoke from the battlefield drifted away
As Corporal J. Lewis deserted the fray
He ran from the bullets, evaded arrest
He told his companions I must get my rest
The faces of men I've dispatched in the fight
Their shades will approach me as I lie so still
They offer their hand but they wish me no ill
They're shaking their heads now at something they know
For there is another who still haunts me so
Her name was Naomi, her life it was brief
She was plain, she was homely and destined for grief
She coveted riches, believed in my prize
She fell to her end, in the water she lies
There were no farewell kisses, no tender embrace
She was guilty of something beyond avarice
She entered the waters and down she did flow
But they gathered her up and it troubles me so
It's not the account of her pitiful death
It's not her last pleading for her final breath
But when I consider how she once beseeched me
Her face has no features, her tongue has no speech
So I'm here to tell you what Lewis did last
Ahead of the firing squad and trumpet blast
He broke through the glass for a lock of her hair
He dug up her grave but the coffin was bare

Costello, Elvis. "Omie Wise Part 2 (What Lewis Did Last…)". Internet Archive. 2006. 15 Jan. 2009 <http://www.archive.org/details/Ommie>.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

"Anthology of American Folk Music." Smithsonian Folkways. Dir. Anthony Seeger. Jan. 2009 <http://www.folkways.si.edu/projects_initiatives/anthology.aspx>.

Burke, Kenneth. "A Rhetoric of Motives." Reading Rhetorical Theory. Ed. Stephen Dalphin. Orlando: Harcourt. 767-71.

Burke, Kenneth. "Audiovisual Rhetoric." Online posting. Joost G.2006. 19 Apr. 2009 <http//www.geschejoost.org/files/avr-paper.pdf>.

Contreras, Felix. "Library of Congress Unites Work of Alan Lomax." All Things Considered. NPR. 24 Mar. 2004 <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.pnp.story/2004>.

Costello, Elvis. "The Butcher's Boy." Internet Archive. 28 Oct. 2006. 28 Dec. 2008 <http://www.archive.org/details/Butcher>.

---. "Omie Wise Part 2 (What Lewis Did Last…)". Internet Archive. 2006. 15 Jan. 2009 <http://www.archive.org/details/Ommie>.

Dixon, Mort and Ray Henderson. "Bye Bye Blackbird." International Lyrics Playground, Andy & Spryte, 2004. 05 Jan. 2009 <http://lyricsplayground.com/arpna/songs/byebye>.

"Down on Penny's Farm." Natalie Merchant Lyrics, Perf. Bob Dylan. 18 Jan.2008 <http://www.azlyrics.com/lyrics/nataliemerchant/downon pennysfarm…>.

Dylan, Bob. "Maggie's Farm." Columbia 1965; renewed 1993. <http://www.bobdylan.com/songs/maggie.html>.

Edwards, Bob. "50 Years Later, Harry Smith's Music Collection Still Rings True." Morning Edition. NPR. 17 Jul. 2002. 10 Jan. 2009 <http://npr.org/programs/npr/morning/news>.

Friedman, Albert B. The Viking Book of Folk Ballads of the English-Speaking World. Ed. Albert B. Friedman. New York: Viking Press. 1956.

Grant, Rick Rev. Malachy McCourt's book of Danny Boy. "Danny Boy Explores an Enduring Irish Mystery". <http://www.thewildgeese.com/pages/dannyboy>.

Grummere, Francis B. The Popular Ballad. New York: Dover Publications. 1959.

Guest, Mingulay. "Peg and Awl." Mountain Music for Everyone: A Family Tradition. 21 Sep. 2004. 07 Mar. 2008 <http://www.playingbyear.com/songs/peg-and-awl>.

Hardin, James. "Alan Lomax's Legacy". (Symposium Celebrates Folklorist in Story and Song). The Library of Congress Mar. 2006. 5 Jun.2008 <http://www.loc.gov/loc/2006>.

Harrell, Kelly. (trad.) "My Name is John Johannah." Bob Dylan's Musical Roots. 23 Mar. 1927. 19 Feb. 2008 <http://www.bobdylanroots.com/myname.html>.

"Harry Smith (1923-1991)." Biography. Harry Smith Archives. <http://www.harrysmith.archives.com/bio/html>.

"Harry Smith: The Avant-Garde in the American Vernacular." Getty Press Release 4 Apr. 2001. Harry Smith Archives. <http//www.getty.edu/news/press/public/hsmith.html>.

"Harry Smith Tribute." The Harry Smith Project. Anthology of American Folk Music Revisited (liner notes) Aug 1997 <http://www.furious.com/PERFECT/harrysmith.html>.

"History of Irish Diaspora." YourIrish.com. 2008. 17 Jul. 2009 <http://www.yourirish.com-diaspora-history>.

Hodgart, M.J.C. The Ballads. New York: Norton & Co. 1962.

Krawitz, Herman E, President. "Brother, Can You Spare a Dime? American Song During The Great Depression." New World Records. Retrieved 10 Apr. 2009 <http://www.newworldrecords.org/linernotes/80270.pdf>.

Lofgren, Lyle. "Bandit Cole Younger [Laws E3]." Sept. 2007. 26 Feb. 2008 <http://www.lizlyle.lofgrens.org/RmOlSngs/RTOS-ColeYounger.html>.

Macon, Uncle Dave. "Buddy Won't You Roll Down the Line." 1925. #79 Harry Smith Anthology. 09 Oct. 2008 <http://www.csufresno.edu/folklore/ballads/html>.

Maestri, Cathy. "Hary Smith's legacy alive and well: Artists line up to salute the eccentric man who infuenced peformers around the world." Press Enterprise 20 Apr. 2001. 17 Oct. 2007 <http:infoweb…newsbank.com/iwsearch/we/InfoWeb/?p_theme=newcat&p_action=print…>.

Nash, Alanna. "Finding the Real John Henry." Rev. of Steel Drivin' Man. by Scott Reynolds Nelson. Profiles in History. Apr. 2009: 18.

"Newport Folk Festival" 26-28 July 1963 <http://www.punkhart.com/dylan/tapes/13-jul.html>.

Ostrem, Eyolf. Perf. Bob Dylan. "Only A Pawn in Their Game." The Times They Are A-changin'. Columbia, 1964. 27 Nov. 2005 <http:www.dylanchords.com/03_times/only_a_pawn_in/their/game>.

Padgett, John B. "Medgar Evers". The Mississippi Writers Page. 1963. 27 Nov. 2005 <http://www.olemiss.edu/depts/english/mswriters/dir/evers_medgar/>.

"Poor Pat Must Emigrate: 19th C. Irish Immigration Introduction." Historical Society of Pennsylvania Database. (Pennsylvania Ethnic History). Retrieved 18 Mar. 2008 <http://www.hsp.org/default.aspx?=448>.

Ruehl, Kim. "Biography and Profile of Folklorist John Lomax". Folk Music Newsletter. About.com Folk Music. Retrieved 08 July 2008 <http://folkmusic.about.com/od/artistskr/p/John Lomax.html>.

Shuster, Fred. "A Man Named Harry Smith". Daily News of Los Angeles. 20 Apr. 2001 <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/iwsearch/we/InfoWeb/?_theme=newcat&p_action=print....>.

Stambler, Irwin and Grelun Landon. The Encyclopedia of Folk, Counry and Western Music. New York: St. Martin's, 1969.

"The Great Titanic" ("When That Great Ship Went Down"). American Folk Song (c.1915). 02 Feb. 2008 <http://www.potw.org/archive/potw76.html>.

Waltz, Bob. "Barbara Allen." Remembering the Old Songs. Mar. 1996. <http://www.lizlyle.lofgrens.org/RmOlsngs/RTOS-BarbaraAllen.html>.

---. "Omie Wise." Remembering the Old Songs. Aug. 2000. 01 May 2009 <www.lizlyle.lofgrens.org/RM01/Songs-Omie.Wise.html>.

Wener, Ben. "He was their folk hero." Orange County Register (Santa Ana, CA Edition). 24 Apr, 2001 <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/iwsearch/we/InfoWeb/p_theme=newcat&p_action=print…>.