

FOLKWAYS RECORDS FH 5273

TIPPLE, LOOM & RAIL

SIDE A

- 1 A FACTORY GIRL
- 2 COAL CREEK TROUBLES
- 3 EDWARD LEWIS
- 4 COME ALL YOU COAL MINERS
- 5 THE MINER'S BLUES
- 6 HARLAN COUNTY BLUES
- 7 COTTON MILL BLUES
- 8 THE RECKLESS MOTORMAN

SIDE B

- 1 THE NEW MARKET WRECK
- 2 COTTON MILL COLIC
- 3 THE VIRGINIAN STRIKE OF '23
- 4 ROANE COUNTY STRIKE AT HARRIMAN, TENN.
- 5 THE HARD WORKING MINER
- 6 HARD TIMES IN THESE MINES
- 7 SPINNING ROOM BLUES
- 8 THE DEATH OF JOHN HENRY

cover design : A D Moore cover photo : John Carney

FOLKWAYS RECORDS FH 5273

©1966 by Folkways Records and Service Corp.

TIPPLE, LOOM & RAIL

FOLKWAYS RECORDS FH 5273

TIPPLE & RAIL

LOOM & RAIL

SONGS OF THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF THE SOUTH
sung and played by **MIKE SEEGER**

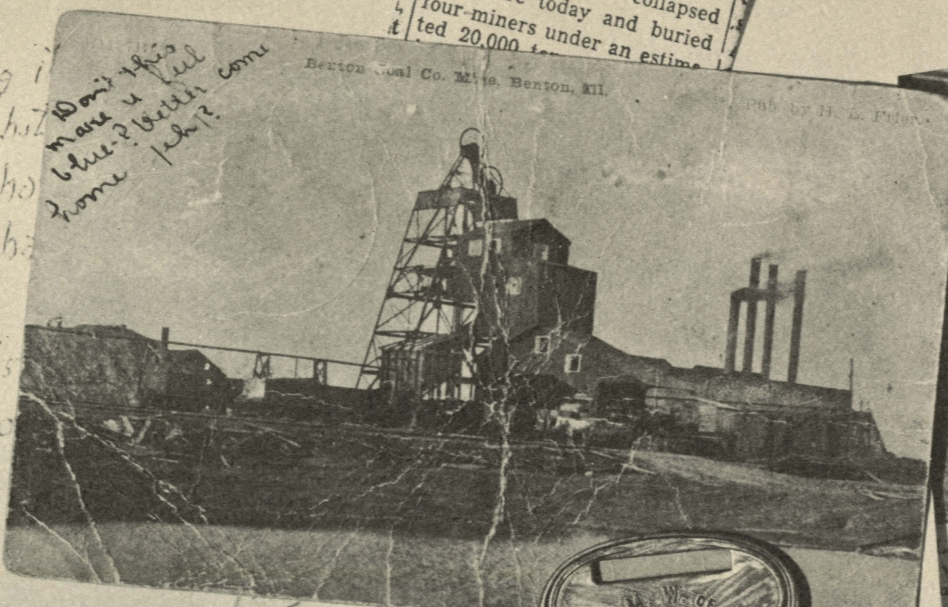
FH 5273

Revised by Nancy A. Dixon
Rearranged by Dorsey M. Dixon

Every morning just
It's got up children
It's hard times in th
It's hard times in t.

Sitting in
You hit
It's ho
It's ho

Ends
The o
It's
It's

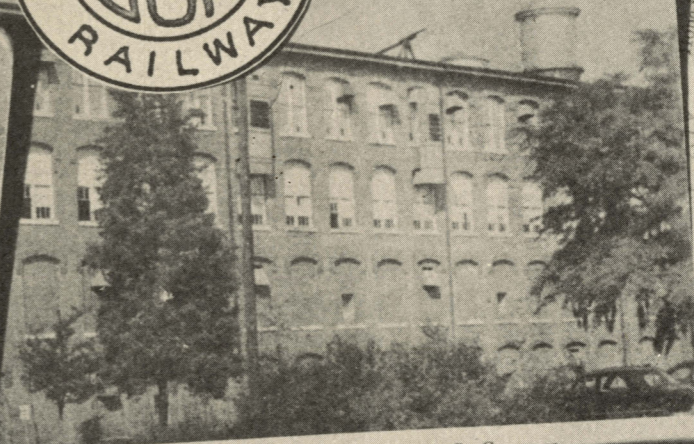


Coal Buries Miners; 2 Die
PIKEVILLE, Ky., July 23
—A coal tippie collapsed near here today and buried four miners under an estimated 20,000 tons of coal.

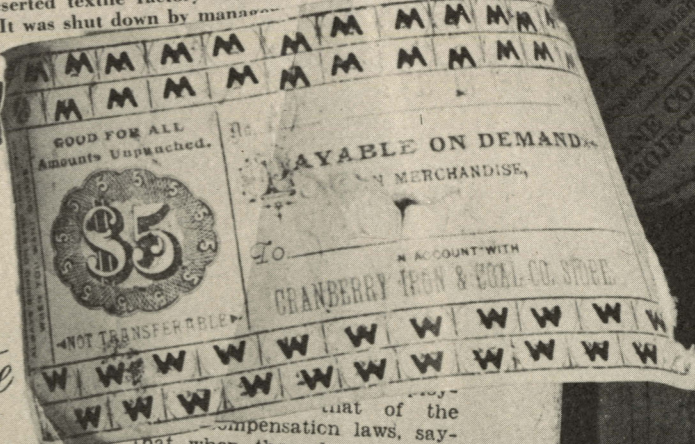
CLINCHFIELD RAILROAD



"Eagle Must Go!" Says Mrs Pinchot In Address Here



This deserted textile factory at Darlington, S. C., once workers. It was shut down by management.



...that of the
...compensation laws, say-
...force there were far fewer acci-
...the lockout to correct dangerous
...practices.



...they
...light,
...he told the
...government
...got a square
...his talk, he

ROANE COUNTY CANNING PROJECT IS PROGRESSING
...project for Roane
...T.E.R.A. program
...weaver

Southern Railway System
Washington 13, D.C.

FOLKWAYS RECORDS

notes by ARCHIE GREEN

TIPPLE, LOOM & RAIL



SONGS OF THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF THE SOUTH sung and played by **MIKE SEEGER**

When this project was first conceived, about 1963, it was to embrace songs that commented on the change from a primarily agrarian to an industrial South. This change was felt strongly by country musicians, and it revolutionized every aspect of their music.

When I asked Archie Green to write the notes for this album, he proposed limiting the subject to be covered to industrial songs alone, and gave help in choosing these pieces. He also suggested the title, Tipple Loom & Rail. This collaboration of academician and performer, which has been so rare (practically non-existent), has been both educative and enjoyable.

Mike Seeger

* * * * *

CREDITS

Sung and played by Mike Seeger, with occasional accompaniment by Marj Seeger and Tracy Schwarz

Recorded April, 1965, and edited by Mike Seeger
Nagra recorder courtesy Friends of Old Time Music, New York City; Sony condenser microphone courtesy Peter Siegel

Brochure coordination - Judy McCulloh
Introduction and notes - Archie Green
Photos - Robert Frank, Mike Seeger
Design - A. Doyle Moore

FOLKWAYS FH 5273

INDEX AND SOURCES

The specific source for each song is indicated. Unless otherwise noted the instruments listed are played by Mike Seeger. The code letters (TFS or CC) which follow each song reflect the distinction made in the notes between (1) traditional folk songs (evidence of movement and variation), and (2) songs of limited or no circulation (no evidence of life in tradition), such items being further identified by composer credit.

Side A

- 1) A Factory Girl (banjo)
TFS, source Nancy and Dorsey Dixon
- 2) Coal Creek Troubles (fiddle)
TFS, source Jilson Setters
- 3) Edward Lewis (banjo)
CC Jack Hartley text and Doc Hoppas tune, source Doc Hoppas
- 4) Come All You Coal Miners (unaccompanied)
CC Sarah Ogan Gunning, source Sarah Ogan Gunning
- 5) The Miner's Blues (guitar)
TFS, source Frank Hutchison
- 6) Harlan County Blues (guitar)
CC George Davis, source George Davis
- 7) Cotton Mill Blues (lead guitar, Mike Seeger; second guitar, Tracy Schwarz; autoharp, Marj Seeger)
TFS, source Lee Brothers
- 8) The Reckless Motorman (vocal duet with Tracy Schwarz; instruments as for Band 7)
TFS (but known composer--Orville Jenks), source The Carter Family

Side B

- 1) The New Market Wreck (vocal duet with Tracy Schwarz; instruments as for Side A, Band 7)
TFS, source George Reneau and Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Baker
- 2) Cotton Mill Colic (guitar and harmonica)
TFS (but known composer--David McCarn), source David McCarn
- 3) The Virginian Strike of '23 (guitar and harmonica)
CC Roy Harvey, source Roy Harper and Earl Shirkey
- 4) Roane County Strike at Harriman, Tennessee (guitar)
CC Hershel Phillips, source Henry Garrett
- 5) The Hard Working Miner (fiddle)
TFS, source James Howard
- 6) Hard Times in These Mines (banjo)
TFS, source Findley Donaldson
- 7) Spinning Room Blues (guitar and harmonica)
CC Dorsey Dixon, source Dixon Brothers
- 8) The Death of John Henry (banjo, Mike Seeger; guitar, Tracy Schwarz)
TFS, source Uncle Dave Macon

TIPPLE, LOOM & RAIL

Southern writers--poets and novelists as well as historians and sociologists--have never agreed on the merits of industrialization for their region. Some have viewed the machine as a monster destroying both sylvan beauty and humanistic culture, while others have seen this same power-driven construct as a liberating force freeing the South from its dependence on the soil. Was the railway engine a juggernaut as it charged through loamy fields, or did it really trumpet salvation with every mile of new track laid? Did the textile loom's clatter tell of exploitation and poverty or of reconstruction and progress? Do auger and tiddle despoil a land or bring wealth and comfort to a people?

Alternative responses to these queries are found in print from Colonial times to the present day and make fascinating reading, for the dialogue between agrarians and industrialists is built into Southern life. It is not unusual in this present decade to find sophisticated journals which carry nostalgic fiction on the old South's values adjacent to slick advertisements extolling Arkansas' or Alabama's contemporary technological skill. In spite of the seeming gulf between old and new, both sets of partisans have learned to live with the machine. Contrary to hopes and fears, the industrial revolution has left the South neither Hades nor Eden.

In a sense, the luxury of intellectual discourse on the thrust of mechanization was reserved for academicians and essayists, chiefly at Vanderbilt and Chapel Hill. The folk itself, which made the hard transition from farm to factory, had little choice but to climb from worn fields, tenantry, share cropping, or hidden agricultural unemployment into the mine mouth, mill gate, or railroad yard. The lash of poverty, coupled with a revolution in farm techniques, provided plenty of "cheap, contented" labor for new employers. And regardless of significant differences in wages between Southern and Northern industry, a Southern farm worker improved his personal economic position when he became an industrial worker.

Formal histories of Southern industrialization are abundant and dramatic. Such annals underscore the novel's and the short story's statement of trauma and triumph. However, we lack a chronicle of recorded oral literature to document the Southern folk's personal response to industrialization. What went on in a field hand's mind when he turned himself into a millhand? How did a mountain boy feel when he exchanged his squirrel rifle for a pick and shovel? Did tunnel drilling seem dramatic or exciting to the diggers of the Big Bend? Could "gandydancers," "slatepickers," or "lintheads" take pleasure in the strange nomenclature of their new crafts?

While it is axiomatic that folklore portrays folk life, not all folksong collections reveal a full array of folk values. Very sadly, standard American folksong collections are not good guides to the attitudes of Southern workers towards the industrial process which engulfed them. The best of American state compilations is The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore (7 volumes, 1954-1962). In spite of the fact that the Tar Heel state's leading industry is textiles, Brown and his fellows seemingly netted no mill songs (or rejected such items if indeed they found any). Similarly, in West Virginia, John Harrington Cox gathered a magnificent harvest and treated his finds with unparalleled headnotes in Folk Songs of the South (1925). Even though Cox could not have wandered throughout his state without encountering mines and miners everywhere, he did not find (or use) a single coal song for his book.

There is no point in belaboring the obvious. If one wishes to hear the ballads and lyric commentaries on industrialization composed and sung by Southern workers, one goes to works other than those by Sharp, Brown, Cox, and their peers. A few collections are of special value (George Korson, John and Alan Lomax, James Taylor Adams, and others), but the best single source for Southern industrial folksong is the corpus of phonograph records recorded after 1923 by the hillbilly music industry and in addition after 1933 by the Library of Congress. It is from this body of material that Mike Seeger has selected 16 documents to be placed alongside Vanderbilt poetry and University of North Carolina monographs. It is in such songs that we must seek to answer the question of whether the Southern worker perceives the machine to be a god or bad friend. To the extent that the folk assumed the role of commentator on "The New South's" growth and change, much wisdom is found in its own poetry:

I'm a-gonna starve, everybody will,
Cause you can't make a livin' at a cotton
mill.

While he was working for those whom he
loved,
He met a sad fate from a boulder above.

In other states they work free labor.
Why not in Tennessee?

It must be said at once that not all the songs presented on this album are folksongs, in that not all of them entered tradition. The notes below will indicate which items had a full or partial life in tradition and which did not. But it must be stressed that even those of Mike Seeger's choices which are not folksongs came to him from field and commercial recordings by traditional folksingers. The origin of some of his numbers is forever lost in the past; others come from the lips of known and still-living composers. More important than the problem of status for any given song is the set of ideas revealed in each piece and the configuration of values developed by this album's particular grouping.

Mike Seeger offers a sample of Southern mountain songs from 1880-1940 (although one piece has late 18th century and another early 19th century ancestors). His time span is six decades; his geography concentrates on the triangle roughly bounded by Atlanta, Roanoke, and Knoxville; his singers are white, although a few reveal strong blues influence; his style is variously labeled: hillbilly, country, old time. Yet such limits of time, place, and style can also be applied to many other current record albums, which may present murder ballads, love songs, social frolics, or general folksongs.

The unique feature of Tipple, Loom & Rail is its concentration on songs of the three industries symbolized by this title. Excluded are logging, rafting, sawmilling, and woodworking, although many mountain hunters and trappers first worked "for gain" in their native forests. Similarly, metal mining and metal fabricating are not represented on this album, although the accident of geography frequently determined whether a youth entered a cotton or steel mill. Even within the special frame of railroading, textiles, and coal mining, the songs display a variety of trade positions, from that of the highly skilled and "aristocratic" locomotive engineer to spinning girls and bobbin boys too little to reach their machines. Naturally, some of these numbers are indigenous union songs, for many Southern workers could, and did, look beyond the mill's barbed-wire fence or the company town's store to a new way of life.

Stated values and postures are readily found in the content of specific industrial songs. Beyond such social or ideological messages, the pieces chosen by Mike Seeger include some fine examples of American folk poetry. We have just begun to explore country musical style but have not yet touched this genre's rhetoric, structure, or grammar, except for a few generalizations on understatement or banality. The listener to Tipple, Loom & Rail will find many of the commonplaces and devices of folk poetry; he will also find unusual figures and patterns used to convey trenchant humor or heart-rending despair by workers seemingly unaware of their poetic skill. The spectrum of literary style in these 16 songs varies as greatly as the musical style; this range of esthetic elements is broader than the array of topics found in the individual songs.

Tipple, Loom & Rail portrays more than three basic industries or the expressive forms utilized by their workers; it also displays beliefs and moods clustered in a people recently removed from the hoe and the axe. Not surprisingly, the themes revealed are close to those stated in the oral literature of other American workers: protest or affirmation; rebellion or resignation; escape from drudgery via fantasy or ready accommodation to routines; fervent acceptance or deep mistrust of labor unionism; and above all, a constant attempt to fend off daily job harassment. Each song--even those of bitter lament--illuminates a tremendous capacity for life. This capacity for endurance, straight out of William Faulkner's realm, is found in every piece of this disc, not because Mike Seeger looked for such songs, but rather because Southern workers could not afford to give in to Satan or Caliban (except figuratively) while they were lifting themselves and their region from bondage. The temptation and pressure to reject factory life or to leave the mine dungeon was always present, but there was no turning backwards when a constant supply of surplus labor on the soil threatened the security of every toiler. More likely than a rejection of factory ways was a trip North in search of a more intense industrial experience (and higher wages) in auto, steel, rubber, and chemical combines. (We have yet to explore the folklore of mountain workers in Indianapolis, Akron, or Detroit to the degree that we have covered the Blue Ridge and Great Smokey ranges.)

Normally, a Southern industrial worker's status is defined by his basic occupational pattern, although it is not unusual for such a person to describe himself in rural or country terms. Folklorists are quick to point out the lasting power of traditional language and mores among new factory people or recent converts to urban living. There is one particular industrial artifact which is potentially useful to students of society in transition: the phonograph. (I use the word broadly to denote a mechanism which both records sound and plays records.) The phonograph not only conserved the most traditional songs and styles, but also broke down time-tested traditions. That is probably why folklorists as well as other scholars are ambivalent about phonograph records.

Attention to the phonograph as a consumption symbol has blurred its function as an industrial tool. Reporters on coal-camp life in the 1920's frequently were directly hostile to the talking machine, especially when poor miners purchased Victrolas or silk shirts. More recent criticism is directed against TV sets in destitute mine communities. But hillbilly discs belong to the giant music-entertainment industry as much as to country folk. Something of this dual property can be illustrated by a comment on the late Frank Hutchison, a superb guitarist/folksinger from Logan County, West Virginia. We know far too little about him except that he labored in one type of a below-ground factory hewn out of rock and coal, and that between 1926 and 1929 he "worked" briefly in another "factory"--an Okeh recording studio.

We cannot reconstruct how he perceived this latter activity. Even though he was paid a nominal sum to sing and play his pieces, perhaps recording did not seem to him like work at all. He left no written document to tell whether he labeled himself a miner or a musician. But because he was used by the commercial music business and accommodated himself to it, Mike Seeger can sing and perpetuate a Frank Hutchison statement, "Miner's Blues," more durable than the coal Hutchison mined in his lifetime. In a real sense Tipple, Loom & Rail speaks of three industries with the voice of a fourth.

Before turning to comments on individual songs, to analogs or tune families, and to the biographical/discographical apparatus (now standard for "serious" record albums), it might be well to share with the readers of this brochure something of Mike Seeger's and my involvement in traditional "topical" songs. His affection for old time music led him, since 1950, to listen to thousands of country songs on tape and disc. From this field, he chose a few hundred which he has performed alone and with the New Lost City Ramblers in concert and on record. Although two NLCR albums are thematic (depression and prohibition), none of Mike Seeger's solo albums are marked by special motif. Hence, in Tipple, Loom & Rail he reveals both a personal esthetic response to old time music and an intellectual response to the particular way in which certain singers/composers expressed ideas about their culture. In no case did he select a song for message or creed above its beauty to him. In talking to Mike Seeger during the last decade (in our respective homes, on trips, and before and after concerts), I have always known that I liked the same kind of music that he did, but only as a listener, since I neither play nor sing. I find the 16 songs on this album pleasurable, humorous, and sad--in short, capsules of emotion as well as economic and social documents. My purpose in the notes below is to combine my emotional response to the music with some formal data from American studies and folklore in order to add a dimension of understanding to Mike Seeger's sensitive and exciting performance.

NOTE

The song texts are transcribed by Mike Seeger; the footnotes are mine. For many years a number of friends have helped me gather material on industrial folklore and I am in their favor. A draft copy of this brochure was read by Ed Kahn, Judy McCulloh, and Mike Seeger, who offered needed criticism. For each note I have kept bibliographical references scant, since a single, selective bibliography follows. Discographical references follow the individual songs. Persons who wish to go beyond my references will find useful: Robert F. Munn, The Southern Appalachians: A Bibliography and Guide to Studies, Morgantown, West Virginia University Library, 1961.

A FACTORY GIRL

While some industrial songs descend from pre-Industrial Revolution pieces in Europe and America, and while others are as recent as the power generated by Tennessee Valley Authority plants, this South Carolina "Factory Girl" can be traced directly to an undated Massachusetts broadside which commented on textile mill life in the 1830's. It may well have been sung at such an early era; our first actual reference to it as a song (rather than in print) is 1861. By the turn of the century it was carried at least as far as Maine, South Carolina, and Texas. A northern version, "The Factory Girl's Come-Ail-Ye" (Barry), was recently recorded by Hedy West. The Texas version (Lomax, JAF and ABFS) encountered in 1909 is sung by John Lomax, Jr. and Alan Lomax, respectively, on LP albums. It has also been printed in *Sing Out* (Fall, 1959). Two traditional singers, Nancy Dixon and Dorsey Dixon, each recorded slightly different forms of "Factory Girl" for Gene Earle and me in 1962 (Nancy's unaccompanied and Dorsey's with guitar). Mike Seeger combines their versions and sets his to a banjo. Nancy's, though only three stanzas long, is highly important in that she dates it to her entrance into a Darlington, South Carolina, mill about 1898. The fragmentary nature of her song is seen by comparing it to "The Lowell Factory Girl," an 18-stanza broadside reprinted by John Greenway from a Brown University original. The Brown Library also holds a 15-stanza related piece. New England textile literature probably includes different printings of "A Factory Girl" under various titles. Especially valuable today would be the recovery of additional text-tunes from traditional singers, as well as a study comparing this piece to the current Irish "Factory Girl" (sung by Margaret Barry, Peg Clancy Power, and others).

Yonder stands that spinning room boss,
He looks so fair and stout.
I hope he'll marry a factory girl
Before this year goes out.

Pity me all day, pity me I pray,
Pity me, my darling, and take me far away.

I'll bid you factory girls farewell,
Come see me if you can.
For I'm a-gonna quit this factory work
And marry a nice young man.

Pity me all day, pity me I pray,
Pity me, my darling, and carry me far away.

No more I'll hear that whistle blow,
The sound of it I hate.
No more I'll hear that boss man say,
"Young girl, you are too late."

Pity me all day, pity me I pray,
Pity me, my darling, and take me far away.

No more I'll hear this roaring,
This roaring over my head,
While you poor girls are hard at work
And I'll be home in bed.

Pity me all day, pity me I pray,
Pity me, my darling, and take me far away.

Dorsey Dixon, Nancy Dixon, *Babies in the Mill*, Testament T 3301.

Alan Lomax, *The Ballad Hunter: Part III*, Library of Congress AFS L 50.

John Lomax Jr., *American Folksongs*, Folkways FG 3508.

Hedy West, *Volume 2*, Vanguard VRS 9162.

COAL CREEK TROUBLES

Coal Creek, Tennessee, is a still-vivid name on America's folklore map, although the town was renamed Lake City after the TVA's Norris Dam was constructed. A cycle of lyric folksongs and ballads commemorate both nature's calamities and the man-made strife which erupted in the mountain community between 1891-1911. On Bastille Day, July 14, 1891, some 500 union members stormed the prison mines of the Tennessee Coal, Iron, and Railroad Company to free the state convicts leased to private operators. Warfare continued for two years and spread to nearby counties; though the militia repelled the workers, the convict lease system was soon terminated. The history of the Coal Creek Rebellion is available in various academic studies, as well as in popular accounts by George Korson and by Philip Foner. In addition, the event was compressed into a dramatic ballad while the Rebellion was still in a shooting stage.

The fullest version of "Coal Creek Troubles" was collected in 1937 from blind fiddler "Jilson Setters" by John Lomax, when the collector visited Jean Thomas (The Traipsin' Woman) at Ashland, Kentucky; the ballad was published by her in 1939. Miss Thomas gave fiddler James William Day his romantic name and placed his songs and life story in several of her books. Mike Seeger's source is Setters' Library of Congress field recording. This ballad's history--as well as that of several related hillbilly numbers by Uncle Dave Macon and the Allen Brothers--has not yet been pieced together. About 1939 the Federal Music Project issued *Folk Songs from East Kentucky*, in which the music was transcribed for "Coal Creek Troubles." No credit was given to a singer or collector; only the place of collection, Rowan County, was indicated. This version may be Setters', for Miss Thomas identifies the fiddler as a Rowan resident and as the author of "The Rowan County Crew" (Laws E 20). In 1943 Korson printed the text of a three-stanza fragment of "The Coal Creek Rebellion" which he collected from a Briceville, Tennessee, miner; the Library of Congress holds a valuable "Coal Creek War" field recording in which G. D. Vowell dates the song to a labor union picnic held at the time of the conflict. These two pieces are short portions of Setters' long ballad. Miss Thomas indicated (in correspondence to me) that Setters composed "Coal Creek Troubles" but no real evidence is offered. The melody used by Setters and by Vowell is also associated with the ballad "Charles Guiteau" (President Garfield's killer) and the more recent country song "Jimmie Brown the Newsboy."

My song is founded on the truth,
In poverty we stand.
How hard the millionaire will crush
Upon the laboring man.
The miner's toiling underground
To earn his daily bread,
To clothe his wife and children
And see that they are fed.

Some are from Kentucky,
The place known as my birth,
As true and honest-hearted men
As ever trod the earth.
The Governor sent the convicts here
And works them in the bank;
The captain and his soldiers
Are leading by in rank.

Although the mines are guarded,
The miners true and fair
They mean to deal out justice,
"A living," they declare.
The corruption of Buchanan
Brought the convicts here
Just to please the rich man
And take the miner's share.

The miners acted manly
When they turned the convicts loose.
You see, they did not kill them
And give them no abuse.
But when they brought the convicts here
They boldly marched them forward.
The miners soon was gathered
And placed them under guard.

Soon the miners did agree
To let them take their place
And wait the legislature
To act upon the case.
The law had made no effort
To lend a helping hand,
To help the struggling miner
Or move the convict band.

Buchanan acted cruelly
To put them out to toil.
He says he has not room enough
For the convicts in the walls.
He has no law to work them,
Only in the pen.
Why should they be on public work,
To rob the laboring man?

I'm in sympathy with the miners,
As every one should be.
In other states they work free labor,
And why not Tennessee?
The miners true and generous
In many works and ways,
We all should treat them kindly,
Their platform we should praise.

The Lord in all His wisdom
Will lend a helping hand,
And if we hold out faithful
God will strive with man.
He gives us happy sunshine,
A great and glorious light.
He'll give us food and raiment,
If we only serve Him right.

Jilson Setters, "Coal Creek Troubles," Library of
Congress AFS 1017.

G. D. Vowell, "The Coal Creek War," Library of
Congress AFS 1381.

EDWARD LEWIS

Railroad songs cluster around three basic images:
1) the brave engineer (or related craftsman), 2) the
wreck, 3) the lonesome whistle which calls one to
escape--literally or figuratively. Within this triple-
pronged formula many good songs were composed; some
became folksongs.

"Edward Lewis" never "got away" from its composer
or first singer, and hence fails to meet at least one
basic criterion for folksong definition: movement in
time and place. Yet the Lewis tribute comes to us from
a traditional folksinger and is presented in traditional
Blue Ridge Mountain style. It would be difficult for a
listener to judge it as a "non-folksong" unless he knew
something of its history. It is not my purpose to deny
the song special status in these notes, for "Edward
Lewis" is as evocative a memorial to a worker as I
have ever heard. Its haunting melody seems to me to be
perfectly suited to the elegy.

Edward Lewis was the first engineer on the Clinch-
field Railroad to drive Engine 99. The Clinchfield runs
through the heart of the Southern Appalachians and is a
large coal carrier; an excellent study of its construc-
tion from Spartanburg, South Carolina, to Elkhorn,
Kentucky, was written by William Way: The Clinchfield
Line (1931). It is only natural for a railroad in
ballad country to inspire songs, and it was not long
after Engineer Lewis' death that this song appeared.
He died in 1935 and Number 99 carried his body from
Spruce Pine, North Carolina, into the beautiful
Nolichucky Valley. His tribute was recorded for the
Library of Congress in 1936 by one of his friends, Doc
Hoppas, a banjo player, spar miner, farmer, woodsman,
and barber from Estatoe (near Spruce Pine). We are in-
debted to Muriel Sheppard for Cabins in the Laurel, a
popular history of the Toe River Valley in the Blue
Ridge region. One of the book's story-tellers is Doc
Hoppas, who accompanied the Penland Weavers to the
Chicago Century of Progress Exposition (1933) to sing,
play his banjo, and spin tales at the Carolina Cabin.
The Hoppas disc was used in The Frank C. Brown Collec-
tion of North Carolina Folklore (Vol. IV), where its
music was transcribed by Professor Jan Schinhan. The
text was also printed (Vol. II) but apparently came
from a slip ballad or manuscript. Brown's notes credit
only the song's tune to Doc Hoppas; the text is attri-
buted to Jack Hartley (of whom I lack knowledge).

Mike Seeger first heard "Edward Lewis" while
swapping tapes with Jon Pankake in Minneapolis, January,
1963, and was captivated by the song's beauty. Since
the words were difficult to understand, Seeger visited
Spruce Pine in June, 1964, and met Hoppas' son-in-law
and daughter, Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Hoyle. They remembered
the funeral and helped Mike "translate" the field
recording, all three not knowing that the text and tune
were already available (Brown). Mike Seeger's involve-
ment in old time music can be measured by his esthetic
response to this elegy, his trip to North Carolina to
decipher the text, and his making it available to a new
audience far beyond Mount Mitchell's peak.

Oh, we hear a different signal
All up and down the Clinchfield line
Since the hand of Edward Lewis
Pulls no more old 99.

Oh, we miss him, yes we'll miss him
All up and down the Clinchfield line.
But we never more will call him back
To run old faithful 99.

Oh, he's gone into the station
At the end of life's long run,
Where there's joy and peace eternal,
And where the labor's all well done.

Up the Mulchukee Valley
And where the Linville River sweeps,
O'er the peaks of old Mount Mitchell
She vainly calls for him that sleeps.

But we'll miss him and we wonder
If he sees the Clinchfield Line,
If he hears the plaintive calling
Of the old engine 99.

Yes, we'll miss him, yes, we'll miss him
Up and down the Clinchfield Line.
Oh, he's gone into the station
Out beyond the twinkling stars,
Where there'll be no more worrying
Pulling trains and heavy cars.

Doc Hoppas, "A Tribute to Edward Lewis," Library of
Congress AFS 856.



Doc Hoppas & friends or family, before 1935

COME ALL YOU COAL MINERS

Sarah Ogan Gunning was born June 28, 1910, at Elys Branch, Knox County, Kentucky. Her father was a coal miner, union organizer, and Baptist minister; her brother Jim Garland and her half-sister Aunt Molly Jackson shared both her creativity as a composer and her folksong repertoire. Sarah married miner Andrew Ogan in 1926, and both lived through the terribly hard times in southeastern Kentucky at the depression's nadir. From her husband, her brother, and friends, Sarah absorbed the radical views of the National Miners Union--a left-wing rival to the United Mine Workers. During the New Deal period, the NMU could no longer maintain a sectarian or revolutionary position, and it disintegrated. Its stalwarts rejoined the UMW or left the coal fields. About 1935 the Ogan family moved to New York, where Andrew's mine-induced illness led to his death in 1938. (In brochure notes for Mrs. Gunning's Folk-Legacy album, I Am a Girl of Constant Sorrow, I have told her story in detail.)

"Come All You Coal Miners" is a bleak Appalachian commentary for 1931, but was actually written in New York about 1936 when Sarah's husband lay dying. Sarah did not think of it then as a polemical or protest song, but rather as a personal statement of her deepest feelings and sorrows. It does not seem to have been sung by anyone but Sarah after it was composed. She recalls being criticized for naming "the capitalist system"--a concept she understood but dimly at the time. The song's tension arises out of the use of a commonplace opening stanza which leads to a core of powerful, expository stanzas and a truncated but intense concluding half-stanza. The melody is one frequently used for "The Texas Rangers" (and was also used by Jim Garland for "The Death of Harry Simms" and by Sarah for "The Battle of Mill Spring"). Mike Seeger's version derives from Sarah's 1937 recording, supplemented by his own visit to Sarah in her Detroit home, March, 1965.

Come all you coal miners, wherever you may be,
And listen to the story that I relate to thee.
My name is nothing extra, but the truth to you I'll tell,
I am a coal miner's wife, I'm sure I wish you well.

I was born in old Kentucky, in the coal camp born and bred.
I know all about the pinto beans, bulldog gravy, and cornbread.
And I know how the coal miners work and slave in the coal mines every day
For a dollar in the company store, for that is all they pay.

Coal mining is the most dangerous work in our land today
With plenty of dirty slaving work but very little pay.
Coal miners, won't you wake up and open your eyes and see
What the dirty capitalist system is doing to you and me.

They take our very life blood, they take our children's lives,
Take fathers away from children and husbands away from wives.
Coal miners, won't you organize, wherever you may be,
And make this a land of freedom for workers like you and me.

Dear miners, they will slave you till you can't work no more.
And what will you get for your labor but a dollar in the company store?
A tumble-down shack to live in, snow and rain pouring through the top,
You'll have to pay the company rents, your payments never stop.

I am a coal miner's wife, I'm sure I wish you well.
Let's sink this capitalist system in the darkest pits of Hell.

Sarah Ogan, "Come All You Coal Miners," Library of Congress AFS 1944.

THE MINER'S BLUES

Folk music fans are intrigued by the circumstances of blues styles and songs crossing into white mountain tradition. An outstanding representative of the hybrid form was Frank Hutchison, a superb guitarist, moving singer, and the possessor of a fascinating repertoire. Between 1926 and 1929 he recorded nearly 40 pieces for the Okeh label and then vanished before any collector or folklorist learned his story. One clue to Hutchison's place of origin was his "Logan County Blues." On a West Virginia trip, August, 1964, in Switzer, Mike Seeger found fiddler Sherman Lawson, who had accompanied the guitarist at a New York recording session (1928). They were boyhood friends, and Lawson was able to sketch Hutchison's career. The latter was born April 20, 1897, near Fort Branch. About 1905 the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway reached the area and soon coal mines were opened. With the railroad construction gangs came Bill Hunt, a Negro cripple, who sang and played the guitar. From him young Frank learned the blues. Soon he became a miner; he entertained his fellows with dancing, comedy, and music. During World War II Hutchison moved to Dayton, Ohio, where he died on November 9, 1945. He is buried at Lake in his native region.

Coal tipples are constant symbols in mining folklore, for they are highly visible against the sky line of camps and patches. Their noise speaks employment; when quiet they are signs of doom. Tipples collapse and bury miners; conversely, miners have burned tipples in times of labor conflict. Since the tipple is the place where coal cars are unloaded and weighed, it is the specific site where the miner's sweat is translated into pay. Predictably, this construct gathers emotion to itself like a magnet.

"The Miner's Blues" is strung together out of stock blues images. Its origin is unknown, and it is not found in folksong collections. Therefore, in my discography below I depart from the format used for the other numbers on this album to point out what is (and is not) known to me about this song.

Ain't going to work on no tiple, ain't going to lay no track,
Ain't going to work on no tiple, ain't going to lay no track,
Going to hang around my shanty, do the ball and jack.

Daddy, daddy, what are you going to do,
Daddy, daddy, what are you going to do,
When sweet mama leaves you with those worried miner blues?

Trouble and blues, I've had them all my days,
Trouble and blues, I've had them all my days,
I believe that trouble and blues going to lead me to my grave.

If you don't believe I'm sinking, look what a hole I'm in,

If you don't believe I'm sinking, look what a hole I'm in,

If you don't believe I love you, look what a fool I've been.

- 1) Frank Hutchison, "The Miner's Blues," Okeh 45258
[W 4011127] recorded September 11, 1928, New York.
Vocal with guitar acc.

- 2) Allen Brothers (Austin and Lee), "The Tiple Blues,"
Victor 40003 [BVE 47168] recorded October 15,
1928, Atlanta; subsequently re-released on Blue-
bird 5104 and Sunrise 3187. Vocal with banjo,
guitar, kazoo acc.

- 3) Allen Brothers, "Tiple Blues," Vocalion 02891 [16047]
recorded October 6, 1934. (I have never heard
this record but assume it to be the same as the
Victor item.)

NOTE: On April 7, 1927, the Allens recorded a "Coal
Mine Blues" for Columbia which was never
released. Possibly it was their tiple song.

- 4) Doc Roberts Trio (James Roberts, Asa Martin, Ted
Chestnut), "Coal Tipple Blues," Banner 3342,
Conqueror 8510, Melotone 13209, Oriole 8392,
Perfect 13073, Romeo 5392 [15749] recorded
1935.
- 5) Johnny Duschel, "The Tiple Rag," Crystal 269,
recorded 1948. (I have never heard this record.)
- 6) Jolly Joe and His Jug Band, "Coal Tipple Blues,"
Piedmont PLP 13160. An instrumental released
on a 1964 LP.

HARLAN COUNTY BLUES

Not all white or mountain blues are in classic blues form. George Davis' "Harlan County Blues" is a loose, episodic account of a single event in the United Mine Workers organizational drive in southeastern Kentucky during the 1930's. In contrast to much Harlan lore, which focused on intransigence and bloodshed, this blues is humorous. The song was actually written underground while its mine-pumper author had a moment of leisure at work: "My desk was an old powder box and the light came from my own carbide lamp." George Korson collected it from Davis in 1940 and soon printed it in Coal Dust on the Fiddle. During 1942, Ruth Crawford Seeger transcribed 13 songs for this book, including Davis' piece. Her son Mike, as a youngster, played the paper transcription discs which Korson supplied to Mrs. Seeger from field recordings. He was intrigued by the unusual quality of "Harlan County Blues," but it was beyond his musical skill at that time. He did not master the song until the summer of 1964, when he began to record Tipple, Loom & Rail.

In the summer of 1965 the Library of Congress issued the album Songs and Ballads of the Bituminous Miners, edited by Korson, which included Davis' "Harlan County Blues." Hence listeners may make an aural comparison of a Seeger interpretation set against its model. The technical complexity of the music was commented on by Mrs. Seeger when she prepared two notations of "Harlan County Blues" for Korson's book. One notation was simplified; the second (more detailed) gave "a better idea of the manner in which the song is sung."

A bunch of fellers the other day
Over to Harlan went.
They told me about the fun they had,
All the time in jail they spent.

Most of the fellers were like me,
Who didn't go along.
If you want the story, boys,
Just listen to this song.

You didn't have to be drunk, they said,
To get thrown in the can,
The only thing you needed be
Was just a union man.

None of the boys didn't like it much,
Said they was treated bad.
They took their knives, their pocket books,
Or anything they had.

Threw Bill Wheeler in the can
With all his poison gasses.
He had no money to pay a fine
So they just took his glasses.

Then Kelly said, "You can't do this to me,"
When they come to get his name.
"The hell they can't," the jailer said,
"You're in here just the same."

Walter he's a funny chap,
With me you'll all agree.
He wants someone to hold to him
When he gets on a spree.

Delmos he went down the street,
To a restaurant was bent,
When two fellers picked him up
And to the jail he went.

Put Bill Sheets in the jail house
For reckless walking, so they say.
They can't hold old Bill for that
Cause he always walks that way.

Sam Ward went to the jailhouse
And the jailer twirled his keys.
Sam said, "Mr. Jailer,
Now won't you listen, please."

Everything grew quiet, boys,
You couldn't hear a sound.
"Turn 'em out," Sam Ward said,
"Or I'll turn this jail around."

When they all was free again
You could hear them all take on:
"Just think of the fun that we'd 'a' missed
If we hadn't come along."

Then our president he asked our vice,
"How'd you get along so well?"
And Taylor Cornett laughed and said,
"Why I was drunk as hell."

Lloyd Baker went over there,
To dodge the jail he did,
He said they'd all stayed out of jail
If they'd kept their buttons hid.

Now my song is ended
And I hope no-one is sore.
If there is then please speak up
And I won't sing no more.

George Davis, Songs and Ballads of the Bituminous Miners,
Library of Congress AFS L 60.

COTTON MILL BLUES

"Cotton Mill Blues" is a twig on the multi-branched tree "Hard Times," whose roots go to a family of English 18th century satiric broadsides. One British form of this piece which ridiculed various callings was titled "Chapter of Cheats: Or, the Roguery of All Trades." The song reached America as early as the Revolution and is preserved on at least three colonial broadsides printed between 1770-1810. During the 19th century the song spread widely among American singers and was also frequently printed in pocket songsters. As it proliferated it was recomposed and localized into a courting ballad (Laws H 25) as well as jail, farm, mine, mill, or local history folksongs.

Obviously, a full study of "Hard Times" is needed. Here I shall comment only on the textile numbers. Nancy Dixon learned a "Spinning Room Song" about 1898 in Darlington, South Carolina; her version (recorded in 1962) is the earliest hard-times-in-the-mill item of which we have knowledge. A parallel song, collected by William Wolff in 1939, was placed in Columbia, South Carolina, about 1900. This Wolff find, in turn, was mimeographed in two union songsters at the Highlander School and Southern School for Workers. It was also recorded by Pete Seeger, John Greenway, and Joe Glazer. Well before these albums appeared, the textile hard times number was recorded by several hillbilly singers. Mike Seeger's source for "Cotton Mill Blues" is a Lee Brothers Trio (two guitars and autoharp) disc recorded in Atlanta, in December, 1930. Neither Mike nor I know anything about the Trio. Something of this song's durability is illustrated by Hedy West's recent "Cotton Mill Girls." She learned the barlow-knife opening stanza from her great aunt Mae West, and built this traditional "Hard Times" fragment into a now-popular "revival song."

Work in the cotton mill all my life,
I ain't got nothing but a barlow knife.

And it's hard times in this old mill,
And it's hard times in here.

Country folks they ought to be killed
For leaving their farms and coming to the mill.

And it's hard times in this old mill,
And it's hard times in here.

They raised their wages up a half a cent,
But the poor old hands didn't know what it meant.

And it's hard times in this old mill,
And it's hard times in here.

They raised their wages up a half a cent more,
But they went up a dime at the company store.

And it's hard times in this old mill,
And it's hard times in here.

Old man Jones taking up cards,
He won't give you half that you take off.

And it's hard times in this old mill,
And it's hard times in here.

If you lack one yard of being two cuts to roll,
He won't give you one but to save your soul.

And it's hard times in this old mill,
And it's hard times in here.

Card room kids and the spinning room babies
Can't keep up with the weave shop ladies.

And it's hard times in this old mill,
And it's hard times in here.

Come down stairs to get a drink of water,
Along come the boss, says, "I'll dock you a quarter."

And it's hard times in this old mill,
And it's hard times in here.

You can dock me a quarter, you can dock me a dime,
I'll go to the office and I'll get my time.

And it's hard times in this old mill,
And it's hard times in here.

Cut for an hour, you can't show a dime,
They're running on such short time.

And it's hard times in this old mill,
And it's hard times in here.

My, oh my, I'll marry a weaver,
If she don't work then I won't neither.

And it's hard times in this old mill,
And it's hard times in here.

Working in the cotton mill ain't no harm,
I'd heap rather be down on the farm.

And it's hard times in this old mill,
And it's hard times in here.

See that train go around the curve,
She's loaded down with cotton mill girls.

And it's hard times in this old mill,
And it's hard times in here.

See that train going down the track,
Saying, "Good bye, boys, we'll never come back."

And it's hard times in this old mill,
And it's hard times in here.

Dorsey Dixon; Nancy Dixon, Babies in the Mill, Testament
T 3301.

Joe Glazer, Songs of Work and Freedom, Washington WR 460.

John Greenway, American Industrial Folksongs, Riverside
RLP 607.

Lee Brothers Trio, "Cotton Mill Blues," Brunswick 501.

Pete Seeger, American Industrial Ballads, Folkways
FH 5251.

Lester Smallwood, "Cotton Mill Girl," Victor 40181.

Hedy West, Hedy West, Vanguard VRS 9124.

THE RECKLESS MOTORMAN

"The Reckless Motorman" (under various titles) was collected by two sets of searchers: folklorists and country musicians. Yet nowhere have these parties recognized each other's contributions to fill in this ballad's history. George Korson found the song three times in the spring of 1940 (Virginia and West Virginia) and on May 29, 1940, had the pleasure of hearing it from its composer, Orville Jenks, at Welch, West Virginia. It was soon printed in Coal Dust on the Fiddle with Jenks' dramatic account of the song's origin, and with music transcribed by Ruth Crawford Seeger. Mike learned the song as a youngster in part from the transcription disc used by his mother. In 1965 Korson included Jenks' "The Dying Mine Brakeman" in the Library of Congress bituminous mine-song album with a fine headnote on the circumstance of composition, but no attempt to relate the piece to its models and relatives.

Several years before Korson met Jenks, A. P. Carter, assisted by his wife Sarah and sister-in-law Maybelle, collected a number of songs in southwestern Virginia (Big Stone Gap, Wise, St. Charles, Norton, Pennington Gap). Maybelle Carter recalls that "A.P." was looking for songs he could "work up." She does not remember who taught them "The Reckless Motorman" but stated (to me) that she and Sarah "caught" the music after hearing the song a few times. They wrote the words down for safe keeping and on June 8, 1938, recorded the song for Decca in New York. I cannot date precisely when the Carters found "The Reckless Motorman," but it was in 1937 or early 1938. I do know that Alan and Elizabeth Lomax collected it in Kentucky twice during 1937, and that Herbert Halpert found it in 1939 in West Virginia. Curiously, Halpert collected it from two of Maybelle Carter's distant relatives. Hence, we have eight versions of the song collected in less than four years time in a contiguous area. Laws included "The Dying Mine Brakeman" in Native American Balladry (G 11), but did not have available to him all the data presented here. Laws relates the mining song to its probable model, "The True and Trembling Brakeman," a railroad number with a sufficiently complex history of its own. However, he does not include this latter piece in his syllabus (NAB). A good text of "The True and Trembling Brakeman" is found in Vance Randolph's Ozark Folksongs, and its music is transcribed from a hill-billy record for The New Lost City Ramblers Song Book.

Though Mike Seeger heard Jenks' ballad as a youngster via his mother's transcription, he presents the Carter Family's version here because of his fondness for this group's infectious style. His knowledge of both pieces is an omen that the strands of this ballad's story may soon be drawn together.

Yonder stands a reckless motorman
Who says his age is twenty one,
Standing by his main line motor
Saying, "Folks, what have I done?"

"Is it true I've killed my brakeman,
Is it true that he is dying?
Oh, I tried to stop my motor
But I could not stop in time."

See the cars stacked upon him,
See him raise his weary head,
See his sister standing by him,
Crying, "Brother, are you dead?"

"Sister, sister, I am dying,
Soon I'll be on yonder shore.
Soon I'll have a home in Heaven,
There'll be no braking anymore.

"Go and tell my youngest brother,
Take these words to an end,
To never start the day a-braking
For his life is sure to end.

"Go tell my father, who is weighman,
What he weighs to weigh it fair.
There'll be no scales up in Heaven
To that meeting in the air."

Ralph and Arthur Addington, "The Trembling Motorman,"
Library of Congress AFS 2762.

Alice Begley, "Just a Wild Reckless Motorman," Library
of Congress AFS 1457.

The Carter Family, "The Reckless Motorman," Decca
5722; re-issued on More Favorites by the Carter
Family, Decca DL 4557.

Orville Jenks, Songs and Ballads of the Bituminous
Miners, Library of Congress AFS 160.

Mary Trusty, "The Wild and Reckless Motorman," Library
of Congress AFS 1395.

THE NEW MARKET WRECK

Not all traditional ballads native to the United States have been published in standard collections. "The New Market Wreck" circulated in Tennessee for perhaps three decades; its text has yet to appear in a folksong book. To my knowledge, only two students encountered it; they can be thanked for entering versions in their theses. Geneva Anderson at the University of North Carolina (1932) and Mildred Haun at Vanderbilt (1937) used this piece in dissertations (cited below in the bibliography). A third reference to a text collected in 1933 is found in Davis' Folk Songs of Virginia. The song should have been visible to folklorists (and sought for), since it was one of the very first hillbilly items to be printed in the Journal of American Folklore (1909).

On September 24, 1904, two Southern Railway passenger trains collided head-on between Hodge's Station and New Market (east of Knoxville). Tennessee newspapers carried dramatic features on the calamity. More than 62 persons were killed, including both engineers. Soon afterwards, Charles O. Oaks, a blind, wandering musician from Richmond, Kentucky, composed and printed a long, rather stilted ballad, "The Southern Railroad Wreck." Somehow a copy of the printed leaflet reached Professor Arthur Beatty at the University of Wisconsin, and he included it in a JAF article. Subsequently, Oaks' three opening stanzas were published in the American Guide Series, Tennessee. About 1930 a Charlie Oaks appeared on hillbilly records; it is likely that this performer is the author of "The Southern" broadside, but the relationship is not verified. However, it was another itinerant balladeer who first recorded (1924) "The New Market Wreck," in a form shorter than Oaks' version. George Reneau (The Blind Musician of the Smoky Mountains) was the pioneer hillbilly artist on the Vocalion label. We know nothing of his life except what Jim Walsh (Hobbies) learned of Reneau's early association with pop singer Gene Austin ("My Blue Heaven"), and a few additional facts which I gleaned from 1924 trade journals (Green, JAF). Reneau was born about 1901 in the hills above Knoxville. He may have heard Oaks' ballad as a child and recomposed it drastically, or he may have heard a different song based on the same wreck. I feel it is unlikely that Reneau composed the Vocalion piece, for most disaster ballads are written while the impact of tragedy is fresh and he was about three years old in 1904.

In midsummer, 1927, a Wise, Virginia, couple, Mr. and Mrs. J. W. (Jim) Baker, recorded "The New Market Wreck" for Victor at the classic session in Bristol, Tennessee, which launched the career of the Carter Family and Jimmie Rodgers. Mrs. Flora Harris Baker was a first cousin of both Sarah and Maybelle Carter. The Bakers may have learned their "Wreck" traditionally, from Reneau personally, or from his record. We do not know. Mike Seeger acquired a tape copy of their 78 rpm disc in 1957 and responded to the Bakers' "weird non-harmonies." However, he could not readily transcribe their words. His version combines the Reneau text and the Bakers' tune. "The New Market Wreck" melody was also used by Ernest V. Stonemen for "We Parted by the River."

The Southern Railway had a wreck at ten o'clock one morn

Near Hodge's at New Market ground, the place that death adorned.

On the 24th of December, the year nineteen and four, Was then that awful wreck occurred to both the rich and poor.

The trains were going east and west and speeding on their way,

They ran together on a curve and what a wreck that day.

The cars were bursted, torn, and split, and spread across the track,

You'll see a picture of the wreck just over on the back.

The conductor on the west bound train had made a bad mistake,

He never read his orders right and caused that awful fate.

He hurt one hundred and a half and there were seventy dead,

I hope he has forgiveness now and lives without a dread.

The engineer on the east bound train had kissed his darling wife

Before he got on board his train and had to give his life.

I trust that he was pure in heart and now is with the best

And that his wife will meet him there and be with him at rest.

And oh the men and women's moans did echo through the air,

Such cries was never heard before from humans in despair.

The little children cried aloud for mercy to their God,

But now they all are dead and gone and under earthly sod.

Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Baker, "The New Market Wreck," Victor 20863.

George Reneau, "The New Market Wreck," Vocalion 14930 and Vocalion 5054.

COTTON MILL COLIC

Times were hard for workers in 1930; to "lintheads" the national depression was another element of stress added to a sequence of low pay, long hours, miserable conditions, and bitter resistance by textile mill owners to attempts at union organization during the 1920's. While unemployed, David McCarn, a young North Carolina millhand, and his brother left their native Gaston

County to see the country. There was no more work out West than at home, and the boys began to retrace their steps, via boxcar. Almost destitute, they lucked into a Ralph Peer-supervised Memphis recording session, May 19, 1930. Peer liked Dave's "Cotton Mill Colic" and "Every Day Dirt" (an altered "Will the Weaver"), and thus two of McCarn's "rhymed-up" songs entered American tradition via a depression-released Victor disc. During 1930-31 McCarn recorded 10 more pieces, but in time fell back into the anonymity of mill life. When in 1959 Caravan published my article on McCarn's songs, I was unaware that he lived at Stanley, North Carolina. Mike Seeger "discovered" him there in April, 1961. (Tales of Seeger searches belong in the annals of Sherlockiana.) Ed Kahn and I also visited McCarn during 1961 and again in 1963. He died on November 7, 1964, at the age of 59, unaffected by the recent folksong boom and somewhat amused that his songs still lived.

A word on "Cotton Mill Colic" will illustrate the movement of a recent folksong. McCarn had composed it about 1926 and sang it for fellow workers and also while performing with a local string band. He put it together to help make his way through a rough work day, for to him laughter seemed more effective than complaint. He never tried to express his talents by a recording career. The Memphis session was accidental, albeit pleasant. McCarn's disc was released during August, 1930. The popularity of "Cotton Mill Colic" among Piedmont workers was immediate and it began to live in tradition. By December, "Cotton Mill Colic" was sung in the major Danville, Virginia, Riverside and Dan River Mills strike. McCarn composed a sequel, "Poor Man, Rich Man," set to the same tune. During 1939, Alan Lomax collected "Cotton Mill Colic" from Joe Sharp of Scottsboro, Alabama, and subsequently printed text and tune in two books (OSC and FSNA; reprinted by Botkin, TSF.) The song also reached a Kentucky hillbilly singer, Lester Pete Bivins, who altered the title to "Cotton Mill Blues." Two North Carolina lads from Catawba County, Bill and Earl Bollick (Blue Sky Boys), learned McCarn's piece in their own textile community during the early 1930's and recorded it in 1965 after their UCLA Festival appearance. In the contrast between Seeger's and the Bollicks' "Cotton Mill Colic" we have a fine demonstration of 1965 "revival-arrival-survival" forces at work.

When you buy clothes on easy terms
The collectors treat you like measly worms.
One dollar down, then Lord knows
If you don't make a payment they'll take your clothes.
When you go to bed you can't sleep,
You owe so much at the end of the week.

No use to colic, they're all that way,
Pecking at your door till they get your pay.
I'm a-going to starve, and everybody will,
Cause you can't make a living at a cotton mill.

When you go to work you work like the devil,
At the end of the week you're not on the level.
Payday comes, you pay your rent,
When you get through you've not got a cent
To buy fat-back meat, pinto beans,
Now and then you get turnip greens.

No use to colic, we're all that way,
Can't get the money to move away.
I'm a-going to starve, and everybody will,
Cause you can't make a living at a cotton mill.

Twelve dollars a week is all we get.
How in the heck can we live on that?
I've got a wife and fourteen kids,
We all have to sleep on two bedsteads.
Patches on my britches, holes in my hat,
Ain't had a shave since my wife got fat.

No use to colic, everyday at noon
The kids get to crying in a different tune.
I'm a-going to starve, and everybody will,
Cause you can't make a living at a cotton mill.

They run a few days and then they stand,
Just to keep down the working man.
We can't make it, we never will,
As long as we stay at a lousy mill.
The poor are getting poorer, the rich are getting
rich,
If I don't starve I'm a son of a gun.

No use to colic, no use to rave,
We'll never rest till we're in our grave.
I'm a-going to starve, and everybody will,
Cause you can't make a living at a cotton mill.

Lester Pete Bivins, "Cotton Mill Blues," Decca 5559.

Blue Sky Boys, a Capitol LP to be released early in 1966.

David McCarn, "Cotton Mill Colic," Victor 40274.

David McCarn, "Poor Man, Rich Man," Victor 23506.

Pete Seeger, American Industrial Ballads, Folkways
FH 5251.

Joe Sharp, "Cotton Mill Colic," Library of Congress
AFS 1629.

THE VIRGINIAN STRIKE OF '23

Only a handful of trade union songs were recorded on commercial discs before the New Deal period. Yet today each disc is a precious social document even though it may recall a defeated strike or an unfulfilled organizational drive. On November 23, 1923, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen struck one of the South's major coal-carrying lines, the Virginian. The railroad hired scabs, who together with "loyal" employees formed a company union which lasted more than two decades.

Roy C. Harvey, a BLE member and native West Virginian, refused to cross the picket line and turned instead to his second calling, music. Harvey was a gifted guitar picker, a fine singer, and a ballad composer. He is known to old time music enthusiasts as an associate of Charlie Poole (of the North Carolina Ramblers). Harvey recorded with the Ramblers, with other mountain performers, and with a fellow railroader, Earl Shirkey, one of the earliest yodelers on hillbilly discs. On October 22, 1929, Harvey and Shirkey recorded Roy's strike ballad for Columbia in a "field" studio at Johnson City, Tennessee. (The firm changed Harvey's name to Harper when the disc was labeled.) The tune came from the cowboy classic "When the Work's All Done This Fall"; the song reflects Harvey's keen disappointment that after six years the strike was lost and his job had vanished. Actually, I learned from a series of interviews at Beckley, West Virginia, with his widow, family members, and friends that Harvey never rejected unionism. He did not return to the Virginian but instead, in 1942, "returned" to a locomotive cab for the Florida East Coast Railway. He died "in service" at New Smyrna Beach on July 11, 1958. (I have been unable to retrace his partner Shirkey's career and would welcome any lead.)

My personal interest in Roy Harvey began in 1957, when I purchased "The Virginia Strike of '23" and began to search for its background. Mike Seeger's response to the record was different from mine but indicates the nature of our separate interests. He also found the disc in 1957 (at the time of securing "The New Market Wreck") and was mildly curious that a hillbilly song would touch on a labor dispute. His main affection for Harvey and Shirkey was their excellent duo vocal and instrumental style. After he had absorbed their style, he began to seek out additional facts on their repertoire. Perhaps it was inevitable that our interests would join for this specific disc. Listeners who are taken by Harvey's unusual song will enjoy H. Reid's beautifully illustrated history The Virginian Railway (1961).

In the dear old town of Princeton in the year of '23
Five hundred railroad employees were as happy as could be,
Enjoying the highest prosperity and nothing to worry
them at all.
But they believed in Satan and quit their jobs that fall.

They were told from every corner and given good advice,
But they would not listen and now they've paid the price.
They've roamed to every country, a-waiting for a call
To report at the Princeton roundhouse, and they've waited
six years this fall.

The trains are moving nicely from Princeton east and west
With men of good ability, while the poor boys take their
rest.
Their homes will ever be silent to the call boy's daily
call,
Unless the Virginian Railroad will call them back this
fall.

I was one among the number that made the sad mistake
And left my good old railroad job, my engine did
forsake.
And now I'm sure down-hearted, for I have no job
at all,
But I'd like to run an engine on the Virginian again
this fall.

Roy Harper and Earl Shirkey, "The Virginian Strike of
'23," Columbia 15535.



Roy Harvey at New Smyrna Beach, Fla.
on final railroad job, before 1958

ROANE COUNTY STRIKE AT HARRIMAN, TENN.

Frequently trade union songs are set to the tunes of familiar melodies: gospel, popular, folk. Good tunes rightly attract many texts. Consequently, when the workers in the Harriman Hosiery Mill, Roane County, Tennessee, went out on a "Blue Eagle" organizational strike on October 26, 1933, several of the members (Local 1757, United Textile Workers of America) who had musical talent turned to the songs and ballads of their culture for models. On August 29, 1961, Mrs. Edna Gossage, secretary of the Local, sang for Ed Kahn and me a union version of "Going Down the Road Feeling Bad" which was used by the millhands during torch-light parades in Harriman. The strike was one of thousands in the United States during early New Deal days when workers responded to Franklin D. Roosevelt's bold program of recovery from depression. The Harriman strike lasted nine months, and led to the removal of the firm's Blue Eagle--the first such action in the nation. But this symbolic gesture did not mean victory for the hosiery workers.

Soon after their defeat, a number of the Harriman people moved to the Cumberland Homesteads, Crossville, Tennessee, a New Deal resettlement project. There on November 23, 1936, Mrs. Sidney Cowell collected a half-dozen pieces, including "Roane County Strike," from Henry Garrett. Fortunately, she added a note on the acetate disc which she deposited in the Library of Congress that the song was composed by Hershel Phillips. Both Phillips and Garrett had left the Homesteads by the time my interest in their field recording developed. But Mrs. Gossage told me (1961) that Phillips was an active Harriman striker and a Roane County native, coming to the mill from Emory Gap. His song was very likely composed at the Homesteads. Charles Seeger indicated to me that it was one of his favorite labor songs because its tune was traditional and because the text was so natural to the strikers' experience. Seeger got the song from Margaret Valiant, who worked at the Homesteads and other Farm Security Administration projects as a music teacher and recreation leader. Miss Valiant gave Seeger an aluminum dub of the Cowell-Garrett disc about 1938. Mike Seeger, as a very little boy, played this dub--one of the very first records he recalls hearing.

Here, I have sketched only a few facts on Phillips' strike song. Listeners will recognize its tune as that of "Hills of Roane County," "Roane County Prison," "Willis Mayberry," and Roy Acuff's "Precious Jewel." Recently, Mrs. Patricia Kirkemind published a good, but partial, history of the Roane County ballad without mentioning that Phillips' parody was collected before its "parent" song had been recorded or collected. (It is unusual for a parody to beat a parent folksong into a folklorist's net.) Perhaps Mike Seeger's recording will help round out the history of this song, a story which includes at least murder, union, and sentimental numbers.

A beautiful town in the midst of Roane County,
It's a town where I've always been happy to be.
It's a town where they're gay on the banks of old
Emory,
A town where my loved ones I always can see.

For many long years in the mill we've been toiling,
Our work and our labor it all seems in vain.
We organized for some well known reason,
A few months later was called out on strike.

That firm got in touch with the law of Roane County,
The sheriff and his men were all on the scene,
When the men came out by the oath they had taken
To stay with the union and never betray.

Some went to the mill and there they betrayed us,
Some gone to their graves I'm sorry to say.
But some stood out to wait that decision
They seemed determined to go all the way.

They went to the judge and got an injunction,
The sheriff and his men would not speak one good word.
We was counted and placed in the jail of Roane County
And locked up in a cell for the crime we had done.

Our friends came to see us in the jail of Roane County,
Some seemed to think we would be there till June.
But to their surprise our bond was accepted
And now we are out with our loved ones again.

If I go away to hunt re-employment
I'll go to the East or I'll go to the West,
But always remember my home in Roane County
In the beautiful hills of old East Tennessee.

Henry Garrett, "Roane County Strike at Harriman,
Tennessee," Library of Congress AFS 3176.

THE HARD WORKING MINER

Mike Seeger has long been attracted to the repertory of the late James Howard, blind fiddler from Harlan, Kentucky. John and Alan Lomax collected a number of Howard's pieces in the 1930's for Library of Congress deposit, and Mike has already placed the "Little Carpenter" and the "Old Fish Song" from this source on New Lost City Ramblers albums. An interest in Howard's unusual style led Seeger to visit his widow at Harlan on August 1, 1964. From Mrs. Howard he learned something of the individual whose material he had passed on to others in the present folksong "revival."

The earliest coal mining song John Lomax collected in Kentucky (August, 1933) was Howard's "The Hard Working Miner," which was published in American Ballads and Folk Songs. Although this song is the most widespread American mining song and one of the few common to coal miners (anthracite and bituminous) as well as non-ferrous metal miners (gold, silver, copper, zinc, lead), its full history has not yet been traced. Wayland Hand (WF) and Duncan Emrich (CFQ) have provided an exceedingly useful background for this ballad which bears the parallel titles "Hard Working Miner" and "Only a Miner." Laws helps by relating it to "Only a Brakeman" and "Only a Cowboy" (G 33). Vance Randolph notes four additional titles: "Only a Sailor, Rider, Hoghead, Tramp." I have tried in the last decade to gather all tunes and texts of these family members, but this task is like cleaning the Aegean Stables. For my discography below I depart from regular format to supplement the Hand and Emrich articles.

The hard working miner, the dangers are great,
So many while mining have met their sad fate.
While doing their duty as all miners do,
Shut off from the daylight and darling ones, too.

He's only a miner been killed in the ground,
Only a miner and one more is gone.
Killed by an accident, there's no one can tell
His mining's all over, poor miner, farewell.

He leaves his dear wife and little ones, too,
To earn them a living as all miners do.
But while he was working for those whom he loves
He met a sad fate from a boulder above.

He's only a miner been killed in the ground,
He's only a miner and one more is gone.
Killed by an accident, there's no one can tell
His mining's all over, poor miner, farewell.

The miner is gone, we'll see him no more,
God be with the miner wherever he goes.
God pity the miner, protect him as well,
Shield him from danger while down in the ground.

He's only a miner been killed in the ground,
Only a miner and one more is gone.
Killed by an accident, there's no one can tell
His mining's all over, poor miner, farewell.

Field discs (by year of collection)

- 1933) James Howard, "The Hard Working Miner,"
LC AFS 76.
- 1937) Tilman Cadle, "The Hard Working Miner,"
LC AFS 1401.
- 1937) Susan Shepherd, "The Miner's Death,"
LC AFS 1435.
- 1938) Findley Donaldson, "The Miner's Farewell,"
LC AFS 1985.
- 1939) Goldie Hamilton, "The Hard Working Miner,"
LC AFS 2829.
- 1940) G. C. Gartin, "The Hard Working Miner" on
Songs and Ballads of the Bituminous Miners,
LC AFS L 60; album released 1965.
- 1948) Lulu Lough and Selma Barker, "Only a Miner,"
LC AFS LWO 1046.

Commercial discs (by year of recording)

- ca 1927) Gentry Brothers; released under pseudonyms
Kentucky Thorobreds, "Only a Miner,"
Paramount 3071, and Old Smokey Twins,
Broadway 8070.
- ca 1929) Ted Chestnut, "He's Only a Miner Killed in
the Ground," Gennett 6603; also released

under pseudonyms Alvin Bunch, Supertone
9180, and Cal Turner, Champion 15587.
- ca February, 1961) John Greenway, "Poor Miner's
Farewell" on Songs and Stories of Aunt
Molly Jackson, Folkways FH 5457.
- April 11, 1961) A. L. Phipps Family, "The Miner's
Fate" on Old Time Mountain Pickin' and
Singin', Starday SLP 195.
- ca November, 1962) Hedy West, "Miner's Farewell"
on Hedy West, Vanguard VRS 9124.
- August 13, 1963) Howard Vokes, "The Miner" on
Tragedy and Disaster in Country Song,
Starday SLP 258.

HARD TIMES IN THESE MINES

My note for "Cotton Mill Blues" indicated that the oldest song on this album, "Hard Times," branched out into many regional and occupational forms in the last century. The colonial broadsides available to us for this piece depict numerous trades--a stanza to each-- but I find no version in which the whole song is specific to a single craft until about 1885 (and even here information is very scanty). During 1925 George Korson was just beginning to collect Pennsylvania anthracite mining lore. In the Mahanoy Valley he heard two stanzas of a version of "Hard Times" made up by the tiny breaker boys who picked slate and other refuse from the coal. The chapter in American industrial history on child labor is grim; now and then it is relieved by a ray of youthful laughter or fun at the expense of elders and superiors. About 1885 an anthracite youngster sang of a breaker or chute boss:

Then comes George Shade with a shovel and pick,
He'll go into the drift and sit on a stick,
And if anything ain't right,
He's bound to go out and have a big fight.
And it's hard times wherever you go.

(Korson: SBAM, 105; MMP, 96)

It seems likely that "Hard Times" was known to many miners, but strangely, folklorists have not encountered it often. To my knowledge, only three bituminous versions are available, all from southeastern Kentucky. Alan Lomax collected a traditional version from Jim Garland localized to Bell County, and another version from the same county composed by Aunt Molly Jackson. Molly also gave her song to John Greenway in 1952, and he transcribed text and tune for American Folksongs of Protest. Mike Seeger's source for "Hard Times in These Mines" is Findley Donaldson's version, collected in Pineville, the Bell County seat, by Mary Elizabeth Barnicle during 1938. Donaldson recorded a number of excellent songs at that time (one of which is available on a Pete Seeger album, "Come All You Hardy Miners," American Industrial Ballads, Folkways FH 5251). I have been unable to find any discussion of Donaldson by a folklorist which might shed light on his "Hard Times," but a fascinating account of his role in the National Miners Union, 1931-32, and of his break with the NMU because of its communistic values is found in Homer Morris, The Plight of the Bituminous Coal Miner (1934).

Well, you go to the office, you'll go in a flirt,
And the book-keeper says, "Your folks at work?"

And it's hard times, boy, in these mines,
And it's hard times, poor boy.

The women goes to the office, they'll begin to grin,
And the book-keeper'll say, "Here you come again."

And it's hard times, boy, in these mines,
And it's hard times, poor boy.

Oh, the bread that we eat is choice number two,
A dollar a sack and the best we can do.

And it's hard times, boy, in these mines,
And it's hard times, poor boy.

The women go to the office, they'll look in their hand,
The book-keeper'll say, "I will if I can."

And it's hard times, boy, in these mines,
And it's hard times, poor boy.

Well, you go to the mine with your frown on your face
You're a-raring and a-cussing for you've got no place

And it's hard times, boy, in these mines,
And it's hard times, poor boy.

Well, this set of miners is the meanest of all,
They'll bum your tobacco and steal your oil.

And it's hard times, boy, in these mines,
And it's hard times, poor boy.

There is Wes McBryant, he's the biggest blow of all,
He says "You'll get rich if you'll half work at all."

And it's hard times, boy, in these mines,
And it's hard times, poor boy.

The women go to the office, they'll go in a flirt,
And the book-keeper says, "Your folks at work?"

And it's hard times, boy, in these mines,
And it's hard times, poor boy.

Findley Donaldson, "Hard Times in These Mines," Library
of Congress AFS 1985.

Jim Garland, "Hard Times in Fox Ridge Mines," Library of
Congress AFS 1950.

John Greenway, American Industrial Folksongs, Riverside
RLP 12-607.

John Greenway, The Songs and Stories of Aunt Molly
Jackson, Folkways FH 5457.

Aunt Molly Jackson, "Hard Times in Coleman's Mines,"
Library of Congress AFS 2532.



Dorsey Dixon, East Rockingham, N .C. Aug.1962

SPINNING ROOM BLUES

Southern country musicians from Henry Whitter to Earl Scruggs have worked part or all of their lives in the textile industry. Some performers like Whitter and Scruggs used their talent to carry themselves beyond their looms. Many others, equally gifted, never could get very far beyond the barbed-wire fences which enclosed their factories. The brothers Dorsey and Howard Dixon were life-time millhands in the two Carolinas. Howard, a skilled loom fixer, was stricken at his work in the Aleo Mill, East Rockingham, North Carolina. Dorsey, the older brother, finished more than 50 years of textile employment and now lives in Plant City, Florida. I have sketched their stories in my liner and brochure notes for Babies in the Mill, which contains industrial, sacred, traditional, and recently-composed songs. While delving into the background of the Dixon Brothers' first blues, "The Weave Room Blues," I learned that it was recorded at their initial session for Victor (February 12, 1936) and released separately on the Bluebird and Montgomery Ward labels. However, only in the latter case was it backed with "Spinning Room Blues," a song composed shortly before Dorsey's second session (June 23, 1936). The weaving song caught on with country and urban singers; its spinning companion did not. Not only did the spinning song fail to enter tradition, but Montgomery Ward 7024 is an exceedingly rare item. Only one copy is known to me, in the personal collection of David Freeman. On New Year's Day, 1965, he played this disc for me and very kindly made a tape copy which I passed on to Mike Seeger.

After Mike recorded "Spinning Room Blues," Dorsey Dixon sent me a tape-letter in which he reported that the original version was "held down" by the three-minute time limit for 78 rpm discs. On May 3, 1965, he added three stanzas which really belonged in his 1936 song--an interesting commentary on how technological limits truncate songs. His additional stanzas are:

The ends a-coming down, the roping's running out,
The poor little spinners are rushing about.
The boss man yelling, "there's no time to lose."
Everybody's dying with the spinning room blues.

A doffer comes along piecing up ends,
Acting just like he's about out of wind,
Then he starts moving like he's had a drink of
booze
But he's never had nothing but the spinning room
blues.

Many minor little things tearing down ends.
Don't start cussing cause you know it's a sin.
Just keep on moving in your worn out shoes
For you're only a victim of the spinning room blues.

* * * * *

* * * * *

About the old spinning room I'm a-going to tell a tale.
You have to keep your end up and brush off your rail,
Take your roller, clean your lapstick, and run out
your guide.
If you don't, I'll put another spinner on your side.

Say, wait a minute, fellow, now tell me where
you're going,
Don't you hear the doggone spinning room a-roaring?
You can't fool me cause I'm on the scout,
Get back on the job, you ain't a-going to slip out.

Soap and water standing in the middle of the floor,
The scrubbers laid their brooms down, they're going to
get more.

The spinners get mad and having running fits,
Cause you better look out, for your foot might slip.

Say, wait a minute, spinner, now tell me where
you're going,
Can't you hear the doggone spinning room a-roaring?
You can't fool me cause I'm on the scout,
Get back on the job, you ain't a-going to slip out.

The doffers grabbing doff boxes, here they go,
They're always in a hurry cause they can't go slow,
Running up and down the alley like some wild loon,
Slinging empty bobbins all over the room.

Say, wait a minute, fellow, now tell me where
you're going,
Don't you hear the doggone spinning room a-roaring?
You can't fool me cause I'm on the scout,
Get back on the job, you ain't a-going to slip out.

I'm a factory fellow and I work in the mill,
I have to keep at it cause I live on the hill.
I ain't got no clothes, ain't got no shoes,
I ain't got nothing but the spinning room blues.

Say, wait a minute, fellow, now tell me where
you're going,
Don't you hear the doggone spinning room a-roaring?
You can't fool me cause I'm on the scout,
Get back on the job, you ain't a-going to slip out.

The Dixon Brothers, "Spinning Room Blues," Montgomery
Ward 7024.



THE DEATH OF JOHN HENRY

It is unlikely that any listener to this album will not previously have heard "John Henry." Of the 16 numbers selected here, it is appropriate to close with a familiar song and a hero common to many callings. John Henry, the tunnel-stiff, has been claimed by miners, railroaders, iron and steel workers, and construction men; all wanted to borrow a little of his courage, prowess, masculinity, or humanity--whatever was needed. Two full studies of the John Henry tradi-

tion by Louis Chappell and by Guy Johnson are cited below. To these works, Laws added further references in his revised edition of Native American Balladry (II). (An exhaustive, up-to-date "John Henry" check list would be a most useful ballad study tool, and might require the hero's fortitude to complete.)

Mike Seeger's version comes from an Uncle Dave Macon disc originally recorded in 1926, which was reissued in 1947 and again in 1952 on the album Listen to Our Story. Mike's parents purchased the album in 1947 and, while a teenager, he tried to learn Macon's song. However, Uncle Dave began with a spoken aphorism which was difficult for Seeger to master; it is not used on this LP.

Listen,
In every heart there burns a flame,
For the love of glory or the dread of shame.
But oh how happy we would be if we understood
There is no safety but in doing good!

Uncle Dave was a superb entertainer and musician (and he is a figure worthy of study in his own right), but I have never understood the relationship of Macon's declamation to his moving song. Nor am I certain that Macon intended a special meaning for his spoken opening. What flamed in John Henry's heart--glory, shame, doing good? Perhaps just tunnel drilling, perhaps just enduring another day in the Big Bend, perhaps much more! Each listener to Tipple, Loom & Rail is free to phrase his personal answer, and also to answer the many questions posed in "The Death of John Henry" as well as in the countless other songs which welled out of the hearts of Southern workers.

People out west heard of John Henry's death,
Couldn't hardly stay in bed.
Monday morning on the east-bound train,
Going where John Henry's dead,
Going where John Henry's dead.

Carried John Henry to the graveyard,
They looked at him good and long.
Very last words his wife said to him,
"My husband he is dead and gone,
My husband he is dead and gone."

John Henry's wife wore a brand new dress,
It was all trimmed in blue.
Very last words she said to him,
"Honey, I've been good to you,
Honey, I've been good to you."

John Henry told the shaker,
"Lord, shake while I sing.
Pulling a hammer from my shoulder,
I'm bound to hear her when she sings,
Bound to hear her when she rings."

John Henry told his captain,
"I am a Tennessee man,
Before I would see that steam drill beat me down,
Die with a hammer in my hand,
Die with a hammer in my hand."

John Henry hammered in the mountain
Till the hammer caught on fire.
Very last words I heard him say,
"Cool drink of water 'fore I die,
Cool drink of water 'fore I die."

Uncle Dave Macon, "The Death of John Henry," Brunswick 112; reissued in 1947 on Listen to Our Story, Brunswick B 1024 (a 78 rpm set), and in 1952 on Brunswick BL 59001 (a 10" LP). Also reissued in 1964 on A Collection of Mountain Ballads, County 502.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anderson, Geneva. A Collection of Ballads and Songs from East Tennessee. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1932 (MA thesis).
- Barry, Phillips, editor. Bulletin of the Folksong Society of the Northeast. Philadelphia: American Folklore Society, 1960. [Number 2 (1931) 12-13]
- Beatty, Arthur. "Some Ballad Variants and Songs." Journal of American Folklore, XXII (January, 1909), 63-71.
- Botkin, B. A. A Treasury of Southern Folklore. New York: Crown, 1949.
- (Brown) The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore. 7 volumes. Durham: Duke University Press, 1952-1964.
- Chapell, Louis. John Henry. Jena, Germany: Walter Biedermann, 1933.
- Cohen, John, editor. The New Lost City Ramblers Song Book. New York: Oak Publications, 1964.
- Davis, Arthur. Folk Songs of Virginia. Durham: Duke University Press, 1949.
- Emrich, Duncan. "Songs of the Western Miners." California Folklore Quarterly, I (July, 1942), 213-232.
- Federal Music Project. Folk Songs from East Kentucky. n.p.: Works Progress Administration, ca 1939.
- Federal Writers Project. Tennessee. New York: Viking, 1939.
- Foner, Philip. History of the Labor Movement in the United States. Volume II. New York: International Publishers, 1955.
- Fowke, Edith, and Joe Glazer. Songs of Work and Freedom. Chicago: Roosevelt University, 1960.
- Green, Archie. "Hillbilly Music: Source and Symbol." Journal of American Folklore, LXXVIII (July, 1965), 204-228.
- Green, Archie. Dorsey Dixon's Babies in the Mill. Testament T 3301 (Brochure).
- Green, Archie. Sarah Ogan Gunning's I Am A Girl of Constant Sorrow. Folk Legacy FSA 26 (Brochure).
- Green, Archie. "Will the Weaver's Hillbilly Kinfolk." Caravan, Issue 18 (August, 1959).
- Greenway, John. American Folksongs of Protest. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953.
- Hand, Wayland, and others. "Songs of the Butte Miners." Western Folklore, IX (January, 1950, 1-49).
- Haun, Mildred. Cocke County Ballads and Songs. Nashville: Vanderbilt University, 1937 (MA thesis).
- Highlander Folk School Songbook. Monteagle, Tennessee: The School, 1943 (Mimeographed).
- Johnson, Guy. John Henry. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1929.
- Kirkemide, Patricia. "The Confession of Willis Mayberry." Tennessee Folklore Society Bulletin, XXX (March, 1964), 7-21.
- Korson, George. Coal Dust on the Fiddle. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943.
- Korson, George. Minstrels of the Mine Patch. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1938.
- Korson, George. Songs and Ballads of the Anthracite Miner. New York: Frederick Hitchcock, 1927.
- Laws, Malcolm. Native American Balladry. Revised. Philadelphia: American Folklore Society, 1964.
- Lomax, Alan. The Folk Songs of North America. Garden City: Doubleday, 1960.
- Lomax, John. American Ballads and Folk Songs. New York: Macmillan, 1934.
- Lomax, John. Our Singing Country. New York: Macmillan, 1941.
- Lomax, John. "Some Types of American Folk Song." Journal of American Folklore, XXVIII (January, 1915), 1-17.
- Morris, Homer. The Plight of the Bituminous Coal Miner. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1934.
- Randolph, Vance. Ozark Folksongs. 4 volumes. Columbia: State Historical Society of Missouri, 1946-1950.
- Reid, H. The Virginian Railway. Milwaukee: Kalmbach, 1961.
- Songs of the Southern School for Workers. Asheville, North Carolina: The School, ca 1940 (Mimeographed).
- Thomas, Jean (Jeannette Bell). Ballad Makin' in the Mountains of Kentucky. New York: Holt, 1939.
- Thomas, Jean (Jeannette Bell). The Singin' Fiddler of Lost Hope Hollow. New York: Dutton, 1938.
- Walsh, Jim. "Gene Austin." Hobbies, LXI (February-March, 1957).
- Way, William. The Clinchfield Line. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1931.

