INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

ProQuest Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600

UMI®

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

A

BEFORE "CRAZY BLUES": COMMERCIAL BLUES IN AMERICA 1850-1920

by

Peter C. Muir

Volume I

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Music in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

2004

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UMI Number: 3115277

Copyright 2004 by
Muir, Peter C.

All rights reserved.

UMI®

UMI Microform 3115277
Copyright 2004 by ProQuest Information and Learning Company.
All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest Information and Learning Company
300 North Zeeb Road
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Copyright 2004

PETER C. MUIR

All Rights Reserved

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Music in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

26 January 2004
Date

Chair of Examining Committee

1/26/04
Date

Executive Officer

John Graziano

Leo Treitler

Allan Atlas

Jeffrey Taylor

Edward A. Berlin
Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is affectionately and gratefully dedicated to my wife, Judith, and to my parents, Ian and Valerie Muir.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Acknowledgments

When I was thinking of moving from England to America to pursue a Ph.D., I had a conversation with a friend who had done the same and recently graduated. "Whatever you do, don't choose a topic that's important to you," she advised, "You will end up hating it, because dissertations demand so much hard graft. Just choose something neutral: that way, you won't get hurt." It sounded like good, practical advice, and I completely ignored it. Instead, when the time came, I chose a subject dear to my heart: early blues. And I think that my decision was the right one, for, having immersed myself deeply in this project for several years, I have emerged on the other side with my fascination for, and love of, the subject enhanced, not diminished.

I had first fallen in love with American music in my teens. At that time, however, my interests were confined to modern jazz, which, as a classical pianist and composer, held an exotic allure for me. It was not until much later that I fell under the spell of the "rinky-dink stuff," as the beboppers with whom I was associating called any kind of jazz-related activity from before 1945. Having discovered it, however, I became infatuated. My playing interests shifted dramatically, and out of nowhere I amassed a substantial collection of sheet music and 78rpm records that proliferated at an alarming rate.

Moving to America in 1997, I began to make contact with a network of enthusiasts and collectors involved in early jazz and blues research. Many of these have been instrumental in supporting this project. In particular I would like to mention Audrey Van Dyke, Alex Hassan, David Jasen, Gene Jones, Nan Flint, Konrad Nowakoski, and Richard Zimmerman, all of whom allowed me access to their collections, generously supplied me with copies of rare material, and helped me in various ways.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Two collectors in particular were outstandingly supportive of my project. One was Thornton Hagert, a pioneer researcher and historian, who allowed me unfettered access to his unique sheet music collection. He did more than that, however. It was he who had first realized the importance of Hughie Cannon and other proto-blues composers in the early 1970s. Tragically, none of his findings has been published. Instead, he selflessly passed his information on to me, and invited me to use it. For this remarkable act of generosity I am permanently in his debt.

The other collector whose altruism must be acknowledged is Michael Montgomery of Detroit. Again, Mike allowed me complete access to what is perhaps the finest blues sheet music collection in private hands. He also, no less importantly, allowed me to examine his many thousands of piano rolls. It was largely from a frantic day of scouring his vast collection that the rollography at the end of this dissertation was assembled. In addition to this, Mike and I discussed my findings for many hours, and I found his comments and suggestions always illuminating.

Much of the research for this project was undertaken at the Library of Congress, and I must mention two members of staff who helped me tremendously in my endeavors. The first is David Sager of the Recorded Sound Division, who has located many recordings for me. The other is Wayne Shirley, now retired, of the Music Division, who, over a period of years, was remarkably generous with his time in locating literally hundreds of blues sheets, most untouched for more than eighty years. Wayne's tremendous enthusiasm for my field, along with his friendship and unparalleled knowledge of American music, was a continuous inspiration to me.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

There were a number of other people who were most generous in their time and resources. I should mention particularly Tim Brooks, for whose extensive assistance in the preparation of the discography I am immensely grateful; in addition, our discussions on many points helped me to clarify my thoughts relating to this project. Another person of inestimable help was Professor Lawrence Gushee. It was he who first drew my attention to the proto-blues of Hughie Cannon and subsequently to various other proto-blues as well. I have profited in many ways from his wisdom and profound knowledge of early blues. I should also mention Edward A. Berlin, Paul Charosh, Michael Garber, John Garst, and Elliott Hurwitt, who have also shared their ideas and suggestions and helped me in other ways too. I am indebted to Professor John Graziano not only for his tireless work as my advisor, but also for his involvement in this project from its initial stages. His continual help over a period of several years has been integral to its realization. I must also make mention of the two other members of my committee, Professors Allan Atlas and Leo Treitler. I have, throughout the course of this project, continually benefited from their innumerable insights and observations. And I should add that these were always offered to me in a spirit of good humor and tact.

I owe a special vote of thanks to Dr. John Diamond, who has helped me so deeply and in so many ways in the thirteen years of our friendship. It was he, more than anyone, who first stimulated, and then nurtured, my love of early blues.

My mother and father, Drs. Ian and Valerie Muir, have been unstinting in their support—financial and personal—since my decision to return to graduate school. Indeed, the idea was my mother's in the first place, and I am ashamed to say that I foolishly rejected it out of hand, before coming to realize that the suggestion had more merit than I

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

was prepared to admit. More than this, I owe to my parents my love of, and ability in, music—they are both, at this writing, still enthusiastic musicians and music-lovers. I am exceptionally lucky to have parents with their musical gifts and sensitivity.

I owe perhaps my greatest debt of gratitude to my wife Judith. Her wisdom, companionship, and devotion in the course of our relationship have enabled me to find a happiness and stability that has eluded me all my life. In so doing, she has been a continual inspiration for this project.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

COPYRIGHT PAGE

APPROVAL PAGE

DEDICATION

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF MUSIC EXAMPLES

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Volume I

Introduction 1

1. "You Can't Dress Up the Blues": On the Legitimacy of Early Commercial Blues

The Rejection of Early Commercial Blues Culture by the Historiographical Mainstream 6
Historical Writings about Blues: An Overview 10
Anti-Commercialism 21
Phonocentricism 34
Homeopathic and Allopathic Blues 50
Conclusion: Broadening the Definition of Blues 66

2. Early Commercial Blues I: Overview

Introduction 73
The Dominance of Sheet Music in the Commercial Blues Culture of the 1910s 74
Defining Blues Sheet Music 76
Published and Unpublished Blues 80
The Identity of Early Commercial Blues 81
Overview (I): Instrumental Compositions 81
Overview (II): Songs 96
Conclusion 109

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

3. Early Commercial Blues II: Textual Analysis of Blues Songs

Introduction: The Survey	110
Texts	114
Personal Blues	114
Impersonal Blues	123
AAB Structure	126
Use of the Term "Blues"	127
The Question of Parody	128
Appendix: List of Songs Used in the Survey	132

4. Early Commercial Blues III: Musical Analysis and Conclusions

Introduction	143
The Twelve-Bar Form	144
Blues-Influenced Move to the Subdominant	150
Blue Notes	156
The Four-Note Chromatic Motif	163
The Barbershop Cadence	164
Tempo Indications	166
Use of Falling Melodic Contours	168
Identity	172
Homeopathy and Allopathy	178
Conclusion	185

5. Proto-Blues I: Auto-Referential Proto-Blues and the Work of Hughie Cannon

Introduction	188
The Importance of Proto-Blues	189
Categories of Proto-Blues	192
Auto-Referential Proto-Blues	192
Non-Auto-Referential Proto-Blues	221
The Proto-Blues of Hughie Cannon	222
Blues Ballads	241
The Relationship of Cannon's Compositions to Blues	245
Conclusion	253

6. Proto-Blues II: Other Proto-Blues Influenced by the "Frankie" Song Family

Introduction	254
The "Bully Song"	254
Other Proto-Blues Influenced by the "Frankie" Song Family	271
The "Bill Bailey" Songs	272
The First Commercial "Frankie and Johnny"	294
"Stack-O-Lee"	306

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Other Proto-Blues Showing the Influence of the "Frankie" Family 311
Conclusion 320

7. Proto-Blues III: Other Proto-Blues

Introduction 322
The Appearance of "Sweet Thing" in Coon Songs of the 1890s 322
"I Natur'ly Loves That Yaller Man" 331
The Standard Twelve-Bar Pattern in Commercial Proto-Blues After 1900 341
Other Ragtime Compositions Using Folk Proto-Blues 351

8. The Emergence and Early Dissemination of Blues

Blues and Ragtime 357
The Emergence of the Standard Twelve-Bar Form from the "Frankie" Sequence 358
The Dissemination of Commercial Blues 367
The Emergence of Auto-Referential Blues 373

Conclusions 378

Volume II

Appendix 1. Commercial Blues 1912-20 383

Part I: Alphabetical by Title 383
Published Compositions 388
Unpublished Compositions 431
Part II: Chronological Presentation 453

Appendix 2. Discography of Commercial Blues Recordings 1914-21 504

Appendix 3. Rollography of pre-1921 Commercial Blues 548

Appendix 4. Commercial Proto-Blues 1850-1913 591

Bibliography 595

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

LIST OF MUSIC EXAMPLES

1.1.	Baisden: "Camp Cody Blues" (1917)	45
1.2.	Maggio: "I Got the Blues" (1908), title page and music	57
2.1.	Barron: "The Original Blues" (1914)	87
2.2.	Nash: "The Snakey Blues" (1915)	90
2.3.	Harris: "Just Blues" (1915)	93
2.4.	Holt and Warner: "The Tennessee Blues" (1916)	97
2.5.	White: "Nigger Blues" (1913)	102
2.6.	Swanstrom and Morgan: "Broadway Blues" (1920)	106
4.1.	Johnson and Williams: "Don't Mind Cryin' Blues" (1919), first twelve measures of chorus	146
4.2.	Williams: "Tishomingo Blues" (1917), first sixteen measures of chorus	147
4.3.	Fisher and Black: "Dardanella Blues" (1920), chorus	151
4.4.	Robison: "Tulsa Blues" (1918), verse and beginning of chorus	152
4.5.	Wilson and Bibo: "Profiteering Blues" (1920), first eight measures of chorus	153
4.6.	Frost and Klickmann: "Sweet Hawaiian Moonlight" (1918), first sixteen measures of verse	154
4.7.	Berlin: "I Love a Piano" (1915), first eight measures of chorus	155
4.8	a. Handy: "Saint Louis Blues" (1914), first four measures of verse b. Handy: "Saint Louis Blues" (1914), first eight measures of chorus	159 161
4.9.	Wand: "Dallas Blues" (1912), opening	163
4.10.	Pinkard: "Those Draftin' Blues" (1918), first four measures of chorus	164
4.11.	Handy: "The Memphis Blues" (1912), last four measures	165
5.1.	Blessner: "I Have Got the Blues To Day!" (1850)	193
5.2.	Chapman: "Ain't I Got the Blues!" (1871)	197

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

5.3. Smith and Bowman: "I've Got de Blues" (1901) 206

5.4. a. Maggio: "I Got the Blues" (1908), melody of A strain; Handy: "St. Louis Blues," (1914), melody of chorus
b. Maggio: "I Got the Blues" (1908), opening of C strain; Handy: "Jogo Blues" (1913), opening of B Strain 211

5.5. Puderer and Hoffman: "I'm Alabama Bound" (1910) 214

5.6. Cannon: "You Needn't Come Home" (1901) 226

5.7. a. "Frankie and Johnny" (composite version), melody and text of first verse
b. Cannon: "You Needn't Come Home" (1901), melody of measures 20-31
c. Cannon: "He Done Me Wrong" (1904), melody of first half of first verse 232

5.8. Cannon: "Just Because She Made Dem Goo-Goo Eyes" (1900), first half of verse 234

5.9. Cannon: "Won't You Come Home, Bill Bailey?" (1902), first half of verse 235

5.10. "The Ballad of the Boll Weevil" (composite version), melody and text of first verse 237

5.11. Cannon: "Alic Busby, Don't Go Away" (1904), chorus 246

5.12. Cannon: "He Done Me Wrong" (1904) 249

6.1. Trevathan: "May Irwin's Bully Song" (1896), verse and chorus 256

6.2. a. Trevathan: "The Bully Song" (1896), melody of verse
b. "Frankie and Johnnie," (composite version), melody and text of first verse 265

6.3. Smith: "A Frog He Would A Wooing Go" (c. 1860), melody and text of first verse 267

6.4. Queen and Wilson: "Ain't Dat a Shame" (1901), verse and chorus 272

6.5. Johnson and Furth: "Since Bill Bailey Came Back Home" (1902), verse 279

6.6. Leighton Brothers: "Bill, You Done Me Wrong" (1908), verse and chorus 282

6.7. Leighton Brothers and Shields: "Frankie and Johnny" (1912), verse and chorus 290

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

6.8. a. "Frankie and Johnnie" (composite version), melody and text of first verse 295
b. Leighton Brothers and Shields: "Frankie and Johnny" (1912), melody and text of verse

6.9. a. Frank Stokes: "Take Me Back" (1928), first sixteen measures 300
b. Wilson: "That is a Habit I Never Had" (1901), chorus
c. Queen and Wilson: "Ain't Dat a Shame" (1901), chorus
d. McMahon: "Take me Back, Babe" (1898), chorus

6.10. a. Leighton Brothers and Shields: "Frankie and Johnny" (1912), melody and text of chorus, first eight measures 304
b. Memphis Jug Band: "You May Leave, But This Will Bring You Back" (1930), melody of instrumental section, first eight measures

6.11. The Three White Kuhns: "Stackolee" (1910) 308
a. Melody of verses 1-14 with text of refrain
b. Melody of verse 15

6.12. Maggio: "Bad-Rag" (1910), A Strain 312

6.13. Seymour and Ayer: "You're My Baby" (1912), chorus 313

6.14. Brooks: "All Night Long" (1912), verse 315

6.15. Brooks: "I Wonder Where My Easy Rider's Gone" (1913), chorus, first sixteen measures 318

7.1. a. "Sweet Thing," first stanza 323
b. Harney: " You've Been a Good Old Wagon" (1895), chorus
c. Jones: "Possumala Dance" (1894), chorus
d. Evans: "Standing on the Corner" (1894), first half of verse

7.2. Harney: "Mister Johnson, Turn me Loose" (1896), verse, first section 327

7.3. a. "Mister Frog," first stanza 328
b. "Sugar Babe," first stanza

7.4. Deas and Wilson: "I Natur'ly Loves that Yaller Man" (1898) 333

7.5. Chapman and Smith: "One o' them Things!" (1904), A strain 341

7.6. Jackson: "Texas Rag" (1905), C strain 344

7.7. a. Smith: "Honky Tonky Monkey Rag" (1911), first half of verse 346
b. Brown and Ayer: "Oh You Beautiful Doll" (1911), first half of verse
c. "When Ragtime Rosie Ragged the Rosary" (1911), first half of verse

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

d. Gilbert, Muir, and Abraham: "Let's Go to Savannah G. A." (1911), first half of verse

7.8. Smith: "Honky Tonky Monkey Rag" (1911), chorus 349

7.9. Smith: "Honky Tonky Monkey Rag" (1911), measure 22 351

7.10. Bennett: "St. Louis Tickle" (1902), B strain 352

7.11. Boone: "Southern Rag Medley Number 1," D strain 354

7.12. Boone: "Southern Rag Medley Number 2," D strain 355

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

LIST OF TABLES

3.1.	Causes of the blues in the texts of personal blues sheet music in survey	122
4.1.	Tempo indications of blues sheet music in survey	166
4.2.	Tempo indications in popular songs 1912-17	167
4.3.	Analysis of "The Dardanella Blues" (Chorus)	170
4.4.	a. Melodic contours of individual phrases b. Melodic contours of entire choruses	171
5.1.	Songs by Hughie Cannon showing blues influence	223
5.2.	Comparison of harmonic structure of blues template with "You Needn't Come Home"	231
5.3.	Harmonic outline of measures 5-9 of "Frankie and Johnnie" and "Just Because She Made Dem Goo-goo Eyes"	235
5.4.	Harmonic Outline of the verses of "Frankie and Johnnie" and "Bill Bailey"	236
5.5.	Text for verse 1 of "Frankie and Johnnie" in relation to its twelve-bar structure	239
6.1.	The first six versions of the "Bully Song" to be copyrighted	255
6.2.	Harmonizations of the verse of the "Bully Song" as compared with "Frankie and Johnnie" prototype	269
6.3.	Proto-blues showing the influence of the "Frankie" family	271
6.4.	Harmonization of the verse of "Ain't Dat a Shame?" as compared with "Frankie and Johnnie" prototype	277
6.5.	Harmonization of the chorus of "Ain't Dat a Shame?" as compared with the chorus of "He Done Me Wrong"	278
6.6.	Harmonization of the verse of "Since Bill Bailey Came Back Home" compared with the "Frankie and Johnnie" prototype and "Bill Bailey, Won't You Please Come Home?"	281
6.7.	Harmonization of the verse of Leighton Brothers/Shields "Frankie and Johnny" as compared with prototype	296

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

6.8. Harmonization of the main melody of the Kuhn's "Stack-O-Lee" as compared with that of the first half of the verse of Howard's "The New Bully" 309

7.1. Harmonization of the verse of "I Natur'ly Loves that Yaller Man" 332

7.2. Harmonization of the chorus of "Honky Tonky Monkey Rag" as compared with blues prototype 350

8.1. Growth of the commercial blues industry 367

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1.1. Advertisement in stagebill for Lyceum Theatre, Toledo Ohio, October 1, 1904 52

1.2. Birch: "Billy's Request" (1879), front cover 55

2.1. Sweet: "Prohibition Blues" (1917), front cover 130

4.1. Fisher and Black: "Dardanella Blues" (1920), front cover 180

5.1. The only known photograph of Hughie Cannon 224

8.1. Handy: "The Memphis Blues" (1913), front cover to New York edition featuring Waiman 370

8.2. Sherman and Walsh: "The Broadway Blues" (1915),front cover, featuring Sophie Tucker 372

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Introduction

Blues is surely one of the great success stories of twentieth-century music. From obscure beginnings in the rural American South in the early 1900s, the genre has since come to dominate the landscape of Western vernacular music. As one musicologist has recently expressed it:

> If twentieth-century music has no single main stream, it does at least have something more coherent to bequest the future than the various trickles we grasp at with a mixture of hope and despair. If I hesitate to label it *the* main stream, I have no qualms comparing it to a mighty river. It follows a channel cut by a force known as the blues.[1]

Or, as Willie Dixon has succinctly commented:

> The blues are the roots; everything else is the fruits.[2]

Given the seminal importance and influence of blues, and given that the subject has generated a vast bibliography since the 1920s, it seems remarkable that so little has been written about the specific topic of this dissertation: commercial blues in America before 1921. The knowledgeable blues fan will counter this by quoting the standard line of blues scholarship, that there *was* no mainstream commercial blues industry to speak of before that early date, for it is generally acknowledged that the commercial blues industry really got going only with the issue of Mamie Smith's recording of "Crazy Blues" in the fall of 1920.[3] Before that, there are only the published blues of W. C. Handy (although it is questionable whether these are authentic, or whether they are just the dubious

---

[1] Susan McClary, *Conventional Wisdom: The Content of Musical Form* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), 32.

[2] Quoted on the web page http://www.pbs.org/theblues.

[3] See 6 ff. for further discussion of this point.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

rehashing of folk material), along with some other printed blues, which, being mostly the work of whites, have no relevance to blues history.

It is, therefore, surprising to learn that well over 700 blues were copyrighted before 1921. In addition, there are over 400 blues records made before that date, and a similar number of piano rolls. Some of these compositions were among the most popular musical artifacts of their era. They were performed in vaudeville, on Broadway, in cafés, bars, barrelhouses, speakeasies, and the domestic parlor—everywhere, in fact, where popular music was to be found. In short, by the time "Crazy Blues" was recorded, blues had become thoroughly integrated into the mainstream of popular music. Furthermore, while early commercial blues are rarely unmediated folk music, they are influenced by traditional African-American blues in numerous ways; studying them teaches us much not only about popular music of the era but also the evolution and early development of folk blues.

The purpose of this study is threefold. First, to explore the reasons for the neglect of early commercial blues culture in blues scholarship; second, to come to some understanding of the character of, and influences on, early commercial blues; and third, to examine the relationship between commercial and folk blues, particularly in terms of what the former is able to teach us about the origin and early evolution of the latter.

The first of these tasks—examining the reasons for neglect of early commercial blues culture—is the subject of the first chapter. In it, I survey and then examine blues historiography from its beginnings to the present day. In doing so, I unearth certain underlying attitudes that help to explain why early commercial blues has been comparatively neglected by blues writers.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The second part of the study concerns the identity of early commercial blues. It is itself divided into two parts. The first part (Chapter 2) is a general survey of the commercial blues industry of the 1910s. The second part (Chapters 3 and 4) is a more detailed analysis of 100 early commercial blues which are compared to both popular songs of the day and to early folk blues.

The commercial blues industry begins in 1912. Before then, however, there are a considerable number of published works which show unmistakable features of later blues. These *proto-blues*, as I call them, are the subject of the third section of the study (Chapters 5-7). My analysis of these works has two aims: to show how later commercial blues developed from its commercial antecedents, and to throw light on the evolution of early folk blues, for commercial proto-blues show direct influences of folk music.

This brings us to an important point. Throughout this thesis I use the terms *folk blues* and *commercial blues* oppositionally. This needs some justification, for the two terms—and both the music and the manner of transmission they subsume—at times overlap. For example, anytime a folk-singer is paid for his services, this is clearly in one sense a commercial transaction, even though he is still playing folk music. The terms "folk" and "commercial" are therefore used in this study in a specific sense. The primary criterion for both terms concerns the process of transmission of the music rather than the music itself. This criterion is expressed by Richard A. Reuss as follows:

> [Folk music] owes at least part of its existence to informal transmission from person to person, often orally, and usually face to face over a period of time. The time may be months or generations but it must be sufficient to remove conscious adherence to rote reproduction from a fixed original. In other words, the item must live apart from books, newspapers, phonograph records, tapes, or any other frozen form.[4]

[4] Richard A. Reuss, *American Folk Music and Left-Wing Politics 1927-1957* (Langham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2000), 19-20.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Thus, "folk blues," as I use the term, refers to blues which have been primarily transmitted, as far as can be determined, through oral means. "Commercial blues," on the other hand, refers to blues whose primary transmission is through a "frozen form," most frequently, in our period, a published piece of sheet music. I use the term "commercial" to describe such blues, as one definition of "commercial" is "involved in work that is intended for the mass market,"[5] and nearly all commercial blues are intended one way or another for the mass-marketplace.

I make no claims for the universality of such definitions, not even in the field of blues. For example, in our early twenty-first-century society, there is so little of any cultural consequence that is not transmitted through a "frozen form"—be it book, video, compact disc, motion pictures, the internet, or whatever—that this definition of "folk" no longer has any useful meaning. Within the time frame of this study, however, the situation is quite different. For although the mass-marketplace in music was well established by the 1890s (or before, depending on one's exact definition of "mass-marketplace") with the start-up of Tin Pan Alley, mass culture and consumerism did not yet dominate American society in the way that it would in the later twentieth century. Instead, "folk" and "commercial" cultures co-existed for a time semi-independently (though the distinction between them becomes increasingly blurred throughout the twentieth century). My underlying assumption throughout this work—and it is one that is strongly borne out by the available evidence—is that most characteristic ingredients of

---

[5] "Commercial," definition 1c, in *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2000), 371.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

blues—the twelve-bar sequence, for example—were created in folk culture and were only then incorporated into commercial culture.

One final point. Aside from my first chapter, which is devoted mainly to historiography, this thesis is predominantly musical in approach. That is to say, I focus on the analysis of the music and texts of various blues and blues-related works, along with a detailed discussion of their relationship to one another and to contemporaneous styles. This methodology is most unusual for its field, for blues scholarship is mainly critical, sociological, historical, or biographical in its approach (or some combination of these); musical studies are quite rare. The adoption of an essentially musical approach is in no way meant to suggest that I consider these other methodologies inherently lacking. It is simply meant to help redress what I perceive as a bias away from the music itself towards other factors.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter 1

"YOU CAN'T DRESS UP THE BLUES": ON THE LEGITIMACY OF EARLY COMMERCIAL BLUES

The Rejection of Early Commercial Blues Culture by the Historiographical Mainstream

On August 10, 1920, a seminal event in the history of American vernacular music took place. The African-American vaudeville singer Mamie Smith entered a New York studio and recorded "Crazy Blues" for Okeh records in a session set up by the song's composer, Perry Bradford.[1] This was not the first time that Smith had recorded. On February 14 of that year, she had recorded two other of Bradford's songs for the same company, "That Thing Called Love" and "You Can't Keep a Good Man Down."[2] But, even though the earlier session was highly significant in that it was only the second time a female African-American vocalist had recorded,[3] it is the later session that is celebrated in the annals of American vernacular music. There are three reasons for this. First, her band for the second session was black, making it an all African-American event, whereas for the earlier date it was probably white.[4] Second, it was the first time a female black vocalist had recorded the blues (the songs from Smith's earlier session had been standard Tin Pan Alley material). Third, unlike the earlier release, "Crazy Blues" was a remarkable, and, as far as the industry was concerned, a totally unexpected commercial

---

[1] Released as Okeh/Phonola 4169.

[2] Released as Okeh/Phonola 4113.

[3] The only other was Belle Davis who had recorded the song "Honeysuckle and the Bee" at the turn of the century.

[4] Probably Hager's Orchestra, a white studio group, with Frank Banta on piano. See Robert M. Dixon, John Godrich, and Howard M. Rye, *Blues and Gospel Records 1890-1943*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 828.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

hit. It was the success of this record (seventy-five thousand copies were allegedly sold in the first month[5]) that marks it as the beginning of the race record industry of the 1920s (records specifically marketed to African-Americans), a phenomenon that has left us a unique legacy of performances by major African-American artists in blues, jazz, gospel, and related styles. Clearly, then, "Crazy Blues" must be regarded as a milestone in popular music.

In mainstream narratives of blues history, Smith's "Crazy Blues" has acquired an additional, still greater, significance: it is seen as the moment when blues passed for the first time from folk culture to the commercial sector. For example, Giles Oakley writes in his widely respected *The Devil's Music: A History of the Blues*:

> [Mamie Smith's "Crazy Blues"] was a major breakthrough, a turning point in blues history. It was the moment the music ceased to be transmitted exclusively through local folk culture, with all the transcience of 'live' performance.[6]

Another standard book on the subject, Austin Sonnier Jr.'s *Guide to the Blues* makes the same point in its introduction:

> Until [the release of "Crazy Blues"], the blues had developed slowly, being transmitted orally by country itinerant performers and directed only toward the blacks of the South.[7]

Yet both of these statements completely ignore the fact that by the time Mamie Smith recorded "Crazy Blues" there was a flourishing mainstream commercial blues industry in America that had been growing exponentially for nearly a decade. From humble beginnings in 1912, when just four blues were published, the industry grew at an astonishing pace; by the end of 1920, just eight years later, more than seven hundred

---

[5] Perry Bradford, *Born with the Blues*, (New York: Oak Publications, 1965), 115.

[6] Giles Oakley, *The Devil's Music: A History of the Blues* (London: Ariel Books, 1983), 84.

[7] Austin Sonnier, Jr., *A Guide to the Blues* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994), 65.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

different blues titles had been copyrighted.[8] The industry was based on published compositions, and these permeated American culture through sales of sheet music, enhanced by live performances in vaudeville and on Broadway, and recorded performances on flat-disc, cylinder and piano-roll.[9] Yet it is clear that both Oakley and Sonnier ignore the existence of this industry. For Oakley, the pre- "Crazy Blues" period saw the blues transmitted "exclusively through local folk culture," and Sonnier echoes this view. It is simply as though the industry never existed.

While not all writers go quite to this extreme, there has been until recently minimal discussion of the pre-"Crazy Blues" commercial blues industry, a remarkable fact considering its prominence at the time and just how much material has been written on blues in the first century of its existence. To cite some other standard books on the subject: Paul Oliver makes no mention of it in his *The Story of the Blues,*[10] nor does Bruce Bastin in *Red River Blues: The Blues Tradition in the Southeast*;[11] nor again, Jeff Todd Titon in *Early Downhome Blues: A Musical and Cultural Analysis.*[12] While there are some exceptions (to be discussed below), the prevailing view, therefore, is clearly that pre-1921 commercial blues culture is a topic of irrelevance to blues history.

There are two major implications to be drawn from the ignoring of early commercial blues. First, there is the question of historical significance. Bypassing the

---

[8] Listed in Appendix 1.

[9] Flat-disk cylinder recordings listed are in Appendix 2, piano rolls in Appendix 3.

[10] Radnor, Pa.: Chilton Book Co., n.d.. The only reference in this work is a passing one to two of the 1912 blues compositions, on p. 25.

[11] 1986; reprint, Urbana: Univeristy of Illinois Press, 1995.

[12] 2nd ed., Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

early blues industry suggests that, in the view of blues historians, it had too little influence on contemporaneous or later developments in the genre to merit serious comment; and, further, that it does not reflect the development of mainstream blues to a great enough extent to be used as a source for understanding the evolution of the genre.

The second implication is a more fundamental one, and concerns ontological status, that is, the question of whether such blues should really be considered blues at all. Clearly they have not been, since, if they were, they would be included in blues histories, especially when one considers that at this early date there is so little else that is musically concrete to write about. In other words, the currently accepted definition of blues does not accommodate or include the early commercial style.

The subject of this chapter is the second of these areas, the legitimacy of early commercial blues: whether such blues can be thought of as "real" blues, and if so, in what contexts (the first area–their historical importance–will be a central theme of later chapters).

My strategy is as follows:

1. I present an overview of blues literature, confining myself to works that are concerned–partially or primarily–with the development of blues before "Crazy Blues";
2. I then discuss certain attitudes behind much of this writing, specifically those that construct definitions of blues that necessarily brand early commercial blues culture as "inauthentic";
3. I then argue that an expansion of such definition(s) to embrace early commercial blues culture would firstly broaden and deepen our understanding

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of blues and the historical processes that have molded it; and, furthermore, that such an expansion is entirely in line with recent developments in musicological historiography.

Historical Writings about Blues: An Overview

The body of literature on blues is vast. The definitive blues bibliography, that by Hart, Eagles, and Howorth, *The Blues: A Bibliographic Guide*, is more than six hundred pages long; it was published in 1989, and the literature has grown substantially since then. The blues literature is, therefore, enormous, and a full discussion of it is well beyond the scope of this study.[13] The discussion here is consequently delimited in two respects.

First, I will discuss only works that are considered seminal in the development of blues discourse as it has unfolded in the eighty-plus years of its existence. My selection is not made *de novo*, but is informed by the various, mainly recent, studies that have examined aspects of blues literature, out of which it is possible to synthesize a coherent historical narrative of blues criticism.[14]

Second, as my interest is confined to the early (pre-1921)[15] development of blues,

---

[13] For example, an entire Ph.D. dissertation recently appeared on certain highly focused aspects of blues literature. See John Dougan, "Two Steps from the Blues: Discourse and Constructing Canons in Blues Criticism," Ph.D. Dissertation, College of William and Mary (2001).

[14] The main sources are David Evans, *Big Road Blues: Tradition & Creativity in the Folk Blues* (1982; reprint, New York: Da Capo, 1987), especially 87-105; Dougan, "Two Steps from the Blues"; James Lincoln Collier *The Reception of Jazz in America: A New View* (Brooklyn: Institute for Studies in American Music, 1988); and John Gennari, "The Politics of Culture and Identity in American Jazz Criticism," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1993.

[15] Although recorded in August 1920, "Crazy Blues" was not released until November. I have made my cut-off the end of December for convenience and because it is not possible, in any case, to locate the exact date of release beyond the month.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

I will restrict myself to works that are concerned–whether partially or primarily–with this area. I will therefore focus on historical writing that deals, directly or otherwise, with the subject of early blues, both as a separate subject and in relation to the development of other genres (especially jazz), as well as the works that approach the subject folkloristically, as such works tend to embody a historical agenda related to origins and development of the style.

Historical consciousness about blues arose during the 1920s. As the genre acquired an increasingly permanent foothold in American mainstream culture, the question of its origins as folk music became a subject for serious consideration for the first time.[16] Consequently, the earliest studies about blues appeared in the period 1925-1928 and were written by folklorists. Black folk music had, of course, been the subject of scholarly attention long before this, the first important work in the field dating from around the time of Emancipation.[17] But the various collections and studies that appeared before the 1920s had focused mainly on religious music—particularly the spiritual—and had marginalized secular music.[18] In contrast, the works of the 1920s showed a new-found interest in black secular folk music. Indeed, the first of these, Dorothy Scarborough's *On the Trail of Negro Folksongs* (1925), dealt entirely with secular

---

[16] There was hardly any serious writing about the genre before the 1920s; for the little that there is, see Evans, *Big Road Blues*, 87-88.

[17] William Francis Allen, Charles Pickard Ware and Lucy McKim Garrison, *Slave Songs of the United States* (1867; reprint, New York: Dover, 1995).

[18] Apart from *Slave Songs of the United States*, the two most important and widely disseminated works of the late nineteenth century concerned spirituals. They are Mary Frances Armstrong and Helen Ludlow, *Hampton and Its Students. By Two of Its Teachers: With Fifty Cabin and Plantation Songs, arranged by Thomas P. Fenner* (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1874); and J.B.T. Marsh, *The Story of the Jubilee Singers, With Their Songs* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1876). In the early twentieth century the most important study is Henry Edward Krehbiel, *Afro-American Folksongs* (New York: Schirmer, 1913), which, while not

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

material.[19] Scarborough, a folklorist at Columbia University, arranged her book according to genre, devoting chapters to "negro ballads," dance-songs, game-songs, lullabies, songs about animals, work-songs, railroad songs, and, as her last chapter, blues. Scarborough's book, like the work of other folklorists of the 1920s was essentially text-based with only a few examples of melodies provided.

Scarborough's book was followed by two studies by Howard W. Odum and Guy W. Johnson, *The Negro and His Songs*[20] and *Negro Workaday Songs.*[21] Odum, the force behind both books, was a folklorist and professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina. The first of the books, *The Negro and His Songs*, was essentially an updating of a pair of extended articles by Odum, one on religious music, the other on secular, first published in 1908 and 1911, respectively.[22] Because of their early date, however, there is no specific discussion of blues, though, as David Evans has pointed out, certain of the quoted song-texts relate to blues, making this an important early document in the study of blues pre-history.[23] *Negro Workaday Songs*, published the following year, is much more significant. Thoroughly up-to-date, the book gives the topic of blues prime position (as the second chapter, where the genre is treated to a thorough discussion and comprehensive textual analysis). Indeed the authors believed that "next to the spirituals,

---

exclusively devoted to religious music, is centered round it (there is certainly no reference in this study to anything directly related to a blues).

[19] Reprint, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963.

[20] Westport, CT: Negro Universities Press, 1925.

[21] Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1926.

[22] "Folk-Song and Folk-Poetry as Found in the Secular Songs of the Southern Negroes," *Journal of American Folk-lore*, 25 (1911), 255-95 and 351-96; "Religious Folk-Songs of the Southern Negro," *American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education*, 3 (1908-9), 265-365.

[23] Evans, *Big Road Blues*, 35-37.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the blues are probably the Negro's most distinctive contribution to the American art."[24] Two years later, a Duke University professor of English, Newman I. White, published *American Negro Folk-Songs*,[25] which also included a chapter on blues.

Thus the first scholarly writing about blues—Scarborough's 1925 study, Odum's *Negro Workaday Songs* from 1926, and Newman White's survey from 1928—essentially treated the subject folkloristically as one of several sub-genres of African-American folk music. Superficially different in approach was W. C. Handy's *Blues: An Anthology*,[26] the first work to be exclusively devoted to the subject, and indeed the only one until the late 1950s. Handy, as the foremost composer and publisher of popular blues, approached the matter from a commercial rather than scholarly standpoint. Thus, most of the items in Handy's anthology were not unmediated transcriptions from folk sources, but were published compositions sometimes influenced by traditional blues and sometimes not; the anthology closes, for example, with an excerpt from Gershwin's Concerto in F. Nevertheless, Handy still regarded blues as being basically folk music, as is made explicit in the well-informed introduction to the anthology by his friend Abbe Niles,[27] and in this important respect he was in line with the folklorists.

The next important wave of commentary on the subject began during the Depression and gathered momentum throughout the latter half of the 1930s and the

---

[24] Odum and Johnson, *Negro Workaday Songs*, 17.

[25] Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928.

[26] New York: A. & Boni, 1926.

[27] Niles's introduction was wide-ranging and included an analysis of the text and music of folk-blues; a discussion of its origins; an examination of features such as the blue note; the relationship between blues and jazz; biographical information on Handy; and the adaptation of folk-blues to the commercial sector. Niles was a white lawyer and amateur folklorist. For further details, see Elliott S. Hurwitt, "W.C. Handy as Music Publisher: Career and Reputation," Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, (2000), 315-22.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1940s. It was centered on a new, and increasingly prioritized, concern in the study of American vernacular music: jazz.

The first serious writing about jazz as the term is generally understood today dates from the second half of the 1920s, in the form of articles in newspapers, periodicals, and other ephemera.[28] However, it was not until the following decade that the first books on the subject appeared.[29] There were in fact four major jazz publications in America in the 1930s. The first was Hughes Panassié's *Hot Jazz* of 1936,[30] which had first appeared in Europe as *Le Jazz Hot* two years earlier. This was followed by three American books at the end of the decade: Winthrop Sargeant's *Jazz: Hot and Hybrid*;[31] Wilder Hobson's *American Jazz Music*;[32] and the highly influential *Jazzmen* by Frederic Ramsey, Jr., and Charles Edward Smith.[33]

All four of these books emphasized the importance of blues in relation to jazz, probably inspired in part by Niles's introduction to Handy's *Blues: An Anthology*, which was the first serious study to highlight the connection between the two genres.[34]

---

[28] These are surveyed in Collier, *The Reception of Jazz in America*, 29-41.

[29] Although there were several books devoted solely to jazz which appeared on both sides of the Atlantic during the 1920s, such as Henry O. Osgood's *So This Is Jazz* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1926); André Coeuroy and André Schaeffner's *Le jazz* (Paris: Éditions Claude Aveline, 1926); A. Baresel *Das Jazz-Buch* (Leipzig: Zimmermann, 1926); Emil Burian, *Jazz* (Prague: Storch-Marien, 1928), these treated jazz as being synonymous with the so-called symphonic jazz of Paul Whiteman and others. As such, none of the books contains much discussion of what would nowadays be called jazz (the only mention of African American musicians in Osgood's work, for example, being confined to a footnote on page 103). The first to do so was Robert Goffin's *Aux frontières du jazz* (Paris: Éditions du Sagittaire, 1932) which, however, made no mention of blues, although it did devote a chapter to African-American spirituals.

[30] Westport, CT: Negro Universities Press.

[31] New York: Arrow Editions, 1938.

[32] New York: Norton, 1939.

[33] New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1939

[34] Handy, *Blues: An Anthology*, 17-19.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Panassié's *Hot Jazz* clearly articulated the importance of blues in the evolution of jazz. Quoting from the trumpeter Ray Binder, who had recently written an extended article on the origins of jazz in a French jazz magazine,[35] Panassié gave a highly romanticized account of the origins of blues, and followed this with a description of the alleged relationship between improvisation in early jazz and the blues:

> [After the First World War,] a few soloists began to appear who took care, in elaborating on the theme, to devise a melodic line that would be logical and truly musical. Such soloists usually took as a point of departure for their variations these same authentic themes (principally the "blues" just referred to) and developed on such tunes phrases that were in the same style but more varied and extended. We can say that the hot style is partly derived from Negro melodies of a special type, and this is why there are some tunes which can be played hot just as they are, without any modification.[36]

This view of the direct relevance of blues to jazz was expanded in the three American books on jazz which appeared at the end of the decade: Sergeant's study had a full, and thoroughly researched, chapter on "The Derivation of the Blues";[37] Hobson also discussed blues in his chapter on jazz origins;[38] while *Jazzmen* devoted a chapter to blues by E. Simms Campbell,[39] and another one on the commercial blues style boogie-woogie by William Russell.[40]

The privileging of blues in jazz studies that was thus well established by the end of the 1930s continued apace throughout the 1940s. Rudi Blesh, for example, whose

---

[35] "Historique au Jazz," *Jazz-Tango-Dancing*, 4/10 (December 1931), and 5/3 (March/June 1932).

[36] Panassié, *Hot Jazz*, 26-27.

[37] Sergeant, *Jazz: Hot and Hybrid*, 145-61.

[38] Hobson, *American Jazz Music*, 33-37. Hobson based this account largely on Abbé Niles's preface to W. C. Handy's *Blues: An Anthology* discussed earlier.

[39] "Blues," 101-18.

[40] "Boogie-woogie," 183-208.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

influential *Shining Trumpets: A History of Jazz*[41] included two chapters on blues, expanded considerably on the work of earlier writers, in the process developing his own taxonomy, which will be examined later. In the same year, the British critic Ernest Bornemann incorporated blues, along with other African American folk-musics, into his anthropological/sociological study of the subject.[42] Two years later, an American, Sidney Finkelstein, included a forty-five page chapter on "The Blues and the Folk Song of Jazz" in his survey *Jazz: A People's Music*.[43] By the end of the 1940s, therefore, if not before, blues had become an integral component of jazz scholarship. Indeed, as the folklorists John A. and Alan Lomax expressed it in 1947, the prevailing view was that blues "formed jazz,"[44] and, more specifically, was "the well-spring of jazz from which it drew its inspiration and its improvisation."[45]

A major step forward in blues criticism was taken with the appearance of Samuel Charters's *The Country Blues* (New York: Rinehart, 1959/r. 1975). Apart from Handy's 1926 anthology, this was the first time blues had been treated independently, outside the context of either black folk-music or jazz. Although the book was in part a history of the blues, its main aim seems to have been to create a kind of blues Hall of Fame, with separate chapters devoted to important early blues musicians such as Blind Lemon

---

[41] New York: Alfred Knopf, 1946.

[42] Ernest Bornemann, *A Critic Looks at Jazz* (London: Jazz Books, 1946). Bornemann, who studied with the pioneering ethnomusicologist Erich von Hornborstel, was also influenced in his approach by Winthrop Sergeant's *Jazz: Hot and Hybrid.*

[43] New York: Citadel Press, 1948/r. 1975.

[44] John A, Lomax, and Alan Lomax, *Folk Song: U.S.A.* (New York: Signet, 1947), 70.

[45] Paul Oliver, "That Certain Feeling: Blues and Jazz...in 1890?" *Popular Music* 10/1 (1991), 11. In general, this article contains the most comprehensive discussion of the relationship between blues and jazz historiography.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Jefferson, the Memphis Jug Band, and Leroy Carr, and concluded with portraits of (then) contemporary artists such as Lightnin' Hopkins and Muddy Waters. Some of Charters's choices would nowadays be considered eccentric (for example, Lonnie Johnson, a prolific and stylistically diverse figure, who not only extensively recorded blues as a soloist and a sideman, but also ventured successfully into jazz, to whom Charters devotes a chapter, is no longer regarded as being at the level that Charters places him), but in essence his book lays the groundwork for the creation of the blues canon as we know it today.[46]

This approach to the study of the blues was innovative. Unlike Handy's earlier anthology, it was not commercially motivated. In fact, in its painstaking efforts to document the lives and careers of important bluesmen, with all the extensive field research that that entailed, the book was more in line with the work of the 1920 folklorists such as Dorothy Scarborough and Howard Odum. However, the folklorists were essentially concerned with an objective, scholarly examination of music and text, whereas Charters's rhetorical style, and his focus on the canonic figures, was overtly populist. As such, *The Country Blues* was profoundly influential; in David Evans's assessment, it was the basic inspiration for "the flood of publications, documentary phonograph records, and intensive research that has come to be known as 'the blues revival'."[47]

In 1960, a year after Charters's book, an equally significant work on blues appeared, *Blues Fell This Morning* by British author Paul Oliver. Like Charters, Oliver

---

[46] For a more detailed critique of *The Country Blues*, and Charters's work in general, see Evans, *Big Road Blues*, 99-100.

[47] Evans, *Big Road Blues*, 99.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

focused mainly on the work of rural male singers nowadays thought of as the core of the early blues canon. Unlike Charters, however, whose approach was biographical, Oliver's work consisted mainly of a sociological analysis of blues texts (taken entirely from issued recordings), and his scholarly, sober style was in marked contrast to the rhetorical approach of *The Country Blues*. The impact of these two books cannot be overestimated. Between them, they "announced the beginning of a new era in blues scholarship and blues discourse,"[48] a third, and fully evolved, stage, which Oliver has characterized as "the independent consideration of its origins, traditions, forms and exponents."[49]

Since then, there has been a flood of literature on the blues, not only in books but also in specialist magazines such as *Living Blues*, *Blues World*, and *Blues Unlimited*, not to mention liner notes to numerous LP/CD reissues, and, more recently, websites such as <www.bluesworld.com>, all of which have expanded the scope and added considerably to historical understanding of blues. Taken together, this literature comprises a vast body of work ranging from the scholarly to the populist, and reflects a number of different disciplines in the academy and trends in contemporary Western culture in general. For example, there are books on the subject which reflect the civil rights movement,[50] feminism,[51] ethnomusicology,[52] and so forth. What they all have in common is the consciousness of blues as an autonomous genre, separate from jazz and

---

[48] Dougan, "Two Steps from the Blues," 133.

[49] Paul Oliver, "Blues," in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell (London: Macmillan, 2000), Vol. 2, 730.

[50] Such as Amiri Baraka, *Blues People* (New York: William Morrow, 1963).

[51] Such as Angela Davis, *Blues Legacies and Black Feminism* (New York: Vintage, 1998).

[52] Such as Jeff Todd Titon, *Early Downhome Blues: A Musical and Cultural Analysis* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

other kinds of folk music, which, as I have remarked, has been a feature of the blues discourse since Oliver's and Charters's publications of 1959-60. In summary, therefore, the history of blues scholarship can be thought of as encompassing three phases:

(1) Folklore studies from the 1920s;

(2) Jazz-based scholarship since the 1930s;

(3) The fully independent treatment of the subject since the late 1950s.[53]

The following question arises: why has each of these phases dealt so scantily, if at all, with early commercial blues? Until recently, there have been very few exceptions. One such is Handy's *Blues: An Anthology*, which has been almost continuously available in various editions since 1926, and which mainly consists of popular blues, because of Handy's own commercial interests. In fact, in sharp contrast to the folklorists of the 1920s, Handy viewed recent commercial blues as in some ways superior to their folk-sources, labeling the latter as "blue diamonds in the rough," as he later expressed it.[54] Consequently, Abbe Niles's introduction paints Handy and his contemporaries in a positive light, and presents a progressive view of blues history, where early folk blues was viewed as "an amorphous mass of traditional elements which were not given stable form until Handy and other composers began to write them down."[55] Such an approach in serious writing about the blues, however, was exceptional.

---

[53] I should add that I am not implying that each of the first two stages gave way to its successor. Folklore studies have obviously continued to appear since the 1930s, while blues remains an integral element of jazz studies up to the present day.

[54] This phrase is the title of the tenth chapter of Handy's autobiography, *Father of the Blues: An Autobiography* (1941; reprint, New York: Da Capo, 1991).

[55] Evans, *Big Road Blues*, 89.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Until twenty years ago, the only other major blues writer to deal with the pre-1921 commercial blues was Samuel Charters in *The Country Blues*, who included an account of the earliest commercial blues published in 1912-13 in his discussion on blues pre-history.[56] The reason for the inclusion, albeit limited, of early commercial blues in Charters's historical narrative, aside from the dearth of other documentary material in the period before recordings, was his basic interest in commercial blues. For although, as earlier discussed, Charters's study was confined to male African-American country blues singers, within that sub-genre he selected mainly commercially successful artists such as Big Bill Broonzy, Brownie McGhee, and Lightnin' Hopkins, and avoided figures such as Skip James, whose importance was unrecognized at the time of their recordings. In fact, as Charters himself stated after the event, he tried to give "a somewhat balanced picture of the blues by structuring the book around commercial blues marketing."[57]

With the exceptions of Charters and Handy/Niles, however, my survey shows that early commercial blues has generally been given short shrift by blues writers.[58] I believe there are two interrelated attitudes at work in blues culture that between them have created a climate since the 1920s in which early commercial blues is branded inauthentic. The first is anti-commercialism, the rejection of early commercial blues because of its commercial aspect. The second is more deep-seated and almost universal in writing about blues until quite recently: phonocentricism, defined as the privileging of oral over written communication.

---

[56] Charters, *The Country Blues*, 34-42.

[57] Ibid., xv.

[58] This situation has changed recently, with a tentative softening of earlier attitudes evident in historical writing about blues over the last two decades. I will discuss this change of climate later in the chapter (68 ff.).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Anti-Commercialism

A major reason for branding early commercial blues inauthentic, and hence neglecting it, is its overt commercial aspect. As such it has been the victim of *anti-commercialism*, which I define as a prejudice against a cultural artifact that is associated with a mass-marketed mainstream as opposed to one associated with a culture marginalized in relation to that mainstream. Implicit in this is the belief that the mainstream is corrupt, often with a sense that materialism has won out over higher values associated with true artistic expression. The notion of anti-commercialism equates the term "commercial" with adjectives such as "inauthentic," "corrupt," and, in the case of blues, "urban." Correspondingly, "non-commercial" is perceived as "authentic," "pure" and "rural/folk." Anti-commercialism has been a major force in the construction of aesthetic attitudes and canon formation in American culture. As James Lincoln Collier states it:

> In twentieth-century America, the terms 'art' and 'commerce' have come to be seen as so antithetical as almost to preclude any one person's pursuing both. "Going commercial" is precisely the abandonment of art: What is art cannot be commerce, and what is commercial cannot be artistic.[59]

In terms of blues, anti-commercialism is a central thread that can be traced from the earliest serious commentary on blues during the 1920s to the present; it is already apparent in Scarborough's *On the Trail of Negro Folk-Songs* from 1925, which, as I

---

[59] James Lincoln Collier, *Jazz: The American Theme Song* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 91. Of course such attitudes are not confined to twentieth-century America: on the contrary, the construction of a dualistic aesthetic which validates the purity of folk culture over the perceived corruption of the societal mainstream has roots in Western culture dating back at least to the Enlightenment. See Benjamin Filene, *Romancing the Folk: Public Memory & American Roots Music* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 9-12. For a more general discussion of this phenomenon, see Leo Treitler, "The Politics of Reception: Tailoring the Present as Fulfilment of a Desired Past," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 116 (1991), 280-298.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

noted, is the earliest work to include a scholarly discussion of blues. Scarborough sees the forces of musical commercialism as being destructive to the folk material that is her main interest, and comments on the need to collect more folk source material "before [it] vanishes forever, killed by the Victrola, the radio, the lure of cheap printed music."[60] Similarly Newman White, in his study of blues from 1928, regrets that

> the value of the blues as an expression of the folk-Negro's mind is somewhat impaired by the fact that the folk blues and the factory product are to-day almost inextricably linked.[61]

Both Scarborough and White were representatives of an anthropological approach called *evolutionism* that had dominated folk studies since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Evolutionists viewed folksong was "a delicate remnant from a bygone culture," and believed that the task of the folklorists was "to preserve it from being trampled by the pernicious forces of change."[62] In the case of folk blues of the 1920s, these "pernicious forces" were seen as commercialism in its various mass-marketplace manifestations, particularly the radio and phonograph.

However, not all blues writers of the era saw things in this way. Odum and Johnson argued for the vitality of commercial blues culture:

> In their own way [commercial blues] are vastly superior to the cruder folk productions, since they have all of the advantages of the artificial over the natural.[63]

---

[60] Scarborough, *On the Trail of Negro Folk-Songs*, 281-82.

[61] White, *American Negro Folk Songs*, 389.

[62] Filene, *Romancing the Folk*, 138.

[63] *Negro Workaday Songs*, 34. The privileging of commercial blues over folk blues reflects a commonly held view of the 1920s that the future of African-American music lay in taking its essence and refining it. This approach can, in fact, be traced back to the late nineteenth century, crystallizing in the famous statement of Dvořák that "Negro melodies" should be regarded as "the folk songs of America and your composers must turn to them. . . In the Negro melodies of America I discover all that is needed for a great and noble school of music" ("The Real Value of Negro Melodies," *New York Herald*, May 21, 1893). This approach is predominant in jazz criticism of the 1920s. For example, Gilbert Seldes, in an influential critique of jazz, argued that "none of the things the Negro offers can matter unless they are apprehended by

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Odum and Johnson's pro-commercialist approach resulted in them being among the first to acknowledge the historical importance of blues sheet music, commenting, with only partial accuracy, that "the first songs appearing in print under the name of blues were based directly upon actual songs already current among Negroes."[64] These writers also examined the relationship between notated and recorded sources in early blues, acknowledging the primacy of sheet music before the era of the gramophone in disseminating blues, and noted that:

> In the last ten years the phonograph record has surpassed sheet music as a conveyor of blues to the public. Sheet music, however, is still important. In fact, practically every "hit" is issued in both the published and phonographed form.[65]

Together with Handy's *Blues: An Anthology*, Odum and Johnson's *Negro Workaday Songs* displays a liberal and well-informed attitude to commercialism that is rarely found in folkloristic writing about blues until the 1950s.

There is also some validation of commercial blues to be found in jazz commentary of the 1930s. Ramsey and Smith's *Jazzmen*, for example, contains a chapter on blues based on an extended interview with the black composer, publisher, and

---

the mind as well as the body and spirit... [T]he greatest art is likely to be that in which an uncorrupted sensibility is *worked* by a creative intelligence" (*The Seven Lively Arts* [New York: Harper Brothers, 1924], 98; original emphasis). Or, as one writer succinctly expressed it: "Jazz serves primitive rhythm on a civilized platter" (Don Knowlton, "The Anatomy of Jazz," *Harpers Magazine*, 152 [Apr. 1926], 580). In terms of blues, as well as Odum and Johnson's work, W. C. Handy spoke in a 1923 interview of a "high class 'blues' composer" who invariably "takes into consideration harmony and the various other musical attributes," adding:"a good blues number could very easily be arranged for a symphony orchestra" ("Origin of 'Blues' Numbers," *Sheet Music News* [October 1923]: 9). Into all this must also be fitted the philosophy of racial uplift (which I have previously discussed in the context of African-American press commentary on blues in the 1920s) which resonated not only with black writers like Handy, but also with liberal whites blues commentators like Abbe Niles.

[64] *Negro Workaday Songs*, 34.

[65] *Negro Workaday Songs*, 23.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

recording artist Clarence Williams, who had been publishing blues since the late teens.[66] Post-Depression jazz writers like Ramsey and Smith are, unlike the folkloristic blues writers of the 1920s, not overly concerned with the question of authenticity in blues. They were instead preoccupied with authenticity in jazz. One manifestation of this is through the articulation of anti-commercialism.

The basic dualism of these writers was between "sweet" or "symphonic" jazz—the largely arranged dance-band style using a large orchestra, often with strings, originally championed in the 1920s by Paul Whiteman, which had since developed by the 1930s into an independent genre—and "hot" jazz—a term associated with the rawer, more swinging improvisatory small-band style of Louis Armstrong and others. In the view of hardcore jazz writers of the 1930s, the sweet style was seen as being mainstream, hence commercial, and the hot style as being more authentic and creative.[67] Already by 1929, the American critic Roger Pryor Dodge had stated his opposition to the sweet jazz, dubbing it "bogus" and a "bastard" style. Meanwhile, he regarded hot jazz as the more creative form, and the only "true" style.[68] By the time of Panassié's *Le Jazz Hot* of 1934, the dualism between sweet and hot styles had become a central concern, with the author claiming that the former represented "only the commercial exploitation of music by

---

[66] E. Simms Campbell, "Blues," in Ramsey and Smith, *Jazzmen*, 101-118.

[67] In fact, the distinction had been around for some years before it was taken up by jazz critics of the 1930s, with the difference that the trend, at least among mainstream writers, was to prefer the sweet style. For instance, Gilbert Seldes in 1924 had drawn a parallel distinction between Negro (=hot) and intellectual (=sweet), making clear that his preference was for the latter, his favorite band, for example, being Paul Whiteman's (*Seven Lively Arts*, 93, 99).

[68] Roger Pryor Dodge, "Negro Jazz," *The Dancing Times*, October, 1929, reprinted in Dodge, *Hot Jazz and Jazz Dance: Collected Writings 1929-64* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 6-8.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

musicians who make concessions to get more money."[69] Indeed, a preoccupation of the book is the distinction between the authentic and the inauthentic based along the sweet/hot, commercial/non-commercial polarity. For example, Panassié wrote of the British band leader Jack Hylton that he "cannot produce authentic jazz. . . His interest is 'commercial'."[70]

The result of all this is that a major achievement of 1930s jazz criticism is to construct an influential, and strongly defined, notion of authenticity for the genre:

> By the end of the 30s the jazz discourse manifested a tension between art and entertainment; between mass consumer preferences, on the one hand, and afficiando-generated notions of an anti-commercial, "authentic" jazz tradition, on the other.[71]

The motivation for the construction of this type of authenticity was political. Influenced, as Collier has shown, by the prevailing left-wing climate, the critics presented jazz as a type of folk music whose purity was contrasted to the alleged decadence of mainstream commercial music. For example, Charles Edward Smith, a major voice in the jazz discourse of the 1930s, wrote in 1933 that "true" jazz "drew attention to the economic plight of the masses and stimulated their growing class consciousness."[72] Using overt Marxist terminology in a similar fashion, Hughes Panassié compared the purity of folk jazz to mainstream pop-music, which was depicted as "wish fulfillment music, folk music 'from above' " that aimed to "hoodwink the masses and divert them

---

[69] Panassié, *Hot Jazz*, 20.

[70] Panassié, *Hot Jazz*, 19.

[71] Gennari, "The Politics of Culture and Identity in American Jazz Criticism," 123.

[72] "Class Content of Jazz Music," *the Daily Worker*, October 21, 1933.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

from their revolutionary class struggles."[73] While such an overt political statement was untypical in jazz writing of the day, left-wing ideologies were nevertheless the dominant philosophical underpinning of such criticism. All the major jazz writers of the 1930s, Panassié, Smith, Frederic Ramsey Jr., R. D. Darrell, Otis Ferguson, and John Hammond, even if they were not card-carrying members, were communist by inclination, "generic communists," to use Michael Denning's term, "the way earlier generations thought of themselves as generic 'socialists,' 'feminists,' or 'radicals.'"[74]

What was the status of blues with these writers? As noted, they were not overly concerned with the question of authenticity with blues in the way that they were with jazz. Indeed, in most instances they were not particularly interested in blues *per se*. They did not need to be. The work of the 1920s folklorists and that of Handy's anthology had effectively defined blues as folk music. This was not the case with jazz. On the contrary, mainstream 1920s jazz writers such as Gilbert Seldes had defined the truest form of jazz as the symphonic style and had downplayed its folk connections.[75] Jazz writers of the 1930s were attempting, for the political reasons I have outlined, to redefine jazz as being essentially folk, rather than commercial, music. I would suggest, then, that jazz critics of the 1930s were using blues's accepted status as folk music to validate their "bottom-up" definition of jazz. If jazz was deeply rooted in blues, and blues was accepted as folk music, this greatly strengthened the argument about jazz being folk

---

[73] Hughes Panassié, *The Real Jazz* (New York: Smith & Durrell, 1947), 21.

[74] Michael Denning, *The Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Verso, 1997), xviii. For discussion regarding the left-wing bias of these critics, see Collier, *The Reception of Jazz in America*, 70ff.

[75] See above, fn. 67.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

music also.[76] So the focus in writing about jazz in the 1930s was not on the authenticity of blues but of jazz.

This situation changed the following decade, however, when the sense of anti-commercialism in the literature about jazz spread to blues. The seminal work in this regard is Rudi Blesh's 1946 jazz history *Shining Trumpets*, the first important historical writing about jazz to display an overt anti-commericalism in connection with blues. Blesh was probably influenced by the work of Alan Lomax, who, with his father John A. Lomax, had become enormously influential in shaping American folklore discourse in the 1930s. The Lomaxes's philosophy was in keeping with the times: they promoted the notion of a true American folk music which was at its most pure when furthest removed from commercial sources. In particular, the Lomaxes's discovery of the African-American folksinger Leadbelly (who made extensive recordings of blues) in Angola prison, Louisiana, in 1933, and the singer's subsequent celebrity and high-profile musical career stage-managed by his discoverers, brought home to a wide public contemporary notions of authenticity and folk music.[77]

---

[76] In fact, it would probably be less contentious to argue this the other way round: that the critics of the 1920s had constructed a "top-down" definition of jazz, that had, through political motivation, suppressed the folk/racial element of the genre; in this reading, the writers of the 1930s were simply restoring a central component to the historical narrative of jazz that had been earlier suppressed.

[77] For an account of the Lomaxes's relationship with Leadbelly, see Filene, *Romancing the Folk*, 45-75. Among other things, Filene shows just how carefully constructed–and how artificially–was Leadbelly's public image: "As the Lomaxes knew, Lead Belly's commercial strength depended on the perception that his songs were 'pure folk.' But they also recognized that popular audiences would not necessarily appreciate the folk style unadulterated [it was, at least in Leadbelly's case, considered too raw for mainstream taste]. So, even as the Lomaxes worked to preserve Lead Belly's 'authenticity,' they encouraged him to make his singing more accessible to urban audiences" (65). Their desire to mold Leadbelly to their specifications extended to repertoire as well as manner of performance where they tried to urge him away from commercial music: "the Lomaxes found Lead Belly's attraction to ersatz cowboys [like Gene Autrey and Roy Rogers] and crooning balladeers disquieting, and they did their best to restrict him to his traditional repertoire." (71)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Blesh's anti-commercial attitude to blues in *Shining Trumpets* resulted in an entirely new taxonomy for the genre, with what was allegedly the least commercial style ("preclassic") presented as the most authentic. Blesh divided the blues into three styles: the "preclassic" or "archaic" blues (Blind Lemon Jefferson and Robert Johnson), which was deemed the most authentic; "classic" blues (Ma Rainey, Bessie Smith), which, although being less authentic, showed "a growth in expressive means and in communicated power"; and "postclassic" blues (Roosevelt Sykes, Lonnie Johnson) which was basically viewed as a weaker style and in some cases represented "a decadent type of form."[78] Blesh was outspoken on this subject. Earlier in *Shining Trumpets* he had declared:

> Commercialism [is] a cheapening and deteriorative force, a species of murder perpetrated on a wonderful music by whites and by those misguided negroes who, for one or another reason, chose to be accomplices to the deed. . . Commercialism is a thing not only hostile, but fatal to [jazz].[79]

In terms of influence, Blesh's contribution is crucial: he is regarded, to use Dougan's description, as "arguably the most important writer shaping blues discourse in early post-World War II America."[80] In particular, Blesh's taxonomy is an enduring legacy which continues to the present day. For example, his label "classic blues" has gained general currency to describe the vaudeville-based, mainly female, stylists who were the first African-American vocalists to record blues. These artists posed a fundamental problem for Blesh (and for numerous subsequent writers), in that, while the work of singers like Bessie Smith and Ma Rainey is generally acknowledged to be among

---

[78] Blesh, *Shining Trumpets*, 110-13.

[79] Blesh, *Shining Trumpets*, 11-12.

[80] Dougan, "Two Steps to the Blues," 109.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the finest on record, the vaudeville style to which they adhered was by definition commercial, a blend of the "pure" country style with mainstream pop elements designed for mass consumption; and this compatibility of commercialism with aesthetic worth pointed to a serious contradiction in the anti-commericialists' philosophy. Now the word "classic" is a powerful one, with emotive cultural resonances. It suggests that the genre has somehow, through its greatness, transcended its commercial limitations and urges us to grant it canonic legitimacy without further inquiry. In other words, the designation "classic" can be viewed as an ingenious strategy to avoid the conflict within a philosophy that views commercialism on the one hand and authenticity on the other as incompatible.[81]

Another aspect of Blesh's thinking which has gained a permanent niche in blues discourse is the notion of "archaic" blues – not the term itself which, unlike "classic" blues, has not caught on, but the belief behind it: that the style represented the most authentic form of blues. This has become an integral part of blues aesthetics, and while the belief in the authenticity of (allegedly non-commercial) folk blues (as compared to urban/commercial style) dates back to the folklorists of the 1920s, Blesh was the first to articulate this extensively in a populist, rather than scholarly, context. His rhetorical style

---

[81] It would seem, incidentally, that Blesh got this idea from ragtime. "Classic ragtime" was the label used by John Stark, publisher of Scott Joplin and numerous other ragtime composers, "to denote a music of superior artistic quality, a ragtime worthy of serious consideration." (Edward A. Berlin, *Ragtime: A Musical and Cultural History* [Berkeley: University of California, 1980], 186.) Blesh was a champion of ragtime and his history of the genre, written with Harriet Janis, *They All Played Ragtime* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950) was as influential in the genre as *Shining Trumpets* was in jazz. There is, in fact, a clear parallel between the case of ragtime and blues: both started off mainly as folk music, largely of African-American origin; this style has been labelled "folk blues" and "folk ragtime" respectively. When both styles entered the commercial mainstream their style was "commercialized," i.e., stylistically altered to make it more suitable for mass-consumption: in the case of ragtime, this style–the equivalent of Tin Pan Alley blues–has been termed "popular." There evolved also a third style, close to the mainstream that, while it was considerably more sophisticated than its folk sources, was regarded as still embodying authentic values (termed "classic" in both the case of blues and ragtime).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and romantic imagery combined with his seemingly objective taxonomy gave his message an authority that was hard to argue with. Certainly there are millions of blues fans (and numerous scholars) worldwide, who would be fully at home with Blesh's sentiments (if perhaps not with his rhetoric) describing the power of the "archaic" style:

> Its stark and simple completeness requires a simple and heartfelt style of singing, a lack of self-consciousness and a naturalness almost naïve. [Archaic] blues...seem ages old; there is an unquenchable power in them, a power direct and unornamented, completely unmixed with cloying sweetness, languor or sentimentality. They are dry on the ear as some wine may be on the tongue. They may be squeezed, acrid, and bitter, but they are never disillusioned; the acceptance of despair does not preclude the existence of hope; the tragedy-ridden singer does not publicly disavow. . .happiness either in lamentation or in a romantic posturing which reduces catastrophe to a buskined and bathetic strutting. Tragedy is so real, so bare, so fatal that simple statement attains the eloquence of a reality succinctly stated to understanding ears.
>
> [Archaic blues] must be regarded in their various form as authentic blues in every sense. They are sung in the country throughout the South, in the hamlets and towns, and are carried along the dirt roads by the wandering singers who pack their troubles and their hopes with their battered guitars.[82]

This potent image of the itinerant African-American bluesman carrying the inevitably battered guitar is perhaps the most evocative–and most clichéd–image of authenticity in blues. Indeed it is one of the most familiar symbols in American culture of alienation and Otherness, used not just in musical contexts, but also in movies and advertising. In fact, the symbol appears in blues commentary before Blesh, but he is the first to popularize it and exploit its romantic potency.[83]

---

[82] Blesh, *Shining Trumpets*, 108-10.

[83] Blesh had used a similar image in an earlier essay "Jazz Begins" in *Jazzways*, ed. G.S. Rosenthal and F. Zachary (New York: Greenberg, 1946), this time with a battered piano, not a guitar. A "beater" is "hunched over the battered upright piano. . . a lonely figure, tapping his foot, humming in a rough voice the bare and melancholy phrases, the dark words 'Got to keep movin', blues fallin' down like hail'"(15). As Paul Oliver points out, this text is anachronistically taken from a recording by Robert Johnson made in 1937 ("That Certain Feeling: Blues and Jazz. . .in 1890?," 13). However, Blesh probably derived this image from W.C. Handy, who had already used this image in passing in his widely circulated autobiography a few years earlier. Discussing his early experiences of the blues, Handy recalls an incident at the railroad station at Tutweiler, Mississippi, where "[a] lean, loose-jointed Negro had commenced plunking a guitar beside me while I slept. His clothes were rags; his feet peeped out of his shoes. His face had on it some of the sadness of the ages. As he played, he pressed a knife on the strings of the guitar in a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The symbol was taken up by Samuel Charters in *The Country Blues*, where it played a central role as a cultural signifier. As Dougan expresses it,

> perhaps the most important (and problematic) element of [*The Country Blues*] is [Charters's] ontological contribution to blues discourse through the romanticized image of the solitary, guitar-playing, anguished, and impoverished black bluesman.[84]

From *The Country Blues*, the image became a core embodiment of the philosophy of the blues revival of the 1960s where it "spoke directly to the purist, anti-popular culture impulses of white folk and blues revivalists."[85] To "purist" and "anti-popular," we could obviously add "anti-commercial."

The survival of this image is remarkable. A quick survey of the covers of recent blues books attests to its continued potency. Francis Davis's *The History of the Blues: The Roots, the Music, the People from Charley Patton to Robert Cray* (New York: Hyperion, 1995) uses a famous picture of Robert Johnson, guitar in hand, cigarette in mouth, and a mean look on his face. The second edition of Paul Oliver's *Blues Fell This Morning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) has a cover photo of a generic blues singer, African-American, dressed simply with battered guitar. A reprint of another Oliver classic *Screening the Blues* (New York: Da Capo, 1989) uses the same image, as do Alan Lomax's *The Land Where the Blues Began* (New York: Pantheon, 1993); the 1995 reprint of Bruce Bastin' s *Red River Blues: The Blues Tradition in the Southeast* (Urbana: University of Illinois); the second edition of Jeff Todd Titon's *Early Downhome*

---

manner popularized by Hawaiian guitarists who used steel bars. The effect was unforgettable" (*Father of the Blues*, 74). The same story, incidentally, when it appeared in Abbe Niles introduction to Handy's *Blues: an Anthology* fourteen years earlier, was presented in an incidental and unromanticized fashion: "outside a country railroad station. . .[Handy found] some unknown abusing his guitar with a knife-blade" [12].

[84] Dougan, "Two Steps from the Blues," 105-06.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Blues: A Musical and Cultural Analysis (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1993); William Barlow's *Looking Up at Down: The Emergence of Blues Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989); a 1987 Da Capo reissue of David Evans *Big Road Blues: Tradition and Creativity in the Folk Blues*; and, most recently, *The Voice of the Blues: Classic Interviews from* Living Blues *Magazine*, ed. Jim O'Neal and Amy Van Singel (New York: Rouledge, 2002). While this list does not cover every book which has appeared on blues in the last fifteen years, it does contain many of the most important items.[86]

With Blesh's *Shining Trumpets* and Charters's *The Country Blues*, a fundamental stabilization of blues culture took place. Charters's book, along with Oliver's *Blues Fell This Morning*, was regarded as the beginning of the third stage of blues historiography, characterized by the autonomous treatment of the subject independent of other kinds of folk music or jazz. The authenticity constructed in these works has country blues as its core, personified by the image of the African-American blues singer with his battered guitar, and it is by implication anti-commercial. So while writers since Blesh have only occasionally railed against commercialism in the overt way that he does in *Shining Trumpets*, I believe that such an attitude has become, in modified form, a central, though often unconsciously transmitted, component of the blues discourse, passing from Blesh to Charters and Oliver and from there to the entire literature of the blues revival of the 1960s and thereafter.

---

[85] "Two Seps from the Blues," 106.

[86] The only important exceptions are blues books specifically devoted to the vaudeville style, most notably Angela Davis's *Blues Legacies and Black Feminism: Gertrude "Ma" Rainey, Bessie Smith, and Billie Holiday* (New York: Vintage Books, 1998), whose cover has images of its three central characters.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Blesh's construction of "classic" blues has likewise become standard terminology in writing about blues and this implies that, even though ideologies of blues have become culturally and politically more sophisticated since Blesh's time, there is still a need, because of unconscious anti-commercialism, to gloss over the commercial aspect of the style. In fact, we can see this attitude reflected in the literature: scholarly studies of, and journalistic writing about, early blues more often focus on country than classic blues; indeed, studies about vaudeville artists are quite unusual. This bias is also found in authors who have written general histories of blues which cover both the vaudeville and early country styles. Two examples will suffice. In the section on the 1920s in Paul Oliver's entry on "blues" in *New Grove 2*, the author devotes about twice as much space to folk as he does to vaudeville.[87] Similarly Giles Oakley's *The Devil's Music* also discusses these topics in an approximate 2:1 ratio.[88]

Phonocentricism

Although the prevalence of an anti-commercial attitude among commentators accounts for some of the neglect of pre-1921 commercial blues culture, it does so only partially. While pre-1921 commercial blues have had far less coverage in the literature than the post-1921 variety, both styles are described as commercial and hence one might assume that they would get roughly the same kind of treatment from blues historians. Since it is clear from the above that they must have been treated differently, there must, therefore, be some other factor or factors operating to account for the difference.

---

[87] Vol. 2, 731-32.

[88] Vaudeville blues are dealt with in Part Three (83-110), and early (pre-Depression) country blues in Parts Two and Four (49-81; 111-43), i.e., 27 pages as against 64.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Take the case of Perry Bradford, for example. Bradford was the African-American composer/musician/entrepreneur who set up and composed the music for the "Crazy Blues" recording session with Mamie Smith. Nearly all interest about him among blues scholars has focused on his career subsequent to "Crazy Blues" (excepting perhaps Smith's initial recording session of January 1920, also set up by Bradford, where two of his non-blues popular songs were recorded). In fact, for his time, Bradford had had a significant career in blues and related idioms as a composer and publisher before 1920. This included seven copyrighted blues, most of them musically and historically at least as interesting as "Crazy Blues."[89] For instance, "Lonesome Blues," his first published composition from 1916, uses a whole array of folk sources, including an original reworking of a folk-blues called "Hesitation" or "Hesitating Blues," which had appeared in print in two independent versions the previous year.[90] "Lonesome Blues" is, in fact, an excellent example of creativity in early blues. So why has Bradford's pre-"Crazy Blues" been so ignored by blues historians? Or rather, why are discussions about him in standard blues histories usually confined to "Crazy Blues" and his subsequent works?

As the work of Bradford and many other composers show us, the vaudeville blues style was flourishing before the appearance of "Crazy Blues" in much the same style as it did after. The reason for the neglect of pre-1921 commercial blues culture is, therefore, not to be found in the music itself, but in the medium through which it reaches us. Put simply, blues criticism is based almost entirely on *recordings* of the genre, while pre-

---

[89] They are as follows: "Lonesome Blues" (1916); "Harlem Blues" (1917); "Broken Hearted Blues" (1918); "Nervous Blues" (1918); "Railroad Blues" (1918); "Don't Care Blues" (1919). "Nervous Blues" appeared on piano roll in 1918, though it was not copyrighted or published until three years later. See Appendix 1 for further details.

[90] See relevant entries in Appendix 1 for details.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1921 commercial blues, as well as the general popular music of the time, was centered around *printed music.*[91] In ignoring the earlier printed material, blues historians have decisively favored orality over literacy.

This bias had led to a dismissal of the blues sheet music industry (pre- and post-1921) in historical writing about blues from the time of Dorothy Scarborough's warning in 1925 that "the lure of cheap printed music" was a deleterious influence on authentic folk blues.[92] Recent scholarship by William Barlow offers a typically dismissive view of published blues songs from the early period:

> Tin Pan Alley was quick to expropriate well-known African-American folksongs –both ragtime and blues compositions–and transform them into commercial products to be sold in music stores. In the process, the music was standardized, its more complex rhythms diluted, and its lyrical content trivialized.[93]

An even more recent statement on the subject appears in Oliver's article on blues for the *New Grove 2*:

> The term 'blues' is also used to identify a composition that uses blues harmonic and phrase structure but which is intended to be performed as written, such as *Dallas Blues* (1912) by Hart Wand and Lloyd Garrett, among the first to publish the form, or *St Louis Blues* (1914) by W.C. Handy. . . Published compositions in blues form, while at first bringing a new sound to a larger audience, contributed much to the confusion about the nature of blues as folk music, and helped to link the term with jazz. This association with jazz retarded blues research and the independent consideration of its origins, traditions, forms and exponents.[94]

The statement is worth examining in some detail, particularly as its context (in the most well-known music encyclopedia in the world) suggests that it is meant to represent definitive mainstream thinking on the subject. There is a generally negative tone here,

---

[91] See below, 74-76, for further discussion of this point.

[92] See above, 22.

[93] William Barlow, *Looking Up at Down: The Emergence of Blues Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989), 114.

[94] "Blues," 730.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

but it would seem that Oliver's specific complaint is that blues sheet music linked jazz with blues. There are two possible senses in which these terms have been linked. First, jazz's first arrival on the national scene in 1917 coincided with the growing popularity of blues. Consequently, certain compositions used the two terms indiscriminately and, to our minds, confusingly (the most famous example is probably "Jazz Me Blues" by African-American composer Tom Delaney, which was a hit in the early 1920s and has since remained in the repertoire of traditional jazz bands). This mixing of the two labels was probably done through a combination of ignorance and commercial opportunism, but also, according to one usage of the term, blues was almost a synonym for jazz. However, the number of blues sheets in this category represents only a small minority—ten percent at most—of the total of blues sheet music produced in the pre-1921 period. The other, and more general, way in which early jazz and blues are linked (and I suspect this is Oliver's main point) is the association of the two genres in vaudeville blues. Indeed vaudeville blues recordings of the 1920s were routinely backed by jazz musicians. Such canonic items as Bessie Smith's "St Louis Blues"[95] used Louis Armstrong on cornet; and her equally celebrated "Backwater Blues"[96] was superlatively accompanied by jazz pianist James P. Johnson.

So what is Oliver really saying? On the surface, there is straightforward anti-commercialism at work here, in that oral folk blues is privileged over the written jazz-blues mix of the more overtly commercial vaudeville style. Oliver, however, does not directly display this attitude when he discusses the blues *recordings* of the 1920s later in

---

[95] Columbia 14064 (1925).

[96] Columbia 14195 (1927).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the same article (although, as I have already shown, it is implied in the relatively small amount of space devoted to vaudeville blues as compared with folk blues), only when discussing *sheet music*. So there is a clear prioritizing of the oral over the written. Furthermore, that this paragraph originally appeared in the same article in the first edition of the *New Grove* published in 1980, and has since appeared as well in parallel articles by Oliver in the *New Grove Dictionary of American Music* and both editions of *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz*, strongly suggests that it has been relatively unchallenged. This, in turn, implies that there is general acceptance among historians with Oliver's strategy of using sheet music as the whipping boy for anti-commercial attitudes in early blues.

In fact, it is possible in this instance to trace Oliver's attitude directly back to Rudi Blesh. The last two sentences of the passage of Oliver's *New Grove 2* article appear to be an elaboration of the following sentence from Blesh in which he discusses the influence of W. C. Handy on blues culture:

> Handy's sponsorship, although it helped to awaken interest in the blues, has retarded accurate knowledge of them and certainly was of no influence in their development.[97]

Handy, of course, was the prime exponent of pre-1921 commercial blues culture and as a composer/publisher was, more than anyone else, associated with blues sheet music. According to Blesh, however, Handy's work, and, by extension, blues sheet music of the early period, is not part of authentic blues culture, and did not influence it.

Charters's view of Handy is only somewhat less damning. In *The Country Blues*, he describes "Handy's attitude toward the music of his own race" as "somewhat

---

[97] Blesh, *Shining Trumpets*, 146.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

opportunistic,"[98] and he dismisses Handy's "Memphis Blues" of 1912—one of the most important blues compositions of the teens—as "not a blues at all," although he gives no reason for his opinion.[99]

The same view of the inauthenticity of printed blues music has also been stated by the blues musicians themselves. Thus T-Bone Walker said in 1955 of Handy's most popular composition:

> Now, you take a piece like "St. Louis Blues." That's a pretty tune and it has a kind of bluesy tone, but that's not the blues. You can't dress up the blues.[100]

This remark typifies the situation. However stringent one's definition of the blues, it would indeed be an extraordinarily narrow one that did not accept the legitimacy of Bessie Smith's canonical 1925 recording of "St. Louis Blues." While one can argue that its authenticity lies entirely in the interpretation rather than in the work itself, it would seem, in the light of the evidence presented, that this particular blues was singled out for opprobrium as it is probably the most famous blues that was initially created as, and therefore with an ontological status as, a *published composition.*

These passages are representative of a general negativity present in blues scholarship, whether stated directly or merely implied. One consequence is the shunning of published blues, particularly in historical approaches to pre-1921 culture. This would help explain the attitude of a writer like Austin Sonnier, Jr., who writes: "Until [the release of "Crazy Blues"], the blues had developed slowly, being transmitted orally by

---

[98] Charters, *The Country Blues*, 37.

[99] Ibid., 34.

[100] Nat Shapiro & Nat Hentoff, *Hear Me Talkin' to Ya: The Classic Story of Jazz as Told by the Men Who Made It* (London: Souvenir, 1992), 250.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

country itinerant performers."[101] By completely ignoring the print-based commercial blues industry that was by far the most important disseminator of blues before "Crazy Blues," and granting legitimacy only to the oral transmission of the genre, Sonnier is reflecting the same attitude. This attitude—that blues has authenticity as oral/aural communication, not written—is surely what Oliver seems to imply when he states that published blues compositions "contributed much to the confusion about the nature of blues as folk music." It would almost appear that he and others are setting up a dichotomy between "folk" (= "authentic") on the one hand and "literate" on the other. In its most basic form this is a prioritizing of oral communication over the literate or what the French poststructuralist philosopher Jacques Derrida has termed *phonocentrism.*

This concept was first employed by Derrida in his 1967 book *De la Grammatologie.*[102] The vehicle for its introduction was a deconstructionist exposé of a celebrated episode entitled "The Writing Lesson," a chapter of *Tristes Tropiques*, a seminal work by the leading structural anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss.[103] In this episode, Derrida showed how Lévi-Strauss's depiction of the corrupting influence of an imposed European writing system among the Brazilian Nambikwara peoples was constructed from two interrelated Eurocentric attitudes: a deep-seated suspicion of writing and a nostalgic idealization of the untainted Noble Savage. Derrida's critique is not restricted to Lévi-Strauss, however. What he shows with incisive clarity is that this attitude is ingrained in the European *Weltanschaaung*, and demonstrates how

---

[101] Cited above, fn. 7.

[102] Jacques Derrida, *De la Grammatologie* (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1967); translated as *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1976.

[103] Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes Tropiques* (Paris: Plon, 1955); English version *Tristes Tropiques*, trans. John Weightman & Doreen Weightman (New York: Atheneum, 1984).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

philosophers from Rousseau to Hegel to Saussure devalued writing at the expense of oral communication.

Indeed, the roots of phonocentricism go back much further even than Rousseau, to an ancient line of Western metaphysics that "uniquely valued the spoken word as the place where a divine being and meaning were most directly revealed." In this way of thinking, "writing has been devalued as an indirect representation of a presence found embodied in speech."[104] Phonocentricism is more than a philosophical conception, however: it is also a political one. For Lévi-Strauss argues that throughout much of history "writing has been the privilege of a powerful elite," and further that "[t]he primary function of written communication is. . .to enslave and subordinate." Consequently "the spread of literacy in Western countries was accompanied by the extension of state control—for example the introduction of military service and a process of proletariatization."[105]

There is a distinct parallel between Lévi-Strauss's work and the construction of authenticity in blues, for both share certain defining philosophical notions that, while they have constantly reccured in Western thought, were particularly prominent in Euro-American culture at this time. Lévi-Strauss's fieldwork in Brazil was carried out during the late 1930s and appeared in print in the mid-1950's, making it contemporaneous with the phonocentric, anti-commercial ideologies of African-American vernacular music that

---

[104] Gary Tomlinson, "Ideologies of Aztec Song," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 48/3 (fall 1995): 346. Tomlinson's article is one of the few that has attempted to graft Derrida's conception into mainstream musicology. Tomlinson's appropriation of the term, and my own, goes beyond Derrida who, as far as I am aware, confines his discussion to verbal communication rather than to music. Despite this, I believe my use of the term here is apt, for the essence of phonocentricism is the tendency in Western culture to prioritize oral culture over the literate, and blues historiography offers an excellent example of just that.

[105] Christopher Johnson, *Derrida* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 9-10.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

have been the dominant voice in the blues discourse. There is a highly suggestive parallel between Lévi-Strauss's politically charged view of literacy and the stance of the left-wing jazz/blues writers of the 1930s-40s on commercial music: both phenomena are seen as a top-down tool for political domination. The analogy does not end there, however. For both sides created an opposition to this perceived negative cultural force. In the case of Lévi-Strauss it was the Nambikwara, who he represented as "an innocent and ideal community,"[106] and in the case of the jazz/blues writers it was untouched "folk music"; behind both, however, was a deep-seated philosophical primitivism at work, the idealization of the Noble Savage.

For example, one finds the following passage in Hughes Panassié's *The Real Jazz* of 1947:

> Music is, above all, the cry of the heart, the natural, spontaneous song expressing what man carries within himself. A man who ignores all musical theories but who is endowed with extraordinary creative gifts and who sings alone in the desert can be more sublime. . .than the author of the most complicated symphonies and quartets. . . We must go further and say that in music, primitive man generally has greater talent than civilized man.[107]

We find here both the statement of an explicit primitivist sentiment combined with a phonocentric dig at European literate musical culture. These twin attitudes–glorification of the Noble Savage and distrust of writing–are essentially the same as those that Derrida exposes in "The Writing Lesson."

A natural consequence of phonocentricism was to use musical illiteracy as a validator of authenticity in roots music. For example, as a recent study has shown, the notion that jazz is essentially an illiterate music has been held since its initial

---

[106] Johnson, *Derrida*, 28.

[107] Hughes Panassié, *The Real Jazz* (New York: Smith & Durrell, 1947), 21.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

dissemination into mainstream commercial culture, and this mythology has given a highly misleading view of the reality of jazz history.[108] This started with the Original Dixieland Jazz Band, a white group from New Orleans, the first to record and popularize jazz in 1917, who kept the reading ability of their one musically literate member, Eddie Edwards, a "closely guarded secret for many years," simply to keep their authenticity untarnished.[109] More influential than the claims of the musicians were those of the critics. John Gennari shows that the most important European writers on jazz (and consequently blues) in the 1930s

> assumed (wrongly), that black jazz musicians could not and did not read music, and argued that this, far from being a deficiency, was a key to their unadorned, uncompromising, instinctual approach.[110]

This attitude went hand-in-hand with the definition of jazz constructed by the critics and historians of the 1930s and 40s, which viewed the genre as an essentially improvised medium, which one writer has recently characterized as "the collective improvisation myth: that jazz and other black music *are by definition illiterate*..., the amusing caterwauling of savages."[111] Blues was seen as the purest form of this impulse, the "blackest of black music,"[112] and it was thus that these seminal jazz writers linked blues

---

[108] David Chevan, "Written Music in Early Jazz," Ph.D. diss., The City University of New York (1997), *passim.*

[109] H.O. Brunn, *The Story of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band* (New York: Da Capo, 1977), 92.

[110] John Gennari, "Jazz Criticism: Its Development and Ideologies," *Black American Literature Forum* 3 (fall 1991): 466.

[111] Hurwitt, "W. C. Handy as Music Publisher," 509 [emphasis added].

[112] Ray Pratt, *Rhythms of Resistance: Explorations in the Political Use of Popular Music* (New York: Praeger, 1990), 75.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

to jazz, regarding it from at least the time of Panassié's *Hot Jazz* as the *fons et origo* of jazz improvisation.[113]

Clearly such views of authenticity excluded consideration of notated music out of hand. Hurwitt, for example, has suggested that these attitudes "lie behind much of the criticism of [W. C.] Handy," whose posthumous reputation has "eroded steadily, to the point where many students of jazz and blues consider him simply an old fraud."[114] And Handy, as I have suggested, more than anyone else, is intimately associated with early commercial blues.

So what does the preceding analysis add up to? Even if our modern definition of blues is constructed on arbitrary notions—anti-commercialism and phonocentricism—that can ultimately be shown to be in large part politically motivated and that reject pre-1921 commercial blues culture as being inauthentic, does that arbitrariness automatically invalidate that definition? At the very least, does it make it necessary to modify the definition so that early commercial blues culture can be legitimately included within it? Clearly a definition of anything must be delimited in order to acquire some specificity of meaning, and while it is perhaps upsetting to collectors of early blues sheet music, for example, that their collections are not regarded as authentic blues by the blues establishment (whereas early blues records in the same collections would be),[115] the

---

[113] See the passage I quoted from Panassié regarding the connection between blues and jazz improvisation, above, 41.

[114] Hurwitt, "W. C. Handy as Music Publisher," 509-510.

[115] It is here worth bearing in mind that authenticity is in the eye of the authenticator: though blues sheet music is not regarded as authentic blues by the blues establishment, it is by scholars of American popular (i.e. commercial) music. For example, one recent book, David A. Jasen and Gene Jones *Spreadin' Rhythm Around: Black Popular Songwriters, 1880-1930* (New York: Schirmer, 1998), devotes considerable attention to black blues writers from the 1910s and 1920s, including Chris Smith, Spencer Williams, Maceo Pinkard, Perry Bradford, Clarence Williams, and especially W. C. Handy, who is given a reverential thirty-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

culturally negotiated definition of blues that has evolved over the last century or so is one that is clearly meaningful to many people today and has great utility in Western culture. Therefore, the kind of exploration I have undertaken of blues historiography, while demonstrating the reasons why early commercial blues culture has been excluded from mainstream writing about blues, does not automatically give license for its reinstatement.

I address this by arguing that most writing about blues—certainly until recently—is based on an essentialist definition of the subject that greatly limits our historical understanding of the genre. Consequently, I will argue that a more liberal definition, one that at least partially embraces an approach that accepts the legitimacy of early commercial blues culture promises to give fresh insight into the subject as well as reflecting recent trends in the academy.

So what elements comprise this essentialist definition of blues? There are a number of specific characteristics which immediately spring to mind. The more important of these are as follows:

1. blues are usually thought of as slow and serious in tone;
2. they often make use of asymmetrical twelve-bar harmonic structures;
3. they are most typically vocal compositions, rather than instrumental;
4. structurally, they typically consist of a single melody repeated several times in the same key (often varied on the repetitions to fit changes in the text or elaborated during instrumental breaks);

---

page chapter (this in sharp contradistinction to the reception given to Handy by jazz/blues writers like Rudi Blesh). Significantly both Jasen and Jones are major sheet music collectors; this compares with many writers about the blues from the 1930s whose collecting interests focused primarily on records, such as Hughes Panassié, Rudi Blesh, Samuel Charters, and Paul Oliver.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 1.1. Baisden: "Camp Cody Blues" (1917)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

5. they often make prominent use of blue-notes, which on the piano manifest themselves as flattened thirds or sevenths in the melody.[116]

Now a blues composition does not need to have all these characteristics for us to be able to grant it legitimacy as a blues (there are many up-tempo blues, for instance, many that use eight- or sixteen-measure patterns as their harmonic basis, and many that are instrumentals), but, it would usually be argued, it does need at least some. With this in mind, let us examine example 1.1. It is a piano work from 1917 entitled "Camp Cody Blues," published in New Mexico by its composer Harry Baisden, about whom nothing is known. The structure is as follows:

Introduction—4 mm.—D minor (mm. 1-4)

A—16 mm.—D minor (mm. 5-20)

B—16 mm.—F major [x2] (mm.21-36)

C—16 mm.—Bb major [x2] (mm. 37-54)

B—16 mm.—F major [x2] (mm. 55-70)

This work represents a kind of instrumental composition, often entitled "blues," that was quite common from about 1914 to 1920 or so. Can it be classified as a blues in terms of an essentialist definition, i.e., to what extent does it meet the criteria stated above? The answer is not at all:

1. the work is not slow and serious in tone. On the contrary, it is marked "moderato" and almost everything about it, especially the frequent use of dotted patterns and "boom-chick" left hand accompaniment patterns suggest a

---

[116] All these characteristics are examined more fully in Chapter 2.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

jerkiness that is quite out of character with the essentialist notion of blues as defined above;

2. it makes no use of the twelve-measure harmonic sequence: all the sections have symmetrical 16-measure structures;
3. it is an instrumental composition, not a song;
4. it does not consist of a melody repeated several times in the same key; instead, there are three separate, thematically-unrelated sections, each with its own key;
5. it does not make use of blue notes in the melody, with the possible exception of the Eb in the melody used prominently at the beginning of the bar for nine measures in the C section (a flattened seventh of the F7 harmony); however, used in this way, this device is fairly standard vocabulary in the idiom of light instrumental compositions of this period, and one does not need to involve blues to account for its presence.

It would seem, therefore, that the matter is quite straightforward: "Camp Cody Blues," despite its title, cannot be regarded as a blues as it fails to meet these specific criteria.

The problem with this conclusion is that it is derived from criteria that have currency at the beginning of the twenty-first century, while the work itself is from 1917. This is a straightforward example of *presentism*, defined as "any perspective whereby an object is studied in light of present knowledge and norms." I am not arguing that it is automatically invalid to use presentist criteria for the classification of a genre, but if the matter ends there, it does mean that it is severely limited and falls afoul of post-modernist epistemologies that encourage the classifier to regard his own historical stance as relative,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and to step back from it and take others into account. In this *modus operandi*, historical meanings are not imposed from the historian's present, but are negotiated in respectful dialogue with the past.[117]

My argument is that blues historiography has until recently been presentist in basis. This is not to criticize the authors personally, for this approach is an entrenched phenomenon in Western culture with roots stretching well back into the nineteenth century (and even before that) and attitudes have only started to loosen in the last half century or so. It has resulted in a myopic vision of blues history which has limited the basis of historical inquiry to the values of the present.

We see this with "Camp Cody Blues." Standard (= presentist) attitudes do not regard it as a blues, and dismiss its relevance out of hand. I argue that there is instead much to be gained by placing "Camp Cody Blues"—and by extension all commercial blues of the 1910s—in its historical context, that is to say, examining early commercial blues culture by definition(s) of blues operant within its own era. In other words, is there a meaning of the term blues, as it was used in 1917, that would have permitted "Camp Cody Blues" to be regarded as "authentic."

Homeopathic and Allopathic Blues

Perhaps the obvious place to start when looking for a contemporaneous definition of early commercial blues is with W. C. Handy's 1926 *Blues: An Anthology.* Abbe Niles's introduction understands traditional blues in much the same way that we would: he refers to blue notes, the twelve-bar harmonic form, the AAB construction of texts and

[117] For a summary of the arguments surrounding these opposing approaches to historiography, see Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic* [Chicago: University of Chicago, 1993], 3 ff.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

so forth.[118] However, he also recognizes various commercial styles and classical derivatives of blues, including pop songs like Jerome Kern's "Left All Alone Again Blues" and concert works like Albert Chiaffarelli's symphony *Jazz America.*[119] Although he sees such blues as usually being stylistically distinct from black folk blues, he seems to accept their legitimacy as a development of blues. For instance, Niles describes George Gershwin as "a second pioneer in blues territory"[120] (that is, after Handy), and the anthology quotes from his "Half of It Dearie Blues," *Rhapsody in Blue*, and the Concerto in F. For Niles, then, while the term "blues" shared some ground with the presentist definition in terms of its folk core, it could just as well be applied to works that would not be regarded as blues today. Clearly, if Niles—who after all was an early authority on the subject—was prepared to accept as at least semi-legitimate certain pop songs by mainstream white Tin Pan Alley composers entitled "blues" but which bore little resemblance to the folk variety, we have a scenario where "Camp Cody Blues" might be regarded as, in some sense, authentic commercial blues.

There is, however, a wider and more revealing context for regarding "Camp Cody Blues" as legitimate blues according to contemporary definitions, and it has to do with the non-musical definition of the term. "Blues" had two interrelated pseudo-medical usages in general currency at this time. The first was the feeling of sadness, despondency, or melancholy, an association which had been around since before the mid-eighteenth

---

[118] W.C. Handy, *Blues: An Anthology*, 1-10, 14-16.

[119] Handy, *Blues; An Anthology*, 19-20.

[120] Handy, *Blues: An Anthology*, 39.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

century.[121] In this sense, the phrase became increasingly popular, and by the end of the nineteenth century it had acquired another more specific definition, as a popular expression for neurasthenia, an illness which the *American Heritage Dictionary* defines as "a psychological disorder characterized by chronic fatigue and weakness, loss of memory, and generalized aches and pains. . .thought to result from exhaustion of the nervous syndrome."[122] Neurasthenia permeated American culture in the first years of this century, with many of the most prominent figures of the day being said to suffer from the syndrome, among them Theodore Roosevelt, Theodore Dreiser, and William James. The connection between the term "the blues" and the illness was well established. For example, an important book on the subject, *The Blues: Its Causes and Cures*, by Dr. Albert Abrams, appeared in 1904.

Tom Lutz has pursued various connections between the illness and the musical definition of the word.[123] I am here specifically interested in the notion, which Lutz explores in some depth, of curing the blues, and the belief in American culture at the time that music could be used for that purpose. For example figure 1.1 reproduces an advertisement in the October 1, 1904, stagebill for the Lyceum Theatre, Toledo, Ohio.[124] It is for Cecilian Player Pianos, and a central part of the sales pitch is that the music-

---

[121] The Oxford English Dictionary has the following quote from 1741 from David Garrick: "I am far from being quite well, tho not troubled wth y^{e} Blews as I have been." (2/326).

[122] "Neurasthenia," in *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, 4th ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000), 1181.

[123] Tom Lutz, "Curing the blues: W.E.B. Du Bois, Fashionable Diseases, and Degraded Music," *Black Music Research Journal*, 11/2 (Fall 1991), *passim.*

[124] I am grateful to Michael Montgomery for drawing my attention to this item and allowing me to copy his rare original.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

making will dispel blues. Lutz suggests a parallel between conventional treatments of neurasthenia and the musical form and purpose of the blues as we think of the term now:

> Just as neurasthenia sometimes collapsed symptom and cure, as when rest was prescribed as a cure for lethargy, singing the blues acted as a cure for the blues.[125]

Figure 1.1. Advertisement in Stagebill for Lyceum Theatre, Toledo, Ohio, October 1, 1904.

In other words, a depression/melancholy is cured by depressed/melancholic music. There was nothing new about this approach. Indeed, nearly two thousand years before, Plutarch had stated:

---

[125] Lutz, "Curing the Blues," 151.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> The threnody and the 'mourning aulos' at first stir up the emotions and make the tears flow, but then they gradually calm sorrow.[126]

In terms of mainstream American culture of the early twentieth century, it seems that the notion of treating "the blues" with sad music was current. In 1903, the *Ladies' Home Journal* commented:

> Music as a medicine in the home [is] far better than any system of mental therapeutics. . .So much the fad today. . .In all nervous illnesses music is very potent as a sedative, and strange to say, in cases of despondency and melancholia the minor chords are most effective and act as a tonic. . .[Such music] will dispel any gloomy winter's scene and will cast out any fit of the 'blues."[127]

The understanding that specifically black music was used in this therapeutic way goes back to the time of slavery. In his 1855 autobiography, *My Bondage and My Freedom*, Frederick Douglass stated that "[s]laves sing more to *make* themselves happy, than to express happiness."[128] Douglass was, of course, an ex-slave who experienced plantation life first hand, and therefore his observation carries particular weight. In fact, its therapeutic purpose has become a standard model for explaining the purpose of blues. The earliest explicit statement I have been able find of this is in a 1919 interview with W. C. Handy where he straightforwardly states that " 'Blues' music was created to chase away gloom."[129]

Later commentators elaborated on the point. For instance, Harold Courlander wrote in 1963:

---

[126] Quoted in Warren D. Anderson, *Ethos and Education in Greek Music: The Evidence of Poetry and Philosophy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), 237n4.

[127] Martin Petrey, "Music as a Medicine in the Home,' *Ladies' Home Journal* 20 (1903), 49, quoted in Lutz, "Curing the Blues," 151.

[128] Emphasis original. Quoted in Eileen Southern (ed.), *Readings in Black American Music*, 2nd ed. (New York: Norton, 1983), 84.

[129] W. C. Handy, "Blues," Chicago *Defender*, 30 August 1919, 9.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> As a form of expression, blues are certainly much more than a statement of personal misery. At its base, the song is a sort of exalted or transmuted expression of criticism or complaint, the very creation or singing of which serves as a balm or antidote. The finer the singing or the creative effort, the more effective is the song as a catharsis.[130]

Ray Pratt concurs, noting that "the blues serves a cathartic function, providing a means of psychological release."[131]

This approach to therapy is based on the ancient principle of *similia similibus curantur* (likes are cured with likes) and is normally referred to as *homeopathic*. Blues could also be cured in a different way, however, by the treatment of music of opposite mood—light and uplifting—in an approach that might be termed *allopathic*.[132]

In fact, the first reference to music "curing the blues" that I have been able to find is clearly an allopathic usage. It is a pop song called "Billy's Request," lyrics by Billy Birch, music by W.F. Wellman, Jr., published by the composer in Boston in 1879. See Figure 1.2 gives the title page, at the top of which is printed "A Cure for the Blues."[133] The song is lightly humorous in style and is set up by the following scenario printed at the start of the score:

> The expiring lad's last boyish thought is of his "Devils-Fiddle"–that ingenious fashionable toy, involving a tin mustard-box with a rosined string drawn through a hole in the bottom thereof, which, when dexterously manipulated in a quiet neighbourhood, produces imitations of frenzied poultry exceedingly lifelike and

---

[130] Harold Courlander, *Folk Music U.S.A.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), 124.

[131] Ray Pratt, *Rhythm and Resistance: Explorations in the Political Use of Popular Music* (New York: Praeger, 1990), 89.

[132] Homeopathy (from two Greek roots, *homoios* meaning like and *–pathy*, a suffix denoting curative treatment) was coined by Samuel Hahnemann (1755-1843) and applied by him to his "system for treating disease based on the administration of minute doses of a drug that in massive amounts produces symptoms in healthy individuals similar to that of the disease itself." *Allopathy* (Greek *allo* = other, different) is the opposite approach: "A method of treating disease with remedies that produce effects different from those caused by the disease itself." Both definitions are from *American Heritage Dictionary*, 4th ed., 840 and 48 respectively.

[133] Original from the Lester Levy Collection in the Milton S. Eisenhower Library of John Hopkins University, LSL Box 25, Item 9.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

distracting–yet, his good little heart can also leave a message of forgiveness for the two irascible neighbors who has thrown things at him from a window in return for his innocent toy serenade.

Figure 1.2. Birch: "Billy's Request" (1879), front cover

The first verse (there is no chorus to this song) is as follows:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> Oh, give my "box-and-string" to brother, Mama, when I'm dead.
> When the Sexton puts me, Mother, in my little bed;
> If the job is like to "throw him," when the string he jerks,
> Let him get some boy to show him "How the old thing works."

and it continues in the same light-hearted vein for eleven verses. The authors of this work were members of the San Francisco Minstrels, one of the most prominent of the East Coast troupes, and the title page suggests that the song was successfully featured by that company. Although there is nothing about this music to connect it to black folk-blues (no blue-notes, for example, or twelve-bar structures), it clearly puts across the notion of curing the blues (allopathically) through music.

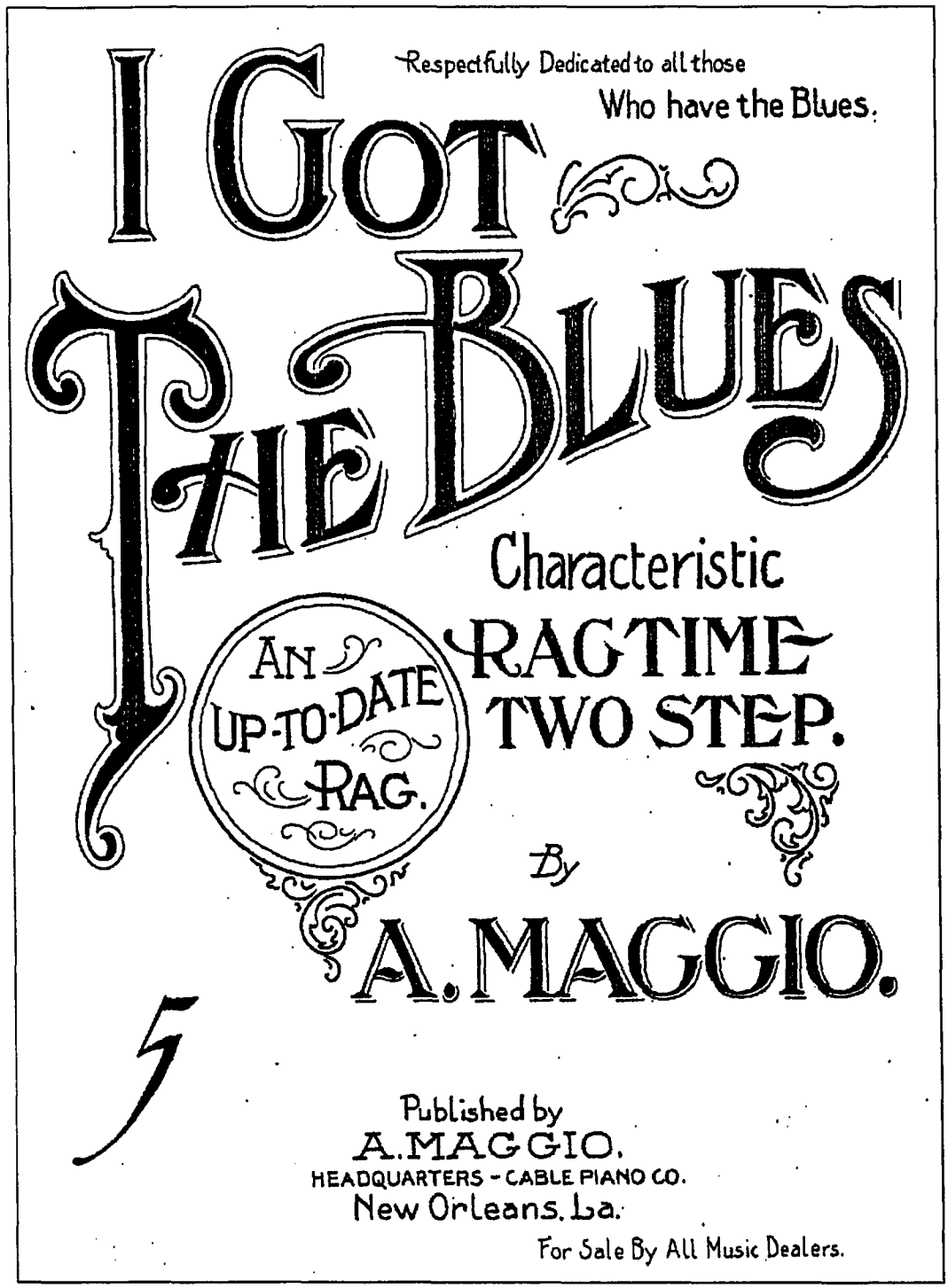
More important than this work is a publication from 1908 called "I Got the Blues," by Antonio Maggio, published by the composer in New Orleans. The piece is a foundation stone of early commercial blues in that it is the first known work with the term "blues" in its title that also contains a twelve-bar blues sequence, which it does in the first of its three strains.[134] As we can see from the title page, reproduced along with the score in example 1.2, the work is "respectfully dedicated to all those who have the blues," presumably with the implication that it will in some way help to effect a cure. It is written in "characteristic ragtime," and the raggy feel of the music and the tempo marking (allegretto) suggest again that the approach is allopathic.

The notion of "curing the blues" is an explicit part of commercial blues-related culture throughout the teens. For example, a song from 1916 was entitled "I've Got a

[134] The music of the work is discussed in more detail 210-13.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 1.2. Maggio: "I Got the Blues" (1908), title page and music



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

I Got The Blues.

INTRODUCTION

Allegretto.

A

A. MAGGIO.

Copyright MCMVIII by A. Maggio.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Remedy to Cure the Blues"[135]; another from the same year was "I Found Someone to Chase the Blues Away."[136] Such songs are still found in the later 1920s, notably Irving Berlin's hit from 1927, "Shaking the Blues Away."[137]

When jazz arrived on the national scene in 1917, it brought with it a conception that it could drive the blues away, again by allopathic means, as the first national perception of the medium through gramophone records by the Original Dixieland Jazz Band, Wilbur Sweatman's Jazz Band, and the Louisiana Five, was of a wild, untamed type of ragtime. Thus, a lyric from the 1918 "Jazzin' the Blues Away" states:

> Mister Jazz and his band
> They sure do make you feel grand.
> My goodness now they can play
> While with your baby they sway
> They are Jazzin' the Blues away.[138]

In a similar vein is the lyric for the chorus of "Doctor Jazz," one of the classic jazz songs of the 1920s (thanks mainly to a hit recording by Jelly Roll Morton and his Red Hot Peppers in 1926), in which the personified figure of jazz is "the man who makes me get out both my dancing shoes" when the singer has the blues.[139]

In summary:

1. the notion of "the Blues" as a general term for depression/melancholia as well as the more specific sense of neurasthenia was widespread in American society at the time that the musical form began to emerge;

---

[135] Words and music by Fred Irvin (published by the composer).

[136] Words by Jack Mahoney, music by Murray Bloom (Harry von Tilzer, 1916).

[137] Published Irving Berlin Inc.

[138] Words by Jeff Branen, music by Dick Heinrich (A.J. Stasny Music, 1918).

[139] Words by Walter Melrose, music by Joe Oliver (Melrose Music, 1927).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

2. there was an understanding that music could be used to help cure the blues, first seen in "Billy's Request" (1879), and then in writings (including song texts) well into the 1920s;
3. this could be achieved by the commonsense allopathic approach (playing/singing cheerful music) or the more subtle homeopathic approach (playing/singing melancholic music).

The issue then arises as to how this relates generally to early commercial blues culture of the 1910s. The word "blues" as applied to music has a fundamentally different linguistic basis when compared with the related styles of ragtime and jazz; for when these terms first appeared—ragtime from the mid-1890s and jazz from the mid-1910s—they scarcely existed in mainstream vernacular culture and were primarily musical in connotation.[140] The term "blues," on the other hand, already had the well-established pseudo-resonances I have discussed when it started to be applied as a descriptive title to a piece of published music in the second decade of the twentieth century. There was, therefore, a strong link between the medical and musical models, as is confirmed by the texts of most blues songs, which contain the trope (often as the focal point of the chorus) "I've got the *x* blues," or a variant thereof. Even when they do not, they are, as far as their texts are concerned, clearly songs of longing and loss, and display the depression ("blue spirits") associated with those emotions. Blues culture of the 1910s is therefore incontestably associated with the general pseudo-medical usage(s) of the term.

---

[140] For a summary of derivations of the word "jazz," see Brian Rust, *My Kind of Jazz* (London: Elm Tree Books, 1990) 7-9; for "ragtime," see Berlin, *Ragtime*, 26-29.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In general, however, a majority of the blues songs of the 1910s is clearly not "blue" in mood. The general tone of such works is, in fact, rather like "Camp Cody Blues" – light-hearted and rather cheerful. This type of mood is directly reflected by the recorded legacy on disks and cylinders,[141] which are almost never slow, and are usually quite jaunty in feeling.[142] Such an approach is not only apparent in the mainstream, but was also accepted practice among black performers, and there was a tendency in vaudeville, as a prime disseminator of the blues throughout this period to an African-American mass audience, to treat the blues light-heartedly. Indeed, the first known contemporaneous reference to the blues being sung on stage dates from 1910 and occurs in an Indianapolis *Freeman* review of a black vaudevillian named Johnnie Woods, who incorporated blues into his ventriloquist's act with his dummy, named Henry.[143]

So it would seem that in the commercial sector during the 1910s, blues compositions were often light-hearted in style, connoting the very opposite of the term "blues" in its medical usage. This phenomenon is far too widespread for it to be dismissed as mere coincidence. Nor can it be generally accounted for by commercial opportunism, that is, by composers or publishers giving the composition a fashionable title in order to maximize sales, without having regard for its cultural resonances (although there may be specific instances where that was so). Thus the only meaningful way to make sense of the light-hearted style of many commercial blues of the 1910s is to

---

[141] I do not include piano rolls, as there it is usually unclear at what tempo the songs were recorded, and in playing the roll, the speed is largely left to the discretion of the "pianolist."

[142] There are, of course, exceptions to this, but they are few and far between.

[143] *The Freeman*, 16 April, 1910, quoted in Lynn Abbott and Doug Seroff, " 'They Cert'ly Sound Good to Me': Sheet Music, Southern Vaudeville, and the Commercial Ascendancy of the Blues," *American Music* 14/4 (Winter 1996), 413.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

assume that the purpose of the cheerful mood of the music is to "drive away the blues." In other words, commercial blues culture of the teens is mainly allopathic.

This is not to imply that there were no instances of homeopathic blues in the mainstream. There are, indeed, some that are slow and "blue" in mood, but they are in a minority. This situation changed with "Crazy Blues," whose slow tempo and serious mood is one of its most original features, and whose remarkable commercial success started a long-term trend for homeopathic blues on record.

This connection between medical and musical blues should not be taken too literally as regards commercial compositions of the 1910s. I assume that when Harry Baisden sat down to compose "Camp Cody Blues," it was not necessarily his conscious intent to drive away his own blues, or that of anyone else. Nevertheless, I would maintain that commercial blues—from its inception, and at a deep cultural level—embodied the notion of using the music to help the condition. As Paul Oliver has expressed it: "it is generally understood that a blues performer sings or plays to rid himself of 'the blues'."[144] When discussing commercial blues of the 1910s, as well as related developments before and after it, I use this fundamental taxonomy of allopathic and homeopathic blues.

Here then is quite a different view of blues history: that during the time of blues's inception into the cultural mainstream, there were two complementary kinds – allopathic and homeopathic. With the appearance of blues race records, which tended towards the homeopathic type (especially once rural styles began to be commercially recorded from the second half of the 1920s), and the subsequent rise of a primitivistic-phonocentric

---

[144] "Blues" in *New Grove 2*, Vol. 2, 730.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

mode of critical apparatus which tended to prioritize homeopathic blues over the allopathic, an essentialist definition of the genre arose that ignored the allopathic approach. Put simply, mainstream blues in the 1910s was mainly allopathic; by the 1930s, it was mainly homeopathic, and the later definition came to predominate.

Thus "Camp Cody Blues" is a legitimate blues by the prevalent definition(s) of its time: it is unmistakably an allopathic blues. This view is given considerable weight by the following statement of W. C. Handy, which appeared in a 1916 interview:

> To understand why I called ["Memphis Blues"] the "Blues" it is necessary that I quote the ex-slave and statesman Frederick Douglass, who in his autobiography says: "It is not inconsistent with the constitution of the human mind that avails itself of one and the same method for expressing opposite emotions [*sic*]. The songs of slaves represented their sorrows rather then their joys, like tears they were a relief to an aching heart."
>
> The sorrowful songs of the slaves we call "jubilee melodies." The happy-go-lucky, joyous songs of the southern Negro I call "Blues."[145]

In other words, Handy is making a clear polar distinction between the older style African American spirituals ("jubilee melodies"), which, being "sorrow songs," to use W. E. B. Dubois's term then very much in vogue, are sad/melancholic in mood, and the more modern "blues" which he sees as being "happy-go-lucky, joyous." Douglass's comment about the slave being "relieved" by the songs, "as an aching heart is relieved by its tears" strongly suggests the homeopathic approach, whereas Handy is clearly promoting the allopathic type.

---

[145] "How I Came to Write the 'Memphis Blues'," *New York Age*, 7 December 1916, 6, quoted in Hurwitt, "W.C. Handy as Music Publisher," 114. The quotation from Douglass is rather garbled. I give the original version, which is more coherent, and clarifies Handy's meaning: "The songs of the slave represent the sorrows, rather than the joys, of his heart; and he is relieved by them, only as an aching heart is relieved by its tears. Such is the constitution of the human mind, that, when pressed to extremes it often avails itself of the most oppposite methods" (Douglass, *My Bondage and Freedom*, quoted in Southern, *Readings in Black Amercian Music*, 84).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Clearly the situation is more complicated than this, and the homeopathic type of blues was already, by this time, well-established in its identity, and was quite separate from, though influenced by, the spirituals of slave times. Handy knew this well, as his reminiscences about early blues in his autobiography of 1941 make clear. Nevertheless, Handy's statement about "happy-go-lucky, joyous songs of the southern Negro" shows that he, the doyen of commercial blues, was promoting blues in allopathic terms during this seminal phase of his career. In all, I would suggest that allopathic blues were considered the more important form in this early period as far as the mass-marketplace was concerned.

Conclusion: Broadening the Definition of Blues

The argument just presented is *historicist*. Historicism, as the opposite of presentism, argues that we can only understand a phenomenon by placing it within its own cultural-historical context, as opposed to the *presentist* view of looking at it in terms of today's values. In a historicist approach, "[a]ny portrayal or analysis of the past . . .must be commensurate with the norms of the time, not the present."[146] In terms of studying blues of a particular period—here the pre-1921 era—the historicist approach involves understanding the phenomenon in terms of how the term was used at the time; and brief though our look at "Camp Cody Blues" was, it clearly suggests that a historicist approach to blues history offers a substantially different view of the subject. In addition,

---

[146] Christensen, "Music Theory and Its Histories," 19. The terms *historicism* and *presentist* carry a wider spectrum of meanings than is suggested by the straightforward dialectic constructed by Christensen. My appropriation of Christensen's definitions is not meant to suggest that I regard his definitions as more valid than others. I simply regard them as convenient labels to place on two fundamentally different approaches to historiography.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

it gives a more accurate picture than do more traditional blues histories of the climate in which blues passed into the mainstream. It is therefore a potentially fertile approach to blues history.

The historicist approach therefore relegitimizes early commercial blues culture in terms of its significance for the emergence of blues into the mainstream. But there is a further question that needs to be considered, one of authenticity: although it may be shown that by certain historicist definitions "Camp Cody Blues" is a blues, should we really consider it as such? In other words, while historicism has value for exploring the past, how valid is it for us ultimately to adopt a definition that is considerably broader than our own?

I would argue that a pure form of historicism presents as imbalanced and biased a view of the historical process as a fully presentist approach. Each side has its own problems. Presentism results in a diachronic account of history that encourages an overemphasis on teleology along with essentialist, transcendental definitions that downplay the socio-cultural context of the phenomenon being studied. Historicism, on the other hand, encourages anti-teleological, synchronic accounts that, when taken to an extreme, lack any sense of historical narrative. Furthermore, in the process of recreating the thick "cultural web" in which the phenomenon took place, such historicist accounts are in danger of becoming incoherent. In the case of early commercial blues, for example, the term "blues" was used in so many conflicting ways at the time that simply to lay them out indiscriminately, without an eye to the future development of the genre, would ultimately be a futile exercise.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

What is needed, therefore, is a compromise approach that reconciles elements of the both the historicist and the presentist perspective. Such an approach would obviously result in a broadening of the definition of the word "blues" from the presentist construct, but would not have it as wide as when it was used in the commercial blues industry of the 1910s. So the question arises, how should it be broadened?

I have, in this chapter, focused on two particular interrelated attitudes that have been central constructs in historical writings about blues since its beginnings: anti-commercialism and phonocentrism. These attitudes are, I have argued, anti-dialogical and hegemonic, and thus entirely out of keeping with postmodern scholarship. What is more, my brief foray into a non-presentist approach to early commercial blues culture hints that there is much historical insight to be gained from dialogical and non-hegemonic approaches to blues history.

Clearly, my proposed compromise requires a considerable loosening of these attitudes, towards an expanded definition that engages in at least some dialogue with how the term was used in the mainstream in the 1910s.[147] This would result in a liberalization of blues historical discourse, one that embraces, to a certain extent, aspects of commercialism in the pre-1921 period. My proposal will allow the field of blues studies to adopt a new scholarly approach similar to the one that occurred in the related field of ragtime a quarter of a century ago. By the mid-1970s, an essentialist notion of ragtime, which regarded it basically as piano-music, was prevalent. However, it ignored the

[147] There is a strong parallel to be drawn here with Gadamerian hermeneutics, which makes a distinction between the world of the interpreter and that of the interpreted (approximately equivalent to the presentist and historicist positions), each with its own "horizon". True interpretive understanding occurs in the "fusion of horizons." For more discussion on the connection between the historicist/presentist dialectic in music history and the notion of "hermeneutic reonciliation," see Christensen, "Music Theory and Its Histories," 26ff.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

reality of ragtime culture in the era when the medium flourished within the mainstream (1890s-1910s), when it was regarded primarily as a vocal, rather than an instrumental, medium. This position was effectively challenged by Edward A. Berlin, who, in his 1980 study of the genre, *Ragtime: A Musical and Cultural History*, argued that:

> Perhaps the vocal ragtime genre. . .is not on the same musical level as the best in piano ragtime. Quite possibly only a few ragtime enthusiasts today would be interested in these songs. But ignoring the fact that this music was considered ragtime conceals the historical truth and inevitably leads to serious misinterpretations. Whereas the restricted interpretation of ragtime suffices for the needs of today's entertainment, for a true historical and critical view of the subject a broader perspective must prevail.[148]

In fact, the liberalization of blues history has already begun. Specifically, we see in historical writings about blues since around the time of Berlin's book a cautious discussion among some writers of certain aspects of early commercial blues culture that had been previously been regarded as off-limits.[149] For example, David Evans's *Big Road Blues: Tradition & Creativity in Folk Blues*, an important work from 1982, carries a short, but well-informed discussion on early blues sheet music.[150] Two years later, Paul Oliver's *Songsters and Saints: Vocal Traditions on Race Records*, while not directly concerned with blues *per se* (the work concentrates on African-American secular non-blues material), does include detailed and thoroughly researched discussions about the influence of commercial forms, including ragtime songs, on black vocal traditions. More recently, Francis Davis's *The History of the Blues* (1995) devotes a whole chapter to

---

[148] Berlin, *Ragtime*, 7-8.

[149] I am not suggesting this change is due directly to Berlin's book (though it may have been influential), but rather the diffusion of postmodernist ideologies in academic culture, a climate which also influenced Berlin's approach.

[150] Evans, *Big Road Blues*, 59-62.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

black-related commercial music before "Crazy Blues."[151] More significant than any of these is a 1996 article by Lynn Abbott and Doug Seroff, the first in a major publication to focus on commercial blues of the early period.[152] Between them these studies hint at a changing status for the legitimacy of early commercial blues, tentatively reintroducing it into the narrative of blues history.

Perhaps even more important than any of these, and predating them, is Albert Murray's *Stomping the Blues* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1976). Murray's work is highly significant, for unlike almost every other general writer on blues up to that time, Murray sees the blues essentially as a commercial product. In doing so, he overturns conventional wisdom about the genre by downplaying the significance of folk blues, not as a historical factor in the development of blues, but as its aesthetic omphalos:

> [H]owever much there is to say about the authentic earthiness of Blind Lemon Jefferson and Leadbelly. . . there is a good deal more to be said for the no less authentic extensions and refinements that have resulted from the playful options taken by such consecrated professionals as Jelly Roll Morton, Louis Armstrong, Bessie Smith, Lester Young, Charlie Parker, and Duke Ellington. . .[U]nless the idiom is not only robust and earthy enough, but also refined enough with a range comprehensive enough to reflect the subtleties and complexities of contemporary experience, it is not likely to be a very effective counteragent of the blues or any other demons, devils, or dragons.[153]

While this attitude towards blues is still phonocentric (he is basically referring to the recorded legacy of the musicians he names), it is revolutionary in that it is

---

[151] Part II, Chapter 1, 57-70.

[152] "'They Cert'ly Sound Good to Me': Sheet Music, Southern Vaudeville and the Commercial Ascendancy of the Blues." The only other scholarly study specifically devoted to early commercial blues is William W. Westcott, "City Vaudeville Classic Blues: Locale and Venue in Early Blues," in *Ethnomusicology in Canada: Proceedings of the First Conference on Ethnomusicology in Canada* (Toronto: Institute for Canadian Music, 1990), 135-141.

[153] Murray, *Stomping the Blues*, 214.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

uncompromisingly pro-commercial and anti-primitivist.[154] Notice, furthermore, how Murray also reintroduces the concept of the main purpose of the blues being "a counteragent of the blues." In other words, he is privileging the therapeutic intent of the music as a mark of its authenticity, just as I have argued should be the case when examining commercial blues culture of the 1910s. In doing so, he relegitimizes the concept of allopathic blues, and cites numerous recordings—Ellington's "Take the A Train" and Chick Webb's "Stompin' At the Savoy" are two examples taken at random[155]—that would not be normally regarded as blues, but are here seen as authentic allopathic blues. Partly for this reason, Murray presents figures like Webb and Ellington, who are traditionally seen as jazz artists, as authentic blues musicians, thereby greatly expanding the scope of the word "blues."

In fact, one of the most remarkable features about the evolution of blues history in the last quarter century or so is just how much liberalization the term "blues" has undergone. For example, there is the charged issue of race. Although critics have acknowledged from the first that blues is of African-American origin, there has been controversy as to whether it was *intrinsically* black; that is to say, whether whites (or those of any other skin-color for that matter) were able to perform "authentic" blues. Certainly since the time of the blues revival of the 1960s—a phenomenon that was coeval with, and influenced by, the civil rights movement—blues has been seen in some quarters

---

[154] In fact, Murray's argument is not as new as it might appear, and he is in line with the reception of the blues by African-American – as opposed to white – writers, who since the 1920s have cultivated anti-primitivist, pro-commercial attitudes.

[155] The record labels for the original 78 r.p.m. recordings are reproduced on pages 217 and 185 of Murray's book.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

as black only. Paul Oliver sums up the belief shared by many when he writes in *Blues Fell This Morning*:

> The apparent fact remains that only the American Black whether purple-black or so light-skinned as to be indistinguishable from his sun-tanned white neighbour, can sing the blues.[156]

Paul Garon offered similar views in 1973, in *Living Blues* magazine, generally regarded as the most significant blues journal to be launched in the wake of the blues revival. In an editorial, he commented that "it was [blacks] and [blacks] alone, who produced the blues," adding "that deprived of its historical base. . .the blues as purveyed by whites, is no longer the blues, and thus not the concern of *Living Blues*."[157]

However, this attitude has been hard to maintain with credibility in the last twenty years. Probably the most decisive factor has been the lasting achievement of white rock-blues artists such as Eric Clapton whose global popularity has been a major contributor to the massive expansion of blues culture since the folk revival of the 1960s. In addition, there is a strong feeling that the "blacks only" orthodoxy of publications like *Living Blues* "is demeaning of contemporary black blues artists," who would prefer their achievements to be judged against all the competition, irrespective of race.[158]

The shift in attitude is summed up by comparing the basic definition for "blues" in the two editions of the *New Grove*. Both articles are by Paul Oliver. In the first edition (1980), the genre is defined as "[a] secular black American folk music of the twentieth century." In the subsequent edition twenty years later, the definition receives

---

[156] Oliver, *Blues Fell This Morning*, 2nd ed., 4.

[157] *Living Blues* 12 (1973): 4, quoted in Peter Narváez, "*Living Blues* Journal: The Paradoxical Aesthetics of the Blues Revival," in Neil V. Rosenberg (ed.) *Transforming Tradition: Folk Music Revivals Examined* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 248.

[158] Narváez, "*Living Blues* Journal," 253.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

an important qualifier: "[a] secular, *predominantly* black American folk music of the twentieth century" [emphasis added].

The erosion of racial essentialist dogma in blues is just one example of the expanding definition of the genre during the last three decades, as is the subtle shift toward more liberal attitudes on early commercial blues (sheet) music. In other words, the central reform in blues historiography that I have argued for in this chapter—that it is time to stop discriminating against early commercial blues culture, printed sheet music included, and relegitimize it into the canon of blues history—has already started to happen, and the long-term climate in both the academy and in vernacular culture seems poised for its further consolidation. With this in mind, I now proceed to an overview of commercial blues culture of the 1910s.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter 2

EARLY COMMERCIAL BLUES I
Overview

Introduction

The years 1912-20 mark the first efflouresence of commercial blues culture. This culture did not, of course, spring up overnight, and its origins will be a prime concern of this study. Although compositions in the commercial sector which display characteristic features of what we now call blues can be found from the middle of the nineteenth century, it was only in 1912 that commercial blues culture gained cohesion with the appearance in print of four blues. Of these, three have long been recognized in the literature: W. C. Handy's "Memphis Blues," Hart Wand's "Dallas Blues," and Baby Seals's "Baby Seals Blues."[1] A fourth, simply entitled "The Blues," by the African-American team Tim Brymn and Chris Smith, has been all but ignored by critics, which is particularly puzzling given that it was the first of the four to appear (it was copyrighted on January 12).[2]

The scale of commercial blues culture in the formative years before "Crazy Blues" is not generally acknowledged.[3] Appendix 1 lists 440 blues that appeared in print

---

[1] See for example, Samuel Charters, *The Country Blues*, 34-42; Lynn Abbott and Doug Seroff, "'They Cert'ly Sound Good to Me': Sheet Music, Southern Vaudeville and the Commercial Ascendancy of the Blues" ; Francis Davis, *the History of the Blues*, 58-59; David Evans, "Blues," in *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, vol. 3, *The United States and Canada*, ed. Ellen Koskoff (New York: Garland, 2001), 644.

[2] The reader is referred to Appendix 1 for further details of blues mentioned in this text.

[3] See above, 6 ff.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

before the start of 1921;[4] an additional 305 were copyrighted but apparently never published, making a total of 745 known blues in all. As I cannot claim to have explored all areas equally comprehensively–for instance, research in the area of piano roll recordings poses almost intractable difficulties–the final tally is likely to be still higher.

The Dominance of Sheet Music in the Commercial Blues Culture of the 1910s

A decision must first be made as to what comprises the commercial blues culture of the 1910s. The range of blues culture in American society during this period is very broad (as it is in any subsequent period). However, as I am here concerned with the specific musical traits of the genre, I will focus on historical evidence that leaves an analyzable musical trace. The two such areas of evidence at this time are sheet music and recordings on disc, cylinder, and piano roll. Of the two, sheet music is by far the more important.

The reasons for this are simply stated. There are 440 known blues sheets published before 1921, but only 133 blues compositions issued on records in the same period on some 392 separate recordings, with multiple recordings of many works.[5] Only seventeen out of 133 recorded titles did not appear as sheet music (12.8%), whereas 324 out of 440 (77.7%) published sheets did not appear on disk/cylinder recordings. So a blues recording was very likely to be published in sheet form, but only a small percentage of the total number of published blues were recorded. This implies that the sheet music

---

[4] My prime interest in this dissertation is the commercial blues industry before the release of "Crazy Blues" in October 1920. I have chosen the nearby cut-off date 01/01/21 for convenience.

[5] I derived this figure from a statistical analysis of the material contained in Appendix 2. For this analysis, I disregarded the 42 recordings which were never issued commercially (marked "rej[ected]" or "test" in column 1).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

industry, rather than the record industry, was the dominant medium for the appearance of blues before 1921.[6]

There is, however, a more complex question: when a composition appeared both in sheet music and recorded form, which medium was predominant? This is not simply a matter of sales–whether the recording sold more copies than the sheet music or vice versa (although this is naturally a factor)–but also of whether the music has as its prime ontological status the oral (recorded) or notated (sheet music) form. The popular music industry had, since even before its precipitous rise at the end of the nineteenth century, been sheet music based. This, however, was beginning to change by the 1910s. Commercial recordings, which had been available since the 1890s, were starting to become an increasingly important part of the musical mass-marketplace as technology costs cheapened and sales of phonographs, and player pianos boomed. A precipitating factor was the revised Copyright Act of 1909, which dealt with the mechanical reproduction of music, and made compulsory a two-cent royalty for any kind of recording, whether disk, cylinder, or piano roll.[7] The result of this new legislation was that, for the first time, a publisher, lyricist, or composer could produce a work whose primary status was the recorded, rather than the printed, medium.

An example is "Livery Stable Blues," which was one of the two tracks on the first jazz record ever released—Victor 18255, performed by the Original Dixieland Jazz Band,

---

[6] I have not included piano rolls in my survey. There are two reasons for this. First the rollography of Appendix 3 includes performances recorded after 01/01/21 and, because of the paucity of information, it is not possible to know which performances were made after the cut-off date. Second, unlike the discography, which is fairly comprehensive, the rollography is only a partial representation of the total number of recordings made.

[7] Russell Sanjek and David Sanjek, *American Popular Music Business in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 12.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and issued in March 1917. The record was remarkably successful, allegedly becoming one of the first million-seller disks,[8] thereby rapidly introducing jazz into mainstream American culture. There were two printed versions of this composition, one purely instrumental, the other with added lyrics, though these were not copyrighted until June and November respectively, some time after the record appeared.[9] So in the case of "Livery Stable Blues," we can say that the record clearly has primary, and the sheet music secondary, status.

In fact, this scenario was to become increasingly common in the 1920s, with the rise of styles such as jazz and blues, which emphasized individuality of performance, and consequently tended to privilege the interpreter over the music being interpreted. In the 1910s, however, it is quite rare, and the instance I have given of "Livery Stable Blues" is an exceptional one. In general, then, the commercial blues industry of the 1910s was sheet-music based, as was indeed the entire popular music industry at this time. Consequently, an examination of early commercial blues necessitates an examination of the surviving sheet music.

Defining Blues Sheet Music

We come now to the question of definitions, for if blues sheets of the 1910s are to be examined, there must be clear criteria for inclusion of certain items and exclusion of others. How does one decide on these? In my discussion of the definition of blues in

---

[8] Sanjek and Sanjek, *American Popular Music Business*, 15.

[9] For details, see Appendix 1. The song also appeared in a plagiarized form written by a former band member who had been sacked the previous year. This version, exploiting the commercial success of the record, was copyrighted in September 1917, under the title *Barnyard Blues*. It lead to a complex legal case, described in H. O. Brunn, *The Story of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band*, 75-87.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

chapter 1, I contrasted the presentist definition with the historicist. The main points of my argument are:

(1) blues history has been restricted by the presentist approach, which has overwhelmingly been the dominant methodology;

(2) a historicist approach to blues history promises fresh insights, which have indeed been at least hinted at by recent developments in blues scholarship;

(3) a fully historicist approach to blues history, would, however, be as blinkered as a fully presentist approach; thus hermeneutic reconciliation is needed between the two approaches, which, while being predominantly historicist (to compensate for the general bias towards presentism in blues history), would nevertheless take into account the diachronic, teleological approach of presentism.

Let us see how this might be applied in practice. My main concern in this chapter is the musical/textual identity of blues of the 1910s—works described as "blues" by the culture that produced them, not necessarily by ours. When examining them, I make a basic distinction between compositions that called themselves "blues" and those that did not but were so described, for example, in contemporary newspaper accounts or diaries. If my criteria were to embrace both these types—if, that is to say, that I considered valid any work that was *in any way* described as a blues by the culture that produced it—that would be a completely historicist approach. However, as my aim is for a historicist methodology tempered by some measure of presentism, I will consider in this chapter

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(and list in Appendix 1) only the first type: compositions that describe themselves as a blues in either their titles or subtitles. These I term *auto-referential* blues.

For example, "Memphis Blues," is a blues from, or about, Memphis, and thus names itself as such. Other examples of auto-referential blues are "Aviation Blues," "Baby Blues," "Bean Soup Blues," and "Lone Star Blues." Similarly, "Day and Night: Lovers Blues" describes itself as a blues in its subtitle.

I need to make a distinction also between a work that *calls itself a blues* and a work that *uses the word "blues" somewhere in its title but does not name itself as such.* Thus, "I Get the Blues When it Rains," a song from 1919, uses the word "blues" in the title, but does not name itself as a blues. Further examples of this type are "The Ghost of the Terrible Blues," "When All the Blues Turned to Sunshine," and "When Jim Europe's Band Played the Blues Over There." This is a vital distinction, for while songs like "I Get the Blues When it Rains" are in one sense manifestations of commercial blues culture, and thus can be regarded as a blues, a definition of blues that embraced them would still be too uncompromisingly historicist for my purpose.

Put simply, for the purposes of this chapter, I define blues as being restricted to the auto-referential type. In doing so, however, I wish to be clear that I do not consider this *the* definition of blues, but rather present it as just one of many possible definitions, though one that accords with my current needs in terms of a desired balance between historicism and presentism. For if one accepts—in accordance with postmodern epistemology—that essentialist definitions do not exist, it follows that any definition of a term like blues is ultimately subjective and localized.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

I make just one amendment to these criteria. I include in my listing also blues which are titled "I've Got the *x* Blues," or a simple variant thereof. Some examples are: "I've Got the Santa Claus Blues," "I've Got the Crying Blues," and "I've Got the Bolsheviki Blues." There are two reasons for the inclusion of such blues. The first is that they are basically a variant of the auto-referential type. Thus "I've Got the Santa Claus Blues" is really a variant of "The Santa Claus Blues" (most auto-referential blues use the "I've got the *x* blues" trope, usually in their chorus, as is discussed below on page *00*). Indeed some songs are known by both titles. For example, the auto-referential "A. B. C. D. Blues," a song from 1920, was in its original unpublished version copyrighted as "The A. B. C. D. Blues." In its published version a few months later it was listed as "I've Got the A. B. C. D. Blues." The two known issued recordings of the work from before 1921 contradict one another, Irving Kaufman's on Emerson calls it "The A. B. C. D. Blues," while a duet version by Billy Murray and Ed Smalle on Victor gives it the longer title. The two titles, therefore, seem to have been interchangeable.

Having selected these criteria, I stick to them rigidly. Thus I do not include "Bluin' the Blues"–a well-known number by the Original Dixeland Jazz Band–as the title is not auto-referential (it would be if I changed the word order to "The Bluin' Blues"). Similarly, "The Kaiser's Got the Blues" is too far removed from the "I've Got the Blues" type, although it is clearly related to it. I would stress that numbers that are omitted might still be regarded as blues. In order to include them, however, I would have to liberalize my definition to such an extent, that my methodology would shift too far in the direction of historicism.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

To summarize, blues warranted for inclusion in Appendix 1 fulfill one of the three following criteria:

(1) the title is auto-referential, i.e. "[the/those] x blues," or a variant thereof;

(2) the song's title is "I've got the/that/those x blues," or variants thereof;

(3) where the song's subtitle describes it as a blues.

The following types of blues-related song are not included:

(1) popular songs that use the word "blues" in the title, but not auto-referentially;

(2) popular songs that use the word "blue" in the title instead of "blues" ("The Blue Melody"; "Blue, Just Blue");

(3) popular songs that do not use the word "blues" in the title, even when they have musical or textual characteristics associated with a presentist definition of blues (such as use of blue-notes, twelve-bar harmonic structure).

Published and Unpublished Blues

As I stated above, appendix 1 shows the 440 blues known to have been published before January 1 1921. In addition, it lists another 306 blues that I was able to find evidence for, but that were unpublished. By "unpublished" I refer to compositions that, as far as is known, never appeared in printed form. Of the 306 unpublished items, 287 were copyrighted, and thus exist in the archives of the Library of Congress (at least, in theory: having undertaken a thorough search of all these items at the LOC, I can report that some appear to have been lost). The other 19 were not copyrighted and are known either from disk (17) or piano roll (2) recordings. By "published" I refer to works that were either registered for copyright in published form, or works that were not

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

copyrighted but are known to exist in published form. In the case of the published works, multiple versions of many compositions are known to exist. I have listed such versions where there is a change in title, composer, author, copyright holder, publisher, published status (usually a previously unpublished work being published) between versions, or where the composition is associated with a particular show in one version and not another. I have not, however, included straightforward published arrangements of a pre-existent work.

The Identity of Early Commercial Blues

This chapter and the following two examine the identity of commercial auto-referential blues of the 1910s. My exploration begins in this chapter with an overview of the genre: an examination of its distinctive musical and textual characteristics, and its relationship to its two dominant influences, popular music culture of the teens and folk blues. In chapters 3 and 4, I analyze the genre in more detail, using as a basis a representative sample of one hundred published compositions. Texts of the songs are examined in chapter 3, followed by the music of songs and instrumentals in chapter 4.

Overview (I): Instrumental Compositions

A fundamental distinction of the commercial blues of the period is between instrumental compositions, which are nearly always for piano in their first commercial manifestation, and songs, usually for single voice with piano accompaniment. In terms of published compositions, roughly a quarter (100/440 = 23%) of the total are instrumental compositions; the remainder are songs. Blues instrumentals are here defined as (auto-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

referential) blues compositions, that appeared either exclusively or at least initially in instrumental form. An example of the latter is Hart Wand's "Dallas Blues" from 1912, one of the first auto-referential blues. This piece was copyrighted as a piano composition in 1912 and published by the composer in Oklahoma City. In this form it acquired its first popularity. In 1918, a vocal version of the work with words by Lloyd Garrett was published in Chicago. "Dallas Blues" was, however, conceived of, and hence in this study is treated as, an instrumental composition.[10]

This example contrasts with "Carolina Blues" (1916) by Arthur Holt and William T. Pierson, which appeared both in vocal and in instrumental versions. However, the two were published almost simultaneously, for as shown in Appendix 1, the instrumental version was copyrighted on November 6, the vocal version just two days later. In this case, it is clear that the composition is basically conceived as a song, but was also published in a solo piano arrangement. For the purposes of this study, this work is considered to be primarily a vocal piece.

In general, there is a close link between early instrumental blues and instrumental ragtime. Edward A. Berlin found the connection between the two worked both ways, with ragtime influencing blues at first, but with movement in the other direction becoming markedly more prominent once commercial blues appeared in mainstream culture.[11] In terms of ragtime's influence on blues instrumentals, the strong connection between the two genres can be seen at three levels: titles, structure, and musical idiom.

---

[10] This process of adapting an instrumental composition by adding words (and often adapting the music in the process) was a familiar one in the popular music industry, and was a standard means of boosting sales of, for example, instrumental ragtime numbers. Even compositions that were quite unsingable, such as Scott Joplin's *Maple Leaf Rag*, were treated in this way.

[11] Berlin, *Rags and Ragtime*, 154-60. Ragtime, which had been in the mainstream since the late 1890s, declined sharply in popularity from the middle of the second decade of the twentieth century, this

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Blues instrumentals often used the word rag in the subtitle. Perhaps the most famous example is W. C. Handy's "Memphis Blues" (1912), the first blues to achieve national popularity. In the original piano version, the work is designated "A Southern Rag." Berlin gives several other examples.[12] A particularly striking instance of the interchangeability of the two genres is Handy's "Yellow Dog Blues" (1914), which was first issued under the title "Yellow Dog Rag" and later changed to the more familiar title.

In terms of structure, there is again a clear influence of ragtime on instrumental blues. As Berlin shows, ragtime compositions typically consist of three or four independent sixteen-bar sections, each repeated, with the first section and one other one usually being recalled at some point within the structure. There is nearly always a modulation, usually to the subdominant in the case of major keys, or the relative major if the work is in the minor. Most often the modulation occurs before the beginning of the third ("C") section.[13]

Many of the blues instrumentals use a similar structure. The instrumental composition "Camp Cody Blues," (example 1.1), analyzed in chapter 1, fits nicely with Berlin's prototype.[14] Its form is:

Introduction—4 mm.—D minor (mm. 1-4)

A—16 mm.—D minor (mm. 5-20)

B—16 mm.—F major [x2] (mm. 21-36)

C—16 mm.—Bb major [x2] (mm. 37-54)

---

coinciding with the emergence of jazz, which appeared in the mainstream with the recordings of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band in 1917.

[12] Berlin, *Rags and Ragtime*, 158.

[13] Berlin, *Rags and Ragtime*, 89-91.

[14] For music and analysis, see above, 45-47.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

B—16 mm.—F major [x2] (mm. 55-70)

In one respect, this form is somewhat atypical in that there are actually two modulations (to the relative major and its subdominant) rather than the more usually encountered one, and no reprise of the A section. According to Berlin, however, both of these deviations, while unusual, are by no means uncommon.[15]

Finally, there is the question of musical idiom to consider. In general, ragtime and blues are closely interrelated. Again we can refer to "Camp Cody Blues," which is basically indistinguishable from the ragtime idiom of the day. However, the matter does not end there, for the style of "Camp Cody Blues," and many of the other instrumental blues of the 1910s, is also closely related to another genre, the fox-trot.

The relationship between instrumental blues and the fox trot is very close. In fact, the fox-trot, invented by the dance team of Vernon and Irene Castle in 1914, was originally suggested by W. C. Handy's "Memphis Blues."[16] Many instrumental blues, including "Camp Cody Blues," are subtitled "fox-trot."[17] Perhaps more importantly, most contemporary recordings of instrumental blues (whether flat-disk, cylinder, or piano roll), were usually designated as fox-trots in company catalogs as well as on the records themselves. This was also true of vocal blues when they were recorded in instrumental versions, but not when they were recorded in vocal versions. This is evident from the labels of forty-six 78 r. p. m. records and one cylinder of blues compositions made before January 1921. They consisted of thirty-seven instrumental items and ten vocals. None of

---

[15] Berlin, *Rags and Ragtime*, 90.

[16] Reid Badger, *A Life in Ragtime: A Biography of James Reese Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 115.

[17] This subtitle is on the first page of the score, reproduced on page 45.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the vocal recordings had a dance designation. Of the instrumentals, twenty-seven (75%) were labeled fox-trots; five (13.5%) were labeled one-steps (a dance style associated with ragtime); and a similar number did not designate a specific dance step at all. While this sample is quite small, representing only about 10% of the total number of recordings listed on the discography, there is nothing to suggest that it is not representative.[18]

In other words, it would seem that instrumental blues–and instrumental performances of vocal blues–were generally regarded as fox-trots by the culture that produced and consumed them. The question arises, however, as to whether this was simply a fashionable epithet attached to sheet music and recordings to generate sales, or whether there was some musical substance to the designation.

Fox-trots generally shared the same structural conventions as ragtime. Their musical language is also quite similar. However, there is one distinctive musical trait that is associated with fox-trots, namely, the use of dotted rhythms.[19] "Camp Cody Blues" is typical from this point of view: it makes consistent use of dotted rhythms in all its sections. A considerable number of other instrumental blues from this period do the same.

---

[18] Furthermore, these conclusions are confirmed by the rollography (Appendix 3), where I list any designation given on the box of the roll. Again, the only dance styles referred to are fox-trot and one-step, with examples of the former outnumbering the latter by a factor of several times.

[19] See Berlin, *Rags and Ragtime*, 149-51. Berlin shows for example that "fox-trot arrangements" of ragtime compositions were dotted versions of the original work, stressing that the essence of the fox-trot was its rhythmical jaggedness. Other examples of instrumental fox-trots using dotted rhythms and ragtime structures are: "Ballin' the Jack" by Chris Smith and James Reese Europe (1914, an instrumental version of Smith's hit song from the same year); "The Carus Breeze" by Jack Glogau (1914); "The Chevy Chase" by Eubie Blake (1914); "Doctor Brown" by Fred Irvin (1914); "Palm Beach" by C. Luckeyeth Roberts (1914); "Trouville Canter" by Hughie Woolford (1914); "The Castle Doggy" by James Reese Europe (1915); "The Kangaroo Hop" (1915); and "Rabbit's Foot" by George L. Cobb (1915). All of these are to be found in David A. Jasen (ed.) *Cakewalks, Two-Steps and Trots* (New York: Dover, 1997).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In summary, early commercial instrumental blues were designated as both "rag" and "fox-trots" on the sheet music, and as "one-step" (i.e. the dance-step for a rag) and "fox-trot" on recordings. The fox-trot label is, however, far more prevalent than the rag/one-step, and this, taken with the fact that blues compositions often used characteristic dotted rhythms, along with the specific connection between "The Memphis Blues" and the creation of the fox-trot, suggests that the association between instrumental blues of the period and the fox-trot is even more fundamental than the link between blues and ragtime.

The situation is quite complex, however, for most, if not a majority, of instrumental blues exhibit at least some characteristics that are associated with neither ragtime nor fox-trots. These characteristics can be regarded as authentically "bluesy" from a presentist standpoint; that is, they are stylistic elements that are strongly associated with blues as we understand the term today. I will deal with specific elements of blues language (such as blue notes, use of falling melodic contours) in Chapter 4. For the moment, I restrict my discussion to the structure of the compositions.

This structure is the classic blues form, commonly found in commercial and country blues of all periods, which contrasts markedly with a ragtime/fox-trot structure in that sections are divided into periods of twelve measures, not sixteen, and there is no use of modulation. Furthermore, the twelve-bar format is more than just a structure: it is a set sequence of chords, most commonly I-I-I-I-IV-IV-I-I-V-V-I-I, with some variations permissible.[20] Again this is quite different from a standard ragtime strain, where the harmonic formula is not preset but is left to the choice of the composer.

---

[20] See below, 144-50, for a more detailed discussion on the twelve-bar formula.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 2.1. Barron: "The Original Blues" (1914)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

There are instances of instrumental blues from before 1921 using blues structures in all their sections, though they are few in number. A typical example is "The Original Blues," by Ted S. Barron (example 2.1), published in New York in 1914. After a four-measure introduction, there are three sections, each using a standard twelve-bar structure.[21]

In terms of form, therefore, there are blues like "Camp Cody Blues" that adhere to a ragtime/fox-trot structure of sixteen-measure strains with limited use of key-changes; and there are works such as "The Original Blues" that use the twelve-bar blues formula throughout and do not change key. In truth, a majority of instrumental blues fall somewhere between the two models, freely combining sixteen- and twelve-bar periods and using at least one modulation. An instance is example 2.2, "The Snakey Blues" (1915) by Will Nash. This piece has four sections, of which the first and third are twelve bars long and the second and fourth sixteen bars (the last section, marked "Fare Thee," is an arrangement of the African-American folksong "Fare Thee, Honey, Fare Thee Well," which will be discussed in a later chapter). There are two key changes, one to the subdominant (F) for the C section, and another to its subdominant (Bb) for the final strain. This work can therefore be thought of as having a hybrid form, showing the influence of both ragtime and blues.

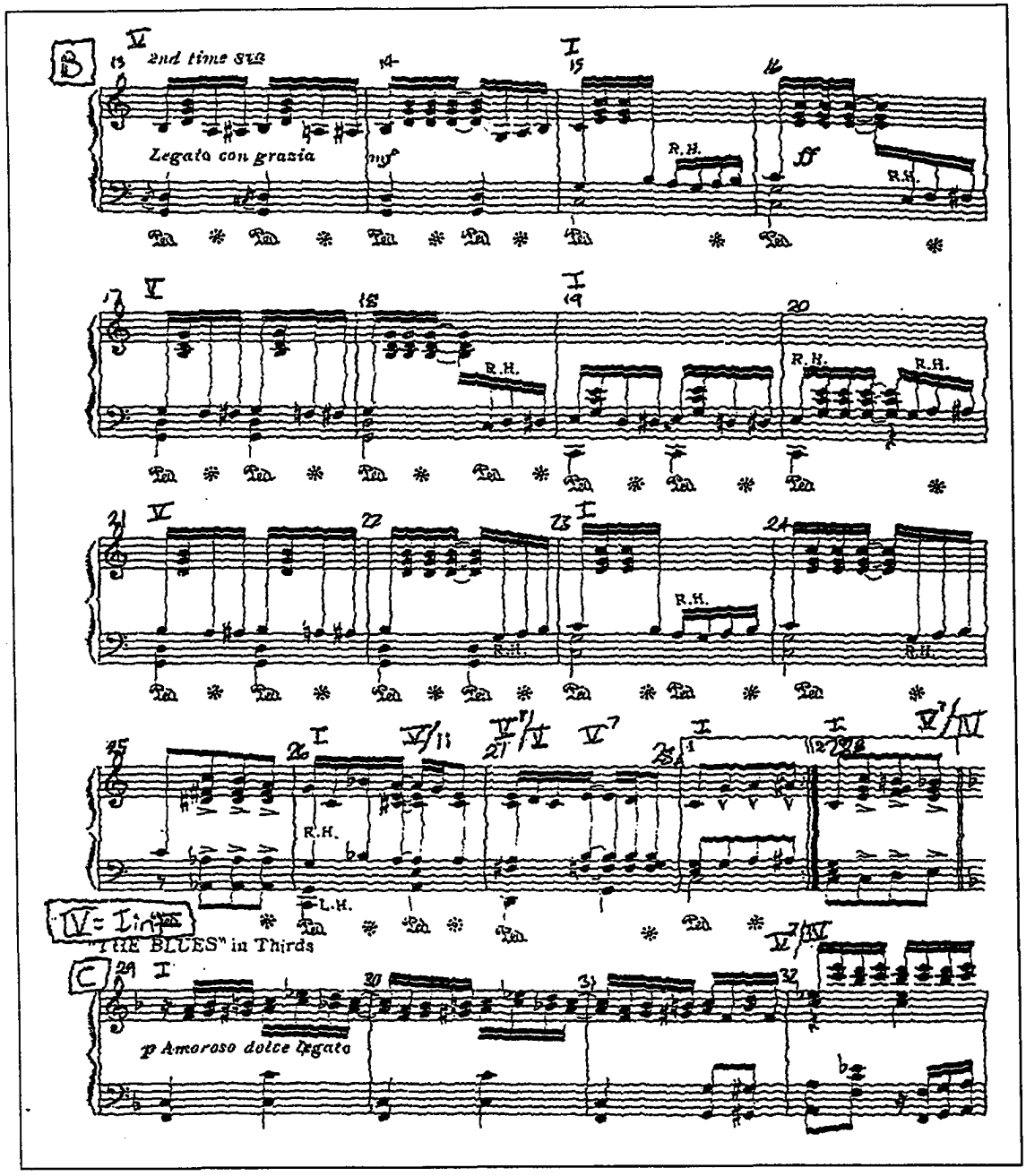
Another type of compromise between these two styles is seen in Dorothy Harris's "Just Blues" (1915), example 2.3. This work is thematically limited, having only two strains and no modulation, which suggests more of a blues influence than ragtime. However, both strains are sixteen, rather than twelve, measures long, which implies a

[21] Although this is quite untypical of ragtime, a connection between the two styles is still made with subtitle "A Real Southern Rag."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 2.2. Nash: "The Snakey Blues" (1915)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 2.3. Harris: "Just Blues" (1915)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

connection with ragtime. On the other hand, the strains have varied, written-out repeats, a device rare in published ragtime compositions but standard in blues, which tend to compensate for their limited number of themes by constant variation.[22] The first strain (A) occurs a total of four times, twice at the beginning (mm. 1-16 and 17-32) and twice at the end (mm. 49-64 and 65-80), with both melody and accompaniment being constantly varied. The eight-measure B strain (mm. 33-40 and 41-48) is also subjected to a written-out, varied repeat. This process of variation strongly allies this work with the blues idiom, as do other syllogistic features such as the prominent use of blue notes and the slow tempo.

Overview (II): Songs

Almost all commercial blues songs from the pre-1921 era display the same structure as other popular songs of the day: a number of verses (usually two or three) and a chorus. Unlike these songs, however, in which the standard length of both verse and chorus is sixteen or thirty-two measures, blues songs, like their instrumental counterparts, often use one or two twelve-bar periods in either or both sections. The songs are usually preceded by an introduction, generally four bars in length, followed by a "vamp" of two bars that is repeated until the singer is ready to begin (on surviving recordings the vamp is usually played twice). The use of introduction and vamp is standard in popular songs of the period. This structure is quite different from folk blues song where there is no

[22] An interesting example of this is "Nigger Blues," example 2.5 below. It is monothematic but the accompaniment is varied in each of the three verses.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 2.4. Holt and Warner: "The Tennessee Blues" (1916)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

verse and chorus, but only verses, with a single twelve-bar melody repeated as often as necessary, and adapted to fit the rhythm of the text (see, for example, the text to Blind Blake's "Early Morning Blues," given below on page 114).

A typical example is Holt and Warner's "The Tennessee Blues" (example 2.4). After the introduction and two-bar vamp there is a twenty-four-bar verse, consisting of two twelve-bar blues sequences. The chorus, however, is a sixteen-bar structure, and the song is therefore a hybrid, combining twelve-bar structures derived from folk blues with standard popular song form.

There exist also published blues songs from the period which show a much stronger influence of folk blues. One example is "Nigger Blues" by Leroy "Lasses" White (example 2.5), which was published in 1913, but copyrighted in manuscript form under the less offensive title "Negro Blues" the year before. The one concession to popular song style is the inclusion of a one-bar vamp after the introduction. In all other respects, this work is closely related to folk blues: it is in twelve-bar form, throughout and only one melody is used, repeated for each of the six verses (though the accompaniment is subtly varied from verse to verse in a thoroughly idiomatic fashion). Furthermore, the text is of the traditional AAB structure (three lines, with the second line a repeat of the first, e.g. A: "Oh! the blues ain't nothing, Oh! the blues ain't nothing, But a good man feeling bad"/A: "Oh! the blues ain't nothing, Oh! the blues ain't nothing, But a good man feeling bad"/ B: "Oh! That's a feeling that I've often had"). Moreover, the text is riddled with standard formulas of folk blues (such as "the blues ain't nothing but a good man feeling bad" and "I'm goin' to lay my head down on some railroad line"). The manuscript version is even more revealing in that there are no fewer than fifteen such

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 2.5. White: "Nigger Blues" (1913)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 2.6. Swanstrom and Morgan: "Broadway Blues" (1920)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

verses.[23] The early date of "Nigger Blues" and its close affiliation with rural blues style is exceptional.

At the other extreme is a song like "Broadway Blues" (1920) by Arthur Swanstrom and Morgan Carey, shown in example 2.6. This is in standard popular song form, with an introduction, vamp, sixteen-bar verse and thirty-two bar chorus. This is not to say that it is uninfluenced by blues, however, as there are specific musical and textual traits, to be examined below, that link it to the genre. Structurally, however, it is a pop song, not a blues.

"Broadway Blues" shows no discernible influence of blues on its structure. A majority of compositions, such as "The Tennessee Blues," lie between these two extremes, however, utilizing blues structures to a limited extent while still adhering to the verse-chorus format of Tin Pan Alley.

Conclusion

This concludes my overview of commercial blues instrumentals and songs of the 1910s. In the next two chapters, I will examine the specific musical and textual characteristics of the genre in some detail, and discuss its identity in relationship to other styles of popular music of the 1910s.

---

[23] Quoted in Lynn Abbott and Doug Seroff, ' "They Cert'ly Sound Good to Me": Sheet Music, Southern Vaudeville, and the Commercial Ascendancy of the Blues,' *American Music* 14/4 (Winter 1996), 409-10. In the authors' assessment, this is "a monument to early folk-blues literature."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter 3

EARLY COMMERCIAL BLUES II
Textual Analysis of Blues Songs

Introduction: The Survey

It is now time to isolate and examine in some detail the distinctive musical and textual characteristics of early commercial auto-referential blues. To this end I have selected for detailed analysis one hundred blues from Appendix 1. Only published items have been included, for my main concern here is the identity of commercial blues, and it is published music that best defines the commercial sector in this period.[1] Of the 440 known published blues, the survey therefore represents slightly less than one quarter of the total (23%).

In terms of criteria for selection, I have been careful to take a predominantly historicist rather than a presentist approach, in accordance with my methodological aims. In other words, I have been careful not to choose deliberately compositions that accord closely, or even partially, with contemporary notions of what blues should be (twelve-bar sequences and so forth). Instead, I have used two criteria:

---

[1] This is not to say that unpublished blues should be automatically regarded as non-commercial. A fair number are by vaudeville performers who would have been touring locally or nationally, promoting the song/instrumental in question. In this way, their compositions, though unpublished, should be regarded as commercial in that they were used to make money and may have reached a fairly wide audience. In addition, some of the unpublished songs were recorded, either on piano roll or disk and as such are unarguably commercial. However, in addition to these commercial unpublished blues, there are a considerable, though unknown, number of unpublished blues that were copyrighted by amateurs, and these cannot be regarded as commercial. Given that most of the unpublished blues are by obscure figures, it is often not possible to determine which should be regarded as commercial and which not. There is also the fact that the copyright deposit for many of the unpublished compositions is skeletal–melody line only–and this usually precludes analysis of harmonic characteristics. I have therefore decided to ignore the unpublished blues completely for this survey. My decision is strengthened by the fact that, while there are certain unpublished items that are highly original and thus have considerable interest from a historical point of view, taken as a whole, the unpublished items share the musical and textual characteristics of the published compositions that are isolated and discussed in this chapter. Therefore my survey of published blues may be thought to be at least approximately representative of the unpublished blues.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1. I have selected blues that were, as far as I am able to judge, popular in the era. As exact sales figures are not available, I have included the items which received the greatest number of recordings as evidenced by the discography (Appendix 2) and rollography (Appendix 3);
2. I have added to this items which may not have been particularly popular in their day, but which between them cover the diverse range of styles that blues compositions display over this period.[2]

By adopting these criteria, I aim to produce a survey that reflects both contemporary notions of what blues were in popular (mainstream) culture, and the full breadth of styles that existed in published blues over the 1912-21 era.

The survey consists of both songs and instrumentals. In this chapter I examine the texts of the songs; in chapter 4, I will examine the music of both songs and instrumentals. In compiling this listing, I have kept the same proportion of instrumentals to songs as in the total group of published blues, which, as discussed earlier, is 23% instrumentals to 77% songs (i.e., twenty-three instrumentals and seventy-seven songs are surveyed). A list of the compositions, arranged in alphabetical order of title, appears in the appendix to this chapter beginning on page 172.

My basic assumption is that the two dominant influences on auto-referential published blues are folk-blues on the one hand, and popular music on the other. It is certainly apparent that the works on this list contain clear influences of both in amounts that vary from work to work. As I found in my general examination of blues songs, some

---

[2] Note that I have sampled the three types of auto-referential blues listed in Chapter 2 (80): "the *x* blues" type; the "I've got the *x* blues" type; and compositions that describe themselves as blues in their subtitles ("Easy Pickins" and "Slide, Kelly, Slide").

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

basically seem to be transcriptions of folk music, while others are almost indistinguishable from regular pop songs of the day, and there are all degrees of shades in between. My approach, therefore, is to isolate certain specific textual and musical characteristics that are found regularly in these blues and discuss their relationship with these two surrounding styles (folk-blues and popular songs). To do this, I need first to establish a body of folk-blues and a body of popular songs to use as comparison points.

The body of folk-blues I use are the forty-five transcriptions by Jeff Todd Titon in *Early Downhome Blues: A Musical and Cultural Analysis* of melodies and texts of early "downhome" blues recordings.[3] These commercial recordings were made over the period 1926-30, the first period of folk-blues recordings. The transcriptions are listed in the chapter appendix.

Selecting an appropriate body of popular music is less straightforward for two reasons: first, the term "popular" is vague and covers a multitude of styles; second, it is often hard to know for sure which was the most popular material of its day. In terms of the former, I have limited the selection to songs and instrumentals that are stylistically similar to commercial blues. This is important, for the comparison between blues and popular songs gains more meaning if they are in at least approximate stylistic alignment, and although the commercial blues in the survey are stylistically distinct from one another, when compared with the vast, sprawling field of contemporary vernacular music their differences are quite minimal. For this reason, I have included only songs that were heard in vaudeville or are from musicals and have consequently excluded vernacular

---

[3] Titon actually includes forty-eight transcriptions, but three of these are vaudeville blues rather than folk blues (listed by Titon on p. 60). For the sake of stylistic consistency, I have omitted them from my study.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

material in the following styles: popular art songs, songs from operettas, and religious songs.[4]

In terms of selecting which songs to include in the list, I have focused on substantial hits of the day. These I compiled from three sources:

1. the index of Sigmund Spaeth's *A History of Popular Music in America*[5] which contains a list of what he regards as the most popular songs year by year;
2. Roger D. Kinkle's *The Complete Encyclopedia of Popular Music and Jazz 1900-1950*, which also has a year-by-year index of popular songs;[6]
3. three volumes published by Dover that are collections of songs and instrumentals which are intended to reflect the most popular items of the era. They are: *"Peg O' My Heart" and Other Favorite Song Hits 1912 & 1913*, ed. Stanley Appelbaum; *The "Saint Louis Blues" and Other Hit Songs of 1914*, ed. Sandy Marrone; *"For Me and My Gal" and Other Favorite Song Hits 1915-1917*, ed. David A. Jasen.[7]

The songs, drawn exclusively from the same time-frame as the commercial blues, are also listed in the chapter appendix.[8]

---

[4] The only exception is a small number of show-tunes that had an independent life as popular songs, such as Jerome Kern's "They Didn't Believe Me."

[5] New York: Random House, 1948. The relevant pages are 624-633.

[6] New Rochelle, NY: Arlington House, 1974.

[7] I have omitted the two blues items from these volumes, "St. Louis Blues," and "Beale Street Blues" as they are both included in the list of blues items.

[8] A few of the items on this list were published before 1912, but in all cases they were popular within the 1912-21 era.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Texts

There are two fundamental types of texts in the blues songs surveyed. I have labeled these *personal* and *impersonal*. The broad distinction between them is this: whereas the personal songs are usually sung in the first person, at least through the chorus, and contain some sense of longing or lament, presented either straight or as a parody; impersonal blues are in the third person and generally lack the pseudo-cathartic purpose of the personal blues. Personal blues outnumber impersonal by a factor of approximately 4:1 (79% to 21%) and will be discussed first.

Personal Blues

I begin by quoting a typical folk blues, Blind Blake's "Early Morning Blues":

Early this mornin' my baby made me sore, [x2]
I'm goin' away to leave you, ain't comin' back no more.

"Tell me pretty mama where did you stay last night?" [x2]
"It ain't none of your business, Daddy, since I treat you right."

When you see me sleepin', baby, don't you think I'm drunk: [x2]
I got one eye on my pistol and the other on your trunk.

Love you pretty mama, b'lieve me 't'ain't no lie [x2]
The day you try to quit me, baby, that's the day you die.[9]

There are a number of characteristics that make this a typical folk blues. First is the AAB structure of the lyric of each verse (that is, a three-line form in which the second line repeats the first). Second, there is the cause of the blues, the suspected faithlessness of the singer's partner. Both these will be discussed later. My concern here is a third element, the sense of *personal lament* (reinforced by musical elements). If there is one

---

[9] Transcribed by Titon in *Early Downhome Blues*, 73-74. I have omitted two spoken parenthetical interjections, the echoes of the first lines of the second and third verses respectively.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

characteristic of early country blues that is almost universal, and one that readily accounts for its power, it is the sense of direct, personal, intimate expression described by Ralph Ellison as "an autobiographical chronicle of personal catastrophe expressed lyrically."[10]

This kind of expression is only found rarely in commercial non-blues popular music of the day. In the sampling of eighty-five pop songs listed in the appendix to the chapter, only five are directly concerned with personal loss: "I Ain't Got Nobody," "You Made Me Love You," "The Curse of An Aching Heart," "Poor Butterfly" and "When I Lost You." The last, one of Irving Berlin's most successful songs up to that point in his career, was directly inspired by the death, five months into their marriage, of his first wife from an illness contracted while on honeymoon in Cuba in 1912.[11] The chorus is as follows:

> I lost the sunshine and roses,
> I lost the heavens of blue,
> I lost the beautiful rainbow,
> I lost the morning dew;
> I lost the angel who gave me
> Summer, the whole winter through,
> I lost the gladness that turned into sadness,
> When I lost you.

While both "Early Morning Blues" and "When I Lost You" share an intimate mood–both are in the first person–and are inspired by loss (or threatened loss, in the case of Blind Blake) of a lover, they are markedly different in their use of language. Blake's lyrics are passionate and immediate. Their use of slang phrases ("My baby made me sore") and

---

[10] Quoted in Craig Werner, *A Change is Gonna Come: Music, Race and the Soul of America* (New York: Plume, 1999), 69.

[11] For the circumstances surrounding the composition of the song, see Laurence Bergreen, *As Thousands Cheer: The Life of Irving Berlin* (New York: Viking, 1990), 81-85.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

racy dialogue ("'Tell me pretty mama where did you stay last night?'/'It ain't none of your business, Daddy, since I treat you right'") give them an earthiness that is entirely absent in Berlin's delicate, refined imagery of sunshine and roses and morning dew. Berlin's approach is elevated and distanced, Blake's down-to-earth and immediate.

Of the five popular songs in the survey directly concerned with loss, all are as far removed from the expression of folk blues as "When I Lost You" with the notable exception of "I Ain't Got Nobody," which is a blues in all but name, and indeed was recorded in the 1920s by a number of vaudeville blues singers including Ida Cox, Viola McCoy, and Bessie Smith. This song aside, my survey of popular songs suggests that the expression of mainstream commercial popular music was quite different from that of stereotypical folk blues. There are few songs of loss, and when there are, they usually lack the passion and directness of the work of artists like Blind Blake.

However, a substantial majority (65%) of the commercial blues songs surveyed are both personal and directly concerned with loss. Of these at least some show strong emotion. An obvious example is the first verse of "Nigger Blues" (example 2.5): "Oh! The Blues ain't nothing but a good man feeling bad [x2]/Oh! That's a feeling that I've often had." This is, perhaps, less powerful than the lyric to "Early Morning Blues," but still a long way from the elevated lyrics of "When I Lost You." Similarly, "The Tennessee Blues" (example 2.4) ends in the passionate outburst: "Far from de ole home, mah achin' heart am abreakin', eb'ryt'ing seems blue./In all dis wide, wide world/Ah want just one gal, an' dat's Sue."

There are three distinct levels of abstraction in the personal blues. Level 1 is the most abstract. The text is simply a verbal amplification and elaboration of the blues;

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

there is no cause specified for the feeling. An example is the lyrics to "Nigger Blues" (example 2.5). Such blues are quite rare in the sheet music surveyed, accounting for only 7% of the personal blues.

Level 2 is the same as level 1 except a generalized cause or set of causes is named as the reason for the singer having the blues. An example is "Railroad Blues":

> My lovin'sweetie's gone,
> My lovin' sweeties gone away,
> Yes, he's gone an' run away;
> Got the blues, got blues
> Been acryin' the whole day through;
> All I wanted was my kissin',
> But mah baby is a missin' once again,
> On a choo-choo train.

This is by far the most common of the three types, accounting for 77.5% of the personal blues in the survey.

Level 3 is where some specific cause is cited, usually a topical one. An example is the chorus of "Prohibition Blues":

> Oh! My Brothers and Sisters,
> Listen to what I say
> By nineteen twenty dere'll be no boose sold in the U.S.A.
> De whole country am a goin' bone dry,
> Prohibition am de battle cry,
> 'Scuse me while I shed a tear,
> For good old whiskey, gin and beer.
> Goodbye forever,
> Goodbye forever
> Ah got de Prohibition Blues.

This is the least abstract level and is found in 15.5% of the personal blues surveyed.

I turn to the issue of causes specified for the blues in the songs surveyed. In folk blues (and also recorded vaudeville blues of the 1920s, for that matter) by far the most common cause for the blues is problems with a lover, most typically desertion by a partner. As Titon expresses it, "early downhome blues songs as a genre were overtly

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

concerned with love between men and women."[12] In the sample of forty-five blues in Titon's book, difficulties in such relationships are the prime theme of 82% of the blues, and a subsidiary theme in a further 7%. In other words, only 11% of the songs are *not* concerned with this theme. In the sample of popular songs, on the other hand, only five songs dealt with such problems.

In the commercial blues surveyed, relationship problems are once again the most common cause for the blues, accounting for 58% of the texts where a cause is specified. This is a much higher percentile than the sample pop songs, but rather less than the folk blues sample, suggesting some sort of mediation between the two genres. Sometimes the departing partner leaves for legitimate reasons such as work ("Left All Alone Again Blues") or war ("Hindenburg Blues"). In the substantial majority of cases, however, the cause is amorous desertion ("Crazy Blues" and many others).

The next most common cause for the blues in the commercial blues is nostalgic yearning for the country and the rural lifestyle (25%). An example is the lyric to the chorus of "I've Got the Blue Ridge Blues," which runs:

> But if you want my heart to bust wide open
> Mention Blue Ridge Days.
> Just start me thinking of my folks down yonder
> And their Blue Ridge ways
> Where the sunsets seem so mellow
> And all the fields are green and yellow.
> Golden Rod is rearin'
> In the cabin clearin'
> Smoke atrailin; up the valley
> Bacon's in the pan
> Oh June I yearn to see the lovelight
> In your Blue Ridge Eyes
> I want to wander with you up the pinetrail
> 'Neath the Blue Ridge skies.
> Where they never travel 'round unless they go in twos

---

[12] Titon, *Early Downhome Blues*, 179.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

And always tote their guns to emphasize their views:
Sunshine, moonshine, that's what makes me pine –
I've got the Blues Ridge blues.

This type of approach is found only rarely in folk blues: none of the songs in Titon employ this theme. What is common in both folk and vaudeville blues are titles using place names (e.g. "Alabama Blues," "Atlanta Blues," "Norfolk Blues"), but as an early survey of such compositions concluded, "most of the songs bearing titles of the locality type really deal with the relation of man and woman."[13] Instead, the inspiration for such commercial blues is Tin Pan Alley, which had a tradition of such songs stretching well back into the nineteenth century, including classics like "Home Sweet Home," "My Old Kentucky Home" and "Swanee River." This tradition in popular song continued right up to the period surveyed (and indeed well beyond it), with Ballard Macdonald and James F. Hanley's "Indiana"[14] becoming a major hit in 1917. The chorus reads:

Back home again in Indiana,
And it seems that I can see
The gleaming candlelight still shining bright
Through the sycamores for me.
The new mown hay sends all its fragrance
From the fields I used to roam,
When I dream about the moonlight on the Wabash
Then I long for my Indiana home.

As is clear from a comparison with the text of "Indiana" with that of "I've Got the Blue Ridge Blues," the texts of the nostalgia type of blues are often indistinguishable from straightforward nostalgic popular songs, except that there is nearly always some

---

[13] Odum and Johnson, *Negro Workaday Songs*, 30.

[14] See popular song list in the appendix to this chapter for publication details.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

reference to having the blues for the place in question ("I've got the Blue Ridge Blues" runs the climactic last line of the song).

Some nostalgia blues do not specify a place, but simply embody a city-dweller's general yearning for the country. An example is the chorus of "The Broadway Blues" (example 2.6):

> When your heart is aching for the trees,
> When you long to hear those buzzin' bees.
> And when you want to eat a cake
> Just like you mammy used to bake
> And you find you've got a wish
> To hook an unsuspecting fish.
> When your cloud has lost its silver line,
> And the colors in your rainbow cease to shine;
> Pin your farewell on your door,
> Catch a train and don't care where it's leaving for,
> You've got those Broadway Blues.

In many examples of nostalgia blues the place being yearned for is associated with a lover, usually one that has deserted the singer. This association links it with the previously discussed loss-of-a-lover theme. An example of this is "The Tennessee Blues" (example 2.4) where the singer wants to return to Tennessee to win back his "honey, Susie Lee." The song is basically about the singer losing his girl, which puts the song in this most basic category of blues. However, the lyricist also draws from the nostalgia type of blues, utilizing such nostalgic tropes as "Ah want to go back to sunny Tennessee..." and "Far from de ole home mah achin' heart am abreakin'..." in the chorus. In "The Carolina Blues," the singer likewise yearns to return to the state to be with his lover:

> Carolina for me, dat's de place to be.
> When Ah get home with Dinah,
> Carolina will look good to me.
> How Ah long to be down
> In mah little hometown

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In dear ole Carolina
`Neath the pine again with Dinah Brown.

Here girl and state–drawn from the different traditions of the blues and the Tin Pan Alley nostalgic song—are effectively united into one symbol of longing. The text for this particular song also successfully incorporates a third tradition, incidentally, that of the coon song. Coon songs are defined by Edward A. Berlin as a "Negro dialect song frequently, but not always, of an offensively denigrating nature."[15] At their most popular around the turn of the century, they were by the time of "The Carolina Blues" long out of fashion. The coon song influence in "The Carolina Blues" is seen in the caricature of negro speech, in the humorous plot of the verse (on the train to see his girlfriend the singer loses his ticket and is thrown off), as well as well-used phrases such as "Oh, Lord, if dere ever was one unlucky coon, dat's me."

There are two other significant causes for the blues in the commercial blues sheet music surveyed: drink (10%) and the First World War (3%). Both of these are topical, as all the songs dealing with drink refer to Prohibition (for example, see the lyric of "The Prohibition Blues" quoted above). As such, both these types are linked with the commercial pop industry that produced many hundreds of songs on these themes during this period, though drink and problems arising with it also form well-known theme in folk blues (three of Titon's examples revolve round this issue). Another recurring theme of folk blues, poverty, is found in 3% of the commercial blues surveyed.

The following table summarizes the causes of blues in the texts of commercial blues surveyed:

[15] Berlin, *Ragtime; A Musical and Cultural History*, 5.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 3.1: Causes of the Blues in the Texts of Personal Blues Sheet Music in Survey

Cause of the Blues	% of Total
Problems with lover	58
Rural nostalgia	25
Drink (=Prohibition)	10
First World War	3
Poverty	3
Other	1

Note: For 8% of personal blues, no cause for the blues is specified. These are omitted from the table.

One important textual characteristic shared by 81% of the personal blues (and 70% of the total blues songs in the survey) is the trope "I've got the x blues," or some variant thereof, usually in the chorus. A quick examination of the texts already quoted will show this to be the case. For example, "The Prohibition Blues" ends with the line "Ah got de Prohibition Blues." For "The Broadway Blues" and "I Got the Blue Ridge Blues," the line is also placed climactically at the finish. In "The Railroad Blues" the line ("Got de blues, got blues") is used earlier. In fact it is also used to begin the chorus, for example "I've Got the Cryin' Blues" which opens "I've got the crying blues/I've got the sighin' blues/I've got the creeping weeping willow blues." Sometimes, in fact, the only bluesy characteristic of the song seems to reside in this line. Its use at the end of "I've Got the Blue Ridge Blues" is basically the only reason, textual or musical, for thinking about the piece as a blues; as stated earlier, it is in other respects synonymous with the type of nostalgic pop song that was a staple of the songwriting industry.

Given the ubiquity of the "I got the blues" trope in commercial blues before 1921, it is interesting that device is not at all common in folk blues. In Titon's sampling, only two of the forty-five recordings used it ("Got the Blues, Can't Be Satisfied" and "Mama

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

'T'Ain't Long fo' Day").[16] I infer, therefore, that the "I got the blues" trope is an artificiality adopted by the commercial blues industry, a device used as a semiotic denoter of bluesiness that is little used in rural blues.

Impersonal Blues

The impersonal songs account for only 21% of the total of blues songs in the survey. Whereas songs of the personal type are in the first person and articulate the depressed ("blue") emotional state of the singer, impersonal blues are usually sung throughout in the third person and do not describe internal emotional states, whether negative or positive. Instead, the singer is concerned with outside action. An example is W. C. Handy's "The Memphis Blues" (1913), one of the best known and most successful commercial blues of the era. The verse talks about the singer's recent trip to Memphis and his discovery of the Handy band playing "The Memphis Blues" at a white dance.

> Folks I've just been down, down to Memphis town,
> That's where the people smile, smile on you all the while.
> Hospitality, they were good to me,
> I couldn't spend a dime,
> And had the grandest time.
> I went out adancin' with a Tennessee dear,
> They had a fellow there named Handy with a band you should hear
> And while the whi' folks gently swayed
> All dem darkies played real Harmony.
> I never will forget the tune that Handy called The Memphis Blues,
> Oh them Blues.

The chorus is a description of the band and the effects of the music:

> They got a fiddler there that always slickens his hair,
> And folks he sure do pull some bow,
> And when the big bassoon seconds to the Trombone's croon, croon,
> It moans just like a sinner on Revival Day,

---

[16] Blind Lemon Jefferson's "Got the Blues," despite its title, does not use it.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

On Revival Day.
That melancholy strain that ever haunting refrain
Is like a Darkie's sorrow song:
Here comes the very part
That wraps a spell around my heart.
It sets me wild to hear that lovin' tune again,
The Memphis Blues.

The text is not by Handy, incidentally, but was added by Tin Pan Alley lyricist George Norton when the song was published in New York.[17] The main influence on this kind of lyric is the contemporary ragtime song. In fact, the direct inspiration for the text of "The Memphis Blues" must surely be Irving Berlin's "Alexander's Ragtime Band" (1911), which was not only a successful ragtime song, but one of the biggest popular song hits of the era. The narrative of Berlin's song also concerns hearing a band, though this time playing ragtime, not blues. The lyrics tell of Alexander's band, "the bestest band what am, my honeylamb" which "can play a bugle call like you never heard before/ So natural that you want to go to war."

"The Memphis Blues" might be described as being a song about the blues, rather than an actual blues, a description of music-making by an observer. This is by far the most common type of impersonal blues, accounting for 70% of those in the survey. Such songs—and "The Memphis Blues" is a typical example—are characterized by descriptions of the musicians playing and/or the effect of the music they play on the listeners/dancers.

Another example is "Paradise Blues" (1916), which tells of a Southern cabaret where a certain Lucinda Hall begs the house pianist to play some blues. The chorus is as follows:

---

[17] Handy *Father of the Blues*, 110.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Honey, don't play me no Opera,
Play me some blue melody.
I don't care nothin' 'bout *Carmen*
When you play that harmony.
Oh! that's it, Honey Babe,
Oh, won't you play that strain again,
Oh Pretty Papa, oh, Pretty Papa,
It sure do tantalize.
Lay right on those piano keys,
I feel that feelin' way down in my knees,
'Cause when you play the Blues,
I'm right in Paradise.

This is somewhat different from "The Memphis Blues" in that it is about an individual player not a band, but the basic approach, with its description of the playing and its effect on the listener, is basically the same.[18]

The chorus of the "The Hula Blues" (1920) consists entirely of a description of the music and its effects:

Oh, Oh, Oh, those loving Hula Blues!
Tell me, have you heard those loving Hula Blues?
You can't imagine what you'refeeling blue about,
You simply glide and take a slide,
And you want to shout;
You wriggle, you giggle,
You wriggle to the Hula Blues.

As for the other 30% of impersonal songs that are not about blues: they share the same themes as personal blues, except that they are told in the second or third person, rather than the first. An example is "The Broadway Blues" (example 2.6), which belongs to the rural/nostalgic type of personal blues song, except that it is told in the second person ("When your heart is aching for the trees,/When you long to hear those buzzin' bees," etc.).

---

[18] The inspiration here–in fact, it almost amounts to plagiarism–is another ragtime song from 1910, "Play That Barber's Shop Chord" (words by William Tracey, music by Lewis F. Muir).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

AAB Structure

An important characteristic associated with the texts of folk blues is the AAB structure of the text of each of the verses. Blind Blake's "Early Morning Blues" is typical, the first verse, for instance reading "Early this mornin' my baby made me sore/ Early this mornin' my baby made me sore/ I'm goin' away to leave you, ain't comin' back no more." This format is prevalent in the sample of folk blues in Titon, with 87% of the songs employing it. However, it is comparatively rare in commercial blues of the period. In my sample, only five items (6.5% of the total number of songs) employ it. They are: "Nigger Blues" (example 2.5), "Blind Man Blues," "Graveyard Blues," "Joe Turner Blues," and "St. Louis Blues." Concerning the latter, its composer W.C. Handy wrote in his autobiography how, when he composed it, he scaled down the repetition inherent in blues lyrics as otherwise "it would have taken too long to tell my story" and the overall result would have been "too monotonous."[19] The implication is, as is usually the case with Handy, that he was thinking as much in terms of the marketplace as his personal taste. In other words, he suspected that the amount of textual repetition in folk blues would have been rejected by the mainstream public. This attitude seems to have been shared by most commercial blues lyricists of the era and accounts for the scarcity of the device. It was not until the following decade that the AAB structure was used extensively in the commercial sector and public taste shifted more towards less commercially mediated blues styles.

---

[19] Handy, *Father of the Blues*, 143.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

There is another aspect to this. Although the AAB structure dominates the folk blues in Titon's sample, and was therefore, we assume, prevalent in folk blues culture at the time the recordings from which Titon's sample is drawn were made (1926-30), it would be a mistake to assume automatically that the device was as common in folk culture a decade or more earlier at around the time these sheets were being produced. Certainly it was used: the examples of sheet music I have named, starting with "Nigger Blues," which was first copyrighted in 1912, bear witness to that. However, it could well have been that at this period, well over a decade before the first recordings of country blues, when blues was at an earlier stage of its evolution, that the AAB structure was much less used.

Use of the Term "Blues"

Attempts to define the term by blues performers give conflicting and at times contradictory results.[20] According to one folk blues singer, the Rev. Rubin Lacy, "it boils down to worry."[21] David Evans elaborates on this statement:

> For Lacy, this worry is expressed in religious terms as a conflict between obligation and temptation. For others it is expressed as uncertainty, indecision, frustration, and the inability to figure a way out of a difficult situation. . .It is a feeling of being drawn in two or more different directions.[22]

However, there is consensus among critics that folk blues "deal mainly with man/woman situations," specifically the separation, or threatened separation, of lovers.

---

[20] See Evans, *Big Road Blues*, 16-19 for summary of attempts to define the blues feeling.

[21] Rev. Rubin Lacy, quoted in *Big Road Blues*, 18.

[22] Ibid.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Titon lists some of the most common sub-themes: difficulty of keeping a lover; regretting the loss of a lover; the desire for happy reconciliation; and the desire for a good lover.[23] So while one should agree with Titon that "to feel blue is. . .to feel a complex set of emotions," it would seem that underneath the more superficial feelings the anlage for the blues is the sense of loss caused by the (threatened or actual) separation of the singer with his/her lover. This corresponds nicely with Adrian Stokes's definition of the blues as "a depression over loss."[24]

This sense of loss, and the yearning which accompanies it, pervades not only folk blues but also the commercial blues sheet music in the survey. However, in the latter case the man/woman theme is not only used directly but is also extended metaphorically. In other words, the theme of the nostalgic yearning for one's (rural) home found in many of these personal blues is really an extension of the same basic archetypal idea, as is clearly demonstrated in songs such as "The Tennessee Blues" and "Carolina Blues," which merge the identity of the locality with the lover, as discussed earlier. The personal blues songs in the survey which deal with drink are another manifestation of the same theme: the singer, deprived of his drink (= lover), expresses his yearning for it (see the lyrics to "Prohibition Blues," quoted above, 117).

The Question of Parody

The texts for folk blues in the sample quoted by Titon are uniformly serious, as the example of Blind Blake's "Early Morning Blues" demonstrates. This is not

---

[23] Titon, *Early Downhome Blues*, 179-82.

[24] Quoted in John Diamond, *Life Energy: Using the Meridians to Unlock the Hidden Power of Your Emotions* (New York: Paragon, 1990), 167.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

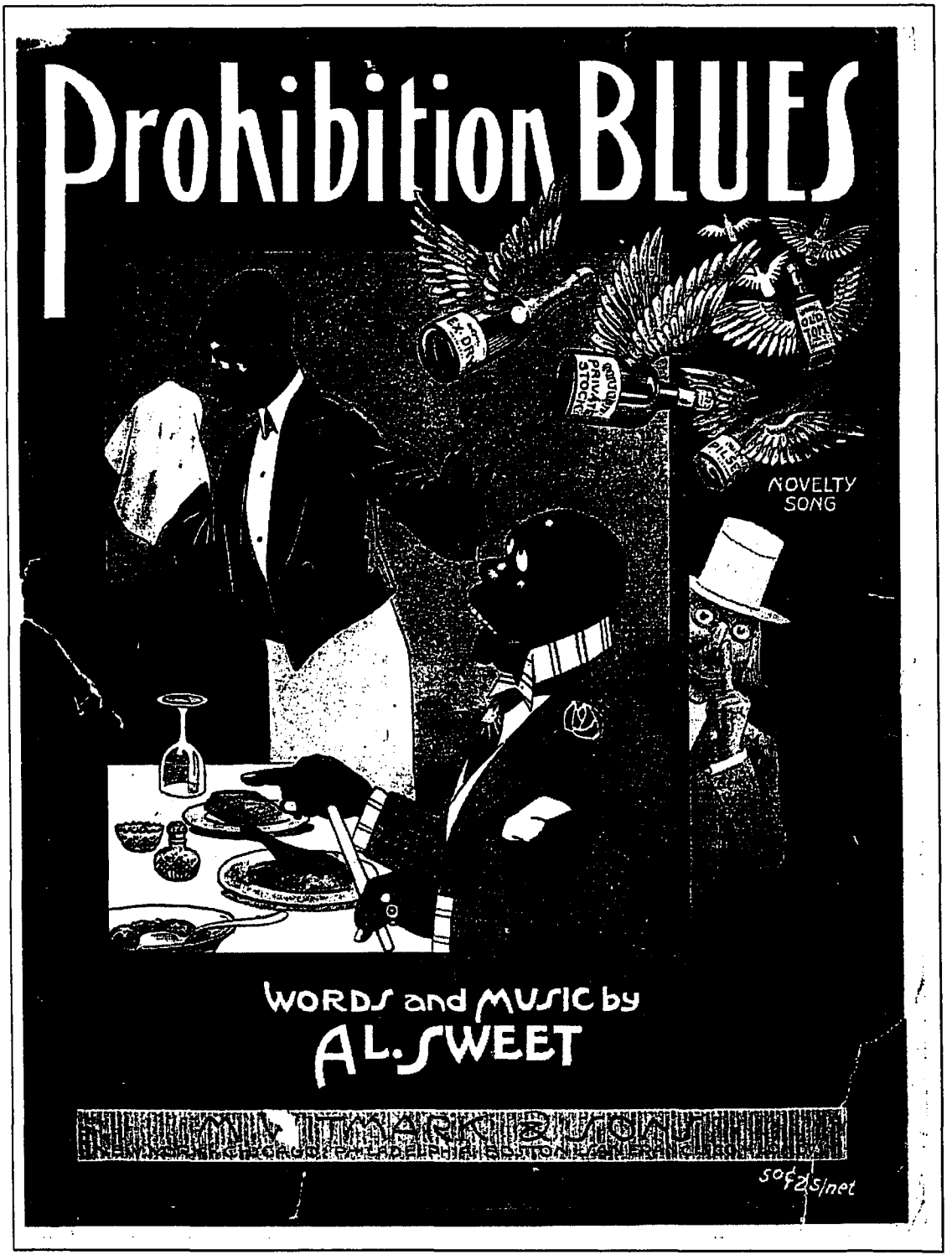
surprising when one considers the generally recognized status of folk blues as a lament.[25] The same is true also of a large majority of personal blues in the survey, as is revealed by an examination of most of the lyrics already quoted: "The Tennessee Blues" (example 2.4), "Nigger Blues" (example 2.5), "Broadway Blues" (example 2.6), "Blue Ridge Blues" (118), and "Railroad Blues" (117). The two exceptions from the examples quoted are "Prohibition Blues" (117) and "Carolina Blues" (120-21). I have already discussed humorous elements in "Carolina Blues," namely the stereotyping of black speech and the farcical storyline. "Prohibition Blues" also lampoons black dialect and reinforces this with an archetypal "coon" cover on the original edition (figure 2.1). In this tableau, an expensively dressed African American in a restaurant is pleading with an African American waiter for some wine, which the waiter is unable to supply because of Prohibition. Various kinds of alcoholic beverages are ethereally depicted on the right of the picture flying away from the table, while the hatted figure in the right frame is probably a depiction of a "blue devil," the alleged cause of the blues.[26] This is obviously caricature, particularly in its exaggerated depiction of African Americans. This kind of cover, as well as the parodying of black speech evident in both this song and "Carolina Blues," was a standard feature of turn-of-the-century coon songs, though by this time such songs were well out of fashion. Certainly such overtly non-serious songs are quite rare in commercial blues of this period. Two of the other songs in the survey use overt

[25] In the period covered by Titon, there exist many humorous texts in recorded blues; but these are mostly so-called "hokum" blues–an idiom largely based on sexual innuendo–and are associated with urban rather than rural styles. For this reason they are not included in his sample.

[26] I cannot be quite certain of this, but the figure is shaded blue in the original, and such drawings are found on the cover of other blues-related songs of the era. For example, "I Found Someone to Chase the Blues Away," words by Jack Mahoney, music by Murray Bloom (New York: Harry Von Tilzer, 1916), shows a happy couple sitting on a fence while three figures looking remarkably like the figure in "Prohibition Blues," and also colored light blue, sulkily walk away.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Figure 2.1. Sweet: "Prohibition Blues" (1917), Front Cover



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ethnic stereotyping of this kind, "Chinese Blues"[27] and "Big Chief Blues," though, as their titles suggest, races other than African Americans are satirized. Both these songs use variants of the "I've got the blues" trope put through their respective racial parodies: "Chinese Blues" has "I got those Ipshing Hong-Kong Ockaway Chinese Blues" at its climax, while "Big Chief Blues" starts its chorus with "Got um Big Chief Indian Blues." This reinforces my previously stated conclusion that this trope serves a major semiotic purpose in signifying blues in commercial culture of the period.

I should stress, however, that lyrics such as these, which are unambiguously humorous in tone, are in a minority: read at face value, most of the blues songs surveyed are of the lament type (even though the style of language is often less direct and down-to-earth than that of folk blues like "Early Morning Blues"[28]). Clearly, however, there is more to the situation than this, as lyrics on their own do not necessarily reflect the overall mood for the song, which can easily be contradicted by the music. Even in instances when both music and text seem serious in mood, they can be–and often were–parodied in performance. This issue will be more fully explored in the next chapter.

---

[27] "Chinese Blues" was one of the most popular blues of the period, judging by the frequency of the sheet music and the fact that there are nine known flat-disk recordings and ten known piano rolls from the period. This song is also mentioned by Abbe Niles as being particularly popular.

[28] For example, the lyric of "Broadway Blues," in its use of pat rhyming couplets and long-structured sentences, is far removed stylistically, if not in sentiment, from "Early Morning Blues."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Appendix

List of Compositions Used in Survey

A. Commercial Blues

Note: details of copyright plus listing of later versions of the same compositions to be found in Appendix 1.

Songs

1. "Alcoholic Blues (The)." Words by Edward Laska, music by Albert von Tilzer. New York: Broadway Music, 1919.
2. "Baby Seals Blues." Words and music by Baby Seals. St. Louis: Seals & Fisher, 1912.
3. "Baltimore Blues." Words by Noble Sissle, music by Eubie Blake. New York: Witmark, 1919.
4. "Beale Street Blues." Words and music by W.C. Handy. Memphis: Pace & Handy, 1917.
5. "Big Chief Blues." Words and music by Al Bernard. New York: Pace & Handy, 1919.
6. "Blind Man Blues." Words by Eddie Green, music by Billie McLaurin. New York: Pace & Handy, 1919.
7. "Broadway Blues." Words by Arthur Swanstrom, music by Carey Morgan. New York: Irving Berlin, 1920.
8. "Carolina Blues (The)." Words by Arthur F. Holt, music by William T. Pierson. New York: Pierson, 1916.
9. "Chinese Blues." Words by Fred D. Moore, music by Oscar Gardner. Chicago: Tell Taylor, 1915.
10. "Crazy Blues." Words and music by Perry Bradford. New York: Perry Bradford, 1920.
11. "Dardanella Blues." Words by Fred Fisher, music by Johnny S. Black. New York: Fred Fisher, 1920.
12. "Deep Sea Blues (The)." Words and music by Q. Roscoe Snowden. New York: Q. Roscoe Snowden, 1918.
13. "Don't Mind Cryin' Blues." Words and music by Clarence Johnson and Spencer Williams. Chicago: Spencer Williams, 1919.
14. "Dying Blues." Words and music by Alexander Seymour. New York: Butler Music, 1918.
15. "Easy Pickins: Blues." Words & music by Maceo Pinkard. New York: Shapiro Bernstein, 1919.
16. "Farmyard Blues (The)." Words and music by Chris Smith & Henry Troy. New York: Stern, 1917.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

17. "Graveyard Blues (The)." Words and music by Clarence Woods and John S. Caldwell. Austin, Tex.: J. R. Reed, 1916.

18. "Hesitating Blues (The)." Words & music by W.C. Handy. Memphis: Pace & Handy, 1915.

19. "Hesitation Blues." Words & music by Billy Smythe and Scott Middleton. Louisville: Billy Smythe, 1915.

20. "Hindenburg Blues (The)." Words & music by Sanders Reynolds. Los Angeles: Charles W. Hatch, 1918.

21. "Home Again Blues." Words and music by Irving Berlin and Harry Akst. New York: Irving Berlin Inc., 1920.

22. "Homesickness Blues." Words and music by Cliff Hess. New York: Waterson, Berlin & Snyder, 1916.

23. "Honolulu Blues (The)." Words by Grant Clarke, music by Jimmie V. Monaco. New York: Feist, 1916.

24. "Houston Blues (The)." Words & music by George W. Thomas. New Orleans: George W. Thomas, 1918.

25. "Hula Blues (The)." Words by Albert R. Cunha, music by John A. Noble. Honolulu: Cunha & Noble, 1920.

26. "I Never Knew What the Blues Were (Until You Went Away): A Jazz Blues Song." Words & music by Clarence Williams. New Orleans: Williams & Piron, 1917.

27. Irresistible Blues. Words by J. Homer Tutt, music by C. Luckey Roberts. New York: C. Luckey Roberts, 1918.

28. "I've Got the Army Blues." Words and music by L. Wolfe Gilbert and Carey Morgan. New York: Stern, 1916.

29. "I've Got the Blue Ridge Blues." Words by Charles A. Mason, music by Charles S. Cooke & Richard A. Whiting. New York: Remick, 1918.

30. "I've Got the Blues." Words & music by Lew Berk. Rochester, New York: Lew Berk, 1916.

31. "I've Got the Blues for Home Sweet Home." Words by William Jerome & E. Ray Goetz, music by George W. Meyer. New York: Kalmar, Puck & Abrahams, 1916.

32. "I've Got the Blues for My Kentucky Home." Words and music by Clarence Gaskill. New York: Witmark, 1920.

33. "I've Got the Crying Blues." Words by Max C. Freedman, music by Harry D. Squires. New York: Remick, 1919.

34. "I've Got the Profiteering Blues." Words by Al Wilson, music by Irving Bibo. New York: Irving Berlin, 1920.

35. "I've Got Those Fox-Trot Blues." Words and music by James White. Chicago: Frank K. Root, 1917.

36. "Jakey Ginger Blues." Words by Paul A. Smith, music by Len Murphy. Boston: Smith & Murphy, 1920.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

37. "Jazz Band Blues." Words by Roger Graham and Walter Hirsch, music by James White. Chicago: Roger Graham, 1919.

38. "Joe Turner Blues." Words and music by W.C. Handy. Memphis: Pace & Handy, 1915.

39. "Joy Man Blues." Words and music by Scott Middleton and Billy Smythe. Louisville: Billy Smythe Music, 1916.

40. "Landlord Blues (The)." Words by Edward Laska, music by Albert von Tilzer. New York: Broadway Music, 1919.

41. "Left All Alone Again Blues." Words by Anne Caldwell, music by Jerome Kern. New York: T. B. Harms, 1920.

42. "Long Lost Blues (The)." Words by H. Alf. Kelley, music by J. Paul Wyer. Chicago: Chicago Music Bureau, 1914.

43. "Lullaby Blues." Words by Al M. Kendall, music by J. Russel Robinson and Theodore Morse. New York: Leo Feist, 1919.

44. "Mama's Blues." Words and music by James P. Johnson and William H. Farrell. New York: Haviland, 1917.

45. "Memphis Blues (The)." Words by George A. Norton, music by W.C. Handy. New York: Theron C. Bennett, 1913.

46. "Nigger Blues." Words and music by Leroy (Lasses) White. Dallas: Leroy White, 1913.

47. "Oklahoma Blues." Words and music by Willard Robison. Oklahoma: Kroh Music, Muskogee, 1915.

48. "Old Joe Blues." Words by L. Wolfe Gilbert, music by Joe Samuels and Nat Vincent. New York: Gilbert & Friedland, 1919.

49. "Old Maid Blues." Words by Web Maddox, music by David W. Guion. New York: T.B. Harms, 1917.

50. "Paradise Blues." Words by Walter Hirsch, music by Spencer Williams. Chicago: Frank K. Root, 1916.

51. "Pee Gee's Blues." Words by Alex Rogers, music by H. Qualli Clark. New York: Pace & Handy, 1920.

52. "Pickaninny Blues." Words by Harold G. Frost, music by F. Henri Klickmann. Chicago: McKinley Music, 1919.

53. "Prohibition Blues." Words and music by Al Sweet. New York: Witmark, 1917.

54. "Railroad Blues." Words by Howard Washington and Haven Gillespie, music by C. Luckeyeth Roberts. Chicago: Van Alstyne & Curtis, 1920.

55. "Railroad Blues (The)." Words & music by Westbrook H. Carr. Dallas: Bush & Gerts, 1914.

56. "Rainy Day Blues." Words by Sidney D. Mitchell, music by Frank Warschauer. New York: Maurice Richmond Music, 1919.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

57. "Regretful Blues." Words by Grant Clarke, music by Cliff Hess. New York: Kalmar Puck & Abrahams, 1917.

58. "Ringtail Blues." Words and music by J. Russel Robinson and Spencer Williams. Memphis: Pace & Handy, 1918.

59. "Sad and Lonely Blues." Words and music by Eddie and Victoria Jackson. New Orleans: Eddie Jackson, 1919.

60. "St. Louis Blues." Words and music by W.C. Handy. Memphis: Pace & Handy, 1914.

61. "Sleepin' Blues." Words and music George W. Teare. Ithaca, NY: George W. Teare, 1920.

62. "Slide, Kelly, Slide (Trombone Blues)." Words by Slide Kelly, music by George F. Briegel. ?, 1919.

63. "Squealin' Pig Blues." Words and music by Alex Bellenda. New York: Shapiro Bernstein, 1919.

64. "Stingaree Blues." Words and music by Clinton A. Kemp. New York: Handy Bros., 1920.

65. "Suicide Blues (The)." Words by George A. Norton, music by Peter de Rose. New York: Haviland, 1919.

66. "Sweetheart Blues." Words and music by Al Wilson & Irving Bibo. New York: Feist, 1920.

67. "Tennessee Blues (The)." Words by Arthur F. Holt, music by William Warner. New York: W. T. Pierson, 1916.

68. "Them Doggon'd Triflin' Blues." Words and music by Will E. Skidmore. Kansas City: Skidmore Music, 1917.

69. "Those Draftin' Blues." Words and music by Maceo Pinkard. New York: Stern, 1918.

70. "Those Sighin' Hawaiian Blues." Words by Frank Goodman, music by George F. Rubin. Chicago: Tell Taylor, 1916.

71. "Those Southern Blues." Words by Everett E. East, music by Anna Campbell. Chattanooga, Tenn. : East-Campbell, 1916.

72. "Tishomingo Blues." Words and music by Spencer Williams. New York: Edward B. Marks, 1917.

73. "Tulsa Blues (The)." Words and music by Willard Robison. Koffeeville, Kan.: Sunflower Music, 1918.

74. "War Bride Blues." Words by Jimmie Marten, music by Mitch le Blanc. Houston: Thomas Goggan, 1917.

75. "Weary Way Blues (The)." Words and music by Coleman L. Minor . St. Louis: Weile Publ., 1919.

76. "Yama Yama Blues." Words and music by Spencer Williams and Clarence Williams. New York: Shapiro Bernstein, 1919.

77. "Yellow Dog Blues." Words & music by W.C. Handy. Memphis: Pace & Handy, 1914.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Instrumentals

78. "Alamo Blues." Music by P.L. Eubank. San Antonio, Tex.: P.L. Eubank, 1914.

79. "Be-Hap-E Blues." Music by Anton Lada, Carl Burger and Al. Nunez. New York: Leo Feist, 1919.

80. "Bull Frog Blues." Music by Tom Brown and Guy Shrigley. Chicago: Will Rossiter, 1916.

81. "Bunch of Blues (A)." Music by H. Alf Kelley and J. Paul Wyer. Chicago: Will Rossiter, 1915.

82. "Cheerful Blues." Music by Abe Olman. Chicago: Ted Browne, 1917.

83. "Colorado Blues." Music by Euday L. Bowman. Forth Worth, Tex.: Euday L. Bowman, 1914.

84. "Dallas Blues." Music by Hart A. Wand. Dallas: Hart A. Wand, 1912.

85. "Early Morning Blues." Music by N.C. Davis. Nashville: N.C. Davis Music, 1919.

86. "Florida Blues (The)." Music by William King Phillips. Memphis: Pace & Handy, 1917.

87. "Hawaiian Blues." Music by Stanley Murray. Chicago: Forster, 1916.

88. "Hooking Cow Blues." Music by Douglass Williams. Memphis: Pace & Handy, 1917.

89. "Jogo Blues (The)." Music by W. C. Handy. Memphis: Pace & Handy, 1913.

90. "Kansas City Blues." Music by Euday L. Bowman. Kansas City: J.W.Jenkins, 1915.

91. "Livery Stable Blues." Music by Ray Lopez and Alcide Nunez. Chicago: Roger Graham, 1917.

92. "Memphis Blues (The)."[29] Music by W.C. Handy. Memphis: W.C. Handy, 1912.

93. "Missouri Blues." Music by Harry Brown. Chicago: Forster, 1919.

94. "Money Blues (The)." Music by Hugo Frey. New York: Ricordi, 1916.

95. "Ole Miss Rag." Music by W. C. Handy. Memphis: Pace & Handy, 1918.

96. "Original Blues (The): A Real Southern Rag." Music by Ted S. Barron. New York: Metropolis Music, 1914.

97. "Snakey Blues (The)." Music by Will Nash. Hot Springs, Ark.: Will Nash, 1915.

98. "Sweet Baby Blues." Music by Ralph (Nigger) Williams. St. Louis: Mellinger, 1917.

99. "Texas Blues." Music by Les Copeland. New York: Waterson Berlin & Snyder, 1917.

100. "Tin Whistle Blues." Music by Frank Capie. New York: Remick, 1918.

---

[29] Both the instrumental and vocal versions of "The Memphis Blues" are included as they were both independently popular and influential in the era.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

B. Transcriptions of Country Blues

1. "Banty Rooster Blues" (Charley Patton, Paramount 12792, 1929).

2. "Barbecue Blues" (Barbecue Bob, Columbia 14025-D, 1927).

3. "Biddle Street Blues" (Henry Spaulding, Brunswick 7085, 1929).\

4. "Bootlegging Blues" (Jim Jackson, Victor 21268, 1928).

5. "Bumble Bee" (Memphis Minnie and Kansas Joe McCoy, Columbia 14542-D, 1929).

6. "Cottonfield Blues," Part 2 (Garfield Akers and Joe Calicott (Vocalion 1442, 1929).

7. "Dead Drunk Blues" (Lillian Miller, Gennett 6518, 1928).

8. "Dry Spell Blues," Part 1 (Son House, Paramount 12990, 1930).

9. "Dupree Blues" (Willie Walker and Sam Brooks, Columbia 14578-D, 1930).
10. "Dyin' Pickpocket Blues" (Nolan Welsh, Paramount 12759, 1929).

11. "Early Morning Blues" (Blind Blake, Paramount 12387, 1926).

12. "Fo' Day Blues" (Peg Leg Howell, Columbia 14177-D, 1929).

13. "44 Blues" (Roosevelt Sykes, Okeh 8702, 1929).

14. "Got the Blues" (Blind Lemon Jefferson, Paramount 12354, 1926).

15. "Got the Blues, Can't Be Satisified" (Mississippi John Hurt, Okeh 8724, 1928).

16. "How Long – How Long Blues" (Leroy Carr and Scrapper Blackwell, Vocalion 1911, 1928).

17. "Jacksonville Blues" (Nellie Florence and Charley Lincoln, Columbia 14342-D, 1928).

18. "Jail House Blues (The)" (Sam Collins, Gennett 6167, 1927).

19. "James Alley Blues" (Rabbit Brown, Victor 20578, 1927).

20. "I'm So Glad I'm Twenty-One Years Old Today" (Joe Dean, Vocalion 1544, 1930).

21. "It Won't Be Long" (Charley Patton, Paramount 12854, 1929).

22. "K.C. Moan" (Memphis Jug Band, Victor V-38558, 1929).

23. "Lonesome Blues" (take 1) (Tommy Johnson, Victor unissued, 1928).

24. "Lonesome Blues" (take 2) (Tommy Johnson, Victor unissued, 1928).

25. "Lonesome Home Blues" (Tommy Johnson, Paramount 13000, 1930).

26. "Long Lonesome Blues" (Blind Lemon Jefferson, Paramount 12354).

27. "Maggie Campbell Blues" (Tommy Johnson and Charlie McCoy Victor 21409, 1928).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

28. "Mama 'T'ain't Long fo' Day" (Blind Willie McTell, Victor 21474, 1927).

29. "M. and O. Blues" (Willie Brown, Paramount 13090, 1930).

30. "Mean Conductor Blues" (Ed Bell, Paramount 12546, 1927).

31. "Minglewood Blues" (Cannon's Jug Stompers, Victor 21267, 1928).

32. "Mistreatin' Mama" (Furry Lewis, Victor V-38519, 1928).

33. "My Black Mama," Part 1 (Son House, Paramount 13042, 1930).

34. "Number Three Blues" (Walter "Buddy Boy" Hawkins, Paramount 12475, 1927).

35. "One Time Blues" (Blind Blake, Paramount 12479, 1927).

36. "Original Blues" (Bayless Rose, Gennett 7250, 1930).

37. "Pony Blues" (Charley Patton, Paramount 12792, 1929).

38. "Prison Bound Blues" (Leroy Carr and Scrapper Blackwell, 1928).

39. "Roll and Tumble Blues" (Hambone Willie Newbern, Okeh 8679, 1929).

40. "Stranger Blues" (Rosie Mae Moore and Charlie McCoy, Victor 21408, 1928).

41. "Susnshine Special" (Blind Lemon Jefferson, Paramount 12593, 1927).

42. "That Will Be Alright" (Kansas Joe McCoy and Memphis Minnie, Columbia 14439-D, 1928).

43. "Whiskey Moan Blues" (Clifford Gibson, QRS R7087, 1929).

44. "Writin' Paper Blues" (Blind Willie McTell, Victor 21474, 1927).

45. "Yellow Girl Blues" (Texas Alexander and Lonnie Johnson, Okeh 8801, 1928).

C. Popular Non-Blues Songs

1. "Aba Daba Honeymoon (The)." Words and music by Arthur Fields and Walter Donovan. New York: Feist, 1914.

2. "Alice Blue Gown." Words by Joseph McCarthy, music by Harry Tierney. New York: Leo Feist, 1919.

3. "At the Devil's Ball." Words & music by Irving Berlin. New York: Waterson Berlin & Snyder, 1913.

4. "Ballin' the Jack." Words by Jim Burris, music by Chris Smith. New York: Stern, 1913.

5. "Bells of St. Mary's (The)." Words by Douglas Furber, music by A. Emmett Adams. New York: Chappell-Harms, 1917.

6. "Be My Little Baby Bumble Bee." Words by Stanley Murphy, music by Henry I. Marshall. New York: Remick, 1912.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

7. "Broadway Rose." Words by Eugene West, music by Martin Fried and Otis Spencer. New York: Fred Fisher, 1920.

8. "By the Beautiful Sea." Words by Harold R. Atteridge, music by Harry Carroll. New York: Shapiro Bernstein, 1914.

9. "Can't Yo' Heah Me Callin'." Words by William H. Gardner, music by Caro Roma. New York: Witmark, 1914.

10. "Curse of an Aching Heart (The)." Words by Henry Fink, music by Al Piantadosi. New York: Feist, 1913.

11. "Darktown Strutters' Ball (The)." Words and music by Shelton Brooks. New York: Feist, 1917.

12. "Down Among the Sheltering Palms." Words by Janes Brockman, music by Abe Olman. New York: Feist, 1915.

13. "Everybody Shimmies Now." Words Eugene West, music by Joe Gold and E. J. Poppay. New York: Charles K. Harris, 1918.

14. "For Me and My Gal." Words by Edgar Leslie and E. Ray Goetz, music by George W. Meyer. New York: Waterson Berlin & Snyder, 1917.

15. "Hail! Hail! The Gang's All Here!". Words by D.A. Esrom, music by Theodore Morse & Arthur Sullivan. New York: Feist, 1917.

16. "He'd Have to Get Under – Get Out and Get Under." Words by Grant Clarke and Edgar Leslie, music by Maurice Abrahams. New York: Maurice Abrahams, 1913.

17. "Hello Frisco!" Words by Gene Buck, music by Louis A. Hirsch. New York: T.B. Harms, 1915.

18. "He's a Devil in his Own Home Town." Words by Grant Clarke and Irving Berlin, music by Irving Berlin. New York: Waterson Berlin & Snyder, 1914.

19. "He's a Rag Picker." Words and music by Irving Berlin. New York: Waterson Berlin Snyder, 1914.

20. "Hindustan." Words and music by Harold Weeks and Oliver G. Wallace. Chicago: Forster Music, 1918.

21. "Hitchy Koo." Words by L. Wolfe Gilbert, music by Lewis F. Muir and Maurice Abrahams. New York: F.A. Mills, 1912.

22. "Hold Me." Words and music by Art Hickman and Ben Black. New York: Remick, 1920.

23. "Hush-a-bye Ma Baby." Words by J.R. Shannon, music by Frederic Knight Logan. Chicago: Forster, 1914.

24. "I Ain't Got Nobody." Words by Roger Graham, music by Spencer Williams. Chicago: Frank K. Root, 1916.

25. "I Didn't Raise My Boy To Be a Soldier." Words by Alfred Bryan, music by Al Piantadosi. New York: Feist, 1915.

26. "If I Had My Way." Words by Lou Klein, music by James Kendis. New York: James Kendis, 1913.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

27. "I Love a Piano." Words and music by Irving Berlin. New York: Irving Berlin, 1915.

28. "I'm Forever Blowing Bubbles." Words and music by Jean Kenbrovin and John W. Kellette. New York: Remick, 1919.

29. "Indiana." Words by Ballard Macdonald, music by James F. Hanley. New York: Shapiro Bernstein, 1917.

30. "It's a Long Long Way to Tipperary." Words and music by Jack Judge & Harry Williams. London: Chappell, 1912.

31. "I've Got My Captain Working for me Now." Words and music by Irving Berlin. 1919.

32. I Want to Go Back to Michigan. Words and music by Irving Berlin. New York: Waterson Berlin & Snyder, 1914.

33. Ja-Da. Words and music by Bob Carleton. New York: Leo Feist, 1918.

34. Japanese Sandman (The). Words by Raymond B. Egan, music by Richard Whiting. New York: Remick, 1920.

35. Jimmy Valentine. Words by Edward Madden, music by Gus Edwards. New York: Gus Edwards, 1910.

36. Keep the Home Fires Burning. Words by Lena Guilbert Ford, music by Ivor Novello. New York: Chappell, 1914.

37. Let the Rest of the World Go By. Words by J. Keirn Brennan, music by Ernest R. Ball. New York: Witmark, 1919.

38. Little Bit of Heaven (A). Words by J. Keirn Brennan, music by Ernest R. Ball. New York: Witmark, 1914.

39. Mammy o' Mine. Words by William Tracey, music by Maceo Pinkard. New York: Shapiro Bernstein, 1919.

40. Marchéta. Words and music by Victor Schertzinger. New York: John Franklin Music, 1913.

41. Memories. Words by Gus Kahn, music by Egbert van Alstyne. New York: Remick, 1915.

42. Mickey. Words by Harry Williams, music by Neil Moret. New York: Waterson, Berlin and Snyder, 1918.

43. Moonlight Bay. Words by Edward Madden, music by Percy Wenrich. New York: Remick, 1912.

44. M-O-T-H-E-R. Words by Howard Johnson, music by Theodore F. Morse. London: Ascherberg Hopwood & Crew, 1915.

45. My Melancholy Baby. Words by George A. Norton, music by Ernie Burnett. New York: Theron C. Bennett, 1912.

46. My Wife's Gone to the Country (Hurrah! Hurrah!). Words by Irving Berlin and George Whiting, music by Ted Snyder. New York: Ted Snyder, 1909.

47. Nola. Music by Felix Arndt. Cleveland: Sam Fox, 1916.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

48. Oh Johnny Oh Johnny Oh!. Words by Ed Rose, music by Abe Olman . Chicago: Forster, 1917.

49. Old Grey Mare (The). Arranged by Frank Panella. New York: Joe Morris, 1915.

50. Over There. Words and music by George M. Cohan. New York: William Jerome, 1917.

51. Pack Up Your Troubles in Your Old Kit Bag. Words by George Asaf, music by Felix Powell. New York: Chappell, 1915.

52. Palesteena. Words and music by Con Conrad and J. Russel Robinson. New York: Shapiro Bernstein, 1920.

53. Peg o' My Heart. Words by Alfred Bryan, music by Fred Fisher. New York: Feist, 1913.

54. Poor Butterfly. Words by John Golden, music by Raymond Hubbell. New York: T.B. Harms, 1916.

55. Pretty Baby. Words by Gus Kahn, music by Tony Jackson and Egbert van Alstyne. New York: Remick, 1916.

56. Rose of Washington Square. Words by Ballard MacDonald, music by music by James F. Hanley. New York: Shapiro Bernstein, 1919.

57. Roses of Picardy. Words by Fred E. Weatherly, music by Haydn Wood. London: Chappell, 1916.

58. 'Round Her Neck She Wears a Yeller Ribbon. Words and music by George A. Norton. New York: Feist, 1917.

59. Row Row Row. Words by William Jerome, music by Jimmie V. Monaco. New York: Harry Von Tilzer, 1912.

60. Sister Susie's Sewing Shirts for Soldiers. Words by R.P. Weston, music by Hermann E. Darewski. New York: T.B. Harms, 1914.

61. Smiles. Words by J. Will Callaghan, words by Lee S. Roberts. New York: Remick, 1918.

62. Snookey Ookums. Words and music by Irving Berlin. New York: Waterson Berlin & Snyder, 1913.

63. Sweetheart of Sigma Chi (The). Words by Byron D. Stokes, music by F. Dudleigh Vernon. Albion, Mich.: Richard E. Vernor Publ., 1912.

64. Sylvia. Words and music by Oley Speaks. New York: G. Schirmer, 1914.

65. That International Rag. Words and music by Irving Berlin. New York: Waterson, Snyder, & Berlin, 1913.

66. That's an Irish Lullaby. Words and music by J.R. Shannon. New York: Witmark, 1913.

67. There's a Long Long Trail. Words by Stoddard King, music by Zo Elliott. New York: Witmark, 1915.

68. They Didn't Believe Me. Words by Herbert Reynolds, music by Jerome Kern. New York: T.B. Harms, 1914.

69. They Were All Out of Step But Jim. Words and music by Irving Berlin. New York: Waterson, Berlin & Snyder, 1918.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

70. This Is the Life. Words and music by Irving Berlin. New York: Waterson, Snyder, & Berlin, 1914.

71. Tiger Rag. Music by D.J. La Rocca. New York: Feist, 1917.

72. Till the Clouds Roll By. Words by Jerome Kern, P.G. Wodehouse and Guy Bolton. New York: T.B. Harms, 1917.

73. Trail of the Lonesome Pine (The). Words by Ballard Macdonald, music by Harry Carroll. New York: Shapiro Bernstein, 1913.

74. Twelfth Street Rag. Music by Euday L. Bowman. Fort Worth, Tex. :Euday L. Bowman, 1914.

75. Waiting For the Robert E. Lee. Words by L. Wolfe Gilbert, music by Lewis F. Muir. New York: F.A. Mills, 1912.

76. When I Lost You. Words and music by Irving Berlin. New York: Waterson, Berlin & Snyder, 1912.

77. When Irish Eyes Are Smiling. Words by Chauncey Olcott & George Graff, Jr., music by Ernest R. Ball. New York: Witmark, 1912.

78. When It's Apple Blossom Time in Normandy. Words and music by Mellor, Gifford & Trevor. New York: Remick, 1912.

79. When My Baby Smiles at Me. Words by Ted Lewis and Andrew B. Sterling, music by Bill Munro. New York: Harry Von Tilzer, 1919.

80. When the Midnight Choo-Choo Leaves For Alabam'. Words and music by Irving Berlin. New York: Waterson, Snyder & Berlin, 1912.

81. When You Wore a Tulip. Words by Jack Mahoney, music by Percy Wenrich. New York: Feist, 1914.

82. Whispering. Words and music by Vincent Rose, Richard Coburn, and John Schonberger. San Francisco: Sherman, Clay & Co., 1920.

83. Will You Remember. Words by Rida Johnson, music by Sigmund Romberg. New York: G. Schirmer, 1917.

84. Won't You Play a Simple Melody. Words and music by Irving Berlin. New York: Irving Berlin, 1914.

85. You Made Me Love You. Words by Joe McCarthy, music by James V. Monaco. New York: Broadway Music, 1913.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter 4

EARLY COMMERCIAL BLUES III
Musical Analysis and Conclusions

Introduction

Having examined the lyrics of commercial auto-referential blues from the period 1912-20, I turn now to the music. While there are a number of items that clearly bear a close relationship to folk blues (as least as we conceive the genre today), most are more distantly connected, while some have almost no discernable relationship to the genre. The further a composition is located stylistically from folk blues, the more it falls into line with mainstream styles of commercial popular music of the day, with the items that are furthest from folk blues being almost indistinguishable from the regular product of Tin Pan Alley.

We have already seen this range in Chapter 2, with "Nigger Blues" (example 2.5) being closely related to folk blues, while, at the other extreme, "Camp Cody Blues" (example 1.1) being no different from standard commercial ragtime/fox-trot instrumentals of the day. Standing in between these two are the bulk of compositions in the survey, for example "The Tennessee Blues" (example 2.4), which, while being a popular song in format, nevertheless incorporates features of folk blues.

How should we think of the commercial blues, therefore? Are they basically folk blues with commercial elements added, or are they essentially commercial music incorporating some of the folk blues idiom? The overview in Chapter 2 suggests the latter. This is particularly clear in the case of songs, that are—with only rare exceptions such as "Nigger Blues"—in the standard verse-chorus format of Tin Pan Alley. Similarly,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

commercial blues instrumentals generally stand stylistically closer to contemporaneous ragtime and fox-trots than to folk blues.

With this in mind, I now look more closely at the identity of the music of commercial blues of the 1910s. To do this, I pinpoint certain defining stylistic elements in the music of the hundred blues in the survey. By "defining elements," I refer to certain musical characteristics which give commercial blues an identity distinguishable from other mainstream styles of contemporaneous popular music represented by the sample. The elements examined are: the twelve-bar form, the blues-influenced move to the subdominant, blue notes, tempo indications, the rising chromatic four-note motif, the barbershop cadence, and the use of falling contours in the melody.

The Twelve-Bar Form

The single most distinctive musical feature of commercial blues is the twelve-bar sequence. It is divided into the typical three-phrase structure of four bars per phrase with four beats per bar. The standard form of the sequence, and the one that occurs most commonly in the commercial blues of the survey, is:

I – I – I – I

IV – IV – I – I

V – V – I – I.

The importance of this sequence is twofold: first, its presence in commercial blues marks it as being stylistically separate from other Tin Pan Alley material, as the sequence hardly ever appears during this period in any commercial context except auto-referential

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

blues;[1] second, it directly links commercial blues with folk blues, for folk blues make prominent, though by no means exclusive, use of the twelve-bar formula. In the present survey, the twelve-bar form was found in 45% of the commercial blues examined.

There are a number of instances of twelve-bar structures in commercial blues that deviate from the above formula. In most cases the variations are slight and for much of the time similar to ones found in country blues. It is, in fact, striking that when the twelve-bar sequence is used in the commercial blues of the survey it generally appears in a form found in folk blues. The most common variant is to use either chord IV or chord V in the second measure (instead of chord I). For example, "The Original Blues" (example 2.1) uses the dominant in the second measure of both its second and third strains (mm. 18 and 30). An example of subdominant substitution is found in the chorus of "Don't Mind Cryin' Blues,"[2] the first twelve measures of which are found in example 4.1. In the second measure, the subdominant chord is clearly stated at the beginning of the second bar, followed by a second-inversion flat VII and a diminished seventh on sharp II, before returning to the tonic at the beginning of the third measure.

These deviations, however, are entirely consistent with the folk-blues idiom, which does not necessarily stick to the exact harmonic formula quoted above but

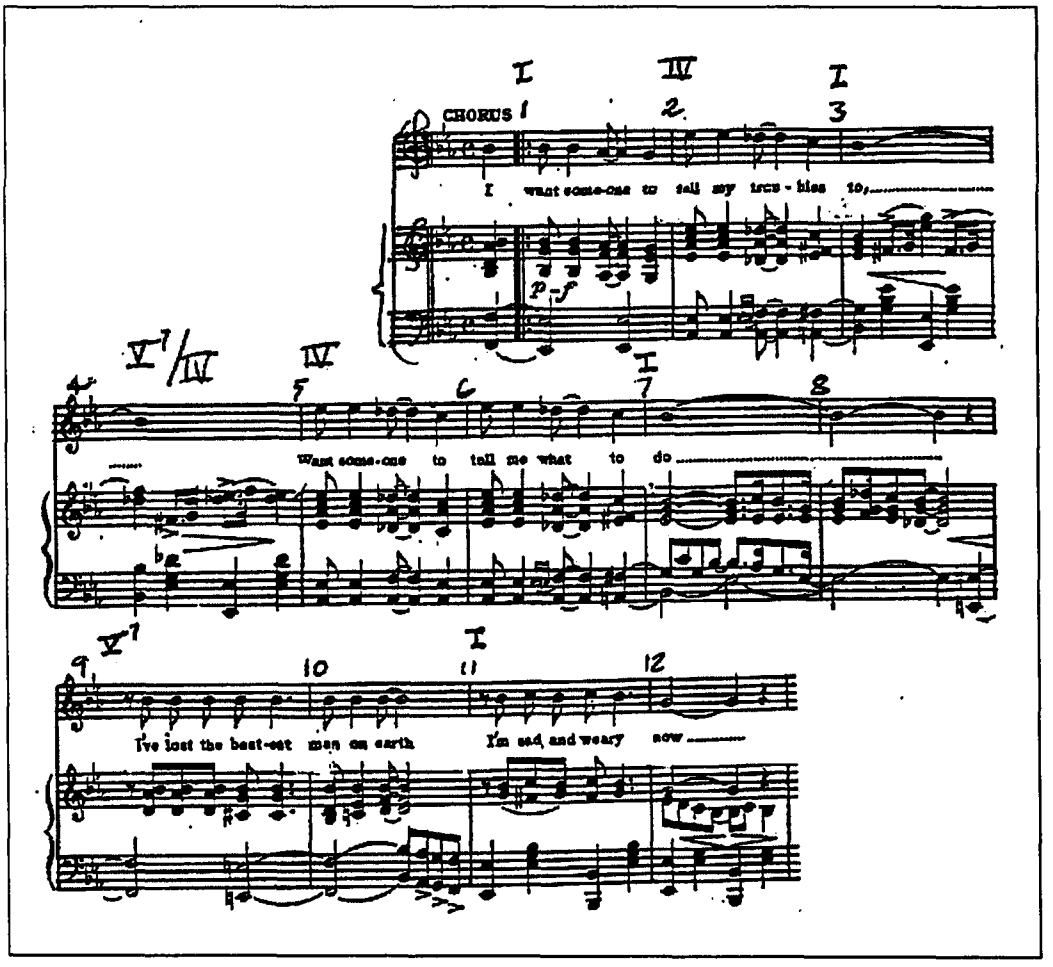
---

[1] There are a fairly large number of works using the blues sequence which are not called blues, but these date from before 1913 (they are the focus of later chapters). Once the sequence became strongly associated with blues in the commercial sector, which occurred shortly after the appearance in print of "Dallas Blues" and "The Memphis Blues" in 1912 (these were the first blues to use the twelve-bar sequence, and both were commercially successful), it became very rare to use the sequence outside this context. The only works I have come across over the period 1913-21 which do so are "The Kangaroo Hop," music by Melville Morris (New York: Remick, 1915) and "The Dirty Dozen," words by Jack Frost, music by Clarence M. Jones (Chicago: Frank Root & Co., 1917). The latter is regarded as a blues from a presentist standpoint, being the first manifestation in print of the African-American song-type known as "The Dozens" or "The Dirty Dozens."

[2] Bibliographic details about commercial blues, popular songs, or country blues used in the survey (lyricist, composer, publisher, date and place of publication) are given in the appendix to Chapter 3, 132 ff.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 4.1. Johnson and Williams: "Don't Mind Cryin' Blues" (1919), first twelve measures of chorus



instead incorporates all manner of—usually minor—variations; the two just discussed are among the more common. Indeed, it is perhaps more accurate to think of the twelve-bar sequence not as a formula, but as the harmonic average of folk blues.

As well as providing harmonic substitutions, commercial blues sometimes expand the twelve-bar sequence, often by four measures. Example 4.2 is the first half of the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 4.2. Williams: "Tishomingo Blues" (1917), first sixteen measures of chorus

thirty-two-measure chorus of "Tishomingo Blues" (1917). The first twelve measures correspond to a regular blues sequence with a couple of conventional substitutions (IV in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

m. 2, flat VI replacing IV in m. 6). However the sequence is extended a further four measures to cadence on the dominant (V-II-V-V). What is particularly interesting about this sequence is that there is a structural ambivalence at work. While the harmonic structure is divisible as 12 + 4 measures, the melody and lyrics are effectively subdivided 8 + 8. The crucial moment comes at m. 12. Instead of resolving at that measure, the melody rises at its end, and the words carry through to the next measure ("Oh how I wish that I was back again,/ with a race ..."). There is, then, an dual cultural-stylistic reference here to folk blues (twelve-bar structure) and popular song (sixteen-measure structure).

In general, there is an important difference in the way in which the twelve-bar structure is employed in commercial blues. In folk blues, the twelve-bar structure is generally used throughout the entire composition; in commercial blues, when it is used, it is most commonly (67%) used as only part of the composition, either as verse or chorus in the case of the songs, or as one or two strains with the instrumentals. Examples given in the previous chapter are "Snakey Blues" (example 2.2) and "The Tennessee Blues" (example 2.4). The former, an instrumental composition, uses the blues sequence in two of its four strains; the latter, a song, employs it for its verse but not its chorus. Only a third (33%) of the compositions in the survey which use the sequence do so for their entirety, i.e., for all the strains of an instrumental composition, and for both verse and chorus in a song. Examples are "The Original Blues" (example 2.1) and "Nigger Blues" (example 2.5).

This modification of the twelve-bar blues structure to the idiom of popular music is perhaps best shown in the work of W. C. Handy. Handy is regarded as perhaps the dominant voice in commercial blues. Certainly, at this time, it was he more than any

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

other individual who was responsible for the dissemination of blues in mainstream culture through his compositions—particularly "The Memphis Blues" and "St. Louis Blues," which sold extremely well in sheet music form, and, in addition, received numerous recordings on disk and piano roll before 1921[3]—and his publishing activities. Handy's blues always use the twelve-bar sequence. In fact, he stated in 1916 that it was the sequence that separated blues from other popular styles:

> To have composed a number. . .with sixteen bars to a strain I would have been following in the footsteps of other writers of ragtime, but this composition carries twelve measures to a strain—typical "Blues."[4]

The composition to which Handy is referring here is "The Memphis Blues," which in its original version uses the twelve-bar structure for only two of its three strains: the second strain is a regular sixteen-bar structure. This mixture of twelve- and sixteen-measure sequences is found in all of Handy's other blues before 1921, with the exception of "Yellow Dog Blues"[5] and "Joe Turner Blues."[5] It would seem that Handy's partial embrace of the twelve-bar structure was done for commercial reasons. For example, Handy wrote in his memoirs that he added the famous tango (sixteen-measure) section of "St. Louis Blues" "to avoid monotony in the music."[6] Handy's example shows how the

---

[3] See the relevant entries in Appendices 2 and 3 for further details.

[4] W. C. Handy, "How I Came to Write the "Memphis Blues," *New York Age*, 7 December 1916, 6; quoted in Hurwitt "W. C. Handy as Music Publisher," 114.

[5] In "Joe Turner Blues," Handy creates variety by moving to the subdominant for the chorus as was the fashion with many ragtime songs of the day, notably Irving Berlin's "Alexander's Ragtime Band" (1911). "Yellow Dog Blues" is therefore the only one of his blues from this, his most creative, period, which follows the norm of a country blues by using the blues sequence throughout without modulation. However, even here, there are various adaptations to the mainstream idiom, the most notable being the adoption of a verse-chorus structure.

[6] Handy, *Father of the Blues*, 143.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

twelve-bar structure of folk blues was adapted to the commercial blues culture of the 1910s.

Blues-Influenced Move to the Subdominant

Although a majority (55%) of the blues compositions surveyed do not use a full twelve-bar sequence most use selected elements of that sequence in either verse or chorus or both. Particularly characteristic is the move to the subdominant found at the beginning of the second phrase in a traditional blues structure (measure five of the twelve-bar harmonic formula given above). As found in folk blues, this move to the subdominant has the following characteristics:

1. it marks the beginning of a new phrase;
2. the flattened seventh is often added to the tonic chord in the bar preceding (sometimes earlier) the subdominant, in either voice or accompaniment, to ease the transition;
3. the harmony will stay on the subdominant for two (sometimes more) measures before returning to the tonic.

We can see all these features in the first part of the chorus of "Don't Mind Cryin' Blues," example 4.1. This is conventional twelve-bar structure with the first phrase (mm. 1-4) revolving around the tonic (note the flat seventh in m. 4). The second phrase (mm. 5-8) consists of two measures on the subdominant followed by two on the tonic. The third phrase (mm. 9-12) moves as expected from dominant to tonic.

Example 4.3 shows the same device used in the context of a thirty-two bar structure in the chorus of "The Dardanella Blues." The move to the subdominant in the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 4.3. Fisher and Black: "Dardanella Blues" (1920), chorus

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

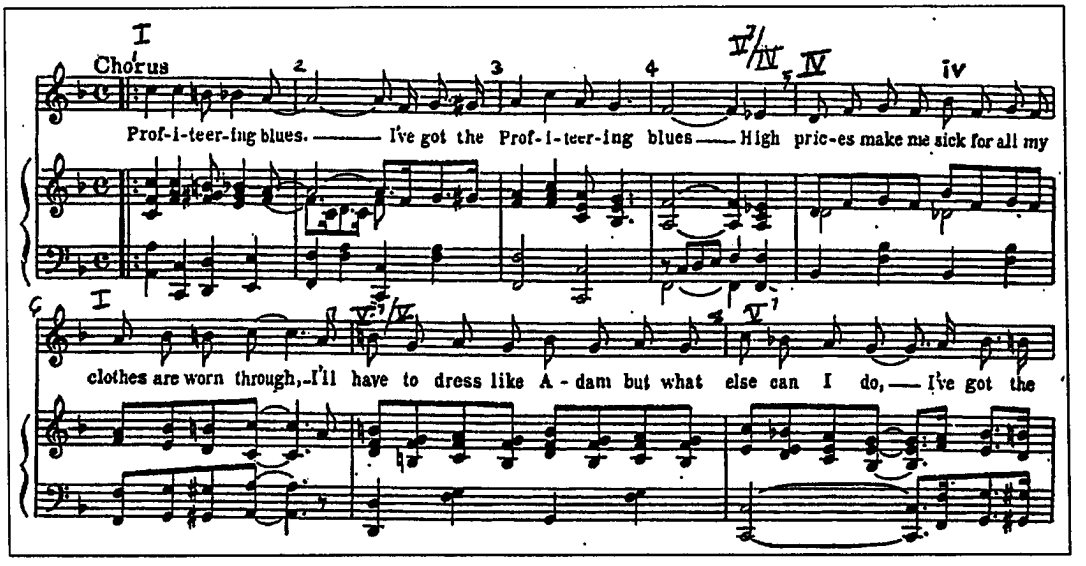
Example 4.4. Robison: "Tulsa Blues" (1918), verse and beginning of chorus

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

fifth measure follows all three of the listed criteria and is unarguably blues-derived. In fact, this chorus has a regular blues construction until m. 13, which introduces a four-bar extension of the sequence in much the same way as "Tishomingo Blues" (example 4.2).

Example 4.4, the opening of the verse from "The Tulsa Blues," also contains a move to the subdominant in its fifth measure which obeys two out of three of these principles, as it moves back to the tonic after a single measure rather than two. However, it is still clearly adapted from the standard blues formula.

Example 4.5. Wilson and Bibo: "Profiteering Blues" (1920), first eight measures of chorus

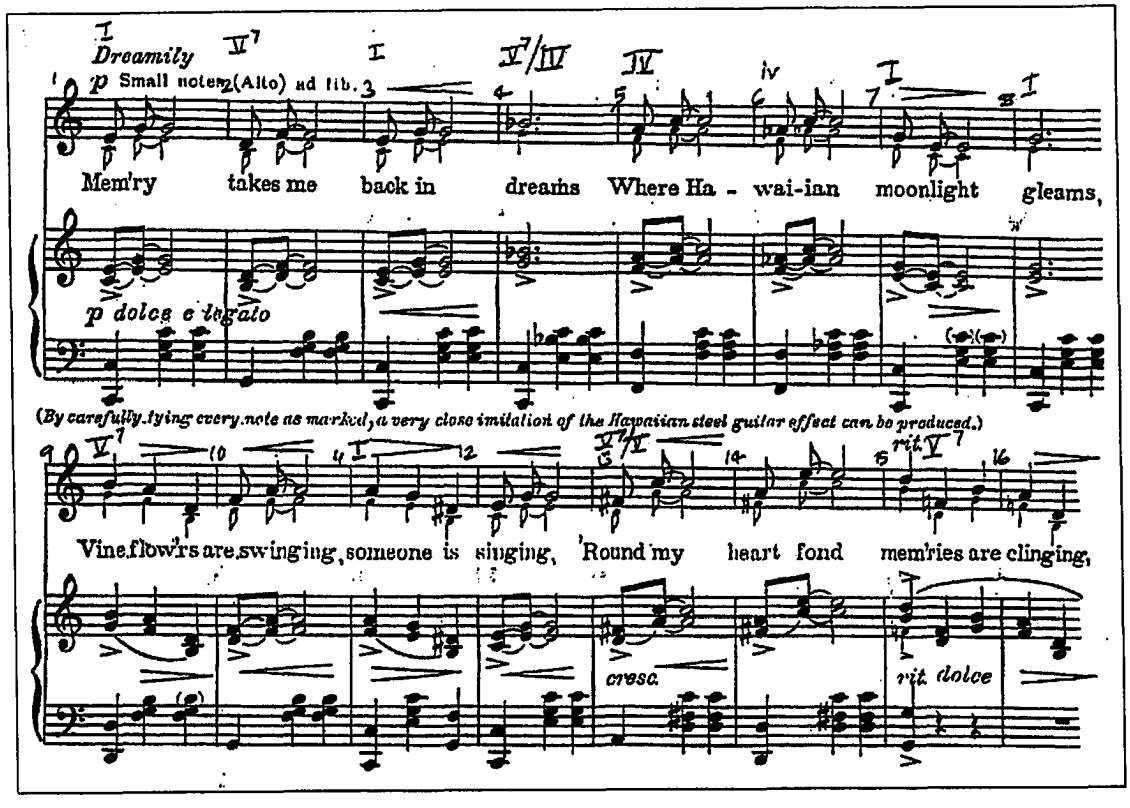


The same applies for example 4.5, the first eight measures of the chorus of "Profiteering Blues." As in the previous example, the music moves back to the tonic in the sixth measure. Unlike "Tulsa Blues," however, "Profiteering Blues" then moves to chord II in m. 7 and chord V in m. 8. Again there is a clear reference to the standard blues sequence here, but it is more ambivalent, as this eight-bar harmonic sequence (I-I-I-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

I-IV-I-II-V) was a standard formula for Tin Pan Alley songs of the era as the first half of a sixteen-measure chorus or verse. Just as with "Tishomingo Blues" (example 4.2), therefore, the harmonic scheme of example 4.5 refers simultaneously to both the blues and popular song traditions.

Example 4.6. Frost and Klickmann: "Sweet Hawaiian Moonlight" (1918), first sixteen measures of verse



Meanwhile certain popular songs in the 1912-20 era had expanded to include some moves to the subdominant which are clearly blues-derived. Two examples will suffice. Example 4.6 is from the verse of a sentimental waltz from 1918 titled "Sweet

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Hawaiian Moonlight."[7] This example uses a twelve-bar blues sequence but then adds four more bars to make a more usual sixteen-measure section in a parallel manner to "Tishomingo Blues" (example 4.2). The song is identical in sentiment to the "nostalgic blues" type discussed earlier, which probably accounts for the composer's disguised use of a blues sequence. There is, however, an important difference between this example and the earlier ones which is that the move to the subdominant in m. 5 occurs in the middle of the first line, not at the beginning of the second.

Example 4.7. Berlin: "I Love a Piano" (1915), first eight measures of chorus

The second instance of popular songs making use of the blues move to the subdominant is from the opening of the chorus of Irving Berlin's 1915 hit "I Love a Piano" (example 4.7), which is included in the sample of popular songs listed in Chapter

[7] Words by Harold G. Frost, music by F. Henri Klickmann. Chicago: Frank K. Root, 1918.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

3.[8] As with the verse to "Sweet Hawaiian Moonlight," the move to the subdominant in the fifth measure occurs in the middle of a phrase, although it is still clearly blues-derived. In fact there is a clever game at work here. When we reach the fourth measure, the line appears to be textually complete: "I love a piano/ I love a piano,/ I love to hear somebody play." However, this seemingly complete sentence suddenly runs into "...upon a piano" at the start of the fifth measure, just at the point when we would expect a new phrase to begin. The "joke" is supported by the use of the blues sequence, reinforced by the flattened seventh in the accompaniment in m. 4. and the frequent use of the blue third (F sharp in mm. 1-4, and then B over the subdominant from the end of m. 4).

These examples aside, the blues move to the subdominant is actually not common in the popular songs of the survey, occurring in just 28% of the sample. With the commercial blues, on the other hand, the device is found in fully 82% of the examples in the survey, in either the verse or the chorus or both. This implies that such moves to the subdominant, while being part of the general language of Tin Pan Alley, are closely associated with blues.

Blue Notes

All commentators agree that blue notes are an integral element of the expression of folk blues, deriving ultimately from African-American vocal style. All but two of the forty-five transcriptions in Titon's *Down Home Blues* make use of the device. *New Grove 2* defines a blue note as:

---

[8] See above, 132 ff.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> A microtonally lowered third, seventh, or (less commonly) fifth degree of the diatonic scale, common in blues, jazz, and related musics. The pitch or intonation of blue notes is not fixed precisely but varies according to the performer's instinct and expression.[9]

James Lincoln Collier offers a similar definition: he says that blue notes are "neither major... nor minor...but lie somewhere in between."[10]

Because of their microtonal nature, blue notes cannot be notated conventionally,[11] nor can they be performed on a fixed-pitch instrument like a piano. However, from the beginning of commercial blues, we see an attempt to approximate blue notes by using conventional notation. This takes the form of using a minor third (usually spelled as a raised second, as in example 4.7)—as blues compositions are overwhelmingly in the major—and flattening the seventh. Other notes can also be "blued" by flattening them but they are found much less frequently and are generally less striking in their use. For simplicity's sake, therefore, the blues third and seventh will be the focus of the following discussion.

Blue notes are used in a variety of different ways in folk blues. According to Evans,

> A blue note might be expressed as a slur, usually upward from the flat toward the natural, or as a wavering between flat and natural or two other points within the interval. It might also occur as the simultaneous sounding of the flat and natural pitches. . . . Finally, it might simply be expressed by the sounding of a flat where a natural would be expected.[12]

---

[9] "Blue Note" in *The New Grove 2*.

[10] James Lincoln Collier, *The Making of Jazz: a Comprehensive History* (New York, 1978), 38.

[11] Modern transcriptions of blues for musicological studies generally notate blue notes by an arrow placed above the pitch, upward if the note is to be raised microtonally, downward if it is to be lowered. See Titon, *Down Home Blues*, 62.

[12] David Evans, "Blues," in *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, ed. Ellen Koskoff, Vol. 3: *The United States and Canada* (New York: Garland, 2001), 642.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

This translates into three basic ways of notating a blue note in commercial compositions. These were first described by Abbe Niles in the introduction to Handy's 1926 *Blues: An Anthology.* In the case of the blues third, they are as follows:

1. Resolving the minor third to the major third as an acciaccatura;
2. Resolving the minor third to the major third as even notes;
3. By getting the minor third to replace the major altogether.[13]

All three of these approaches can be seen in example 4.8a, the beginning of the verse to W.C. Handy's "St. Louis Blues" (1914). The example starts with an accacciatura blues third in the melody (A sharp-B). In the second measure, the first two notes of the melody are an even-note blues third and its resolution (D sharp-E over a C harmony). Meanwhile, in the first measure of the accompaniment, an unresolved flattened (blue) seventh (F) appears in the right hand, which does not resolve until m. 2 (onto E via D sharp). There is also a blue seventh in the melody of the second bar (B flat). While the voice holds its long G in mm. 3-4, the tension is maintained by the accompaniment, with blue thirds (A sharp) in the right hand and a flattened seventh in the left in m. 4.

In both folk and commercial blues, blue notes vary considerably in their impact. At their most intense, they are a powerful device whose effect was something quite new in mainstream popular music. When used less emphatically, they constitute an important expressive tool in the idiom of the day. In their weakest form, they are indistinguishable from regular chromaticism. In any case, blue notes were considered central to the

---

[13] Handy, *Blues: An Anthology*, 14.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 4.8a. Handy: "Saint Louis Blues" (1914), first four measures of verse

expression of blues; some even to define the genre by them. A note at the bottom of the first page of the score of "Original Blues" (example 2.1) defines blues as "a class of Southern Rag which derives its name from the fact that the melody contains so many so-called 'Blue' notes."[14]

The overall picture that emerges in the use of blue notes is complex, with composers using it in a variety of ways and for a wide range of expressive purposes and adapting its strength accordingly. The factors which determine the strength of the blue note are:

1. position in the bar, i.e. whether on a strong or weak beat;
2. the amount of reharmonization underneath the blue note;
3. the length of the note;
4. how it is resolved.

In example 4.8a, for instance, the blue third at the beginning is rather less striking than the one in the second measure, as it resolves more quickly. In addition, the effect of

[14] This definition is clearly fallacious. As was discussed at length in Chapter 1, the musical term "blues" derives from the psycho-medical usage. The quoted statement reverses causality: "Blues" gives rise to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the blue notes is enhanced by the harmony. The blue seventh (F) sustained throughout the first bar enriches the bluesy, "primitive" quality, and the major third sounding in the harmony in both measures creating a temporary clash with the minor third of the melody. All this combines to make a very strong effect which is enhanced by the raw triadic voicings in the left hand of the accompaniment, a feature which was actually toned down in later editions of the work.

Example 4.8b, the beginning of the chorus of "St. Louis Blues," is another example of the expressive purposes of blue notes. We see in the melody the repeated use of the three-note motif flat 3-natural 3-1 (A sharp-B-G), a formula frequently found in blues sheets of the period.[15] And though its pungency is mollified somewhat by the passing diminished harmonies, thereby neutralizing the dissonant effect that would have resulted if the tonic had been maintained, it still retains a strong "primitivistic" quality because of the insistent reiterations of the motif and the static four-bar pedal tone. The blue seventh at the end of m. 5 (the Bb in the melody) is a much less striking affair. It occurs on a very weak beat, does not clash with the harmony, and is not insistently repeated. It also resolves to the sixth, a much less striking effect than the chromatic resolution of the minor third to the major in m. 1. The overall effect is therefore rather ornamental.

"blue-note," not vice versa. However, it is clear from statements like this that blue notes were seen as central to the identity of the genre.

[15] Abbe Niles quotes Handy claiming to have taken it from a repetitive chant he heard being sung by an Alabama preacher in the early 1890's (*Blues: An Anthology*, 31-32).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 4.8b. Handy: "Saint Louis Blues" (1914), first eight measures of chorus

Without the use of microtones, it is not always possible to distinguish between a blue note and regular chromaticism. The ambivalence of such notes is an element which is frequently explored in the blues sheet music style at this period. "The Tulsa Blues" (example 4.4) is a case in point. The rising, stepwise, four-note motif with which the melody begins occurs six times in the melody of the verse and again in the accompaniment of the chorus. It is always played at the same pitch, giving it an insistent

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

quality which compares with the constant repetition of the three-note motif at the beginning of example 4.8b. The crucial note is the G#. In its first appearance, over an implied dominant harmony as the third note of the melody of the verse, it is a regular chromatic passing tone. The identical motif is repeated in the following measure, except here the harmony has now changed to the tonic, making the G sharp capable of interpretation as a blue note, albeit a very weak one, being placed on the last eighth note of the bar, and with the clashing major thirds of the accompaniment only implied, not stated. The recurrence of the motif over the tonic in the third measure of the chorus in the accompaniment is quite different. There is an F-major harmony stated throughout the measure giving the G sharp something solid to clash against, thereby increasing its pungency. Furthermore, the motif has been reduced in this bar to just G sharp and A. Without the G, the G sharp cannot be interpreted as a passing note; it is therefore to be regarded basically as a blue note.

The seamless manipulation of the idiom in this way shows how successful composers were in uniting the disparate influences of the African-American blue note and European chromatic traditions into a common language. Blue notes are an integral part of the language of commercial blues, with 88% of the compositions in the survey using them to a greater or lesser extent in their melodies. They are also found in the popular non-blues songs surveyed, but considerably less often (56.5% of the time), and when they do occur their effect is generally much weaker and more sporadic within the song.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The Four-Note Chromatic Motif

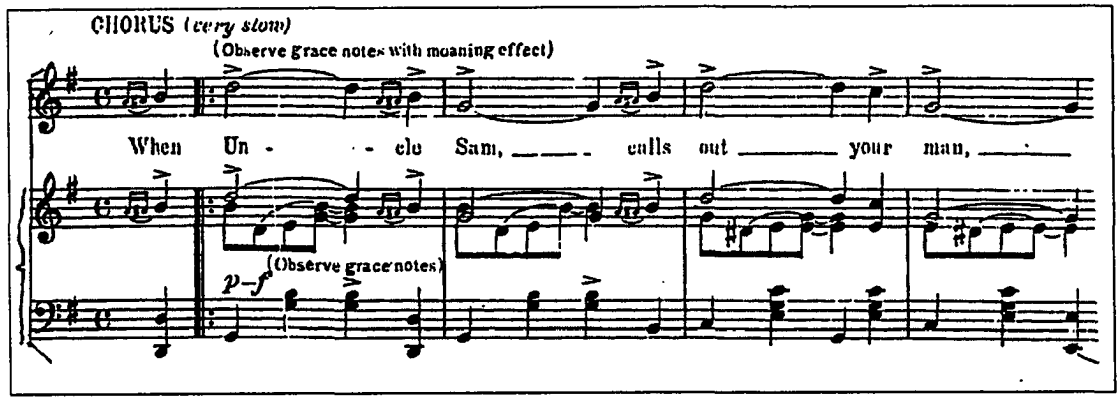
Example 4.9. Wand: "Dallas Blues" (1912), opening

Example 4.9 is the opening of the original version of "Dallas Blues" (1912) one of the first auto-referential blues to appear in print. It begins with a descending four-note chromatic motif, with the final note representing the accented point of arrival (the effect is here enhanced by the fermata over the first three notes). This is a common motif and seems to be associated with blues writing in this period: as used in "Dallas Blues," or in one of the variants to be discussed, it occurs in 61% of the commercial blues in the survey, as compared with 25% of the melodies of non-blues popular songs.

Why this should be is hard to say, as it is not a device especially associated with folk blues. Rather I strongly suspect that the effect is meant to suggest a "super-blue-note," a "wail," as it were, over four chromatic notes rather than one. One piece of evidence for this assertion is found in the song called "Those Draftin' Blues" from 1917. The first few measures of the chorus are quoted in example 4.10. The upbeat, and the final beats of mm. 1, 2, and 4 present a B quarter note preceded by two chromatic grace notes, A and A#. This is basically a blue third on the chord of G, i.e., A sharp to B, but the extra note, A, is added to enhance the effect. In fact, a note to the performers tells them to "observe grace notes with moaning effect."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 4.10. Pinkard: "Those Draftin' Blues" (1918), first four measures of chorus



Generally in the blues sheets, the chromatic motif is not used quite as prominently as in "Dallas Blues." In "The Tennessee Blues" (example 2.4), it is used in ascending form to mark the second half of the chorus, rather than the start. In "Profiteering Blues" (example 4.5), it is used in ascending form in the pickup to the chorus and then immediately inverted. The second phrase starts with a tonally modified form (F-G-G sharp-A, at the end m. 2). This modified version, incidentally, is identical with the central four-note motif in the verse of "The Tulsa Blues" (example 4.4) which was discussed above.[16]

[16] Note that the fully tonal form such as that which begins the chorus to "The Tennessee Blues" is not counted as a variant of the motif as, by removing its chromatic quality, the "blue" quality is also lost.

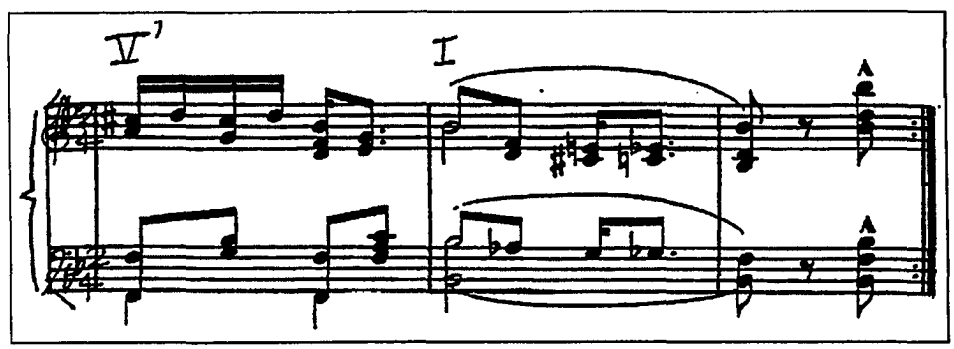
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The Barbershop Cadence

The "barbershop cadence"[17] is a harmonic figure found intermittently in blues sheet music, where it appears roughly twice as often as it does in the non-blues popular songs (35% in the blues as opposed to 16.5% in the non-blues examined). It is a harmonic figure characterized by chromatically descending chords over a tonic pedal, resolving onto a tonic chord, and is normally used to finish a song or a section thereof.

Example 4.11, the last three measures of "The Memphis Blues" (instrumental version), shows the device. The barbershop cadence occurs in the penultimate measure. A triple octave tonic Bb sounds at the beginning of the measure, and this is followed by three chromatically descending parallel chords over the tonic pedal. The resultant chords are B flat 7, B flat dim7, and E flat min6 (second inversion). In the final measure, the sequence resolves to a tonic chord by sinking another half step.

Example 4.11. Handy: "The Memphis Blues" (1912), last three measures



[17] The term was suggested by the association of this device with the barbershop-quartet style. I have not explored its roots, however, and would not want to suggest that it necessarily derived from that style. This type of cadence is also strongly associated with African-American sanctified music.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

A rhythmically sophisticated version of the same device is seen in "The Tennessee Blues" (example 2.4), where it appears half way through the verse (mm. 18-19), at the end of the verse (mm. 30-31) and at the end of the chorus (mm. 46-47). A characteristic feature of the barbershop cadences found in both these songs is the chromatic descent in the bass from the flattened seventh to the fifth. This can be seen also at the end of the verse to "The Tulsa Blues" (example 4.4, mm. 15-16), although it is a little covert, the fall in the bass from the raised fifth to the fifth (C#-C) being disguised by the quarter-note rest at the beginning of the last measure of the line and the subsequent octave displacement. Note also that the sequence does not move in parallel motion here, as the top-line falls by whole steps, while the middle voice provides the tonic pedal.

Tempo Indications

The range of tempo indications for the hundred blues sheets in the survey is as follows:

Table 4.1: Tempo Indications of Blues Sheet Music in Survey[18]

Tempo Indication	% of Sheets
Moderato	54
Slow/slowly/very slow/ slow drag	16
No Indication Given	9
Tempo di Blues	9
Other	7
Allegro moderato/allegretto	5

[18] In compiling this table, I have not looked for indications of whether or not these findings reflect changes throughout the 1910s. For example, it is possible that the slower tempo indications are more common in the decade. While this would be interesting to determine, such an undertaking is beyond the scope of the present study.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

This compares as follows with the tempo indications in the eighty-five popular song hits from the survey 1912-17:

Table 4.2: Tempo Indications in Popular Songs 1912-17

Tempo Indication	% of Sheets
Moderato	51.5
Allegro Moderato/Allegro Con Spirito	14
Marziale/Tempo di Marcia	6.5
Other	9
Andante/Andante Moderato	8
No Indication Given	5
Slow	3
Allegretto	3

The most obvious point the comparison is that *moderato* is by far the most common indication in both. However, it would appear that the term was a default setting and was not necessarily to be taken literally. In other words when the performer saw *moderato* at the beginning of a song, he would observe the type of song it was and pick a suitable tempo. In fact, several of the blues songs make this explicit by adding an indication to play slowly after the *moderato*. For example, "Prohibition Blues" has "Moderato (not fast)" and "Those Draftin' Blues," "Moderato (very slow)."

The other important point is that a much higher percentage of blues than popular songs are marked *slow* or something similar. Given this, and both the open nature of the term *moderato*, which would have usually implied a slowish tempo for blues performance, and the marking *Tempo di Blues* which also presumably indicated a slow

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

performance,[19] we can see that the evidence points to a much stronger connection between slow tempi and commercial blues than mainstream popular music of the era. This in turn suggests some influence of folk blues, as there is a very strong connection between folk blues and slow tempi. For example, the forty-five transcriptions of such material cited in Titon have an average speed of quarter-note = 118, i. e., a slow or medium slow tempo.

Use of Falling Melodic Contours

There is a tendency for the contour of folk blues melodies to fall, as Titon's analysis of blues transcriptions shows.[20] This reflects the African origins of the blues, as the melodic lines of the melodies of many kinds of African music also tend to descend.[21] It seems fair to infer that the predominance of falling lines in folk blues melodies in some way reflects their generally doleful, "blue" character—one thinks for example of the falling shape of the passacaglia bass-line in baroque music and its association with grief.

Most of the blues analyzed by Titon use the standard three-line, twelve-bar formula discussed earlier. As well as the stanza as a whole, he examines each of the three phrases of the stanza for the overall shape of its melodic contour, and finds that both the individual lines and the entire stanza tend to fall. We can demonstrate this with a commercial blues such as the opening stanza of "Nigger Blues" (example 2.5), which is

---

[19] See, for example, the tempo marking "Play Slow, Tempo de Blues" at the beginning of Robison's "Tulsa Blues" (example 4.4).

[20] Titon, *Down Home Blues*, 160-163.

[21] For discussion of the connection between the melodic contour of blues, African music, and intermediary forms like the African-American field holler, see Samuel Charters, *The Bluesmen* (New York: Oak Publications, 1967), 18-19.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

very close to the folk idiom. The first phrase of the vocal melody (mm. 10-13) starts on D and falls a tritone, landing on A flat. The second phrase (mm. 14-17) does likewise, descending from D to B flat, as does the third phrase (mm. 18-21). If we consider the whole stanza, which starts on D and ends on B flat, there is again an overall fall.

Titon's analysis goes further than this, as he examines the shapes not just of four-bar phrases but also their subdivisions. Once more, falling contours predominate. We can again see this in "Nigger Blues." The first phrase (mm. 10-13) may be subdivided into three parts: the first (m. 10, "Oh! the blues ain't nothing") falls from D to B flat; this is repeated in m. 11; the third part (mm. 12-13, "But a good man feeling bad") falls from D to A flat. The subdivisions of the other two lines also fall. Thus, every phrase and subphrase, along with the entire chorus of "Nigger Blues" falls, which is actually quite unusual, even for folk blues. More typical is a case like example 4.8a (page *00-00*), the first four measures of "St. Louis Blues." This phrase, which finishes in m. 4, falls, from B (or A sharp, if the initial appoggiatura blue-note is counted) to G. The phrase can be subdivided. The first part (m. 1, "I hate to see") also falls (A sharp/B-G); the second part (mm. 2-4 "de evening sun go down"), however, rises from D sharp to G.

The characteristics of "Nigger Blues" and "St. Louis Blues" are directly comparable with the blues transcriptions which form the basis of Titon's analysis, as they all share the same basic subdivisible three-phrase, twelve-bar form. However, as discussed earlier, only 45%of the commercial blues sheets in the survey use the twelve-bar form somewhere within the composition, and only 15% use it for their entire structure. It is therefore necessary to adapt his methodology somewhat. In terms of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

commercial blues, my analysis is restricted to the songs only, the unstandardized, multi-sectional structures of the instrumentals making them unsuitable for this kind of approach. I have, furthermore, examined only the choruses of the songs, as this is where the main weight of the song lies in nearly all instances (folk blues consist of only one section repeated over, whereas most commercial blues have both verse and chorus). I analyze at two levels: the overall shape of the entire chorus, and the contours of individual phrases.

For example, the chorus of "The Dardanella Blues" (example 4.3) starts with a high D in the vocal line and ends with G: it therefore falls overall. On a phrase-by-phrase basis, the first ("Oh that Dardanella Blues") is four bars long and starts on a D`` and falls to an F`. The second phrase is a bar in length ("Ask the band to play it,") and rises a minor third from E` to G`, as does the next three-bar phrase ("And I'll say they won't refuse"). A complete analysis of the chorus is as follows:

Table 4.3: Analysis of "The Dardanella Blues" (Chorus only)

Lyric	mm.	Direction
Oh the Dardanella Blues	1-4	Fall
Ask the band to play it,	5	Rise
And I'll say they won't refuse,	6-7	Rise
It's one sensation,	8-9	Rise
With a jazz improvement,	10-11	Fall
The orchestration,	12-13	Rise
Shows up every movement,	14-16	Fall
Oh the Dardanella blues,	17-20	Fall
The words are simply nothing,	21	Rise
Nothing but a good excuse,	22-23	Rise
I heard them say	24-25	Fall
The bass is just a little hard to play,	26-28	Fall
But that is why,	28-29	Rise
They like the Dardanella blues.	30-32	Fall

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

This particular example is balanced, having seven rising and seven falling phrases even though the chorus, taken in its entirety, falls.[22]

The choruses of the seventy-seven commercial blues songs in the survey were analyzed for the shape of their contours on both the individual phrase level and for the entire chorus. The results were then compared with both Titon's analysis of folk blues, and with the sample of eight-five popular songs, which were analyzed in an identical fashion to the blues sheets.

Table 4.4a: Melodic Contours of Individual Phrases

	Folk Blues (Titon) (%)[23]	Commercial Blues (%)	Popular Songs (%)
Fall	74	57	46.5
Rise	15	33	42
Same	11	10	11.5

Table 4.4b: Melodic Contours of Entire Choruses

	Folk Blues (Titon) (%)	Commercial Blues(%)	Popular Songs (%)
Fall	78	54.5	27
Rise	14	30.5	68
Same	8	14.5	5

Regarding the contours of the phrases (table 4.4a), we see that, whereas in the popular songs the proportion of falling and rising phrases is approximately the same (46.5% to 42.5%), in the commercial blues songs, the falling phrases are considerably more common than the rising phrases (57% to 33%); in the folk blues, falling phrases

---

[22] These phrases fall and rise by amounts ranging from a major sixth to a minor second. Although the amount a particular phrase falls or rises is presumably going to have an effect on the expressive qualities of the song, I ignore these differences here, taking my cue from Titon, who does likewise.

[23] The figures for folk blues for tables 4.4a and 4.4b are derived from Titon's statistics presented on page 162 of *Down Home Blues.*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

outnumber those that rise by a factor of nearly five to one (74% to 15%). A comparison of the melodic contour of entire choruses (table 4.4b) is even more striking, particularly in the case of popular songs, where rising contours considerably outnumber falling (68% to 27%).

In summary, in terms of individual phrases, the melodic contours of folk blues strongly tend to fall; that of popular songs are approximately balanced; while commercial blues tend to fall, though not as much as folk blues. In terms of entire choruses, the contrast is more pronounced, with folk blues and commercial blues falling, and popular songs strongly tending to rise. Statistical analysis, therefore, suggests that the melodic contours of commercial blues songs—particularly when viewed in terms of the entire chorus—are more aligned with folk blues than popular songs.

Identity

Having examined some of the characteristic features of commercial auto-referential blues of the 1912-20 period, I turn to the central question of their identity. In other words, how can we really define the commercial blues style as it exists in the 1910s? And to what extent can we distinguish it from other commercial music of the era? In my analysis I discussed several musical elements associated with commercial blues. These are:

(1) the twelve-bar sequence;

(2) the blues-influenced move to the subdominant;

(3) blue notes;

(4) the four-note chromatic motif;

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(5) the barbershop cadence;

(6) slow tempo marking;

(7) falling melodic contours in chorus (overall shape of entire chorus and of each phrase).

Such elements are all examples of what Van der Merwe terms *matrices*. He defines a matrix as:

> One of the basic patterns that give coherence to a piece of music. Matrices can be elaborate or simple, and the art of composition lies largely in their combination, either simultaneously or successively.[24]

He gives as an example "Pop Goes the Weasel," citing some of the more obvious matrices at work as the major mode, 6/8 time, four-bar phrasing, a regular beat, the rhyming tune structure, melodic climax, and the perfect cadence.[25] What is particularly advantageous about the concept is that it is a way of connecting generalized levels of compositional resource (major mode, melodic climax) with specific ones (perfect cadence) at an analytical level.

As my statistical analyses have shown, all the matrices I have isolated in the survey are particularly associated with commercial blues. In other words, each of these matrices help to define the song or instrumental as a blues rather than any other kind of popular music, as statistically each of them is more likely to be used in blues.[26] I

---

[24] Van der Merwe, *The Origins of Popular Style*, 320. For his detailed discussion on matrices, see ibid., 93-100.

[25] *The Origins of Popular Style*, 95.

[26] I have been careful to pick matrices that distinguish blues compositions from contemporaneous popular song. It is quite possible, however, that some of the matrices could be strongly associated with another

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

therefore term these matrices *blues matrices*. The most distinctive blues matrix is the twelve-bar structure which is almost exclusively associated with auto-referential blues in this era.

For example "The Tennessee Blues" (example 2.4) uses six of the seven matrices examined in this paper:

(1) the twelve bar structure (in the verse);

(2) the blues move to the subdominant (within the context of the twelve-bar structure of the verse);

(3) the blue note (for example the use of the minor third on the second measure of the melody of the chorus

(4) the barbershop cadence (halfway through the verse and at the end of the verse and chorus);

(5) the falling melodic contour for chorus (for example, the first vocal phrase of the chorus);

(6) the four-note chromatic motif (in the vocal line, halfway through the chorus).[27]

---

quite separate style as well. For example, on the question of tempo, I showed in the survey that the sample of blues was more likely to be marked with an indication to play the music slow as compared with the sample of popular songs. However, if we compared the genre of blues compositions with that of funeral marches of classical music for example, which are almost exclusively slow, we would find a quite different result. Blues compositions are in general stylistically quite distinct from funeral marches even though they have this and other matrices in common, the latter rarely make use of any of the other musical matrices described, such as the blue note or twelve-bar sequence. The two are therefore unlikely to be confused even by the casual, uninformed listener.

[27] The only matrix of the seven listed above that is absent is the slow tempo marking; this work is marked "moderato," which, given the ambivalence of this indication, could be interpreted as meaning slow. However, I have admitted this particular matrix only if the tempo indication is explicitly marked "slow" (or a variant), or some variation of "tempo di blues."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

As well as musical matrices, there are also matrices in connection with the texts of the songs.[28] While I have been less systematic about isolating these, three text matrices emerge from my previous analysis. Perhaps the most obvious example is the trope "I've got the ...blues" which appears in a substantial majority of the blues compositions in the survey. On a more generalized level, the two most common textual matrices found are *separation from a lover*, the basic theme of 58% of the personal blues songs, and *yearning for a place of origin*, found in 25%. These three matrices are, therefore, the textual equivalent of the seven musical matrices listed above: although they do not define commercial blues, they are strongly associated with it. In particular, the "I got the. . .blues" trope is the verbal equivalent of the twelve-bar structure; it is found almost exclusively in commercial auto-referential blues (and not in other sorts of popular songs).

Thus, "The Tennessee Blues," in addition to the six characteristic musical matrices discussed above, also uses two of the three textual matrices, namely *separation from a lover* and *yearning for a place of origin* (this song is in fact quite unusual in that it combines both matrices).[29] So altogether it uses eight out of the ten matrices identified as being particularly associated with commercial blues.

Clearly, however, "The Tennessee Blues" uses far more matrices than just these blues matrices. Along with blues matrices, there are also *Tin Pan Alley* matrices in most

---

[28] This goes beyond van der Merwe who restricts his argument purely to music. However, given that a song is the fusion of words and music, in a genre where a majority of compositions are songs rather than instrumentals, it would appear essential to incorporate the text into one's analysis if one is to gain an overall understanding of the genre's identity.

[29] See discussion above, 120. Note that "The Tennessee Blues" is one of a minority of songs that does not use the "I got the...blues" matrix. Still more unusual, it makes no reference to the word "blues" at all, except in its title.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

blues sheet music, which are matrices associated with popular songs, such as *verse and chorus form* and *the introductory vamp*.[30] These cannot considered blues matrices, for while they are very common in auto-referential commercial blues of the period, they do not appear more frequently in commercial blues than in other styles of commercial music (verse and chorus form is almost universal for popular songs at this time). In addition to the blues and Tin Pan Alley matrices, there are many others that appear extensively not only in blues sheet music but in many other styles and genres, such as *4/4 time*[31] or *the perfect cadence*. These might be termed *general matrices*.

When analyzing a song like "The Tennessee Blues," we can see all three types of matrix at work. The blues matrices listed above[32] associate the work with the blues, the Tin Pan Alley matrices with popular song, while the general matrices cover the basic, non-specific areas of musical communication within which the other matrices can operate.

The identity of the blues compositions of the survey therefore lies within this complex, interlocking set of cultural references. The specific identity of each blues composition consists of a unique genetic balance of these three kinds of matrices. Some are more "bluesy"—that is, they emphasize many of the blues matrices, often at the expense of the Tin Pan Alley matrices—while others veer stylistically to standard popular song, using less blues matrices and more Tin Pan Alley matrices.

---

[30] Of course, there will also be many Tin Pan Alley matrices that are melodic and harmonic rather than structural, the equivalent of the barbershop cadence. The isolation and analysis of these is beyond the scope of this paper, however.

[31] All but one of the blues in the survey are in duple time, usually 4/4, although 2/4 and 2/2 are also found. The single exception ("Lullaby Blues") was in 3/4.

[32] There will of course be many other blues matrices. I reemphasize that the matrices analyzed in this paper are only a sampling of those available and are designed to show the basic process.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

For example, we may consider "Broadway Blues (example 2.6) against our checklist of matrices that we found in "Tennessee Blues." Let us examine the use of musical matrices in the latter.

(1) the twelve bar sequence: this song does not use the twelve-bar sequence;

(2) the blues-influenced move to the subdominant: we find this matrix used twice in the chorus, at mm. 27 and 43;

(3) blue notes: found in two places in the chorus, mm. 26 and 42; both blue thirds in the accompaniment;

(4) the four-note chromatic motif: not used;

(5) the barbershop cadence: not used;

(6) slow tempo marking: marked "tempo di blues." This implies a slow tempo;

(7) falling melodic contours in chorus: most phrases rise; overall, chorus rises.

In terms of the three text matrices, the following apply:

(1) "I got the . . . blues": occurs at the end of the chorus ("You've got those Broadway Blues");

(2) "separation from a lover": not used;

(3) "yearning for a place of origin": applies—although the place is not specified, the song is a standard nostalgia-type song for the country.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Overall, therefore, four of the musical matrices and two of the text matrices are used, making a total of six out of ten, as compared with eight out of ten matrices in "The Tennessee Blues." Thus, to a certain extent, we could consider "The Tennessee Blues" a stronger example of commercial blues style than "Broadway Blues." The matter is obviously more complex than this, as some matrices—for example, the twelve-bar structure—are much more closely linked with blues than with other commercial styles and therefore have greater weight in the assessment of any individual blues. The question, therefore, becomes one of not only how many blues matrices are used, but which ones they are. Furthermore, two compositions can use the same matrix but do so to different degrees. For example, a majority of blues songs which use the twelve-bar matrix do so only for either the verse or the chorus, the other section having a standard Tin Pan Alley sixteen- or thirty-two-measure structure (for instance, "The Tennessee Blues" uses the twelve-bar form in the verse only). On the other hand, songs that use the twelve-bar form throughout like "Nigger Blues" (example 2.5), for example, are stylistically further removed from the commercial mainstream and hence bluesier.

Homeopathy and Allopathy

In Chapter 1, I suggested a particular paradigm for the historical interpretation of blues culture. The basis for my argument was that the term blues carries with it the notion of curing the blues. The question becomes whether the cure takes place homeopathically (treating like with like—a depressed condition with depressed music) or allopathically (treating with the opposite—a depressed condition with lively music). I suggested that, while a presentist definition of blues valorizes the homeopathic type over

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the allopathic, commercial culture in the 1910s tended to prioritize the allopathic approach. I will now amplify that proposition in the light of the findings of the current survey.

A homeopathic blues is defined as one that is predominantly serious in mood. Conversely, an allopathic blues is one that is predominantly lighthearted. I will deal first with instrumentals. "Camp Cody Blues" (example 1.1) is a clearly allopathic: its foxtrot style, emphasizing dotted rhythms and moderate tempo, along with the musical content point unambiguously to that conclusion. Equally clearly, "Just Blues" (example 2.3) is homeopathic: it is marked "very slow" and "legato," and musical devices such as the frequent chromaticism in the melodic line, and strikingly dissonant use of blues notes (for example, at mm. 1 and 3) add the effect. Moreover, the relentless use of syncopation, in other contexts a lightening device, further enhances the mood, while the tonal scheme—the work stays in the same key throughout, unlike instrumental blues such as "Camp Cody Blues" which modulate one or more times—increases the intensity.

Vocal blues are more complex, as one has to consider the effect of both music and words. The excerpt from "Don't Mind Cryin' Blues" (example 4.1) suggests that the work is homeopathic. This is implied by: the indication at the start of the piece, "moderato ala [sic] blues," suggesting a slow tempo; the serious nature of the words; the predominance of long, falling phrases in the melody; the use of blue notes in the accompaniment; and the rich, fully textured accompaniment.[33] It seems equally apparent

[33] I note that the use of the major mode in practically all the blues in the survey is not relevant to the homeopathic/allopathic dualism, as nearly all country blues—homeopathic or otherwise—are in the major.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Figure 4.1. Fisher and Black: "Dardanella Blues" (1920), front cover

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

that "Dardanella Blues" (example 4.3) is allopathic. The title refers to the hit song "Dardanella" written by the same authors, and the cover for the sheet music of the blues reproduces that of the sheet music of the original song (figure 4.1). The accompaniment bass riff in the first measure of the chorus quotes what is probably the most distinctive feature of the song, and the staccato markings add to the humorous effect. Finally, the piece is in 2/2, and is therefore faster than "Don't Mind Cryin' Blues."[34]

Many vocal blues are not so clear-cut, however, as the mood of the words and music seem to contradict one another. The lyrics to "The Tennessee Blues" (example 2.4) are a parody of African-American dialect, reminiscent of the turn-of-the-century coon song. The music, however, is quite serious, and, if played slowly, is quite powerful.[35] Nevertheless, for the song to be regarded as homeopathic, it is usually necessary for both music and words need to be serious, and hence this must be basically considered an allopathic blues.

A similar tension between words and music exists in "Nigger Blues" (example 2.5), though here it is the music which undercuts the seriousness of the words. The text consists entirely of standard folk blues formulae found ubiquitously in the recorded work of country blues musicians of the early period, where they are usually treated entirely seriously. Here, however, their effect is at least partially sabotaged by the tempo indication "allegro moderato," the "boom-chick" ragtime-style left hand of the

---

[34] The tempo marking for "Dardanella Blues" is "moderato." This does not necessarily imply the work was meant to be played at moderate speed, however, for, as discussed above (167), "moderato" is a default marking not suggestive of any particular speed.

[35] Once again the tempo marking is "moderato," allowing for a variety of approaches regarding speed of performance.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

accompaniment, and the jerky dotted notes at the beginning of each phrase. It is significant that the composer/lyricist Leroy "Lasses" White was a successful white minstrel,[36] and we can thus assume, even without the internal evidence of the music, that his intent, especially given the denigrating title of the work, points to his satirical intent. So, again, the overall effect is allopathic. This is confirmed by contemporaneous recordings of the work by George O'Connor[37] and Al Bernard,[38] both of which seem to take a humorous approach.

This double-bind between the intent of the words and the music is found in many of the commercial blues songs of the period and reflects the tempering of the original stark expression of country blues when it encountered the commercial mainstream. Popular music of this period did not encourage the strong, passionate expression of emotions, as an examination of the range of popular songs and instrumentals used in the survey demonstrates.

The emotional ambivalence of the blues songs is reflected in the recordings. An example is W. C. Handy's "St. Louis Blues." Nearly all early recordings of this work from the early period are allopathic. For instance, Al Bernard's on Emerson (no. 10296, 1921) is medium fast and "raggy" in feel (Bernard was, like "Lasses" White, a minstrel, and the satirical approach heard here parallels that discussed in connection with White's "Negro Blues"). An instrumental version by the All Star Trio (Lyric 4208, 1919) is even more jaunty, being dominated by a skittish ragtime xylophone. These versions contrast

---

[36] See Abbott and Seroff, " 'They Cert'ly Sound Good to Me'," 409

[37] Columbia A-2064 (1916).

[38] Edison 50542 (1919).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

starkly with Bessie Smith's famous 1925 recording (Columbia 14064-D): extremely slow and powerfully delivered throughout, it is a remarkably cathartic performance, in the opinion of jazz critic Brian Rust, "the greatest version of 'St. Louis Blues' ever to have been recorded, or ever likely to be."[39] It is interesting to note that Smith's adapts Handy's original by avoiding the light-hearted tango feel of the second section, something emphasized in the two allopathic recordings.

The role of the interpreter is therefore crucially important in the overall effect of any given blues. He or she will either conform with the expressive approach of a blues—perform a homeopathic blues homeopathically, or an allopathic blues allopathically—or reverse the expressive approach—perform a homeopathic blues allopathically and vice versa. In terms of the reversal, the transformation of allopathic material into homeopathic (comic to serious) is rarely found (at least as far as the recorded legacy bears witness), as it is an effect that is hard to achieve. A prominent exception is Bessie Smith's recording of "My Sweetie Went Away" (Columbia 13000-D, 1923), a lightweight Tin Pan Alley number which Smith transforms into a homeopathic performance by her overwrought emotionalism.

The transformation of homeopathic material into allopathic, on the other hand, is ubiquitous in early commercial blues recorded culture. Of the nineteen known flat-disk recordings of "Saint Louis Blues" made before 1921, only one is homeopathic.[40] The performer of that recording was Marion Harris (c. 1896-1944), a white vaudevillian who is exceptional in that she was the only recording artist from the pre-1921 era whose blues

---

[39] Brian Rust, *My Kind of Jazz*, 115.

[40] See Appendix 3 for details.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

are consistently homeopathic, and her performances won consistent praise from major figures such as W.C. Handy.[41] Harris's contribution aside, nearly all the performances of blues before Mamie Smith's "Crazy Blues" are allopathic. Thus it seems fair to describe mainstream commercial blues culture as predominantly allopathic.

How does this issue relate to race? Blues recordings by African-American artists made in the wake of "Crazy Blues," together with a host of other evidence, including sheet music by African Americans (such as "Don't Mind Cryin' Blues" [example 4.1], written by two black composers, Clarence Johnson and Spencer Williams), clearly suggests that homeopathic blues flourished in the ethnic subculture during the 1910s and 20s. However, it is simplistic to construct a duality equating black expression of blues with homeopathy and white expression of blues with allopathy. First, there were white performers of blues such as Marion Harris who were predominantly homeopathic in their approach. Second, there are numerous reports and recordings of allopathic blues in African-American culture in the 1910s. To cite but one example, that of "St. Louis Blues." Two of the nineteen recordings listed in the discography are by black performers: Ciro's Coon Club Orchestra (Columbia 699, 1917, recorded in England by a visiting American band) and Jim Europe's Hell Fighters Band (Pathé 22087, 1919). Both are taken at fast tempi and are unambiguously allopathic. Moreover, one of the earliest popularizers of "St. Louis Blues" was Charles Anderson, an African-American female

---

[41] Handy commented that "she sang blues so well that people hearing her records sometimes thought that the singer was colored" (*Father of the Blues*, 200). On the biography and career of Harris, see "Marion Harris" in *The Encyclopedia of Popular American Recording Pioneers*, ed. Tim Graycyk (Granite Bay, CA: Victrola and 78 Journal Press, 1999), 154-60.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

impersonator who performed extensively in black vaudeville.[42] We can assume that his performance is likely to have been humorous, thus allopathic, in intent.

Conclusion

In a famous passage from his *Philosophical Investigations*, Ludwig Wittgenstein problematized the notion of straightforward definitions:

> Consider for examples the proceedings we call "games." I mean board-games, card-games, ball-games, Olympic games, and so on. What is common to them all?. . . If you look at them you will see that there is not something that is common to *all*, but similarities, relationships, and a whole series of them at that. . . Look for example at board-games, with their multifarious relationships. Now pass to card-games ; here you will find many correspondences with the first group, but many common features drop out, and others reappear. When we pass next to ball-games , much that is common is retained, but much is lost.—Are they all "amusing"? Compare chess with noughts and crosses. Or is there always winning and losing, or competition between players? Think of patience. In ball games there is always winning and losing ; but when a child throws his ball at the wall and catches it again, this feature has disappeared. Look at the part played by skill and luck; and the difference between skill in chess or skill in tennis. Think now of games like ring-a-ring of roses; here is the element of amusement, but how many other characteristic features have disappeared!
>
> And the result of our examination is: we see a complicated network of similarities overlapping and criss-crossing: sometimes overall similarities, sometimes similarities of detail.
>
> I can think of no better expression to characterize these similarities than "family resemblances": for the various resemblances between the members of a family: build, features, color of eyes, gait, temperament, etc. etc. overlap and crisscross in the same way – And I shall say: "games" form a family.[43]

Wittgenstein's characterization of "games" is an apt parallel to what has been revealed in this and the previous chapter about commercial blues culture of the 1910s. The blues matrices I have isolated are in effect some of the more obvious "family

---

[42] Ethel Waters, *His Eye is on the Sparrow* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1951), 72.

[43] Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, trans. G. E. M. Anscombe (New York: Macmillan, 1953), 64-65.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

resemblances" and they occur in just the way that Wittgenstein suggests: they "overlap and crisscross," with the result that each blues composition has a unique genetic constitution. Consequently certain works bear a close resemblance to one another, whereas others are more distantly related. The result is a stylistically diverse "family."

Let us pursue this analogy further. In terms of human genetics, some family resemblances will be more characteristic than others. Brown eyes, for example, are an inherited feature commonly found in many families, while a hooked nose, for example, is much rarer, and is thus more distinctive. In just the same way, our survey shows that certain matrices—blue notes, for instance—that were more or less characteristic of the commercial blues also permeated many other kinds of popular songs. On the other hand, the twelve-bar structure and the "I got the. . .blues" trope are essentially restricted to blues. Furthermore, the physical features of any member of a family consist not only of those which help distinguish him from other families, but also those that help define him as part of the species of which the family is a member. Thus, while the unusual length of an individual's legs may be a characteristic of the particular human family to which he belongs, the *number* of legs, along with their upright posture, helps define that individual as human. So it is with the more general matrices, such as the perfect cadence, which are not merely confined to the "family" of commercial blues of the 1910s, but instead mark it as belonging to the "species" of tonal music.

All this being so, are there nevertheless any general characteristics that can be applied to the "family" of commercial blues? Although this model may be oversimplified, we can think of commercial blues as coming about when a comparatively new, predominantly African-American-based folk style—blues—encounters the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

predominantly white vernacular mainstream. The resulting hybrid was a mediated form of popular music, consisting of elements drawn from both idioms, but having an identity distinct from either of them. Commercial blues differ from the regular product of Tin Pan Alley through the incorporation of blues matrices, and more generally through the sense of complaint, loss, or longing which underpins, however indirectly, most of the songs, and which is the prevailing theme of the essentialized country blues style recognized by Titon and others. In the process of dialogue between the two styles, an important ingredient of folk blues—its direct emotionalism—was tempered, either by a general toning down, or a distancing from it by means of parody and/or irony. This distancing is apparent in many of the commercial blues themselves, and even when it is not, mainstream performances of the time superimpose it, at least judging by the recorded legacy.

Having surveyed commercial blues culture of the 1910s in this and the preceding two chapters, and having acquired some sense of its identity, I turn now to the question of the commercial culture that preceded it. This topic forms the basis of the remaining chapters of this study.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter 5

PROTO-BLUES I
Auto-referential Proto-Blues and the Work of Hughie Cannon

Introduction

At the beginning of Chapter 2, I argued that the year 1912 effectively marks the start-up of the commercial blues industry.[1] This fact has been the basis of the discussion of early commercial blues culture in the previous three chapters. But the question now arises: to what extent was commercial blues culture anticipated before that date? Did it emerge quite suddenly into the mass-marketplace from oral culture, or are there antecedents of the style to be found in the commercial sector prior to 1912? The simple answer is that there was indeed widespread commercial blues-related activity before 1912. I call the works that resulted from this activity "proto-blues."

Before looking closely at commercial proto-blues, it is first necessary to provide an historical context to the first emergence of folk blues. It is generally understood that blues, as defined from a presentist point of view, is, as David Evans expresses it, "a product almost entirely of the twentieth century."[2] Accounts, such as those by W. C. Handy[3] and John Jacob Niles[4] date it back to the 1890s, but these are exceptional: reports of blues do not become widespread until after the turn of the century. However, it seems that these blues were generally not auto-referential, i.e., were not titled as such. For

---

[1] See above, 73.

[2] Evans, *Big Road Blues*, 32.

[3] Various anecdotes in *Father of the Blues*.

[4] Niles refers to an African American "shouter and moaner" named Black Alfalfa (real name Ophelia Simpson), who he saw in a medicine show in Kentucky in 1898. See "Shout, Coon, Shout!," *Musical Quarterly* 16/4 (fall 1930), 519-521.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

example, W. C. Handy describes a three-line song he heard in the 1890s in Evansville, Indiana, as a blues, "but the word formed no part of its title. What we now call blues, to the folk musicians meant a *kind* of song; individually they bore no such designation."[5] What is new about the blues of and after 1912, therefore, is that they show the first consistent use of the blues title in conjunction with the blues matrices discussed in Chapter 4.

The Importance of Proto-Blues

An analysis of proto-blues culture is not only significant in terms of its relationship to post-1912 commercial blues culture, but also provides a unique testimony to the emergence and evolution of blues—blues in general, that is, not just the commercial style. This may sound an immodest claim, but I believe it not to be so. First, commercial proto-blues activity has received even less scholarly consideration than standard (post-1912) commercial blues, presumably for much the same reasons outlined in chapter 1. Second, there is almost no surviving musical documentation of the blues and near-blues from this time. What documentation there is falls into two categories: that made at the time, or relatively close to it, by folklorists; and that made at a later date, often after several decades, most often through the reminiscences of musicians who were there at the time. Both types of source are problematic. Folklorists' transcriptions vary in accuracy, and provide words only; moreover, there are not many of them before the systematic folklore collecting of the 1920s.[6] The reminiscences of musicians recorded

---

[5] *Father of the Blues*, 143.

[6] For summary of existing material, see Evans, *Big Road Blues*, 32-40.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

long after the event are also of limited value, as it is often hard—especially when dealing with a genre like blues that depends so much on the vagaries of interpretation—to separate the style of the performer from the style allegedly being recreated.

For example, the pianist and composer Jelly Roll Morton recorded a song in 1939 called "Mamie's Blues," which he describes as "the first blues I no doubt heard in my life."[7] It is named after a turn-of the-century New Orleans blues pianist and singer, Mamie Desdoumes, who was particularly associated with the work. How much should Morton's performance be taken as a literal representation of what she played and sang? Certainly, it was intended to be heard that way, at least up to a point, as it was first recorded in 1938 for the Library of Congress folk archive as part of an extended reminiscence with folklorist Alan Lomax which included various recreations of pianists and styles Morton had encountered in the course of his career.[8] However, the text of this performance consists of floating folk strains which could presumably be added to and changed at will (Morton's two recordings of the work differ), while the piano part has a subtle Latin feel, an example of what Morton referred to as the "Spanish tinge," which he claimed was an important element of jazz and blues. However, while many of Morton's recordings of blues do indeed incorporate this "tinge," it is rarely found in recordings by other early blues/jazz musicians. This suggests that it is likely to have been more characteristic of Morton's approach than it was of Mamie's. As for the subtle sense of

---

[7] Spoken introduction to the recording (General 4001, 1939). Morton provided contradictory information about this elsewhere, saying "[a]lthough I had heard them previously, I guess it was Mamie who first really sold me on the blues" (Alan Lomax, *Mister Jelly Lord: The Fortunes of Jelly Roll Morton* [Berkeley: University of California, 2001], 21). Even if it was not the first blues he heard, it was nevertheless early, most likely around 1905, and his reminiscence is therefore potentially important documentation. Transcription of his performance in *Mister Jelly Lord*, 267-269.

[8] First issued as Circle 49.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

swing that pervades the performance: was Desdoumes's rhythmic feel really so evolved at this early date? Thus, although I do not want do dismiss the historical import of this performance, and others like it, I would suggest that its worth is quite limited if we are looking for musical fidelity to an obsolete, or at least archaic, performance style.

Finally, the most potentially valuable documentation of all —field recordings made at the time—are non-existent. As far as African-American vernacular music is concerned, such documentation does not come until the 1930s. And though many of the recordings recall older styles, including turn-of-the-century blues-related musics, they have the same problem as the Jelly Roll Morton track just discussed, perhaps even more so, as the majority were not made by professional musicians like Morton who might be expected to better analyze the stylistic elements of performance, and thus to recreate more accurately the music of a bygone era. In terms of chronology, the closest recordings we have to pre-blues are commercial recordings of country blues (and related styles) made mainly by folk musicians, both African-American and white hillbillies, from the middle of the 1920s on. In some cases these reflect earlier styles, though again it is hard to know precisely to what extent.

In all, therefore, our knowledge of pre-blues styles is limited and usually indirect. Thus blues-related sheet music from before 1912 is potentially an extremely important source for our understanding of the early development of blues if we are able, as I believe to a large extent we are, to sort out which elements of the music and text are representative of pre-blues style and which belong more to mainstream culture.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Categories of Proto-Blues

There are two basic kinds of proto-blues. First, though there is a small number of published auto-referential blues, their appearance is too sporadic to suggest pushing back the date of the birth of commercial blues to before 1912. Second, there are commercial compositions which are not called "blues" that either use blues matrices of one sort or another and/or directly draw on other aspects of early folk blues culture.

Since the second group far outnumbers the first, the next three chapters will be devoted largely to this type. I start, however, with a chronological examination of pre-1912 auto-referential blues. Throughout this chapter and the two that follow, I refer frequently to Appendix 4, which contains a chronological listing of all known proto-blues.

Auto-Referential Proto-Blues

As discussed in Chapter 1, the term "the blues," meaning a depressed or melancholy state, had been in circulation since at least the middle of the eighteenth century.[9] It derived from a particular usage of "blue"—depressed, sad—which is traceable to the time of Chaucer.[10] The earliest known example to marry the concept of "having the blues" to music is a parlor song from 1850, "I Have Got the Blues To Day!," with music by Gustave Blessner and words by Sarah M. Graham, published in Troy, New York (example 5.1).[11] Its title places it in the category of auto-referential blues, an

---

[9] See above, 51.

[10] For example, his *Complaint of Mars* (c. 1385), ll. 8-9: "Wyth teres blewe and with a wounded herte/ Taketh your leve."

[11] Published by Firth Pond and Co. For reproduction of the cover of this piece, and a brief, unsigned commentary, see *Victrola and 78 Journal*, 8 (spring 1996), 10.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 5.1. Blessner: "I Have Got the Blues To Day!" (1850)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

unidiomatic variant of the "I've got the. . .blues" type.[12] All the pre-1912 auto-referential blues except one have titles of this kind. Little is known of the background to the publication. Blessner was a prolific composer of parlor music such as waltzes and polkas; nothing is known of Graham. Musically, the work does not use any of the blues matrices isolated in the last chapter (with the exception noted below). The text, however, uses two: the "I have got the blues" trope, which is used not only in the title but also in the course of the song (mm. 19-20, 23-24, 43-44 and 47-48); and the matrix of the separation from a lover. In fact, the narrative, though not its genteel Victorian setting, is typical of later blues culture: the narrator has been deserted by his lover, Fannie, and, as a result, has the blues. The fourth verse (m. 33 ff.) consists of a lament, which, despite its stilted, elevated language makes an interesting parallel with later developments:

> I wish that I had never been,
> Or what is past, a fancy scene,
> But more, oh! more than all I sigh,
> That Fannie ever pleased mine eye;
> Or that the charmer went away,
> To leave me in the blues to day!

Finally, though I noted above that the song is largely devoid of musical blues matrices, the first reference to "having the blues" is unexpectedly harmonized with a tonic minor, the third in the melody, as though attempting to depict the singer's depressed state. This ear-catching device is used at the same point in each of the four verses. Obviously it makes an interesting parallel with the later development of the blues third, though it would be rash to maintain that the relationship is anything more than coincidental. Although rather ambivalent in mood—it could be sung either seriously or not, depending

---

[12] See above, 79.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 5.2. Chapman: "Oh, Ain't I Got the Blues!" (1871)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

on the whim of the performer—the subtitle on the front cover, "A Comic Ballad," suggests that it was intended to be allopathic.

There is a gap of more than twenty years before the appearance of the next blues-related composition. This is a Brooklyn publication of 1871 titled "Oh, Ain't I Got the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Blues!," (example 5.2) by one A. A. Chapman.[13] Like "I Have Got the Blues Today!," it is musically indistinguishable from thousands of other parlor songs of the era: there are no blue notes, no twelve-bar sequence, no barbershop cadence and so forth. Once again the interest resides in the text. "I Have Got the Blues To Day!" gives a clear cause for the blues, the familiar narrative of boy meets girl, boy loses girl. "Oh, Ain't I Got the Blues!," on the other hand, gives numerous causes. In the first verse, it is an "awful set" who "abuse" the narrator, and the fact he has no friends. In the second, he bemoans his general life circumstances. In the third, the protagonist reveals how he lost the opportunity to become a millionaire through an inheritance. In the fourth, he is unable to find a mate. All of these cause him "to have/Such a terrible fit of the blues."

The lack of a clear narrative and the references to various causes for the blues suggest a general sense of complaint—something very much associated with country blues. As Evans puts it:

> Textually speaking, blues can be characterized as *lyric* songs, as distinct from *narrative* songs. Their message is delivered from a first person point of view, stressing the emotional dimension. Blues do not normally tell stories in the sense of a series of events. . .The real emphasis of the blues is on feelings and perceptions.[14]

In fact, "Oh, Ain't I Got the Blues!" in some ways resembles "Nigger Blues" (example 2.5), one of the early commercial blues most directly influenced by the rural style. In the latter, the narrator lets loose an only semi-coherent diatribe about the nature of blues and their consequences. His monologue is not only non-narrative but, at times, seemingly

---

[13] Published by J. W. Smith, Jr.

[14] Evans, *Big Road Blues*, 27.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

contradictory: in the fourth verse he plans to use a train as a means of escape; in the sixth, it is a means of suicide. "Oh, Ain't I Got the Blues!" differs in that there are specific causes given for the blues, so, in fact it could be said to contain several mini-narratives. However, that these narratives are independent and unrelated to one another produces the same overall, generally complaining quality as "Nigger Blues" (and numerous country blues), although here the stories cited are rather extreme and the overall effect is intended to be comic rather than tragic. "Oh, Ain't I Got the Blues" is a minstrel song—the front cover tells us that the work was sung by Welch of Hughes and White's Minstrels. This does not necessarily imply that in performance it was intended humorously—although, like "I Have Got the Blues To Day!," it could have been performed that way, for minstrel shows often programmed "pathetic" songs.[15] If so, it must rank as the first known homeopathic blues.

The next known auto-referential blues is "Billy's Request" by Billy Birch and W. F. Wellman, the cover of which carries the subtitle "A Cure for the Blues." The cover is reproduced in Chapter 1 (figure 1.2), where it was discussed in the context of using music allopathically as a cure for the blues.[16] However, the work itself makes no use of blues matrices, either textual or musical, and there is no further mention of the blues in the lyrics. In other words, the notion of this work being "a cure for the blues" is in no way connected with the musical genre as it was later to develop (in theory, almost any light-hearted piece could be justifiably so subtitled). Note, however, that it is again a minstrel

---

[15] Tim Brooks, personal communication with the author, February 12, 2003; telephone conversation with John Graziano, February 14, 2003. Both confirmed that, while there is little in the existing literature on minstrelsy about this subject, their research independently suggested that "pathetic" items were commonplace in the post-bellum minstrel show.

[16] See above, 55.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

item (Birch was a member of the San Francisco Minstrels, at that time very popular in New York), though now clearly humorous (allopathic) in intent.

The next item is from 1897, a song by J. W. Murray and F. C. Mock, "Oh Susie! Dis Coon Has Got the Blues."[17] Its title is another unorthodox variation of the "I've Got the. . .Blues" type ("Dis Coon" obviously is here a synonym of "I" in that the speaker is using this denigrating term to refer to himself). Once again it is the text rather than the music that is of relevance:

Verse 1

Susie is de gal o'mine dat doesn't let me sleep,
Oh! Susie I feel blue.
Lub you more'n I can tell,
Lub you good and deep,
Oh! Susie, yes I do,
When I get some money,
Don't I blow it all for you?
Susie, you know I do,
Susie, come be mine,
I will treat you fine
Or dis coon will turn blue.

Chorus

Oh! Susie, I hope you'll neber lose me,
Oh! Susie, do tell me, will you choose me?
Susie, come break loose,
Don't act like a goose,
Susie, dis coon has got de blues.

Verse 2

Susie am a smart one and she was the first in school,
Oh! Susie I am true.
Wish she'd say she lubs me so,
Dis coon ain't no fool,
Oh! Susie, hope you do,
Don't I keep away from gals,
To please my dusky Sue?
Susie, you know I do,

---

[17] Published by Witmark, New York. I am grateful to Michael Montgomery for providing me with a copy of the score.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Susie, don't confuse
Dis coon wid bad news
'Cause I am turning blue.

Repeat Chorus

The song is quite straightforward in its situation, namely a man worried about losing his lover. This is clearly stated as being the cause for his blues, and we have here a variant of the matrix of the separation of a lover which might be characterized as the matrix of the *fear* of separation from a lover. Once again, the song has no real story-line. On the contrary, it basically consists of the amplification of the singer's fears about his lover's fidelity, thus fitting Evans's characterization of the blues as non-narrative, told in the first person, "stressing the emotional dimension," and putting the emphasis on "feelings and perceptions."

"Oh Susie!" is historically important in one other regard. Subtitled "A Case of African Despondency," it is the first known composition to link the concept of "having the blues" with African American culture, and the protagonist is clearly meant to be black, as is suggested by the exaggerated dialect. Although this is the first known association between black culture and blues in music, it is possible to make non-musical connections considerably earlier. The following dialogue from an article titled "A Negro with the Blues," which originally appeared in a black newspaper, the *New Orleans Picayune* as early as 1839:

> "I feels bad—I'se got what de white folks calls de bloos, and de wos sort at dat, dat's what I has, Pete Gumbo."
>
> "De what you call 'em, Sam?"
>
> "De bloos—de raal indigo bloos."
>
> "Dars whar you corner dis child, Sam; you's ahead ob me dis time. Now if it don't make any 'terial difference to you, I'd just like to hear you explanity wat dis bloos is."
>
> "Wy, wy, Pete, you don't know notin. I tort you'd more 'quaintance wid de fiosify ob de human mind. Woll, you see, when a man's got de bloos he looks

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> forard into de commin footoority jest as though he was gwine to draw a blank in de big lottery—he feels like as if all de delightsum prizes in dis low down scene hadn't a single number on 'em. Wen he gets in de mornin he feels bad, and wen goes to bed at night he feels wusser. He tinks dat his body is made ob ice cream, all 'cept his heart, and dat—dat's a piece ob lead in de middle. All sorts ob sights are hubbering around, and red monkeys is buzzing about his ears. Dar, dem's what I got now, and dem's what I calls de bloos."[18]

"I'se got what de white folks calls de bloos" says the protagonist, and hence we can therefore assume that by 1840 the term had not yet gained widespread currency in the African American community. However, given that much of this dialogue—the exaggerated dialect aside—reads like a transcript of a 1920s race record, it would seem that the phrase had already at least started to become idiomatically adapted to black slang—at any rate in New Orleans—by this time. In particular, images like indigo blues, the name of a 1918 commercial blues composition by Isham Jones,[19] and a heart full of lead are familiar textual associations of mature blues culture.

Returning to the song at hand: the connection between "Oh Susie!" and black culture is quite specific. It is a coon song: its exaggerated, satirical use of dialect, and the use of the word "coon" in its title and elsewhere are typical of the genre.

Coon songs have fundamental relevance to our subject, as most proto-blues songs that appeared between 1895 and c.1909 belong to this style. Arising originally out of minstrel culture, coon songs emerged as an independent genre as minstrelsy declined in popularity in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. The coon song is really the

---

[18] Quoted in Dale Cockrell, *Demons of Disorder: Early Blackface Minstrels and Their World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 201. The article later appeared in the *Boston Post* on 1 January 1840.

[19] Details in Appendix 1. Another example from the 1910s is a line for the chorus of John E. McKinnon's "I Got the Blues" (Saint Louis: Syndicate Music, 1914): "I'm blue, blue as indigo blues. . ." A more famous, though later, example of this image is Duke Ellington's "Mood Indigo" (1930). Note also the following line in the first verse of Chapman's "Oh, Ain't I Got the Blues!" (example 4.2): "The sky is 'blue' as indigo; The ground is black as ink."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

first genre to develop in the commercial mainstream that makes extensive use of secular black music, for while minstrelsy, which had arisen as a popular form of entertainment in the 1830s, satirized black culture, it had not borrowed extensively from it. The coon song, however, began to borrow directly from the African-American musical vernacular during the 1890s.[20] The most obvious feature of its borrowing was the use of heavily syncopated rhythms against a regular rhythmical backdrop. The style that was to emerge from this borrowing was ragtime, and indeed, the first examples of the word in print are found within the context of coon-songs in the years 1896-97.[21] It was not just rhythmic formulas that were borrowed, however: the incorporation in coon songs of textual and musical elements of blues culture reflects both an association of proto-blues with black culture and a simultaneous borrowing from that culture.

The first auto-referential blues of the twentieth century is also a coon song. Called "I've Got de Blues" (example 5.3), it dates from 1901 and is, as far as I am aware, the first auto-referential blues to be composed by African Americans—Chris Smith and Elmer Bowman—a successful song-writing/vaudeville team that had been producing

---

[20] The earliest borrowing from black music in a coon song of which I am aware occurs in a composition from 1893 titled "Push Along, My Honey, Push Along," words and music by Dave Reed Jr. (New York: Witmark and Sons), the melody of which draws heavily on the African American spiritual "Joshua Fought the Battle of Jericho." This was followed two years later by the "Bully Song," which is discussed in the next chapter (254 ff.).

[21] Berlin, *Ragtime*, 111.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 5.3. Smith and Bowman: "I've Got de Blues" (1901)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

songs since 1898 and continued to do so until 1912.[22] This blues is the first to use musical as well as textual blues matrices.

The song has two clear narratives, one in each verse. Both outline a particular situation that gives the work's protagonist the blues. In the first verse, he sees his lover "amaking goo-goo eyes"[23] at his rival, the matrix thus being that of the loss of a lover. The second verse is overtly humorous: the protagonist, while taking his girlfriend to a show, sits on a park bench which has been freshly painted blue, and hence gets the blues in a literal, as well as a metaphorical, sense. The chorus is quite different in character. It has no narrative, and consists instead of the protagonist singing the blues.

This song is different from the other proto-blues examined so far in that the verse is in the third person, setting up the action, while the chorus is in the first person (the earlier songs are entirely in the first person). This is a feature of the coon song: Nicholas Tawa found that 62% of the coon songs that he surveyed had this structure, as compared, for example, with only 19% of contemporary waltz songs.[24] This approach is quite different from that of the earlier auto-referential blues, and, of course, later country blues, where, in both instances, the performer sings about himself. In these coon songs, on the other hand, the performer is singing about someone else. This kind of approach is therefore at one remove from the direct personal expression of country blues.

---

[22] David A. Jasen and Gene Jones, *Spreadin' Rhythm Around: Black Popular Songwriters 1880-1930* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1998), 136-37. Score to be found in *Beale Street and Other Classic Blues*, ed. David A. Jasen (New York: Dover, 1998), 42-45.

[23] The use of this phrase is suggestive, as it links the song with Hughie Cannon's "Just Because Made dem Goo-Goo Eyes" from the previous year, a hit song that is among the first to make use of the twelve-bar sequence. See below, 234-235.

[24] Tawa, "The Way to Tin Pan Alley," 177, 189.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

This song is the first auto-referential blues to use any of the musical blues matrices discussed in the previous chapter. The first matrix concerns the question of tempo indications, marked "slow" for the vamp (m. 5), verse, and chorus.[25] This is quite unusual for a coon song, which, with its syncopated and humorous in style, is normally taken at faster tempos. The second matrix is one of the blues-influenced move to the subdominant, which occurs in 82% of the commercial blues surveyed in chapter 4. The appearance of that matrix here, in the fifth measure of the chorus (measure 27) has the distinguishing characteristic of marking the beginning of a new phrase, which is approached by adding a flattened seventh to the preceding tonic chord; and although the fact that the subdominant chord is held for only a single measure rather than two is untypical (the harmony returns to the tonic in measure 28), nevertheless, the move to the subdominant is prominent, and, taken in conjunction with the slow tempo markings, at least hints at later developments.

The next auto-referential blues is a landmark. Published in 1908 it is an instrumental ragtime composition. "I Got the Blues" was composed by Antonio Maggio, a white musician from New Orleans. This work is the first known auto-referential blues to use a twelve-bar blues matrix, which it does in its A strain (see example 1.2). Maggio was apparently a classical musician who allegedly derived his blues theme from an "elderly negro with a guitar" playing on the levee at New Orleans.[26] The idiosyncratic repeat of the theme in the tonic minor—a device unique in commercial

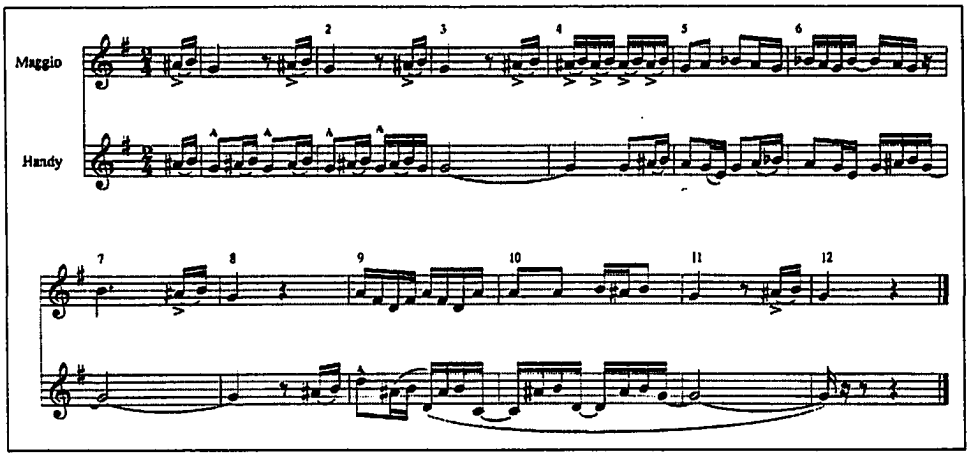
---

[25] The indication given at the beginning of the work is "moderato," though this is a default marking without much meaning. See above, 167.

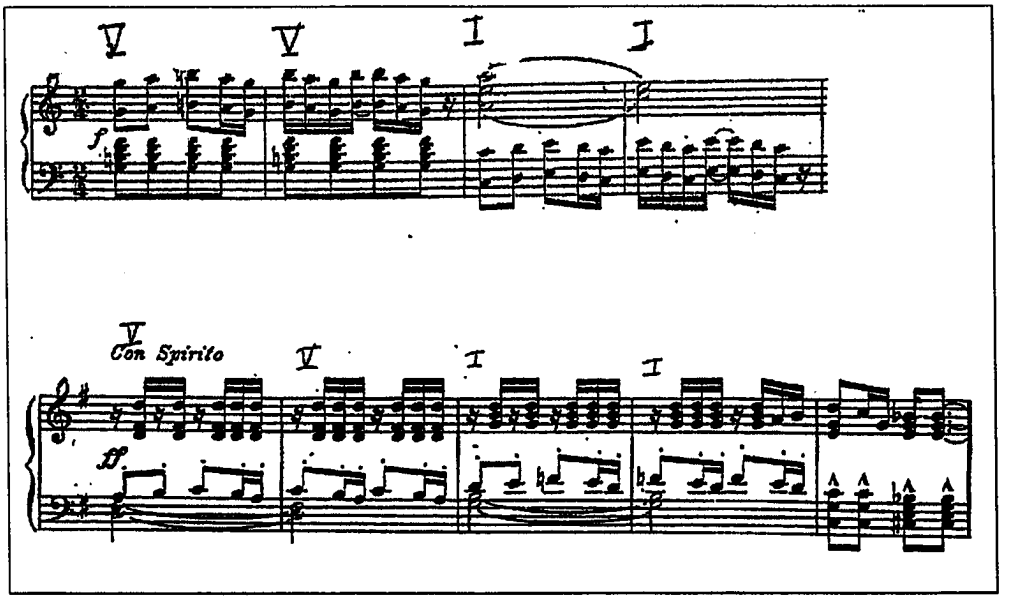
[26] Untitled article, *Overture* 35/9 (December 1955), 13, quoted Hurwitt, "W. C. Handy as Music Publisher," 479-80.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 5.4. a. Maggio: "I Got the Blues" (1908), melody of A strain; Handy: "St. Louis Blues," (1914), melody of chorus



Example 5.4. b. Maggio: "I Got the Blues" (1908), opening of C strain; Handy: "Jogo Blues" (1913), opening of B Strain



blues—is almost certainly the result of Maggio's classical background (there is certainly no precedent for it in folk blues recordings from the 1920s and 1930s).

The A strain of Maggio's work is particularly interesting in that its melody is similar to the celebrated chorus of Handy's "St. Louis Blues" of 1914, which the latter had first used in his commercially unsuccessful "Jogo Blues" the previous year. The

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

relationship between the two is usually thought to center round the famous blue-note motif (A#-B-G) which both Maggio's and Handy's themes use extensively.[27] Despite Maggio's assertion to the contrary, Handy strenuously denied any direct link between the two, and it is generally accepted that the relationship is coincidental, both composers having drawn on what David Lee Joyner has termed "a stock commercial blues motive."[28] However, a comparison of the two melodies in example 5.4 (a) shows that the relationship extends to more than just this motif. The first phrase (mm. 1-3) of Handy's melody is essentially an elaborated version of Maggio's, while their second phrases (mm. 5-8) are also closely linked, the pitches G, A, and to a lesser extent B flat, being the focus of mm. 6-7, and the phrase coming to rest on G in m. 8. The melodies diverge for the first half of the third phrase (mm. 9-10^1), but reunite in the second half (from m. 10^2). It would thus seem reasonable to describe Handy's melody as a variation of—or at least closely connected with—Maggio's, a relationship reinforced by their shared key.

How are we to account for the link between the two compositions? One explanation is that both composers were presenting their own version of an independently encountered folk melody that was current in the South in the early part of the century. However, there is a further connection between "Jogo Blues" and "I've Got the Blues" which suggests that Handy, despite his denials, was directly influenced by Maggio's work. The connection is between the beginning of the B strain of "Jogo Blues" and the C strain of "I've Got the Blues": the first few measures of each are quoted in example 5.4

---

[27] David Lee Joyner, "Southern Ragtime and its Transition to Published Blues," Ph.D. dissertation, Memphis State University (1986), 162-63; Abbott and Seroff, "They Cert'ly Sound Good to Me," 405.

[28] Joyner, "Southern Ragtime," 162. Handy claimed to have lifted from a chant sung by a black preacher in Alabama in the early 1890s (*Blues: An Anthology*, 39-40). A discussion of the rival claims of the two men is presented in Hurwitt, "W. C. Handy as Publisher," 479-81.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(b). The critical area is the first four measures: Handy's is a melodic/rhythmical variant of Maggio's. Both use essentially the same motif, and harmonically they have identical functions, V^7 moving to I. In addition, both passages use even chording in the accompaniment, rather than the characteristic "oom-pah" pattern of ragtime. For a distinctive four-measure passage like this to appear in both works, even in a somewhat varied form, is highly suggestive. This phrase, unlike the blue-note phrase of the A section, is not one that was in common currency at the time. Indeed, I know of no other blues that uses it, commercial or otherwise. In addition, both Maggio and Handy place the melody in the left hand for some of the strain, a most unusual feature in a commercial blues.

How did Handy encounter Maggio's work? It is possible that he came across it in the course of his travels in the South. According to Maggio, one thousand copies of the piano arrangement of his composition were printed, along with five hundred each of the band and orchestral versions.[29] Given that this is a not insignificant press run, and that Handy was one of only a few people interested in the style at the time (his own "Memphis Blues," his first blues composition, was composed the year after Maggio's, in 1909), it is quite possible that Handy came across a copy of the sheet music. In any case, my purpose here is not to investigate the exact nature of the connection, but simply to suggest that it exists. "I've Got the Blues" is therefore important not only because of its use of the twelve-bar sequence in conjunction with its title, but also because of what seems to be its direct influence on "St. Louis Blues," the most popular and most recorded commercial blues.

---

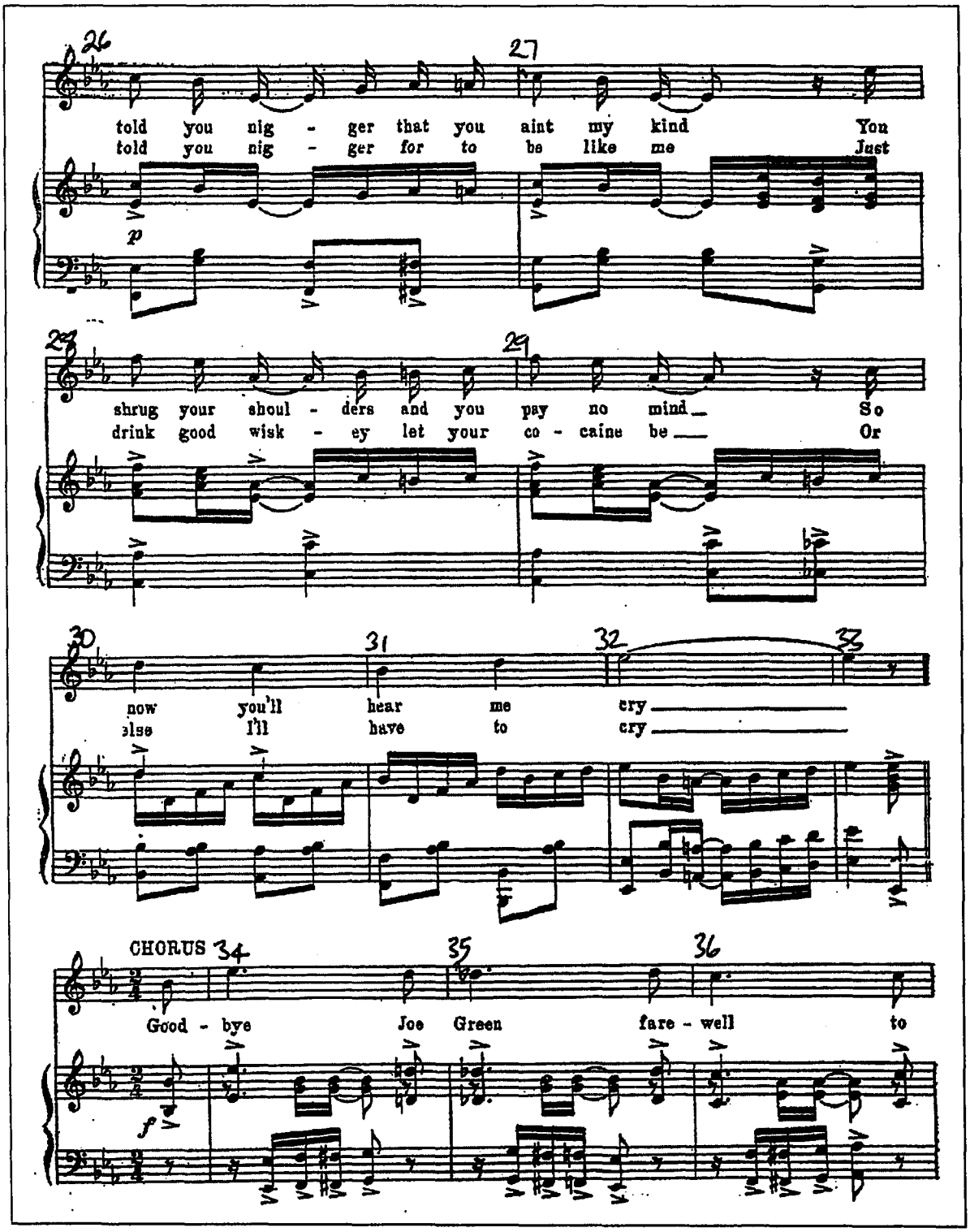
[29] *Overture* article, 13.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 5.5. Puderer and Hoffman: "I'm Alabama Bound" (1910)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

There are two other auto-referential blues from, the pre-1912 period, both of them from 1909. The first is "Gee, But I've Got the Blues," a song by J. R. Shannon, a white

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

popular song writer of the day. It presents the familiar scenario of a man thinking longingly of the girl he has lost. This proto-blues is rather atypical, however, in that it has no link with black culture. The text uses the standard elevated language of the parlor ballad[30] rather than the racy black dialect of such coon songs like Smith and Bowman's "I've Got de Blues," and the protagonist is shown on the front cover as a well-dressed white man sitting in a comfortable living room and gazing meditatively into the fire, pipe by his side. There are no blues matrices used apart from that of the loss of a lover and the tempo indication "slowly" over the verse.

The other auto-referential blues from 1909, "I'm Alabama Bound," is of greater historical import. Like Maggio's "I've Got the Blues," "I'm Alabama Bound" was written by a white New Orleans mainstream musician, Robert Hoffman.[31] It appeared first as a locally-published, three-strain solo piano version that, unlike Maggio's work, was commercially quite successful, being taken up by the important New York publisher Jerome Remick, and even receiving a commercial recording by Charles Princes's band.[32] Example 5.5 offers the 1910 song version, which is based on the first two strains of the ragtime arrangement.[33] In its earliest edition, as an instrumental, this composition bears the subtitle "The Alabama Blues," hence its inclusion in this discussion.[34]

---

[30] For example, the first verse begins: "Sitting alone and thinking,/ Sun and birds have gone/ Stars blinking/ Night seems awful' dull and drear."

[31] For background, see Abbott and Seroff, "They Cert'ly Sound Good to Me," 406-08. For another early mainfestation of the song, see below, 356.

[32] Columbia A-901, recorded November 1911.

[33] Words by John J. Puderer. This version was also transferred to Remicks in 1911. The three-strain piano original is reproduced in *Early Blues*, Vol. 3 (Roseville, CA: PianoMania Music, n. d.), 1-3.

[34] The subtitle did not appear, as far as is known, on any of the subsequent editions, however.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

This work is linked with blues culture by more than its name, however. "I'm Alabama Bound" is a black folk song generally regarded as one of the most important and best known early folk blues. It is one of a family of folk songs whose various manifestations have been widely recorded by bluesmen. As "I'm Alabama Bound" it was recorded by Papa Charlie Jackson,[35] among others. A variant, "Don't You Leave Me Here," was recorded by Jelly Roll Morton in the same 1939 session as "Mamie's Blues" discussed earlier. Another variant, "Elder Green's in Town" (note that the chorus of example 5.5 is addressed to Joe Green) was recorded by Blind Lemon Jefferson[36] and Charlie Patton.[37] In all, there are numerous reports from before World War I about various manifestations throughout a wide area in the South.[38]

In the song version given in example 5.5, the "Alabama Bound" folksong is used as the melody for the verse (first strain in the piano arrangement). The chorus uses the melody of a different black folksong, one usually known as "Fare Thee, Honey," or, more fully, "Fare Thee, Honey, Fare Thee Well" (the opening words of this version are "Goodbye, Joe Green, farewell to thee"). We have already come across this melody: it formed the final strain of Will Nash's "Snakey Blues" (1915).[39] In fact, "Fare Thee Well" appears several other times in commercial culture, over a period of nearly forty years. Its earliest known manifestation is as a coon song titled "Fare Thee 'Honey' Fare

---

[35] Paramount 12289, 1925.

[36] Okeh, unissued, 1927.

[37] As "Elder Green Blues," Paramount 13040, 1929.

[38] Summarized in Oliver, *Songsters and Saints*, 296, fn 10. See also Oliver's discussion of this song, pp. 115-17. This song has no connection with the 1924 hit song "Alabamy Bound," words by Buddy DeSylva and Bud Green, music by Ray Henderson.

[39] Quoted above, 92.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Thee Well," by John Queen and Walter Wilson.[40] This appeared in 1901, eight years before the instrumental version of Hoffman's "I'm Alabama Bound." In 1920, the folksong was used again, in "Fare-Thee Honey Blues" by Perry Bradford;[41] and later during that decade it appeared on several race recordings by such African-American folk and urban performers as Mamie Smith,[42] Joe Calicott,[43] Mooch Richardson,[44] and the Memphis Jug Band.[45] As late as 1938, it was a hit for the white pop singer Connie Boswell.[46]

In sum, auto-referential blues from the period before 1912 have much in common with later blues culture in terms of their texts. All the items have titles of the "I've Got the *x* Blues" type, with the exception of "I'm Alabama Bound" ("The Alabama Blues"), suggesting that the notion of calling a work "The. . .Blues" did not develop widespread currency until shortly before 1912 (the five copyrighted blues of 1912 are all of the "The *x* Blues" type). This is confirmed by Handy's comment that early blues were not so described.[47] As for the musical style of auto-referential proto-blues: what us striking is the general lack of blues matrices, the two notable exceptions being of Maggio's "I've Got the Blues," with its twelve-bar strain, and "I'm Alabama Bound," which uses two

---

[40] See Appendix 4 for details.

[41] Details in Appendix 1. See above, 34, for further information on Bradford's blues in this period.

[42] "Fare Thee Honey Blues," Okeh/Phonola 4194, 1920. This is a recording of Bradofrd's composition.

[43] "Fare Thee Well Blues," Brunswick 7166, 1930.

[44] "Fare Thee Well Blues," Okeh unissued, 1928.

[45] "I'll See You in the Spring, When the Birds Begin to Sing," Victor 21066, 1927.

[46] "Fare Thee Honey, Fare Thee Well," Decca 1862, 1938.

[47] See above, 189.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

folk blues-related melodies. We can surmise from this that text and music developed separately, at least in the commercial sector, not coming together in a significant way until after 1912. My concern now, therefore, is looking more closely at the music in the period up to 1912. To do this I focus specifically on the most musically distinctive blues matrix, the twelve-bar form.

Non-Auto-Referential Proto-Blues

The remainder of this study is devoted to non-auto-referential proto-blues, that is, commercial proto-blues that are not called blues, but which use blues matrices. This type is far more numerous than the auto-referential sort: of the proto-blues list in Appendix 4, non-auto-referential blues outnumber those that are auto-referential 85% to 15%.

My examination of non-auto-referential proto-blues centers round the development of the twelve-bar form, as this matrix, far more than any other, is intimately linked with blues. In Chapter 4, I showed that, in terms of popular music of the 1910s, it is hardly ever found in any other type except blues.[48] The same is true of turn-of-the-century commercial popular music. I will therefore discuss all known instances of the twelve-bar blues chord sequence, along with close variants, to be found in published compositions prior to 1912. I also discuss examples of compositions which use twelve-bar structures with harmonic variants that are more or less removed from the prototype, though I only do so only when one or both of the following conditions are met:

---

[48] See above, 145, fn. 1.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(1) There is one or more compositions by the same author/composer(s) which use the prototypical form of the twelve-bar matrix, or a close variant of it;

(2) There are other features in the composition, or other compositions by the same songwriters which strongly suggest a connection with proto-blues culture.

I begin with a discussion of the work of the white songwriter Hughie Cannon, who is by far the most prolific of proto-blues composers.

The Proto-Blues of Hughie Cannon

Hughie Cannon (1877-1912) was responsible for no fewer than ten non-auto-referential proto-blues (no other composer contributes more than three). I list these in table 5.1. What is even more impressive is that these ten compositions make up no less than 40% of his total output of just twenty-five songs which appeared between 1899 and 1905.[49] Given his focus on proto-blues—unique at the time— it is surprising that Cannon has been entirely ignored by blues scholarship. He is nowadays remembered

[49] There are two Cannon items which were copyrighted but which were apparently never published. They are "Listen to me" and "Not For Mine," both filed for copyright on March 21 1903 by Howley, Haviland and Dresser. No copy of the sheet music for either song has been found in the Library of Congress or the British Library, both of which contain a complete collection of Cannon's other songs. An inspection of the copyright records at the Library of Congress shows that the copies of the music required to complete the copyright process were never sent by the publisher for either song. This, in turn, suggests that it was originally intended that the songs were to be published, but that for some reason they were withheld from publication at the last moment. One possible explanation for this can be found in the way the music publishing industry worked at the time. A publisher would often release advance copies of a new song to singers in the entertainment industry who might be able to include the song as part of their act. The purpose of this was two-fold: first, to give advance publicity for the song, and, second, to test the water, to see how much interest a song generated before committing to the expense of mass-production. If little interest was shown, the song might never reach the stage of formal publication. If this happened with both of Cannon's songs, it is certainly possible that professional copies were made and that some might survive. However, a search of major U. S. collections in private hands, along with the collections of universities (such as the Lester Levy Collection), has failed to produce a copy of either work. My own feeling is that neither song was ever published, even in trade form. "Not for Mine" was, I suspect, a reworking of a hit song of 1901, "I Got Mine" by Charles Cartwell and John Queen. Cannon was a close professional associate of Queen and later produced a highly reworked version of his other 1901 hit, "Ain't Dat a Shame," under the title "Ain't Dat Too Bad" (see Table 4.1). It seems possible that this might have been a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 5.1. Songs by Hughie Cannon Showing Blues Influence

Date	Song	Blues influence in	Words/Music	Publisher
1900	Just Because She Made Dem Goo-Goo Eyes	verse	w. John Queen; m. Cannon	HHD
1901	You Needn't Come Home	verse/chorus	w/m Cannon	HHD
1902	Bill Bailey, Won't You Please Come Home?	verse	w/m Cannon	HHD
1903	I'll Leave It to You	verse	w/m Cannon	HHD
1903	Won't You Kindly Hum Old "Home Sweet Home" to Me?	verse	w/m Cannon	HHD
1904	Alic Busby, Don't Go Away	chorus	w/m Cannon	HHD
1904	He Done Me Wrong (The Death of Bill Bailey)	verse/chorus	w/m Cannon	Howley, Dresser
1904	Jim Badger	verse	w/m Cannon	Charles K. Harris
1904	Put Me Wise	verse/chorus	w/m Cannon	F.A. Mills
1905	Ain't Dat Too Bad?	verse	w. Cannon; m. Charles Kohlman	Parker Music Co.

Note: HHD = Howley, Haviland & Dresser
All items published in New York.

solely for his 1902 hit "Bill Bailey, Won't You Please Come Home?" which has remained one of the best-loved popular standards of the era, although it is not considered as being in any way related to blues. Because there is almost no scholarly treatment of his work, I begin with a biographical sketch before looking in more detail at his music.[50]

Cannon was born in Detroit on April 9 1877. His father, John Cannon, was apparently a writer and actor of some reputation. His parents divorced while Cannon

---

reason for withdrawing "Not for Mine," especially as the same publisher—Howley, Haviland and Dresser—was involved in both.

[50] The major biographical source for Cannon is a series of articles by Don Durst that appeared in the *Jackson Citizen Patriot* January 29-February 8 1966. Other sources of Cannon are as follows: Untitled and unattributed article, *The Referee* (San Francisco), January 29 1910; Unattributed article, "Stencils and Booze His Undoing," *The Presto*, Februrary 10, 1910; Unattributed article, "Yes, Bill Bailey Has Gone Home," *Toledo Blade*, June 18 1912; Ed. F. Smith, "Well, Anyhow," *Jackson Citizen Patriot*, April 23 1944; George Swetnam, "How 'Bill Bailey' Came Home," *The Pittsburgh Press*, July 25, 1965; Alice Jarrett, "Young Musician Delves Into History of Noted Song Writer Hughie Cannon," *The Daily Courier* (Connelsville PA), November 10-12 1971. I have drawn from these sources to construct the biographical sketch that follows. There is one serious scholarly study of Cannon's work, a privately distributed newsletter of the Vernacular Music Research Center, Arlington, Virginia dated March 24 1971. The letter was written by Thornton Hagert and contains a serious discussion of Cannon's contribution to the twelve-bar sequence, along with a list of his published compositions. I would like to thank Mr. Hagert for sharing his findings with me regarding Cannon and other proto-blues composers who made use of the twelve-bar sequence. I am also grateful to Michael Montgomery and Professor Lawrence Gushee for providing me with various biographical materials about Cannon.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Figure 5.1. The only known photograph of Hughie Cannon (standing): publicity shot, with John Queen (seated), circa 1901

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

was a young boy, and his mother, May Brown Cannon, went on the road as an actress, taking her son with her. At some point in the 1880s, his mother married to Robert Leroy Smith and settled in Connellsville, Pennsylvania, about sixty miles south-east of Pittsburgh. May's second marriage was dissolved in the 1890s; and her third and final marriage in the same decade was to Fred Robbins, who was also in show business. The couple became managers of, and presented shows at, various theaters in Connellsville. After showing early talent (he apparently was already composing songs during the time of his mother's second marriage), Hughie began working as a performer, mainly, it seems, as a minstrel and a ragtime pianist. He was a member of Barlow's Minstrels, c. 1898-99, and also performed with Lew Fields' Minstrels, one of the most famous troupes of the day. His first known song, "I Don't Want No Jonah Hangin' Round" appeared in 1899, published by the major New York firm of Howley, Haviland & Co., who became his publisher for the next four years. In 1900 he teamed up with John Queen, another minstrel, and they collaborated on "Just Because She Made Them Goo-Goo Eyes," which became a best-selling song of the era (Cannon collaborated on two other songs with Queen in 1901; Queen died in 1902). By 1904, Cannon had settled in Jackson, Michigan. His last known publications date from 1905, and the remaining seven years of his life were spent in the mid-West, where he worked as an itinerant piano-player. He married Emma Dorsam around 1905, but the marriage was unsuccessful, and the couple separated two years later. A divorce was finally granted June 17 1912, the same day as Cannon's death at the age of 35. There were no children from the marriage.

Cannon's life was not a happy one. He was an acute alcoholic (his death certificate gives the cause of death as cirrhosis of the liver), and, according to one

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 5.6. Cannon: "You Needn't Come Home" (1901)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

account, he died "alone and penniless"[51] in the Lucas County Hospital in Ohio. He was a highly talented and versatile performer. As show business acquaintance, B. Frank Titus, recalled in 1971: "he could really play ragtime,"[52] while another professional colleague, Frank Harrington, praised his dancing, and said that "he excelled particularly in soft shoe numbers, the kind that the old time minstrel men performed after scattering a pinch of sand on the stage."[53] Almost all accounts agree that he had a poor business sense, and he made little money from his songwriting activities.

With Cannon's background in mind, we can now turn to the music. I begin with what is probably the most spectacular example of his writing in relation to blues, "You Needn't Come Home" (1901, example 5.6). This work is unique for a published song of the day in that it uses a twelve-bar form for both its verse and chorus: other proto-blues that use the twelve-bar form do so only in the verse if they are songs, or in only one of their strains if they are instrumentals. Even in commercial blues of the 1910s, it is quite unusual for the twelve-bar pattern to be used throughout a composition, occurring in only 15% of the total sample surveyed.[54] The oldest of these is Leroy White's "Nigger Blues," which was published in 1913, a dozen years after Cannon's composition. "You Needn't Come Home," therefore, strongly suggests that Cannon had contact with folk proto-blues culture. It also strongly implies that the procedure of using a twelve-bar sequence continuously throughout a song, later standard practice in folk blues, was already known by the turn of the century.

---

[51] "Yes, Bill Bailey Has Gone Home."

[52] "Song Writer Cannon Was Devoted Son," *The Daily Courier* (Connelsville, PA), November 11 1971.

[53] "Well, Anyhow."

[54] See above, 148.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

This song is unusual from the outset, with an irregular seven-bar introduction consisting of a four-bar introduction (mm. 1-4) which overlaps with a four-bar vamp (mm. 4-7). The fourth measure is therefore ambiguous, serving simultaneously as the last measure of the introduction and the first of the vamp. Such lopsided structures are rare in commercial music of the period, and immediately point to a connection with folk music, which often uses such asymmetries. The verse (mm. 8-31) consists of two statements of the twelve-bar blues sequence (mm. 8-19, 20-31), while it is used just once for the chorus (mm. 32-43). Both verse and chorus use the same twelve-bar progression, which appears in table 5.2, where it is compared with the standard blues template.

Table 5.2.
Comparison of Harmonic Structure of Blues Template with "You Needn't Come Home"

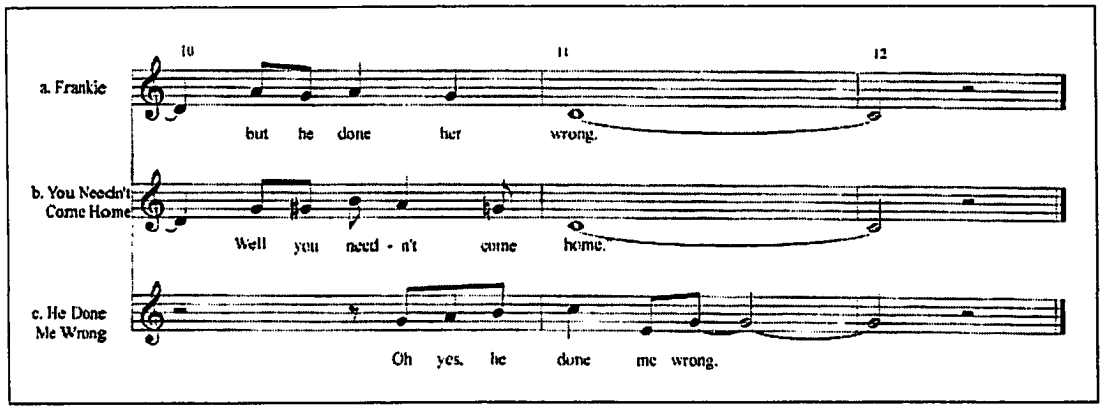
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Blues harmonic template											
I	I	I	I	IV	IV	I	I	V	V	I	I
"You Needn't Come Home"—basic harmonic structure											
I	I	I	I	IV	IV	IV	I	V	V	I	I

There is only one difference: the subdominant harmony of mm. 5-6 of "You Needn't Come Home" is prolonged an extra measure, so that the tonic chord returns in the eighth measure rather than the seventh. This variant would seem to be a relatively inconspicuous change, one that might well escape a casual listener. Moreover, it is found only rarely in early recorded country blues. However, the sequence found here is familiar

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 5.7.
a. "Frankie and Johnny" (composite version), melody and text of first verse
b. Cannon: "You Needn't Come Home" (1901), melody of measures 20-31 (Original: D major)
c. Cannon: "He Done Me Wrong" (1904), Melody of First Half of First Verse (Original: D Major)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



from another context, namely as the harmonic structure of the well-known folksong, "Frankie and Johnnie," the first verse of which is quoted in a composite version in example 5.7a.[55] I have marked the harmonic structure above the music to show that it is essentially identical to Cannon's work, especially as regards the tell-tale prolongation of the subdominant in m. 7.

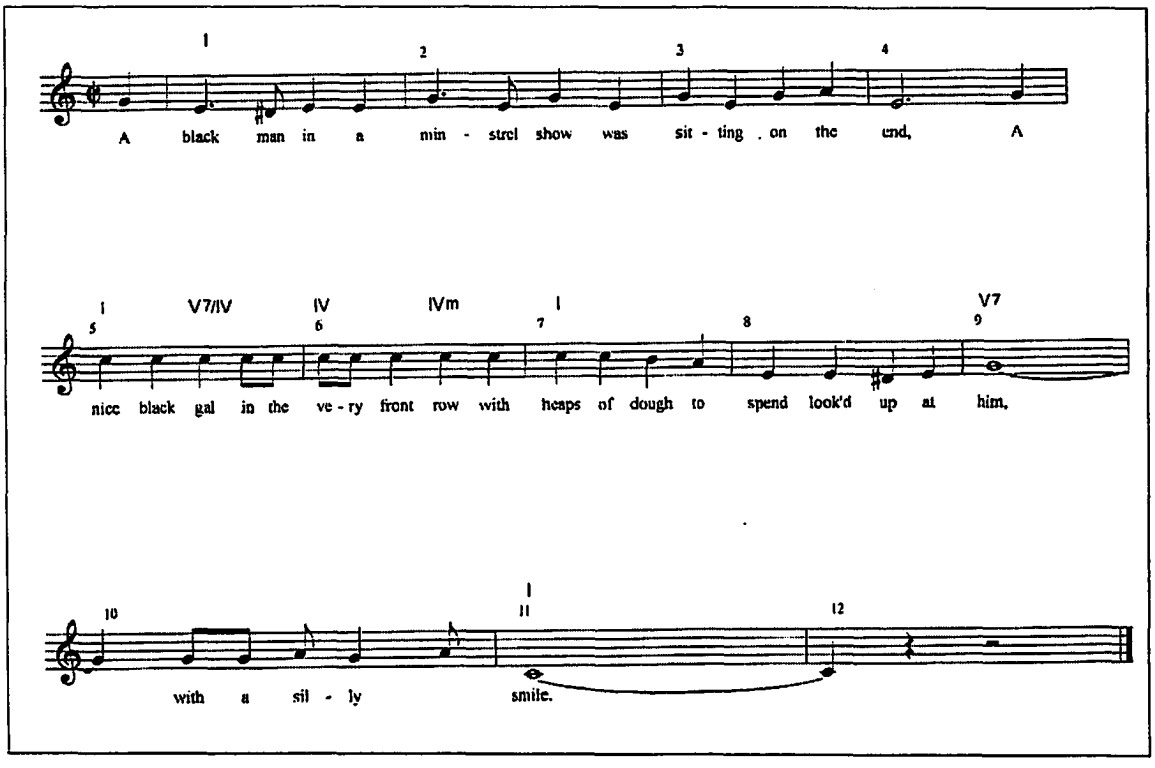
The relationship between the two songs is more than coincidental, for their melodies as well as their harmonies are closely related, as is shown by example 5.7b, which gives the melody for the second half of the verse of "You Needn't Come Home," transposed into C for purposes of comparison, to "Frankie and Johnnie." The relationship between the two is perhaps most explicit beginning at m. 5, but even the first

---

[55] Being a folksong, there is no definitive version of the work. The version quoted here is a composite from three major sources: Carl Sandburg, *The American Songbag* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1927), 79; *The Penguin Book of American Folksongs*, ed. Alan Lomax (Baltimore: Penguin, 1964) ,121; Olin Downes and Elie Siegmeister, *A Treasury of American Song*, 2nd ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1943), 342-43.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 5.8. Cannon: "Just Because She Made Dem Goo-Goo Eyes" (1900), first half of verse (Original: Eb major)



four measures of the two songs also have clear parallels. Elsewhere in Cannon's oeuvre he draws on the "Frankie" melody even more directly. Example 5.7c gives the melody of the first half of the verse of "He Done Me Wrong" (1904), where the similarity is even more pronounced. Here there is also a clear textual parallel between the two songs, with the eponymous "He done me wrong" of mm. 8-9 and 10-11 echoing "he done her wrong," the famous refrain of "Frankie and Johnnie" (mm. 10-11).[56]

Example 5.8 gives the first half of the verse of "Just Because She Made Dem Goo-Goo Eyes" (1900). This was Cannon's second published song and his first major

[56] Note that mm. 3-4 of "You Needn't Come Home" has "I done wrong."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

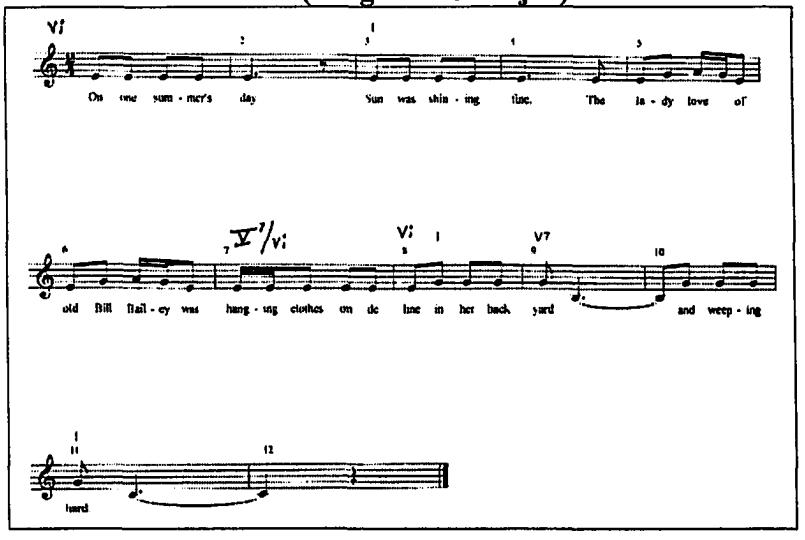
hit. It is also his earliest known employment of the twelve-bar form. Though the melody is still somewhat related to "Frankie" (example 5.7a), there is a notable difference in the harmony. While the first four and last four measures concur, mm. 5-8 of "Goo-Goo Eyes" is quite different from the folksong (table 5.3).

Table 5.3. Harmonic Outline of Measures 5-9 Verses of "Frankie and Johnnie" and "Just Because She Made Dem Goo-Goo Eyes"

Measure	5		6		7	8	[9]
a. Frankie	IV		IV		IV	I	[V]
b. Goo-Goo Eyes	I	V7/IV	IV	IVm	I	I	[V]

Not only is the harmony of "Goo-Goo Eyes" more dense than that of the equivalent passage in "Frankie," but there is an important difference in connection with the move to the subdominant. In both "Frankie" and the standard blues sequence, the subdominant arrives at the fifth measure. In "Goo-Goo Eyes," however, the chord change is delayed by a measure, so that the second phrase of the melody begins on the tonic, producing quite a different effect.

Example 5.9. Cannon: "Won't You Come Home, Bill Bailey?" (1902), first half of verse (Original: G major)



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 5.9 gives the first half of the verse of Cannon's greatest commercial success, "Bill Bailey, Won't You Please Come Home?" (1902). Though once again a twelve-bar form, both melody and harmony move away from the "Frankie" model (table 5.4):

Table 5.4. Harmonic Outline of the Verses of "Frankie and Johnnie" and "Bill Bailey"

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
a. Frankie	I	I	I	I	IV	IV	IV	I
b. Bill Bailey	vi	vi	I	I	I	I	V7/vi	vi

	9	10	11	12
Frankie	V	V	I	I
Bill Bailey	V7	V7	I	I

As with "Goo-Goo Eyes," the main difference occurs at mm. 5-8, where the harmony for the two songs entirely diverges. The use of the relative minor as a substitute for the tonic in the first two measures is also a serious departure.[57]

In general, the nine known twelve-bar sequences used by Cannon (see table 4.1) vary considerably in their relationship to the "Frankie" model. Some ("He Done Me Wrong") are very close, others ("Bill Bailey") far more distant. How can we explain this?

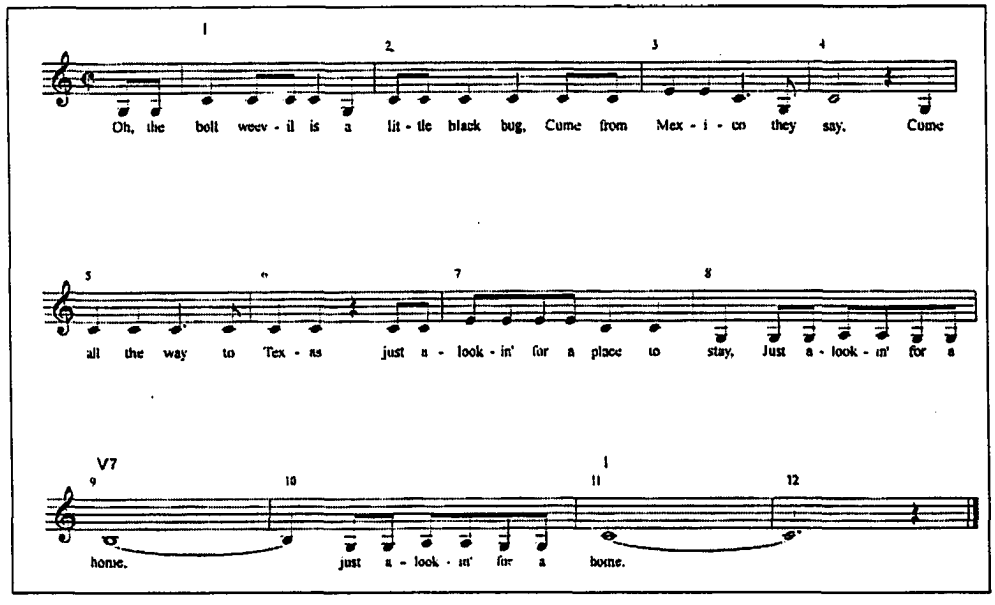
In fact, "Frankie and Johnnie" is not the only folk source relevant to Cannon's work, for "Frankie" does not stand in cultural isolation, but is a member of a large and

[57] Cannon made intermittent use of this substitution elsewhere. For example, m. 8, beat 3 of "You Needn't Come Home" (example 4.6). In fact the free shifting back and forth between the tonic and its relative minor was a "folksy" device much used at around this time by ragtime and coon-song composers.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

complex family of folksongs of which it is but the best known example.[58] As with any family of folksongs, not all the members of the "Frankie" clan have survived: there have been numerous manifestations of it over the years, most of them ephemeral creations from the mouths of folksingers and songsters at the time when it was in general oral circulation, a period I would date from sometime in the last decade of the nineteenth century to well into the 1920's. Some versions, however, have been more enduring and have survived in published transcriptions and recordings. One such is "The Ballad of the

Example 5.10. "The Ballad of the Boll Weevil" (composite version), melody and text of first verse



[58] A song family is defined as "a group of melodies showing basic interrelation by means of constant melodic correspondences" (Samuel Bayard, "Aspects of Melodic Kinship and Variation in British-American Folk Tunes," *Papers Read at the International Congress of Musicology, 1939* [New York: American Musicological Society, 1944), 123. In folk music, most songs are known in multiple versions, some quite different from one another, and this can blur the distinction between a song family and different versions of the same song. The main distinction between a song family and different manifestations of the same song is that the members of a song family will tend to diverge more markedly in terms of titles, text, and music, while different versions of the same song will be more closely related musically and textually, and will usually share the same (or, at least, a similar) title. The case "Frankie and Johnnie" is a clear example: most versions of the song (and many hundreds are known) are much more closely related to one another than they are to most versions of other songs of what I term "the 'Frankie' family."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Boll Weevil," a long-time favorite of folk revivalists, given in typical form in example 5.10.[59] Neither the melody nor harmony for this song has become as standardized as that of "Frankie," and there are many competing versions. The resemblance to "Frankie" is much closer in some versions of the song than others, with the same melody being used for both songs in some sources.[60] Usually, however, the two have separate identities: the melodies have quite different contours, while the harmony of "Boll Weevil" stays on the tonic at mm. 5-6 rather than moving to the subdominant. This makes an interesting parallel to the equivalent passages in the verses for "Bill Bailey" (example 5.9, m. 5) and "Goo-Goo Eyes" (example 5.8, m. 5). I will, however, focus on the similarity between the two melodies, rather than their differences, which revolves round their phrasing.

Fortunately for our purposes, the phrase structure of "Frankie" is quite distinctive. The text of example 5.7a, the first verse of "Frankie," is divided into three lines, each of which is subdivided into halves. There are thus six half-lines per verse which I shall label a through f:

Line 1: *a.* Frankie and Johnnie were lovers, *b.* O, Lordy, how they could love!
Line 2: *c.* They swore to be true to each other, *d.* just as true as the stars above:
Line 3: *e.* he was her man, *f.* but he done her wrong.[61]

[59] Composite from Sandburg, *The American* Songbag, 8-9 and Downes & Siegmeister, *Treasury of American Song*, 294-95. For a list of different versions in folk anthologies, see Laws, *Native American Balladry*, 241-42.

[60] See for example, Gates Thomas, "South Texas Negro Work-Songs," in *Rainbow in the Morning: Publications of the Texas Folklore Society Number V*, ed. J. Frank Dobie (Denton, Tx.: University of North Texas Press, 1965, reprint 2000), 173-75.

[61] This system of structural analysis of blues and blues-related music is taken from Titon, *Early Downhome Blues*, 141-42.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 5.5. Text for Verse 1 of "Frankie" in Relation to its Twelve-Bar Structure

Meas. 1	2	3	4
a. Frankie and Johnnie were	Lovers	*b.* O, Lordy, how they could	love! *c.* They
5	6	7	8
swore to be true to each	other, *d.* just as	true as the stars a-	bove: *e.* He was her
9	10	11	12
man,	*f.* but he done her	wrong.	

Table 5.5 shows how these six half-lines correspond to the twelve measures of the verse. As can be seen from example 5.7a, phrases a and b have essentially the same structure, that is to say, they start on mm. 1 and 3 respectively, and finish on the first beat of their second bar, mm. 2 and 4 respectively. Phrases c and d follow the same basic pattern, with the minor difference that, in the particular version of the song quoted here, each starts on the upbeat of the previous measure. Phrases e and f, while both somewhat shorter than a-d in terms of their texts (four syllables as compared with seven or eight), also occur every other measure. There is a crucial difference, however. Whereas phrases a-d essentially begin on *odd* (strong) numbered measures and end on the downbeat of the *even* (weak) measures (the first phrase, for example, begins at measure 1 and ends at the beginning of m. 2), phrases e and f both start in the midst of the *even* numbered (weak) measures and end squarely on the downbeat of the following *odd* (strong) measures. Thus, e begins on the second beat of m. 8 and ends on the downbeat of m. 9, while f begins on the second beat of m. 10 and ends on the downbeat of m. 11. Thus, there is a hypermetric shift two thirds of the way through the song, the critical moment being m. 8, where e begins immediately after end of d, without the space we have had before the beginning of phrases b-d.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

This simple device heightens tension and creates a sense of urgency. More important for our purposes, this shift is not unique to "Frankie," but is a genetic feature shared by the entire "Frankie" song family. So while the melody of "Boll Weevil" (example 5.10) and "Frankie" are quite different from one another, an analysis of their phrase structure reveals their common lineage. Thus, "Boll Weevil" is divided as follows:

Line 1: *a.* Oh, the boll weevil is a little black bug *b.* come from Mexico they say.
Line 2: *c.* Come all the way to Texas *d.* just a-lookin' for a place to stay,
Line 3: *e.* just a-lookin' for a home *f.* just a-lookin' for a home.

Just as in "Frankie," phrases a-d end on even-numbered measures (2, 4, 6, 8), and e-f on odd measures (9, 11).

A comparison with the verses of any of the Cannon songs quoted shows that they use exactly this phrase structure. For example, the verse to "Bill Bailey" (example 5.9) breaks down as follows:

Line 1: *a.* On one summer's day *b.* sun was shining fine,
Line 2: *c.* the lady love of old Bill Bailey *d.* was hanging clothes on de line
Line 3: *e.* in her back yard *f.* and weeping hard.

Once more we find that phrases a-d end on even-numbered measures (2, 4, 6, 8), and e-f on odd measures (9, 11). So, even though the verse to "Bill Bailey" departs some way melodically and harmonically from "Frankie," its phrase structure links it with the "Frankie" song family. Indeed, all nine of Cannon's songs which use the twelve-bar sequence employ this structure. In other words, the song family was a major inspiration on Cannon's music. This must be the case, as no other folksong family of this time uses this particular phrase structure.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In addition to the distinctive phrase structure and twelve-bar form, there is a further link between Cannon and the "Frankie" family. A feature of the song family is that the third full line (mm. 9-12) of the song nearly always functions as a refrain. For example, in "Frankie and Johnnie," each verse ends with "he was her man, but he done her wrong," or some variant of this that adapts the refrain to the story ("I was her man, but I done her wrong"; "she shot her man, for doin' her wrong").[62] In "Boll Weevil," the refrain is the repeated half-line "Just a-lookin' for a home." Five out of the nine twelve-bar songs by Cannon use this device. They are: "He Done Me Wrong," "Jim Badger," "I'll Leave it to You," "Put Me Wise," and "You Needn't Come Home." Probably the most striking of these is "You Needn't Come Home" (example 5.6), where the title is used as a refrain in both verse and chorus (mm. 15-18, 27-30, and 41-42). The text of this refrain is reminiscent of the refrain of "Boll Weevil" ("just a-lookin' for a home") and, like it, is repeated to fill the last four measures of each twelve-bar segment ("You needn't come home'/Well, you needn't come home").

Blues Ballads

The "Frankie" song family is subcategory of a genre of folk song called *blues ballads.* Blues ballads are defined by David Evans as "narrative folksongs that tell a story in a very loose, subjective manner and tend to 'celebrate' events rather than relate them chronologically and objectively in the manner of other American folk ballads."[63] The genre probably dates from the 1860s, reaches its height in the 1890s, and appears to

---

[62] Lomax, *Penguin Book of American Folk Songs*, 121, vv. 8 and 10-11, respectively.

[63] *Big Road Blues*, 44.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

die out by the mid-1920s.[64] Blues ballads are mostly, if not entirely, based on actual events and characters.

The sources for the most celebrated members of the "Frankie" family—as with most blues ballads—are violent crimes in black communities, and it is consequently possible to date the origins of a number of the songs. The inspiration for "Frankie and Johnnie" is almost certainly the murder of one Allen Britt, a black ragtime pianist, by his lover, Frankie Baker, in St. Louis in October 1899.[65] Another member of the song family, "Sta(c)kolee" (also known as "Stack Lee," Stagolee," etc.),[66] was also based on a St. Louis underworld homicide, this one in December 1895.[67] Similarly, "Delia," another member, was based on a 1900 murder in Savannah.[68] "Boll Weevil," on the other hand, is not based on a single incident, but was inspired instead by the devastation caused by

---

[64] D. K. Wilgus and Eleanor R. Long. "The *Blues Ballad* and the Genesis of Style in the Traditional Narrative Song," in *Narrative Folksong: New Directions: Essays in Appreciation of W. Edson Richmond* (Boulder, Col.: Westview Press, 1985), 455.

[65] The fullest account of this is to be found in John Russel David, "Tragedy in Ragtime: Black Folktales from St Louis," Ph. D. dissertation, St. Louis University (1976), 204 ff. There is some controversy about this ascription, however, and the incident on which the song is based has been dated back as far as 1831 (Bruce Redfern Buckley, "Frankie and Her Men: A Study of the Interrelationships of Popular and Folk Traditions ," Ph. D. dissertation, University of Indiana [1962], 17). David, however, makes a very strong case for the 1899 date, which ties in also with what we know for the dates of origin of other members of the "Frankie" family (see below). On the question of the dating of the song, see also James J. Fuld, *The Book of World-Famous Music: Classical, Popular and* Folk, 5th ed. (New York: Dover, 2000), 233-234. My own contribution to the argument is that there were two white folk recordings of the song from the 1920s which are both entitled "Frankie Baker" (Ernest Thompson, recorded 1924, Columbia 168-D; and Emry Arthur, recorded 1929, Vocalion 5340). This unambiguously links the song to the St. Louis incident. In addition, the earlier version of the song was known as "Frankie and Albert": I would suggest that "Albert" is a distortion of "Al Britt."

[66] Laws, *Native American Balladry*, 240.

[67] See Cecil Brown, *Stagolee Shot Billy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), and George M. Eberhart, "Stack Lee: The Man, the Music, and the Myth," *Popular Music and Society*, 20/1 (spring 1996): 1-70. The song occurs in several different forms. However, the main version is closely related to "Frankie and Johnnie," even at times using the same melody (Eberhart, 37).

[68] John Garst, "The Ballad of Delia Green and Moses 'Cooney' Houston," http://hem.passagen.se/obrecht/backpages/chords/36_wgw/ballad_of_delia_green.htm.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the cotton-eating insect, which crossed the Texas-Mexico border in 1892.[69] Presumably the folksong emerged a few years later, shortly before the turn of the century. The evidence, therefore, consistently suggests that the "Frankie" type of blues ballad became widespread from about 1895, just a few years before Cannon begun to use it.

That blues ballads were subjective reworkings of contemporaneous incidents suggests a particular approach to their creation. Suppose a "bad man" incident happens in a particular locality and a blues ballad results. How does this happen? Presumably a local folk musician composes the song either on his own or in collaboration.[70] As folk music, the end product is not necessarily expected to be original in all aspects, but is a creative reworking, both textually and musically, of floating materials. In the process, the song usually acquires its own identity, making it distinct, albeit at times only subtly so, from other songs derived from the same sources. What we end up with, therefore, is a family of songs mostly inspired by the same kind of violent incident, sharing musical, and, to a lesser extent, textual, materials.

This is precisely what we find in Cannon's work: a body of nine songs, all distinct from one another to varying degrees. This strongly suggests that Cannon was working

---

[69] Oliver, *Songsters and Saints*, 250. The boll weevil is here seen as a metaphorical outlaw because of its ruinous behavior. Oliver suggests that the popularity of the song among blacks stemmed from its symbolism: "[the boll weevil's] indestructibility, its covert behavior, attacking the white crop from within had its symbolic appeal." (250)

[70] We do not know who the main creative force behind any of the blues ballads was, although various claims have been made. For example, David reports a claim that the lyricist for "Frankie and Johnnie" was one Tom Dooley, a black "barroom bard" ("Tragedy in Ragtime," 228) and another, that the music was composed by an itinerant pianist originally from New Orleans named Harry Cranston (230).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

creatively in this field and applying the process to the subject matter of commercial songs.[71]

What has all this to do with blues, or rather, proto-blues, the subject of this chapter? Blues ballads have long been acknowledged as the immediate predecessor of blues. In 1941, W. C. Handy wrote that the earliest blues were "a *kind* of song" and cites "Frankie and Johnnie," "Stack O' Lee" and other blues ballads as examples.[72] This strongly suggests that, at this early period, blues ballads were the closest thing there was to blues. This is supported by an influential theory of Paul Oliver's, later taken up by David Evans and others, which suggests that blues were formed by the fusion of black field hollers and the twelve-bar harmonic structure of blues ballads of the "Frankie" type.[73]

If this is so, and if I am correct in maintaining that Cannon was not merely a transcriber of other people's folk material, but a folk artist who with each song reworked material of the "Frankie" song family afresh, he must be regarded as the first composer to base his songwriting career, or at least the most successful part of it, around the commercialization of blues culture as it existed at the time. By creating a varied body of blues-related work, he anticipates W. C. Handy by well over a decade.

---

[71] It is theoretically possible, given that most of the members of the "Frankie" family have not survived, and that there were many more in circulation in Cannon's time than there are today, that the verses of each of his nine songs is an accurate transcription of what was originally a separate member of the "Frankie" family. While an ethnomusicologist might well be happy to transcribe from oral sources the various members of a certain song family for the purpose of study, it is, as far as I am aware, unheard of for a composer of commercial songs to do so in such a systematic way, especially when one considers that these nine songs form over a third of Cannon's total output.

[72] *Father of the Blues*, 143.

[73] Oliver, *The Story of the Blues*, 22-25; Evans, *Big Road Blues*, 44.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The Relationship of Cannon's Compositions to Blues

Most of Cannon's published compositions, including all those that use the twelve-bar sequence, technically fall into the category of coon songs.[74] Their universal shared characteristic is the use of black dialect; in addition, many also have covers depicting black stereotypes. Yet there is little sense of denigration in Cannon's work, and in this he was part of a wider cultural trend that, from about 1902, treated coon songs not as vehicles for racist attitudes, but merely as ragtime songs using black dialect. For example, Cannon's "You Needn't Come Home" (example 5.6) is not specifically black at all, except in its mild use of dialect ("I'm gwine to take a stroll," for instance, in the first verse) and the depiction of blacks on its front cover.

So, to what extent can Cannon's music be thought of as blues? Aside from the harmonic structure, only to a very limited extent. The melodic structure of blues is generally rather different from that of blues ballads, a point to be discussed more fully in the next chapter. More significant, a majority of Cannon's songs are humorous (Cannon was a minstrel performer) and, as such, have little connection with the homeopathic approach to blues. One could, of course, argue that they are allopathic blues—almost any light-hearted music could be thus described—but given that none of his songs uses the word "blues" either in its title or anywhere in the text, this argument seems irrelevant. It should be noted, though, that, despite their tone, Cannon's songs deal with themes that are commonly found in blues, particularly being thrown out of home, desertion by a

---

[74] The only exceptions are: "Little Gertie Murphy," words and music by Cannon (New York: Howley, Dresser, 1904), which is an Irish dialect song, and, incidentally, Cannon's only composition in ¾; and "The Prince of Borneo," words by Joseph Farrell, music by Cannon (New York: Parker Music, 1905), which despite its subject matter, does not use black dialect.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 5.11. Cannon: "Alic Busby, Don't Go Away" (1904), chorus

partner, etc. The most famous example of this is "Bill Bailey," where the protagonist's wife throws him out and then begs him to return.

Apart from the twelve-bar structure, there are three blues matrices that occur in Cannon's work. First, the blues-influenced move to the subdominant. This, of course, is

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

found regularly in the fifth bar of the twelve-bar sequence (see, for example, m. 12 of "You Needn't Come Home" [example 5.6]). However, Cannon's use of the sequence is at times aberrant, and three of his songs that use the sequence avoid the move to the subdominant in the usual way ("Goo-Goo Eyes" [example 5.8], "Bill Bailey" [example 5.9], and "Ain't Dat Too Bad"). Also exceptional is the sixteen-measure chorus to "Alic Busby, Don't Go Away" (example 5.11). The harmonic scheme is as follows:

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
Harmony	I	|I	|I	|I	|V	|V	|I	|I	|IV	|IV	|I	|I	|V	|V	|I	|I	||

There is a prominent use of the move to the subdominant matrix at mm. 9-10. More than that, however, this sequence is based on a standard twelve-bar structure, the initial tonic of which is effectively extended by four measures (mm. 5-8). This kind of four-measure tonic extension to a regular blues sequence is found occasionally in country blues recordings of the 1920s, as, for example, in "On the Road Again" by the Memphis Jug Band.[75] If this sequence were in the work of a standard turn-of-the-century songwriter, we might dismiss its relationship to blues as coincidental. Given Cannon's unique association with proto-blues culture, however, the connection is suggestive.[76]

---

[75] Victor V38015, 1928.

[76] I should add that the proto-blues connection in the chorus of "Alic Busby" is restricted to the music. The text is rather different from Cannon's other proto-blues, with the "don't go away" line occurring at the beginning and end of the chorus (mm. 1-3 and 14-15). This device was common in commercial songs of the era. See, for example, the chorus to such well-known contemporaneous songs as "The Belle of Avenoo A," words and music by Safford Waters (New York: Howley, Haviland & Co., 1895); "Down Where the Wurzburger Flows," words by Vincent P. Bryan; music by Harry Von Tilzer (New York: Harry Von Tilzer, 1902); "I'd Leave Ma Happy Home for You," words by Will A. Heelan, music by Harry Von Tilzer (New York: William Dunn, 1899); "She's Getting Mo' Like the White Folks Every Day," words and music by Bert Williams and George Walker (New York: Shapiro, Bernstein & Von Tilzer, 1901). The choruses of these use the text in the same way as "Alic Busby." All, incidentally, are to be found in *Song Hits from the Turn of the Century*, ed. Paul Charosh and Robert A. Fremont (New York: Dover, 1975).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The second kind of blues matrix in Cannon's work is that of the blue note, specifically the sporadic use of the blues third. For example, "You Needn't Come Home" (example 5.6) has a prominent blues third on the second beat of measure 12, where it clashes conspicuously with the accompaniment.

Finally, the third blues matrix is that of the barbershop cadence, which appears twice in Cannon's oeuvre: in "Put Me Wise"[77] and "He Done Me Wrong" (example 5.12, mm. 29-30).

I will conclude with a brief discussion of "He Done Me Wrong," which is the most blues-like of Cannon's songs. As already noted, this is the Cannon song that most strongly resembles "Frankie and Johnnie" in its melody, harmony, and the text of its refrain. Moreover, it displays all three of the blues matrices just cited: the twelve-bar blues matrix (twice) in its verse, the frequent and conspicuous use of blues thirds in the verse and chorus (mm. 15, 27, 33, 34, 39, and 40), and the barbershop cadence. On the other hand, the chorus is a sixteen-bar form with no apparent connection to the twelve-bar sequence.

Despite its subtitle, "The Death of Bill Bailey," associating it with the composer's light-hearted hit of two years earlier, there is a tragic undertone here, not only because of the singer bemoaning the death of her husband from cholera, but also owing to the ambivalent nature of their relationship: he "done her wrong," yet was also "so good and kind." The overall sense of strong personal emotional outpouring here is remarkably similar to blues.

---

[77] See table 4.1 for date, composer/lyricist credit, and publication details.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

That this song can be thought of as anticipating later commercial blues styles is reinforced by the fact that it was later revived and recorded by the white blues singer

Example 5.12. Cannon: "He Done Me Wrong" (1904)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Marion Harris on 20 April 1920.[78] Four days earlier she had recorded Handy's "St. Louis Blues" and Cliff Hess's "Homesickness Blues"; and the day before she had recorded the blues-influenced "I Ain't Got Nobody." This context suggests that she saw "He Done me Wrong" as being in much the same genre as these other commercial blues.[79] Because of its combination of blues sentiment with musical idiom, "He Done Me Wrong" is probably the strongest anticipation of 1910s blues culture.

All told, Cannon's achievement in proto-blues culture is unique. While Cannon was not the only composer from the period to use twelve-bar blues-related harmonic structures and other bluesy elements in his music, he is the only one to explore the genre extensively. His work represents the first systematic engagement with the African-American-based style that was later to develop into blues, and, from this point of view, his work anticipates that of the more celebrated W. C. Handy.

Conclusion

The intermittent appearance of auto-referential blues from the middle of the nineteenth century and the work of Hughie Cannon in the first five years of the twentieth are two aspects of a multi-faceted, emergent proto-blues culture that will explored in the next two chapters. The following chapter will examine the influence of the "Frankie" song family on proto-blues in greater detail, focusing on works by composers other than Cannon.

---

[78] Columbia A-2968.

[79] The work was also recorded at around the same time by Al Bernard (Bell P-120), who, like Cannon, was a minstrel, and a pioneer white promoter of blues culture.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter 6

PROTO-BLUES II
Other Proto-Blues Influenced by the "Frankie" Song Family

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I examined two aspects of proto-blues: auto-referential proto-blues and the work of Hughie Cannon. Cannon's work was found to derive from folk sources, in particular the "Frankie" song family. However, while Cannon was certainly the most prolific composer of proto-blues, his work does not stand in isolation. On the contrary, there were several other contemporaneous songwriters who drew on the same sources, and their songs, which appeared between 1895 and 1913, are the focus of this chapter. I begin with the earliest of these, the "Bully Song."

The "Bully Song"

The "Bully Song," whose earliest published version dates from 1895, is the first known commercial composition to use a twelve-bar form that can be convincingly linked to proto-blues culture. It thus preempts Cannon's first proto-blues "Just Because She Made Dem Goo-Goo Eyes" by five years. The "Bully Song" was a tremendously popular number, and no less than six versions were copyrighted in the years 1895 and 1896. These are given in Table 6.1.

The song's popularity was due, at least in part, to the ragtime singer May Irwin, who sang it in an 1895 show, *The Widow Jones*,[1] and all versions except the first mention

[1] Sigmund Spaeth, *Read 'Em and Weep: The Songs You Forgot to Remember* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1927), 212; Paul Oliver, *Songsters and Saints*, 48. The show ran from 16 September to 9 November 1895 and from February to 16 May 1896 in the Bijou Theatre, New York, a total of 168 performances. The show was revived in New York in 1901-02, also starring May Irwin, and ran for a further 40

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

her on the cover. Both text and music of these versions closely relate to one another, although there are various, mostly minor, musical and textual divergences between them.[2]

Table 6.1. The First Six Versions of the "Bully Song" to be Copyrighted[3]

Title	Lyrics/Music	Copyright Date
Looking for a Bully	Howard	11/12/95
Dat New Bully	Wilson/Hirschbach	01/06/96
The New Bully	Johnson	01/06/96
De New Bully	Carleton/Cavanaugh	01/28/96
May Irwin's Bully Song	Trevathan	02/19/96
The New Bully	Howard	04/09/96

The best known version is Trevathan's, which I quote in example 6.1. Charles E. Trevathan was a white sports writer from the South who was apparently an acquaintance of Irwin's,[4] and it was his version of the song that received her imprimatur: a signed statement in the top left-hand corner of the title page testifying that "this is the only correct publication of the 'Bully Song' as sung by me in 'The Widow Jones'." Despite this authorization, the song is not Trevathan's. Conflicting accounts suggest he picked up the song either from his "colored boy," Cooley,[5] or from Tennessee blacks.[6] Whichever is true, the "Bully Song" was a black folksong that must have been in

---

performances. Details in Richard C. Norton, *A Chronology of Musical Theater*, Vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 565 and 703-04.

[2] This raises the question as to whether the "Bully Song" is best thought of as a song or a song family. As the different versions of the "Bully Song" are mostly closely related, I am referring to it here as a song (see aove, 237, fn. 60 for a discussion of the differences between the terms *song* and *song-family*). As discussed below, the "Bully Song" is, in fact, an early manifestation of the ""Frankie" family.

[3] For further details of these items see Appendix 4.

[4] James L. Ford, *Forty-Odd Years in the Literary Shop* (New York: Dutton, 1921), 275-76.

[5] Ibid.

[6] James J. Geller, *Famous Songs and Their Stories* (New York: Macaulay, 1931), 97-98.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 6.1. Trevathan: "May Irwin's Bully Song" (1896), verse and chorus

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

circulation for some time before it was purloined by the various writers of 1895-96, as is confirmed by accounts of the song being performed in the early 1890s by Mama Lou, a black singer in a St. Louis brothel called Babe Connor's.[7] St. Louis was also where W. C. Handy first heard the song, sung on the levee by roustabouts, before the song reached the mainstream.[8] The earliest specific reference to the song is from a Kansas City black

---

[7] See Norm Cohen, album notes to *Minstrels and Tunesmiths*, JEMF LP 109.

[8] *Father of the Blues*, 118-19.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

newspaper, the *Leavenworth Herald*, of December 8, 1894, almost a year before the copyright date of the first printed version:

> Kansas City girls can't play anything on pianos except "rags" and the worst "rags" at that. "The Bully" and "Forty Drops" are their favorites.[9]

The composition is of the same basic type as Cannon's proto-blues, consisting of a verse of two twelve-bar sections (mm. 7-18 and 19-30) followed by a sixteen-measure chorus (mm. 31-46). The first verse is preceded by a conventional four-bar introduction (mm. 1-4) and two-bar vamp (mm. 5-6). As well as the two verses printed in the music there are five additional verses and I quote the entire text for reference, subdividing each verse into its twelve-bar sections:

1. a. Have yo' heard about dat bully dat's just come to town?
   He's round among de niggers a layin' their bodies down.
   I'm a lookin' for dat bully and he must be found.

   b. I'm a Tennessee nigger, and I don't allow
   No red-eyed river roustabout with me to raise a row.
   I'm lookin' for dat bully, and I'll make him bow.

   CHORUS

2. a. I'se gwine down the street with my ax in my hand;
   I'm a lookin' for dat bully, and I'll sweep him off dis land.
   I'm a lookin' for dat bully, and he must be found.

   b. I'll take `long my razor, I'se gwine to carve him deep,
   And when I see dat bully, I'll lay him down to sleep,
   I'm lookin' for dat bully, and he must be found.

   CHORUS

3. a. I went to a wingin' down at Parson Jones',
   Took along my trusty blade to carve dat nigger's bones,

---

[9] Quoted in Lynn Abbott and Doug Seroff, *Out of Sight: The Rise of African American Popular Music 1889-1895* (Jackson, Miss.: University of Mississippi Press, 2002), 448. This quotation is also notable in that it contains "the earliest-known printed reference to the word "rags" to indicate a particular kind of music" (ibid.). "Forty Drops" was an early ragtime instrumental composition (ibid., 449-51).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Just a lookin' for dat bully, to hear his groans.

b. I coonjined in the front door, the coons were prancing high,
For dat levee darkey I skinned my foxy eye,
Just a lookin' for dat bully but he wasn't nigh.

4. a. I asked Miss Pansy Blossom if she would wing a reel,
She says, "Law, Mr. Johnsing, how high you make me feel.
Then you ought to see me shake my sugar heel."

b. I was sandin' down the Mobile Buck; just to cut a shine,
Some coon across my smeller swiped a watermelon rin';
I drawed my steel dat gemmen [= gentleman] for to fin'.

5. a. I riz up like a black cloud and took a look aroun'
There was dat new bully standin' on the ground.
I've been lookin' for you, nigger, and I've got you found.

b. Razors 'gun a flyin', niggers 'gun to squawk,
I lit upon that bully just like a sparrow hawk,
And dat nigger was just a dyin' to take a walk.

6. a. When I got through with bully, a doctor and a nurse
Wan't no good to dat nigger, so they put him in a hearse;
A cyclone couldn't have tore him up much worse.

b. You don't hear 'bout dat nigger dat treated folks so free;
Go down upon the levee, and his face you'll never see;
Dere's only one boss bully, and dat one is me.

CHORUS

ENCORE

7. a. When you see me comin', hist [=hoist] your windows high;
When you see me goin', hang you heads and cry;
I'm lookin' for dat bully, and he must die.

b. My madness keeps a risin', and I'se not gwine [=going] to get left,
I'm getting' so bad dat I'm askeered [=scared] of myself.
I was lookin' for dat bully, now he's on the shelf.

As the "Bully Song" is basically a folksong, it is in a rather different category from Cannon's proto-blues, which were inspired by a whole folksong family rather than one specific song. So just how close is example 6.1 to the folk original?

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

It seems probable that the basic folk form of the "Bully Song" has, like a traditional country blues, a straight twelve-bar stanzaic construction, without the sixteen measure chorus. A field transcription of a rural version of the song made in 1908 by Howard Odum (the earliest extant transcription of a folk version of this song) uses only the twelve-bar form.[10] Also suggestive is the evidence from the first published version, by Joseph Howard titled "Looking for a Bully" (see table 6.1). This song is quite different from subsequent published versions. The melody of the twenty-four bar verse of the later versions is used as the chorus, while both the words and music of the sixteen-bar verse seem to be peculiar to this version, and were probably composed by Howard rather than derived from folk sources.[11] This suggests that the original "bully" theme encountered by Howard was the twelve-bar sequence used in the chorus of the original song, and the verse of all subsequent versions. The sixteen-bar chorus of the standard version, as sung by May Irwin, and found in all commercial versions after Howard's "Looking for a Bully," was most likely a later development, added either by Trevathan (or by another composer of one of the other 1895-96 commercial versions), or else was a folk addition to the basic twelve-bar version, which Trevathan (or whoever) obtained from a black source.

---

[10] Odum, "Folk-Song and Folk-Poetry as Found in the Secular Songs of the Southern Negroes," 293.

[11] The music and text of this verse were used in another song, copyrighted on August 5, 1896, entitled "I Loves Nobody, 'Cause Nobody Loves Me" (Chicago: Joseph E. Howard). The music and text of the chorus of this song are reminiscent of the 1915 hit "I Ain't Got Nobody" (see above, 116). I have not yet explored the ramifications of this. Suffice it to say, there is reason to believe that "I Ain't Got Nobody" was a black folksong, of which Howard's chorus is an early manifestation. If so, it is possible that the verse of this song, which was also used as the verse to "Looking for a Bully," may have a black connection. Detailed study on this point is beyond the scope of this dissertation, however.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In addition to the twelve-bar structure, there is a specific connection to later blues in the text. The encore verse of the "Bully Song," unique to Trevathan's version, contains the couplet "When you see me comin', hist your windows high;/When you see me goin', hang you heads and cry." This floating folk strain is found in country blues such as Henry Thomas's "Texas Easy Street Blues";[12] and it resurfaces as late as 1941 in Jimmy Rushing's "Goin' to Chicago Blues," which was a hit for the Count Basie Orchestra. In the latter manifestation, the first line of the couplet is repeated to make a standard AAB blues stanza:

> When you see me coming, raise your window high
> When you see me coming, raise your window high
> When you see me passing, hang your head a cry.[13]

The "Bully Song" is not the first known instance of this formula, incidentally. Gates Thomas had transcribed it in 1892 in Texas as the last verse of a black folksong called "Don' Let Yo' Watch Run Down":

> When you see me comin' haist yo' window's high;
> When you see me leavin' hang down yo' heads and cry, brownskins,
> Hang down yo' heads and cry.[14]

Despite its structural and textual connections to later blues, the "Bully Song" clearly does not belong to that genre. G. Malcolm Laws classified it as a "negro ballad," his term for blues ballad.[15] To what extent can it be regarded as such? The song has the

---

[12] Vocalion 1197 (1928).

[13] Okeh 6244.

[14] Gates Thomas, "South Texas Negro-Worksongs" in *Rainbow in the Morning*, ed. J. Frank Dobie, 168. Interestingly, in the same article, and transcribed in the same year, Thomas notes a variant of a line from the second half of Trevathan's encore verse: "He had got so bad he wuz skeered of hisself" (171). See also Irving Jones "Possumala Dance" (New York: Willis Woodward, 1894): "My name is George Good Health,/ I'm so bad, I'm afraid of myself." The connection between Jones and Thomas is made by Oliver in *Saints and Songsters*, 53-54.

[15] Laws, *Native American Balladry*, 239-40.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

violent "bad man" theme typical of blues ballads, along with the requisite underworld setting. In addition, it shares the loose, subjective narrative associated with the genre,[16] for, while there is an overall sense of narrative sequence (the singer looks for the bully, finds him, and then kills him), we are left to wonder about the details of the action, namely, the identity of the protagonists, what precisely the bully has done to merit his comeuppance, and the precise location of the events described.[17] The "Bully Song" is,

---

[16] See above, 241.

[17] The references to the levee in the chorus (and verse 6) and "red-eyed river roustabout" in verse 1 do indeed suggest that the song is a levee song, as Handy suggested (see above). This is reinforced by the use of the word "coonjined" in verse 3. This term describes a kind of gait, and by extension, dance, particularly associated with roustabouts. See Abbott and Seroff, *Out of Sight*, 309-12; also Garnett Laidlaw Eskew, "Coonjine in Manhattan," manuscript deposit in the Library of Congress (on the web at http://mempry.loc.gov/mss/wpalh0/07/0707/07070413.htm): "It was to alleviate the weariness of carrying freight on and off the steamboats, that the roustabout sang. And the songs they sang and the shuffling, loose kneed dance-job-trot to which they timed their movements became known as the Coonjine." Even if the "Bully Song" is a levee song, however, this still does not tie it to a specific location. John Garst has suggested that the song developed from a blues ballad called "Ella Speed," which was inspired by the murder of a twenty-eight year prostitute by one Louis "Bull" Martin in New Orleans in September 1894 (see Laws, *Native American Balladry*, 235). As evidence, Garst cites the facts that (1) Martin was a "bully" and nicknamed as such, and (2) there are certain musical connections between some versions of "Ella Speed" with the "Bully Song" (Sources: http://www.bluegrassmessengers.com/master/bullyofthetown.html, and personal communications with the author). I refute this argument as follows: (1) Numerous black underworld villains, such as those who became heroes of blues ballads, were considered "bullies"—it was a widely used term at the time. Some versions of "Stackolee," for example, describe the protagonist as a bully (see, for example, Mary Wheeler, *Steamboatin' Days: Folk Songs of the River Packet Era* [Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1944], 100, where the two songs are thoroughly intertwined). (2) Blues ballads were often closely musically connected even when the incidents they were based on were different. Just because two songs have some musical relationship, it does not follow that one derives from the other. In any case, "Ella Speed," in all its known versions, is musically much further removed from the "Bully Song," than, say, two ballads of the "Frankie" family, such as "Stackolee" and "Frankie and Johnnie," which are certainly based on different incidents. In addition to all this, there is a question of timing. The first account of the "Bully Song" is from mid-December 1894 in Kansas City, where it is encountered as parlor music (see above, 259. That means that, for Garst's theory to be correct, within three months from the murder, the "Bully Song" would have had to have evolved from "Ella Speed" (bearing in mind the songs have different structures—sixteen-bar and twelve-bar respectively— largely independent melodies, and completely independent texts); traveled from New Orleans to Kansas City; and become popular there as salon music. This is not impossible, but it seems highly unlikely. If it is so, incidentally, it is the only case of which I am aware of an incident inspiring two independent blues ballads. Garst has also suggested in a personal communication that it is possible Trevathan encountered "Ella Speed" and adapted it into "The Bully Song" himself. This seems to me to be equally implausible. Even if Trevathan did modify his folk source for process of commercialization (he may have composed the chorus, for instance), the original form he encountered must have used the twelve-bar matrix. Given that this was the first known publication to use a blues-related twelve-bar sequence, it is almost inconceivable that Trevathan was personally responsible for this feature, particularly, as will be demonstrated below, since the verse to the song seems to belong to the "Frankie" song family.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

therefore, from this point of view, a typical blues ballad. Of particular interest in terms of its relationship to blues is the twelve-bar structure of its verse; this raises the issue as to how closely the music and text can be linked to other twelve-bar blues ballads, specifically the "Frankie" song family examined in the previous chapter.

In terms of text, the verse of the "Bully Song" has the same overall characteristic structure as members of the "Frankie" family, namely, a three-line form consisting of two lines of verse and a one-line refrain (in its original form, "I'm a-lookin' for dat bully, and he must be found"). The refrain here varies from verse to verse to accommodate the narrative, just as in blues ballads.[18] In fact, the refrain is not used at all in verses 4 (a), 5 (b), and 6 (a) and (b), although such intermittent usage is consistent with many versions of well-known blues ballads.[19] The refrain is also used at the end of the chorus (mm. 43-46).

In terms of phrasing, the verse of the "Bully Song" diverges somewhat from the "Frankie" prototype described in the last chapter.[20] Whereas songs of the "Frankie" type are characterized by a hypermetric shift at the beginning of the third line (refrain), no such shift happens in the "Bully Song." For this shift to occur, the phrase, "I'm a lookin' for dat bully," would have to begin on the second eighth note of m. 14 in example 6.1, and end on the downbeat of m. 15; instead, it begins just before m. 15 and ends on the downbeat of m. 16, leaving the hypermetric rhythm unaltered. The difference between the two songs is shown in example 6.2, which superimposes one above the other. The

---

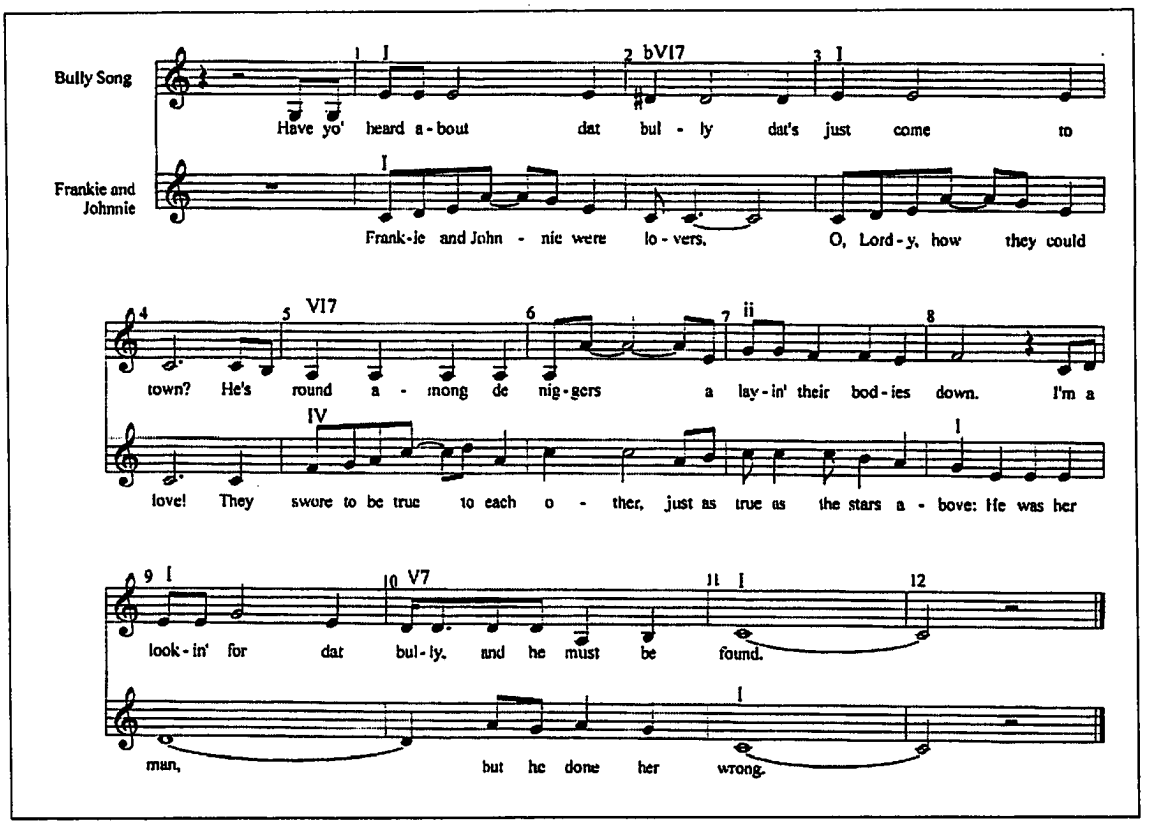
[18] See above, 241.

[19] See for example a version of the "Ballad of the Boll Weevil" in Lomax and Lomax, *American Ballads & Folk Songs*, 112-16. Here the usual refrain, "Just a-lookin' for a home, just a-lookin' for a home," is constantly varied and dispensed with altogether for five verses.

[20] See above, 238-40.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 6.2.
a. Trevathan: "The Bully Song" (1896), melody of verse (Original: D major, 2/4)
b. "Frankie and Johnnie," (composite version), melody and text of first verse



phrasing of the two songs is similar until m. 9, whereupon it diverges markedly. The divergence is only temporary: the two songs finish in a rhythmically identical fashion beginning on the second beat of m. 11. This happens because the melody of "The Bully Song" runs the two halves of the third line together ("I'm a lookin' for dat bully,/ and he must be found"), whereas in "Frankie" there is a break between "He was her man" and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"but he done her wrong."[21] In other words, the hypermetric shift does occur with the "Bully Song," but not until the end of the third line.

How are we to read this difference between the two songs? Members of the "Frankie" song family seem to be based mainly on incidents from the black underworld,[22] and should therefore be basically regarded as African-American. Peter Van der Merwe, however, has convincingly argued that while the "Frankie" song family in its fully evolved state is African-American, the origins of its twelve-bar structure lie elsewhere, based ultimately on a standard British folksong type of two-line verse plus one-line refrain, hereafter referred to as 2LV+1LR type.[23] An example is the eighteenth-century Scotch folksong "Tattie Jock" whose first verse runs:

a. When we arrive in Botany Bay *b.* Some letters we will send,
c. Tae tell oor friends the hardships we *d.* Endure in a foreign land.
e. Singin' ah riddle aye rood um di do, f. Ah riddle aye rood um day.[24]

This song has essentially the same structure as songs of the "Frankie" family: two lines and a refrain, with each of the three lines being subdivided. In addition, all the lines are roughly the same length in terms of the music that sets them (the first two lines are four measures each and the last, five).

The next stage in this evolutionary process is shown by example 6.3, an American version of the celebrated English ballad "Mister Frog Went A-Courting" titled "A Frog

---

[21] Note the assonance between these two half-lines: "But he done her wrong," and "and he must be found." The fact that they are set with exactly the same rhythm further reinforces a familial link between the two songs.

[22] See above, 242-43.

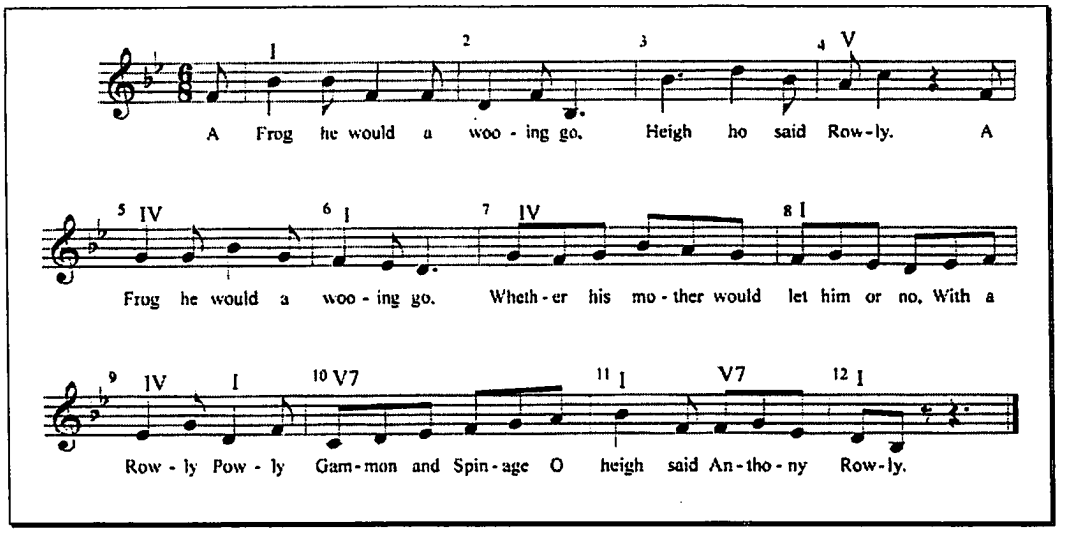
[23] Van der Merwe, *The Origins of Popular Style*, 185-86.

[24] Ibid.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

He Would A-Wooing Go" which was published in Boston c. 1860. I quote the first of fourteen verses.[25] The ballad, which has been traced to sixteenth-century Britain,[26]

Example 6.3. Smith: "A Frog He Would A Wooing Go" (c. 1860), melody and text of first verse



normally has a symmetrical form of four, eight, or sixteen bars. In this version, however, it has a twelve-bar, three-line form with the third line acting as a refrain. In other words, it has the same basic structure as the "Bully Song" and "Tattie Jock." This, therefore, represents a possible link between the "Frankie" song-type and its British ancestors: a British ballad Americanized as a 2LV +1LR type.

The 2LV+1LR songs were originally brought over to America by white settlers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and, through cultural cross-fertilization, were eventually taken up by African Americans. Certainly, ballads like "Mister Frog Went A-

[25] The full version of the song is given in L. W. Payne, Jr., "Some Texas Versions of 'The Frog's Courting': The Way of the Folk with a Song," in *Rainbow in the Morning*, ed. J. Frank Dobie, 14-15.

[26] Ibid., 5-6.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Courting" were popular among blacks as well as whites,[27] and, in fact, this particular song is known to have evolved into black proto-blues "Sweet Thing" sometime in the 1880s or early 1890s.[28] In the process of becoming African-Americanized, such songs became more rhythmic. Van der Merwe, in fact, demonstrates this by quoting four examples of the 2LV+1LR type, starting with "Tattie Jock" and ending with Mississippi John Hurt's recording of "Frankie," each song becoming more rhythmically vital as the African-American influence becomes more pervasive.[29] The hypermetric shift in the refrain of "Frankie and Johnnie" is an example of this rhythmical vitality and gives the song a rhythmic lift, propelling it forward at exactly the moment that is needed to avoid the monotony of a repeated text (the refrain). It is therefore not surprising that the hypermetric shift is only found in the fully evolved African-American blues ballad, not in its Anglo-American ancestors (such as those quoted by van der Merwe), and this in turn implies that it was an innovation introduced late in its evolution, shortly before the "Frankie" type of song emerged.

In sum, it seems plausible that the verse to the "Bully Song" represents a slightly earlier evolutionary manifestation of the "Frankie" song family, with the hypermetric shift less conspicuously manifested—half-way through the refrain line rather than at its beginning—than in the later structure of songs such as "Frankie and Johnnie." This hypothesis is supported by the appearance of the "Bully Song" in 1895, five years before the first published song to display the full hypermetric shift, Cannon's "Goo-Goo Eyes"

---

[27] Payne quotes numerous African-American examples ("Some Texas Versions of 'The Frog's Courting'," *passim*).

[28] See below, 329.

[29] Ibid.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(example 5.8), which may reflect the time-lag in the evolution of the two structures in folk culture. More important, the "Bully Song" reached the commercial mainstream in 1895, and thus probably originated in folk culture a few years earlier. In Chapter 5, I demonstrated that the surviving members of the fully evolved "Frankie" type of blues ballad all seem to date from the years just *after* 1895.[30]

The "Bully Song" also differs from the "Frankie" stereotype discussed in terms of its harmony (see table 6.2).

Table 6.2. Harmonizations of the Verse of the "Bully Song" as Compared with "Frankie and Johnnie" Prototype

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
a. Frankie	I	I	I	I	IV	IV	IV	I
b. Trevathan	I	VI7	I	I	V7/ii	V7/ii	ii	ii
c. Howard	I	Io7	I	I	ii	V7/ii	ii	ii
d. Tanner et al.	I	I	I	I	IV	IV	IV	V

	9	10	11	12
Frankie	V	V	I	I
Trevathan	I	V	I	I
Howard	I	V	I	I
Tanner et al.	I	V	I	I

Versions

a. Frankie = standard harmonic prototype of "Frankie and Johnnie."[31]
b. Trevathan = Charles E. Trevathan, "May Irwin's Bully Song" (1896).
c. Howard = Joseph E. Howard, "The New Bully" (1896).
d. Tanner et al. = "Bully of the Town," performed by Gid Tanner and his Skillet Lickers with Riley Puckett (Columbia 15074-D, recorded Atlanta, 1926); and "The Bully of the Town," performed by Harkins and Moran (Sid Harkreader and Grady Moore, Broadway 8056, recorded Chicago, 1927).

---

[30] See above, 242-43. It is possible that "The Ballad of the Boll Weevil" may date from slightly earlier than 1895, as the insect crossed over into the Southern United States from Mexico in 1892; if so, it is unlikely to date from before about 1894, while it seems reasonable to assume that the "Bully Song" dates from at least a year before the earliest known reference to it, i. e., 1893. It is more likely, however, that the "Boll Weevil" dates from slightly later, and the "Bully Song" from slightly earlier than these dates.

[31] See example 5.7a.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

There are two important differences between the "Frankie" prototype and the early published versions of the "Bully Song," as represented by variants (b) and (c) in table 6.2. The first appears in the second measure, where the tonic chord of "Frankie" is replaced by a German sixth in Trevathan (b) and a diminished chord in Howard (c) (and, incidentally, in all other early printed versions of the song). The second, more important, difference concerns the chord sequence in mm. 5-9. Instead of moving to the subdominant for the second line of the verse and then back to the tonic, as happens with "Frankie and Johnnie" and, of course, later blues styles, the music moves in Trevathan's version (b) to the supertonic minor via its dominant, arriving back on the tonic at m. 9 (in "Frankie," the tonic returns in m. 8; in a standard blues progression it returns in m. 7). This difference is found in all the early printed versions with only minor variants. For example, Howard's version (c) moves straight to the supertonic minor in m. 5 rather than preceding it with its dominant seventh. If my hypothesis that the "Bully Song" is an immediate evolutionary ancestor of the mature "Frankie" type of blues ballad is correct, then this harmonization of the twelve-bar structure should be viewed as a predecessor of the fully evolved type represented by table 6.2 (a). It is interesting to note in this regard that folk recordings of the "Bully Song" from the 1920s often use a harmonization of mm. 5-8 that is much closer to the "Frankie" type, shown in (d) of table 6.2, with three measures of subdominant replacing the supertonic in mm. 5-7. It is as though the earlier style of harmonization gives way to a newer one that would have been more familiar to the performers of the later era.[32]

[32] There is an interesting parallel here with Cannon's "Just Because She Made Dem Goo-Goo Eyes" (example 5.8). The verse uses a twelve-bar "Frankie" type but, like the "Bully Song," diverges harmonically from the prototype in measures 5-7. A parody of the song entitled "Can You Blame the Colored Man?" (Paramount 12571) was recorded in 1927 by Gus Cannon (no relation to Hughie). In this

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

I have dwelt on the "Bully Song" at some length because of its importance in proto-blues culture. It is not only the first published song to make use of a twelve-bar proto-blues form, but the fact that it probably predates more familiar versions of the "Frankie" family gives us a unique insight into the emergence of proto-blues.

Other Proto-Blues Influenced by the "Frankie" Song Family

In addition to the "Bully Song" and the proto-blues by Cannon, there are nine known proto-blues that show the influence of the "Frankie" song family. These are listed in Table 6.3.[34] Between them, these compositions add considerably to our understanding of the emergence of the twelve-bar form and the influence of the blues ballad on proto-blues.

Table 6.3. Proto-Blues Showing Influence of the "Frankie" Family (Other Than "The Bully Song" and Songs by Hughie Cannon)[33]

Title	Lyrics/Music	Date	Blues Ballad Influence
Ain't Dat a Shame?	Queen/Wilson	1901	Verse
Since Bill Bailey Came Back Home	Johnson/Furth	1902	Verse
Bill, You Done Me Wrong	Leighton Bros.	1908	Verse
Bad Rag	Maggio	1910	A strain
Stack-O-Lee	The Three White Kuhns	1910	Verse
Frankie and Johnnie	Leighton Bros./Shields	1912	Verse
I'm A "Do-Right" Woman	Leslie/Muir	1912	Verse
You're My Baby	Brown/Ayer	1912	Verse
All Night Long	Brooks	1913	Verse

version, the performer adheres closely to the melody of the published verse and chorus, but for the verse he substitutes the original harmony with the regular "Frankie" harmonization of table 6.2a.

[33] For details of publication (publisher and location), and full names of lyricists and composers, see Appendix 4.

[34] For further details of these items see Appendix 4.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 6.4. Queen and Wilson: "Ain't Dat a Shame" (1901), verse and chorus

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The "Bill Bailey" Songs

This designation refers to a group of five songs that appeared between 1901 and 1908. It consists of the first three songs of table 6.3 and two by Cannon: "Bill Bailey, Won't You Please Come Home?" (1902) and "He Done Me Wrong" (1904), subtitled "The Death of Bill Bailey." These proto-blues are linked by the figure of Bill Bailey, who, along with his wife, is their main protagonist.[35]

All the songs are musically related. They all consist of a standard introduction and vamp followed by a twenty-four bar verse, consisting of two twelve-bar matrices and a chorus of either sixteen or thirty-two bars. All the verses are linked to the "Frankie" folksong family by their distinctive phrasing[36] and often by their harmony and melody as well.[37]

The first of the series is John Queen and Walter Wilson's "Ain't Dat a Shame?" from 1901, given in example 6.4. Queen and Wilson have already been mentioned as the authors of another (non-twelve-bar) proto-blues "Fare Thee 'Honey,' Fare Thee Well," which appeared in the same year.[38] There is controversy about the authorship of "Ain't Dat a Shame?," however. The original title filed for purposes of copyright by the publisher gives the authors as Queen and Bert Leighton.[39] The latter, along with his brother Frank, is an important figure in proto-blues, and his contribution is discussed

---

[35] Another Bill Bailey song, "Bill Bailey's Hens," words by H. G. Wheeler, music J. W. Wheeler (Boston: Wheeler Brothers, 1895), seems to be unrelated to the later songs or proto-blues in general.

[36] See above, 236-40.

[37] On the relationship between Cannon's two Bill Bailey songs and the "Frankie," see Chapter 5, 232-34.

[38] See above, 219-20.

[39] Thornton Hagert, privately circulated newsletter of Vernacular Music Research, 27 March 1971, 5.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

below. Suffice it to say that Leighton claimed to be author of the song both in a 1922 article and in his ASCAP biography.[40] The song was also attributed to Hughie Cannon,[41] probably because of the Bill Bailey connection, and also because Cannon was an associate of John Queen, who is cited as the lyricist on the copyright entry and the sheet music itself.[42]

The various claims of authorship of "Ain't Dat a Shame?" suggest a folk origin for the song,[43] for, as a folk song emerges and acquires popularity in oral culture, there will often be—as with the "Bully Song"—simultaneous attempts to introduce it into the commercial mainstream (here, though, different authors are laying claim to a single published version, in contrast to the multiple versions of the "Bully Song"). As I will show below, much of the music of "Ain't Dat a Shame?," and at least certain elements of the text, are undoubtedly of folk origin. I will argue that the same is also true of the song's central protagonist, Bill Bailey.

After a conventional eight-bar introduction (mm. 1-8) and four-bar vamp (mm. 9-12), the verse begins (mm. 13-36)—it is divided into two twelve-bar sections (mm. 13-

---

[40] "Origin of 'Blues' (or Jazz) by Frank and Bert Leighton, *Variety*, 6 January 1922, reprinted in *Jazz in Print (1856-1929): An Anthology of Selected Early Readings in Jazz History*, ed. Karl Koenig (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon, 2002), 164-66; "Bert Leighton" in *The ASCAP Biographical Dictionary of Composers, Authors, and Publishers*, 2nd ed. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1952), 300.

[41] Three such attributions are known. One is on the cover of "Ain't Dat Too Bad?," a 1904 composition of Cannon's, written in collaboration with Charles Kohlman. The other appear in two articles: untitled and unattributed, *The Referee*, 29 January 1910 (refers to the song as "Ain't That a Shame"); and unattributed, "Stencils and Booze his Undoing," *The Presto*, 10 February 1910 (refers to the song as "Ain't It a Shame?").

[42] See figure 5.1. The two collaborated on three songs: "Just because She Made Dem Goo-Goo Eyes" from 1900, their biggest hit; "Don't You Never Take No Ten Cent Drink on Me" (New York: Howley, Haviland & Dresser, 1901); and "I Hates to Get Up Early in the Morn" (New York: Howley, Haviland & Dresser, 1901). Further collaborations were halted by Queen's death in 1902.

[43] However, this song is apparently unrelated to the folksong "Ain't it a Shame?," also known as "Ain't it a Shame to Work on a Sunday?" recorded by numerous African American performers in the 1920s and 1930s.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

24, 25-36)—and is followed by a sixteen-measure chorus (mm. 37-52). The melody has the characteristic phrasing of the "Frankie" song family, with a clear hypermetric shift ("he said no more" [mm. 20-21] for the first twelve-bar section, and "Oh listen to" [mm. 32-33] for the second). The harmony presents another variant of the "Frankie" type:

Table 6.4. Harmonization of the Verse of "Ain't Dat a Shame?," as Compared with "Frankie and Johnnie" Prototype

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
a. Frankie	I	I	I	I	IV	IV	IV	I
Measure	**13**	**14**	**15**	**16**	**17**	**18**	**19**	**20**
b. Ain't Dat a Shame?	I	I	I	I	I	I	IV	I

	9	10	11	12
Frankie	V	V	I	I
	21	**22**	**23**	**24**
Ain't Dat a Shame?	V	V	I	I

As with the "Bully Song" and Cannon and Queen's "Goo-Goo Eyes," the harmonic divergence begins in m. 5: instead of moving to the subdominant for mm. 5-6, the music stays on the tonic, not reaching the subdominant until m. 7. The chorus revolves around an eight-bar harmonic formula used twice, IV-IV-I-I-V-V-I-I. The identical sequence was also used by Cannon in the chorus of "Put Me Wise" (1904), a proto-blues whose verse adheres exactly to "Frankie" prototype. Cannon also uses a variant of this sequence in the chorus of his second Bill Bailey song, "He Done Me Wrong" (example 5.12): see table 6.5.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Ain't Dat a Shame?" is basically a prequel to Cannon's "Bill Bailey." In the latter, Mrs. Bailey begs her husband to return, regretting their original separation when she would not allow him back in the house. "Ain't Dat a Shame?" concerns the original

Table 6.5. Harmonization of the Chorus of "Ain't Dat a Shame?" as Compared with the Chorus of "He Done Me Wrong"

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
a. Ain't Dat a Shame?	IV	IV	I	I	V	V	I	I
b. He Done Me Wrong	IV	IV	I	I	I	I	I	I–V

	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Ain't Dat a Shame? IV	IV	IV	I	I	V	V	I	I
He Done Me Wrong	IV	IV	I	I	V/V	V	I	I

argument. Bailey initially walks out on her, but when he regrets his decision, his wife refuses to allow him back in the house. There is, therefore, a loose narrative link between the two songs which is reinforced by a specific parallelism in the text. In the second verse of "Ain't Dat a Shame?," as Bill Bailey pleads to return, he admits "I know that I've done you wrong" (mm. 18-20). Similarly, when Mrs. Bailey pleads for the return of her husband in Cannon's song, she pleads "I know I've done you wrong." In Cannon's 1904 follow-up, a variant of the phrase is used both as the title and the refrain: "He done me wrong." There is a clear connection to folk sources here, for the famous refrain of "Frankie and Johnnie" is "he was her man, but he done me wrong," and the folk song's melody, phrasing, and chord progression pervade all three songs.

The third Bill Bailey song, Johnson and Furth's "Since Bill Bailey Came Back Home," appeared in the wake of Cannon's song, to which it is a straightforward sequel,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 6.5. Johnson and Furth: "Since Bill Bailey Came Back Home" (1902), verse

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

as its title implies. Its verse, given in example 6.5, uses yet another harmonic variation of the twelve-bar matrix (formally it has the same twenty-four bar verse and thirty-two bar chorus heard in "Bill Bailey"), this one departing, more than most of the other proto-blues, from the standard harmonization of the twelve-bar form:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 6.6. Harmonization of the Verse of "Since Bill Bailey Came Back Home" Compared with the "Frankie and Johnnie" Prototype and "Bill Bailey, Won't You Please Come Home?"

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
a. Frankie	I	I	I	I	IV	IV	IV	I
b. Since Bill Bailey Came. . .	vi	V/vi	vi	I	I	I	V	V
c. Bill Bailey, Won't You. . .[44]	vi	vi	I	I	I	I	V/vi	vi

	9	10	11	12
Frankie	V	V	I	I
Since Bill Bailey Came. . .	V	I	I	V
Bill Bailey, Won't You. . .	V	V	I	I

Despite this harmonic disparity, the melody of "Since Bill Bailey Came Home" uses the standard "Frankie" phrasing, including the hypermetric shift in mm. 8 and 19. In fact, the verse is related to that of "Bill Bailey," as the verses in both songs are unusual in their use of the (minor) submediant in m. 1. This is reinforced by their openings, which are deliberately contrasting: "On one summer's day/ Sun was shining bright" ("Bill Bailey"), as compared with "One early winter's morn/ When the ground was white with snow" ("Since Bill Bailey Came Home"). An interesting feature of the verse of "Since Bill Bailey Came Home" is that it contains the first known occurrence of the word "blues" within the context of a twelve-bar sequence in a commercial composition, even though the reference is to *not* having the blues (first verse, mm. 20-21).

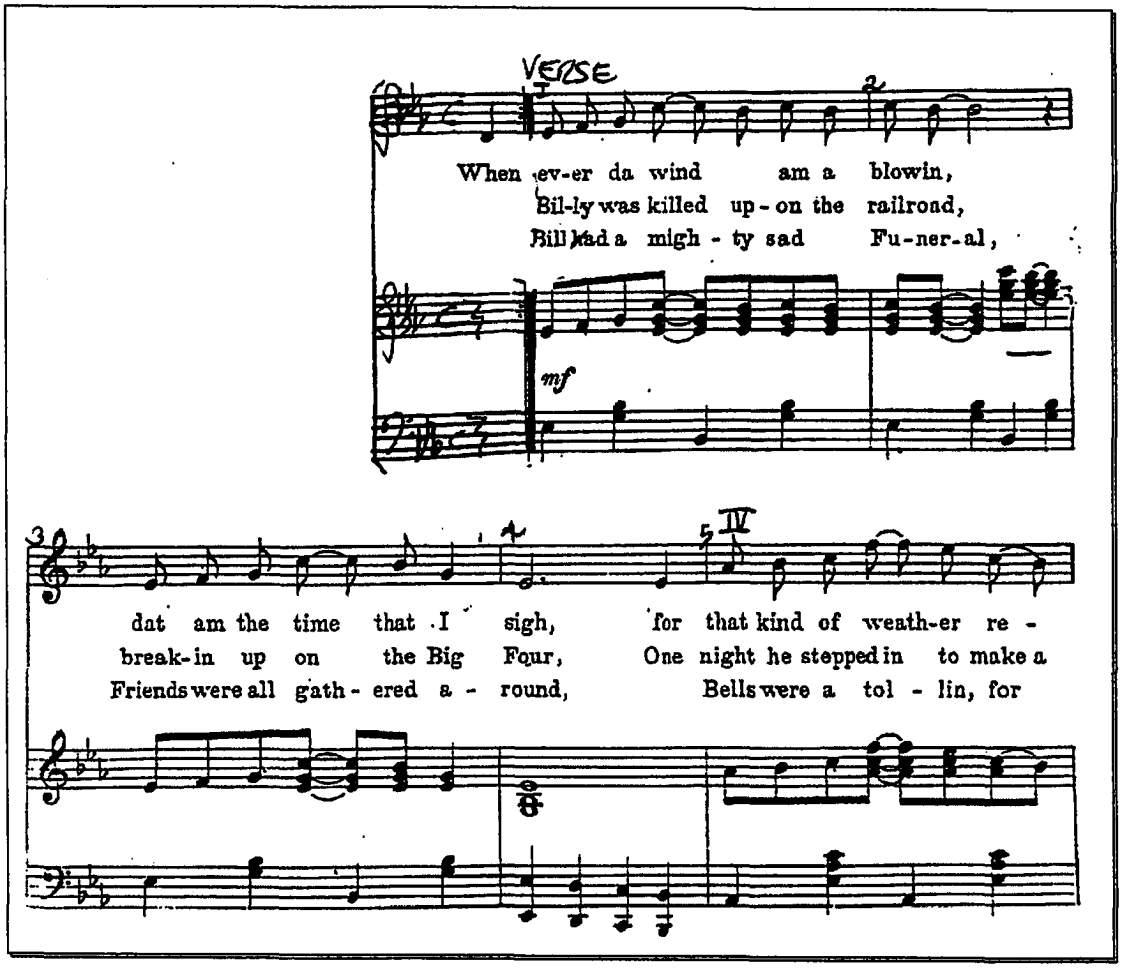
The final "Bill Bailey" song is "Bill, You Done Me Wrong" (example 6.6), which appeared in 1908. Allegedly written by the Leighton brothers, Frank and Bert, it is in fact a reworking of Cannon's "He Done Me Wrong" (example 5.12). A comparison of the text of the first verse and chorus shows the similarity.

---

[44] Melody and text quoted in example 5.9.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 6.6. Leighton Brothers: "Bill, You Done Me Wrong" (1908), verse and chorus



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"He Done me Wrong"	**"Bill, You Done me Wrong"**
Verse 1	**Verse 1**
Many's de winds been a blowin',	Whenever de wind am a blowin,
Many's de time I have sighed,	dat am the time that I sigh,
Many's de time I been weeping hard,	for that kind of weather reminds me,
Since Bill Bailey died,	Of the night that Bill Bailey died,
But den he done me wrong,	He was my man, but he done me wrong.
Oh yes, he done me wrong.	
Billy was one of de willing,	Billy was mighty congenial,
A man with de willing mind,	A man with a liberal mind,
I done forgive him for all he done,	With all my heart I forgive him,
He was so good and kind,	He was so good and kind,
But den he done me wrong,	He was my man, but he done me wrong.
He done me wrong.	
Chorus	
He done me wrong and throwed me right in,	Oh, Bill you done me wrong,
All de worstess happinstances	And throw'd me in the worst of circumstances,
I took some awful chances,	I took some awful chances,
Bill you done me wrong,	Bill you done me, Bill you done me wrong;
I feel so simple since you're dead and gone,	I feel so bad since you are dead and gone
The Lord have mercy on you,	De Lord have mercy on you
The Lord have mercy on you,	De Lord have mercy on you
Bless you, love you, Bill you done me wrong.	Love you, William, bless you Bill, You done me wrong.

In addition to the text, the melody and harmony for both verse and chorus of the two songs are closely linked. At first sight, it might appear that the Leighton brothers were simply plagiarizing Cannon's song. However, a more detailed examination of the songs suggests something different: that they are, in fact, alternative versions of a folk source.

The key lies in the second half of the second verse of "Bill, You Done Me Wrong," which contains the couplet "Send for your rubber tired hearses, go get your rubber tired hacks,/ Many the time has Billy left me, this time he'll never come back/ He was my man, but he done me wrong" (mm. 13-20). This is a floating folk strain that is found ubiquitously in different versions of "Frankie and Johnnie" and other blues ballads.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

It typically runs: "It was a rubber-tired buggy, decorated hack/ Took poor Johnny to the graveyard, brought little Frankie back, / He was her man, but he done her wrong."[45] This verse is not in Cannon's song, so it must have been taken by the Leightons from folk sources. The refrain at the end of each verse in the Leightons' song is the same as that of "Frankie and Johnnie" (Cannon has "But den he done me wrong/ He done me wrong," as opposed to "He was her man, but he done her wrong"), again suggesting that the Leightons were drawing directly from folk sources.

A core issue with the Bill Bailey songs is the identity of Bill Bailey himself. The most straightforward suggestion is that the Bill Bailey character originated with Queen and Wilson. According to this theory, Cannon wrote his song in response to "Ain't Dat a Shame?," probably inspired to do so by his association with Queen, perhaps even at his suggestion. The other songs in the series were responses to these first two songs, which were both substantial hits in their day.[46]

The matter is complicated by the fact that it has often been suggested that the real Bill Bailey was an acquaintance of Cannon's named Willard Godfrey Bailey, a trombonist who resided in Jackson, Michigan, between 1894-1907.[47] However, this seems unlikely for two reasons. First, it does not account for the appearance of the Bill Bailey character in "Ain't Dat a Shame?," which preceded "Bill Bailey," unless it was the case that the song really was written by Cannon, who then gave it away to Queen and Wilson. While this is possible, it is unlikely: although Queen and Cannon were

---

[45] The version quoted is from Lomax, *The Penguin Book of American Songs*, 121.

[46] "Ain't Dat a Shame" was apparently the thirteenth most popular song of 1901, and "Bill Bailey" the sixth most popular of 1902. See Edward Foote Gardner, *Popular Songs of the Twentieth Century:* Volume 1—*Chart Detail & Encyclopedia 1900-1949* (St. Paul, Minn.: Paragon House, 2000), 254 and 258.

[47] Fuld, *The Book of World-Famous Music*, 145.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

associates, simply to have sold—or given for free—a song to a colleague in this way would have been most atypical behavior. More problematic is the fact that "Bill Bailey" appeared in 1902, while the evidence suggests that Cannon moved to Michigan around 1904, and thus would not have known Bailey at the time the song was composed.

However, there is another possible explanation for the origin of the Bill Bailey character. Given the folk influence on the Bill Bailey series, specifically the close relationship with the "Frankie" family shared by all five songs, it is tempting to suggest that the character was somehow derived from oral tradition. The strongest piece of evidence in support of this claim is the transcription a folk ballad called "I Went to the Hop-Joint," which appears in Scarborough's *On the Trail of Negro Folk-Songs*.[48] The twelve-bar melody is a variant of "Frankie and Johnnie," with hypermetric shift in m. 8, while the text is of the standard 2LV+1LR construction found in ballads of the "Frankie" type:

I went to the hop-joint and thought I'd have some fun.
In walked Bill Bailey with his forty-one!
Oh, baby darlin', why don't you come home?

First time I saw him I was standin' in the hop-joint door.
Next time I saw him, I was lyin' on the hop-joint floor.
Oh, baby darlin', why don't you come home?

Shot me in the side and I staggered to the door.
Don't catch me playin' bull in the hop-joint any more!
Oh, baby darlin', why don't you come home?

Some rides in buggies, some rides in hacks.
Some dies in hearses but they never come back!
Oh, baby darlin', why don't you come home?

---

[48] 89-90. The informant for this song, a Mrs. Tom Bartlett of Marlin, Texas, notes that "a hop-joint is the vernacular for a drug-shop, and all that implies, and 'drug' to a Negro means cocaine, 'coke,' 'dope,' etc., being synonymous with 'hops'" (89).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

These four verses are variants of standard types found in the various members of the "Frankie" family, including "Delia," "Boll Weevil," "Stackolee," and, of course, "Frankie and Johnnie." In other words, "I Went Down to the Hop-Joint" is a typical "Frankie"-type blues ballad. However, the hero is Bill Bailey, and, to complicate the issue, the refrain is similar to that of Cannon's "Bill Bailey," namely, "won't you come home?" It is quite possible, therefore, that this is exactly the kind of folksong that was the direct inspiration for Queen, Wilson, Cannon, and the Leighton Brothers in their Bill Bailey songs. However, the case is not clear-cut, for it is also possible that the influence is the reverse, that is, that the commercial Bill Bailey songs influenced the folk culture, particularly when one bears in mind that this version of "I Went Down to the Hop-Joint" post-dates the commercial Bill Bailey songs (Scarborough's book appeared in 1925). It is certainly true that both "Ain't Dat a Shame?" and "Bill Bailey" were adopted by folk culture, as various recordings by white country musicians in the 1920s and 30s testify.[49] However, this hypothesis, too, is problematical. The only words for "Hop-Joint" that may have been derived from any of the published Bill Bailey songs are the refrain and the last verse, the latter occurring only in "Bill, You Done Me Wrong," which was never a commercial success, and thus little known. The bulk of the text can only have been derived from folk sources. This makes for a rather counterintuitive notion regarding the influences on "Hop-Joint": that the Bill Bailey character, and possibly some sections of the text, were derived from commercial sources, but that the main part of the text and the

---

[49] These are listed in Guthrie T. Meade, Jr., with Dick Spottswood, and Douglas S. Meade, *Country Music Sources: A Biblio-Discography of Commercially Recorded Traditional Music* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 2002), 489-90. It is interesting, however, that there are no known recordings of these songs by black folk musicians, especially since "I Went Down to the Hop-Joint" is undoubtedly of black origin.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 6.7. Leighton Brothers and Shields: "Frankie and Johnny" (1912), verse and chorus

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

melody derived from folk-music. This is certainly possible, but it is less likely, and more complex, than the theory that "Hop-Joint" represents a song-type that was the inspiration for the commercial Bill Bailey songs.

The First Commercial "Frankie and Johnny"

By far the most important and influential proto-blues is "Frankie and Johnny" by the Leighton Brothers and Ren Shields, the first published version of the song.[50] It is given in example 6.7. The structure of the work parallels earlier "Frankie"-related proto-blues. After a standard introduction (mm. 1-8) and vamp (mm. 9-10), the verse begins. It has the usual twenty-four bar form, subdivided into two twelve-bar sections (mm. 11-22, 23-34). The verse is followed by a sixteen-measure chorus (mm. 35-50). It should come as no surprise that it was the Leightons who were responsible for the first commercial version of this popular folk standard, for, as I have demonstrated, their "Bill, You Done Me Wrong"[51] comes musically and textually closer to the song than any other proto-blues composition.

This version of "Frankie," however, diverges in several respects from the familiar version of the folksong. For one thing, the storyline is rather different. Although there are hundreds of extant versions of the song, the plot is fairly consistent. Frankie finds out

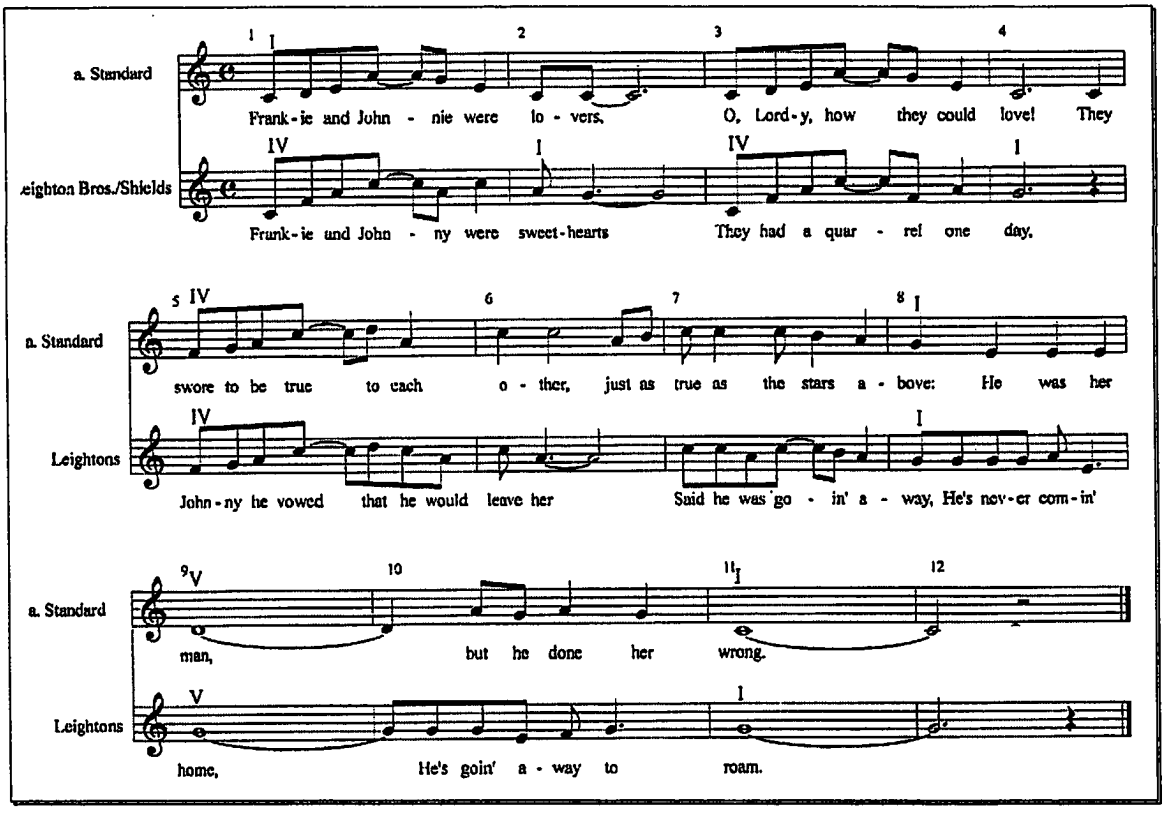
---

[50] Publication details in Appendix 4. A word needs to be said about the authorship for "Frankie and Johnny." Whereas "Bill, You Done Me Wrong" was written by Bert and Frank Leighton, the cover for "Frankie and Johnnie" has a photograph of the two Leightons with their (?) younger brother Harry. The photo bears the designation "The Three Leightons," which suggests that the three were a vaudeville act at the time. It has not been possible to discover further information about Harry, except that, as the 1922 variety article "Origin of 'Blues' (or Jazz)" is by Frank and Bert, and Harry is not mentioned in it, it would seem that the latter had dropped out of their act sometime before that. The other co-author Ren Shields was a composer who, with the Leightons, had had a hit two years earlier with "Steamboat Bill" (New York: F. A. Mills, 1910), based on the blues ballad "Railroad Bill."

[51] "Frankie and Johnny" was published by Tell Taylor of Chicago, the company that issued "Bill, You Done Me Wrong."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 6.8.
a. "Frankie and Johnnie" (composite version), melody and text of first verse
b. Leighton Brothers and Shields: "Frankie and Johnny" (1912), melody and text of verse



that her lover, Johnnie (Albert in some versions), is having an affair with another woman, usually called Nellie (sometimes Alice) Bly, and catches them *in flagrante*. Frankie kills him, is caught, imprisoned, and, in many versions, receives the electric chair, or some similar fate. However, in the Leighton brothers' version, Johnny tells Frankie he wants to leave her and confesses to the affair. She then kills him. The fact that he confesses, rather than her finding out and going after him, takes a compelling element away from the narrative.

There is another significant textual divergence from the standard folk version: the standard refrain, "he was her man, but he done her wrong," is not used at all, the only

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

reference to it being an indirect one in the first verse, m. 27. This is perhaps surprising, given that the Leightons had already made use of the refrain in "Bill, You Done Me Wrong."

There are also differences in the music. For one, the harmonic sequence diverges from the prototype in the first and third measures, where it uses the subdominant instead of the tonic (table 6.7). This is clearly not a major difference, though it is rather surprising, for otherwise the harmony of the verse of "Bill, You Done me Wrong" corresponds exactly with the "Frankie" prototype. Furthermore, it is a variant not found in any other of the "Frankie" related proto-blues.

Table 6.7. Harmonization of the Verse of Leighton Brothers/Shields "Frankie and Johnny" as Compared with Prototype

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
a. Prototype	I	I	I	I	IV	IV	IV	I
b. Leighton Bros./Shields	IV	I	IV	I	IV	IV	IV	I

	9	10	11	12
Prototype	V	V	I	I
Leighton Bros./Shields	V	V	I	I

There are also differences in the melody between this version of "Frankie" and the standard folk versions (see example 6.8). Clearly the Leightons are using a straightforward variant of the melody, with the characteristic phrasing of members of the "Frankie" family, including the hypermetric shift in m. 8. At times the two melodies are nearly identical, especially mm. 5-8, though elsewhere there is some disparity, particularly the pitches of mm. 1-4.

However, the greatest difference between the two versions of "Frankie" is neither harmonic nor melodic, but structural. In the standard folk version of "Frankie," the form

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

is a continuous twelve-bar one: like a blues, there are just verses, no chorus. In the Leighton Brothers/Shields version there is a chorus of sixteen measures. At first sight, this simply appears to be a straightforward compromise to commercialism, for published popular music of this period always has choruses. The evidence, however, suggests a more complex explanation.

The outstanding feature of the chorus is its harmony, for it uses the same sequence that we have already seen in the choruses to "Bill, You Done Me Wrong" and "Ain't Dat a Shame" (a variant was also found to be used in the chorus of "You Done Me Wrong": see table 6.5), namely a repeated eight-bar sequence IV-IV-I-I-V-V-I-I. We find this same harmonic sequence occurring in the chorus of other compositions by proto-blues composers. Cannon uses it in "Put Me Wise," which, like the other songs, has a twelve-bar, "Frankie"-related verse, and also in "Babe, You Better Stay Home,"[52] which, however, has a regular thirty-two bar verse. It is also found in "That is a Habit I Never Had" with words and music by Walter Wilson,[53] who was, with John Queen, the co-author of "Ain't Dat a Shame." To complicate matters further, the edition of the sheet music sent in for copyright deposit at the Library of Congress has "Successfully sung by Leighton & Leighton" printed on the front cover, along with a photo of the pair. The use of the sequence in proto-blues was not restricted to songs. Maggio's "I Got the Blues" (example 1.2), which uses a standard twelve-bar blues matrix for its A-strain, uses the sixteen-bar sequence for its second strain. Incidentally, in all known cases of the sixteen-bar and twelve-bar sequences appearing together both in folk music and published

---

[52] New York: Witmark and Sons, 1904.

[53] New York: Howley, Dresser, 1904.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

compositions, the sixteen-bar sequence always appears *after* the twelve-bar section, never before it.

What is one to make of the frequent use of this sixteen-bar harmonic scheme in conjunction with the twelve-bar sequence in proto-blues? This particular sequence is found in the chorus of both pop songs[54] and hymns[55] of the era. However, the sequence also has strong associations with black music. It is, of course, the last eight measures of a standard blues sequence, thus:

[I-I-I-I-] IV-IV-I-I-V-V-I-I

There are some blues tracks from the early period of recording that use the sequence as their sole harmonic structure.[56] More frequently, though, the sequence is combined with the twelve-bar matrix in much the same way as the proto-blues. For example, Cow Cow Davenport's "Givin' It Away"[57] has a verse-chorus form, where the verse uses a twelve-bar matrix, and the chorus uses the same sixteen-bar harmonic sequence of the Leightons' "Frankie and Johnny." We also find the sequence used as a chorus for blues songs with sixteen- or eight-bar verses rather than twelve, such as "Come on Mama" by Mozelle

---

[54] Such as "Aloha Oe," a Hawaiian song that enjoyed tremendous popularity. For background, see Fuld, *The Book of World-Famous Music*, 93-94.

[55] Examples: "He Shall Reign" by George C. Needham and C. C. Case; "Rise Up and Hasten," composer and author unknown; "Over Jordan" by Mrs. M. B. C. Slade and J. R. Murray; "Trust On!" by George C. Stebbins; "My Redeemer" by P. P. Bliss and James McGranahan; and "I am Coming" by Allie Starbright and Ira D. Sankey. All of these appear in Ira D. Sankey, James McGranahan, and George C. Stebbins, *Gospel Hymns No. 4* (New York: Bigelow & Main, 1881), a popular anthology of the time.

[56] For example, "Some Cold Rainy Day" by Bertha Chippie Hill (Vocalion 1264, 1928) and "Texas and Pacific Blues" by Frenchy's String Band (Columbia 14387-D, 1928). Probably the most celebrated use of the sequence in folk blues is "My Bucket's Got a Hole in It," a traditional eight-bar blues that was extensively recorded by New Orleans revival bands.

[57] Gennett 6829, 1929.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Alderson,[58] a form similar to songs like Wilson's "That is a Habit I Never Had" and Cannon's "Babe, You Better Stay Home."[59] We even find recordings where the twelve and sixteen bar progressions are combined freely. Thus, Lottie Beaman's "Rolling Log Blues"[60] intersperses vocals using the sixteen-bar sequence with guitar solos using the standard twelve-bar sequence. In sum, the sixteen-bar sequence found in many proto-blues has clear parallels with its usage in mature blues. This suggests that when composers were creating the proto-blues, they were drawing on folk culture not only for their twelve-bar verses, but, in at least this instance, for their sixteen-bar choruses also.

This is confirmed by the fact that it is possible in some cases to trace the melodies that are used for the sixteen-bar choruses of the proto-blues to specific folk sources. For example, the melody of the choruses of Queen and Wilson's "Ain't Dat a Shame" and Wilson's "Well that is a Habit I Never Had" are closely related to the African-American folksong "Take Me Back," versions of which were recorded by Frank Stokes[61] and Blind Lemon Jefferson,[62] among others.[63] In both versions, the song has the identical eight-measure harmonic formula found in the choruses of the proto-blues.

---

[58] Jewel 20033, 1930.

[59] Wilson's and Cannon's songs had thirty-two measure verses, not sixteen, of course. My point is that verses using symmetrical forms (eight, sixteen, or thirty-two bars), rather than asymmetrical (twelve or twenty-four bars), could be used for such songs.

[60] Gennett 6624, 1928.

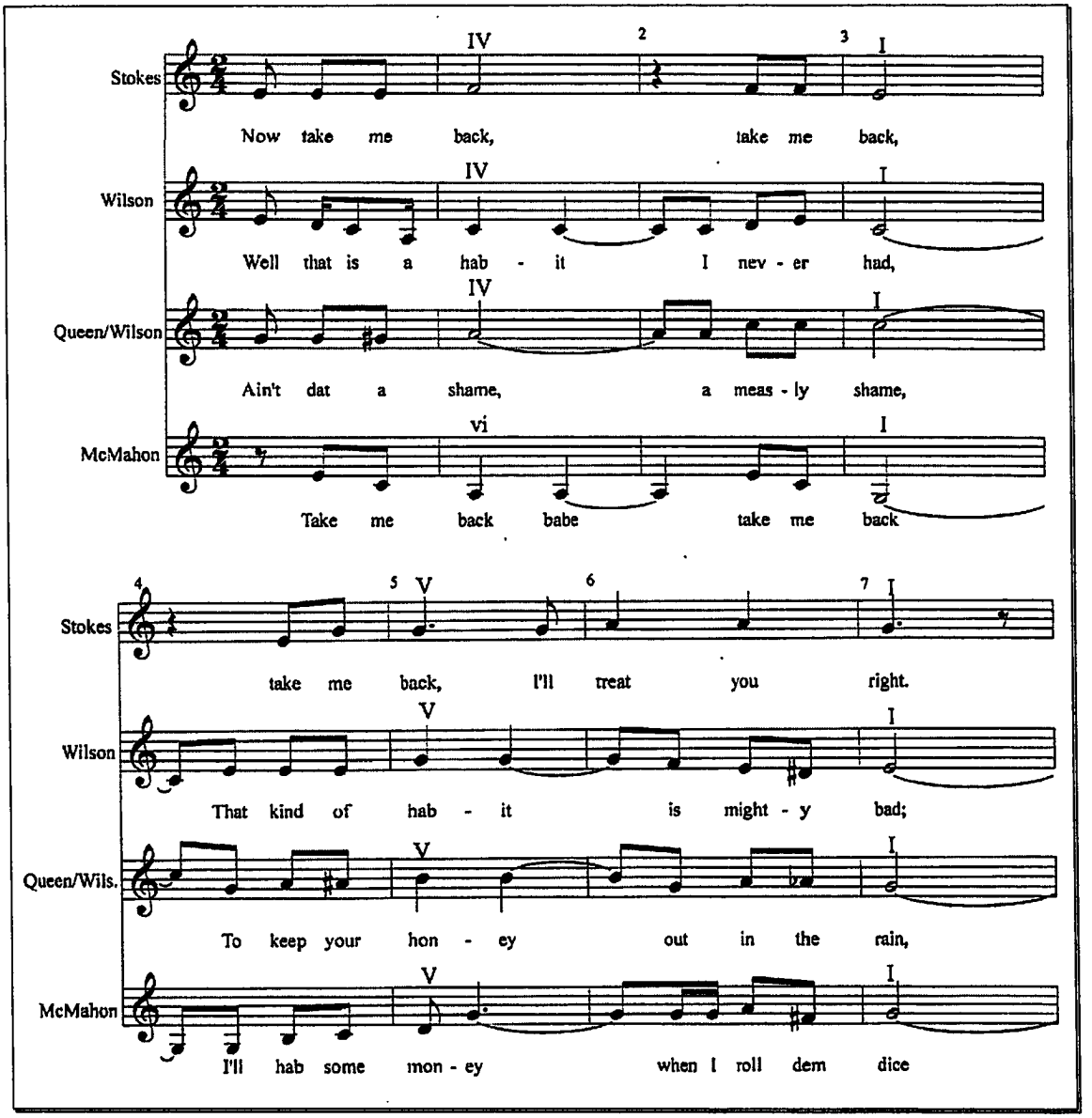
[61] Victor V38531, 1928.

[62] Under the title "Beggin' Back"; Paramount 12394, 1926.

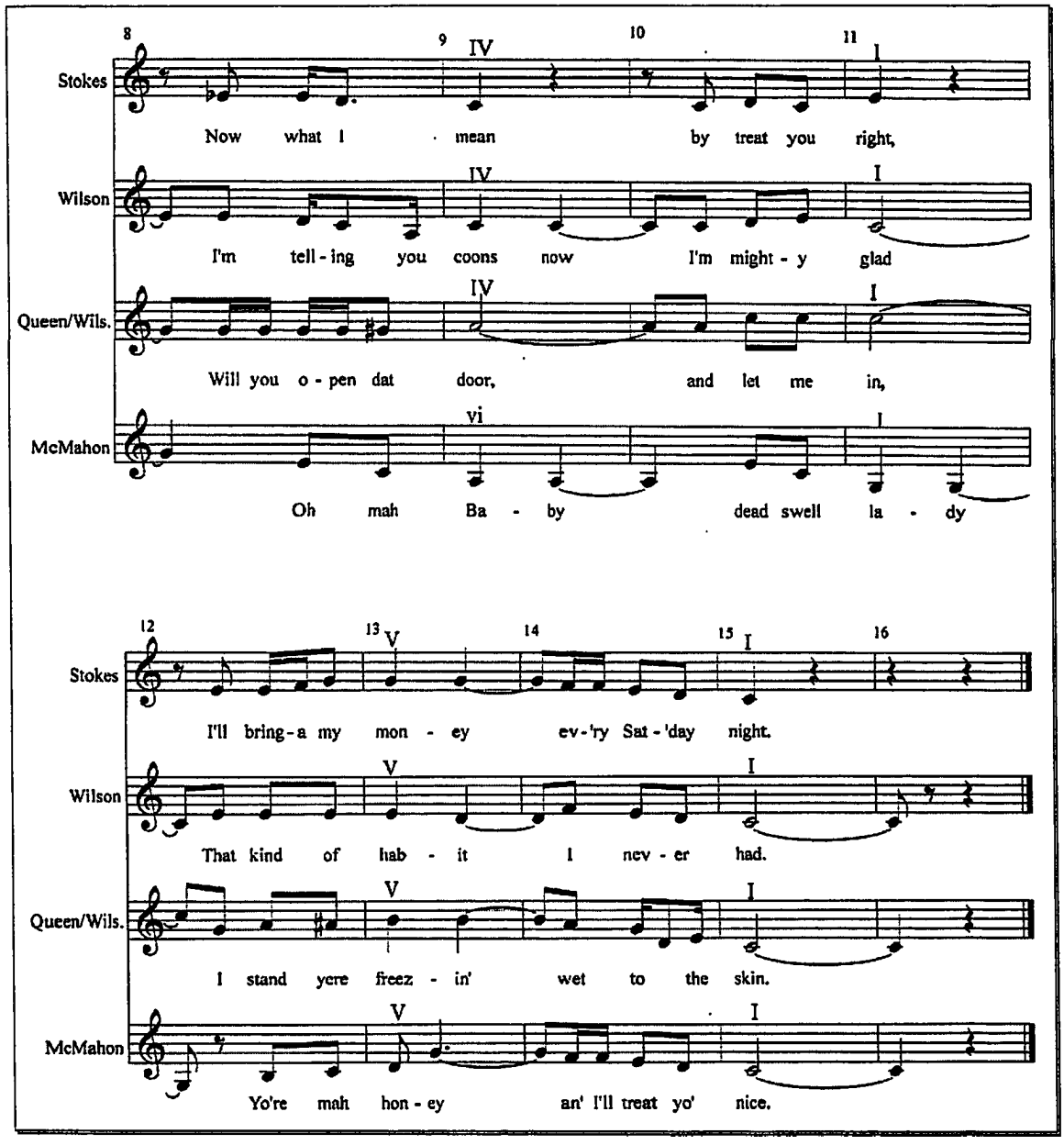
[63] See Oliver, *Songsters and Saints*, 71-72.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 6.9.
a. Frank Stokes: "Take Me Back" (1928), first sixteen measures of voice entry (Original Eb; author's transcription)
b. Wilson: "That is a Habit I Never Had" (1901), chorus (Original Ab)
c. Queen and Wilson: "Ain't Dat a Shame" (1901), chorus (Original: D major)
d. McMahon: "Take me Back, Babe" (1898), chorus (Original: F major)



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Interestingly, a version of the song under the title "Take Me Back, Babe!" was published in 1898, with words and music by T. Barrett McMahon.[64] Example 6.9 compares the

[64] Boston: George Setchell, 1898.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

melody of the chorus of McMahon's song with those of "Ain't Dat a Shame?", and "Well that is a Habit I Never Had," and part of Stokes's recorded version.

All these melodies use the same harmonic sequence, of course, except that McMahon substitutes the submediant chord for the subdominant at the beginning of both eight-measure segments (mm. 1-2, 9-10). There is a strong textual link between McMahon's and Stokes's versions, both of which use the "take me back" trope, and share a relationsip in their use of "I'll hab some money when I roll dem dice" (McMahon, mm. 4-7) and "I'll bringa my money ev'ry Sat'day night" (Stokes, mm. 12-15). Melodically, the second half of Wilson (mm. 8-15) corresponds fairly closely with Stokes, especially at mm. 14-15 (compare McMahon at this point, also). Probably the most important correspondence between the four melodies, however, aside from their harmonies, is their phrasing, which is essentially the same.[65]

The relationship between the four melodies shown in example 6.9 is roughly the equivalent of that between the twelve-bar verses of the proto-blues and the "Frankie" family: they share many characteristics of harmony and phrasing, and fewer in terms of melody and text. It would seem likely, furthermore, that "Take Me Back" is not a folksong standing in isolation but had, at an early stage, evolved into a family of songs in much the same way as the various members of the "Frankie" family. Queen, Wilson, and McMahon may therefore have been using as their model a different member of that

---

[65] The easiest way to see this is by dividing the example into two-bar sub-phrases (beginning mm. 0, 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, and 14): all the melodies begin at the same point in the measure to within an eighth-note of one another, and also come to rest simultaneously. The only exception is m. 6, where Stokes is at variance with the other three, its sub-phrase beginning on the last eighth on m. 5 rather than, as the other melodies, the second eighth of m. 6. Note that in m. 1, Stokes and Queen/Wilson come to rest at the beginning of the measure while Wilson and McMahon do so on the second beat. In this, and other, instances, however, the second note of the measure in Wilson and McMahon is *the same pitch* as the first note, suggesting that the extra note is a change to accommodate an extra syllable rather than a genuine extension of the melody (other examples: mm. 9 and 11).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

family in their songs, or may indeed have been creatively engaging with the tradition in much the same way I suggested Cannon was when composing his various proto-blues.[66]

The melody of the chorus of the Leightons' "Frankie and Johnny" is also a folk melody. Though more obscure than "Take me Back," I have found at least one instance of it being used in early folk blues recordings, namely, "You May Leave But This Will Bring You Back," performed by the Memphis Jug Band.[67] This song uses throughout its entirety the eight-bar harmonic sequence of "Take Me Back" and the chorus of the various proto-blues. There is an extended instrumental section in the middle of the track which uses a harmonica melody similar to that found in the chorus of "Frankie and Johnny." I compare the two in example 6.10. The correspondence between them is particularly close at mm. 7-8, in which they use exactly the same melody (on the Memphis Jug Band recording, the break is played by the mandolin). We can therefore say that the chorus of this version of "Frankie and Johnny" shows folk influence as much as the verse.

It is not clear, however, whether the verse-chorus structure of the Leightons' "Frankie" represents an early version of the song that existed in oral culture or whether the Leightons simply combined two separate folk-melodies to make a more commercially viable product. That other proto-blues of the period combine verses based on melodic/harmonic schemes derived from the "Frankie" song-family with choruses using

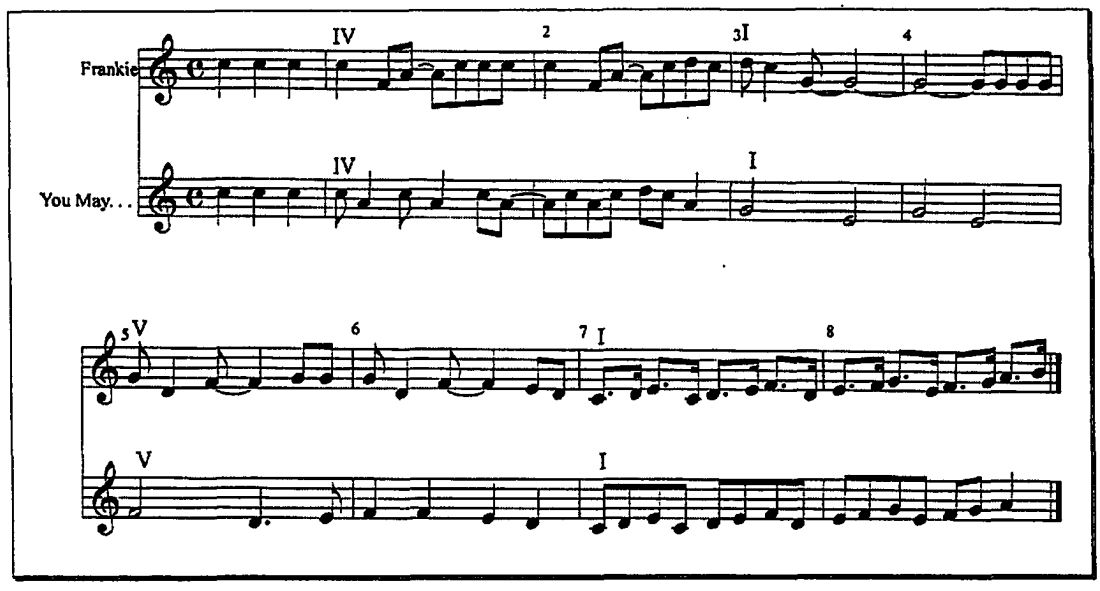
---

[66] See above, 243-44.

[67] Victor 23267, 1930. The group uses the same melody on "Memphis Yo-Yo Blues" (Victor V38558, 1929). For another version of this folksong (text only), see Odum and Johnson, *The Negro and his Songs*, 213-14.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 6.10.
a. Leighton Brothers and Shields: "Frankie and Johnny" (1912), melody and text of chorus, first eight measures (Original: D major)
b. Memphis Jug Band: "You May Leave, But This Will Bring You Back" (1930), melody of instrumental section, first eight measures (Original: C major)



the same harmonic scheme as that of the Leightons' "Frankie"; that such schemes survive in oral culture into the 1920s (as witnessed by recordings such as Cow Cow Davenport's "Giving It Away"); and that folk-recordings of the verse-chorus version of "Frankie and Johnny" were still being made as late as 1939[68] all suggest that the verse-chorus form of the song used by the Leightons may well have been derived from folk sources. In other words, their version most likely represents an early form of the song that either existed in folk culture alongside the more familiar version or possibly even preceded it.

[68] "Frankie and Johnnie" by Riley Puckett, Bluebird B8277. For a list of white folk recordings of the verse-chorus version of the song (there were none in black folk culture), see Meade, Spottswood, and Meade, *Country Music Sources*, 64.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In any case, their version of the song was the predominant one in mainstream culture for at least fifteen years after its appearance. The song made little impression at first. The only recording before 1920 was made in London in 1912 by the touring American vaudevillian Gene Greene.[69] However, starting in 1921, with Al Bernard's version with Carl Fenton's orchestra,[70] the Leighton version of the song was recorded regularly by mainstream white bands and entertainers and by at least one black band.[71] The first recording of the familiar stanza-only version was not made until 1924,[72] and this version does not seem to predominate until the Depression. Certainly, the climate seems to have changed decisively by the time of Jimmie Rodgers's all-stanza version, recorded in 1929.[73] This best-selling record resulted in a new version of the sheet music which cut out the chorus and ironed out the harmonic and melodic irregularities of the Leightons's version.[74]

---

[69] Pathé 5370, 30103. The two known copies of the record are in the Library of Congress.

[70] Brunswick 2107, 1921.

[71] "Frankie and Johnny" by Fate Marable's Society Syncopators (Okeh 40113, 1924).

[72] "Frankie Baker" by the white folksinger Ernest Thompson (Columbia 168-D).

[73] Victor 22143.

[74] "Frankie and Johnny," arranged by Jimmie Rodgers (New York: Southern Music, 1929). Recorded versions of the Leightons's song from the 1920s had already moved closer to the familiar melody and harmony by the time Rodgers's version appeared, however. Al Bernard's recording from 1921 sticks to the melody and harmony of the Leightons's version. Isham Jones's recording from 1923 ("Frankie and Johnnie," Brunswick 2423), on the other hand, is rather different. It keeps the chorus of the Leightons's version, but the first four bars of the verse use the tonic harmony, rather than alternating between subdominant and tonic. The melody is consequently changed to something closer to the familiar version. This approach is also found in Ted Lewis's recording of 1927 (Columbia 1017-D). Frank Crumit's recording from the same year (Victor 20715) is a compromise between the different versions. It has no chorus, and alternates between the two different ways of harmonizing the verse. By the early 1930s, or possibly before, the Leightons and Shields had produced a new edition of the song that reflected these changes in the music, while still retaining the original chorus, and with changes in the lyrics (New York: Shapiro Bernstein, n. d.). A final edition of the work from 1942, with words credited to Boyd Bunch and music to Bert Leighton (also published by Shapiro Bernstein), dropped the chorus. My copy of this edition has the inscription "Adapted from 'Bill, You Done Me Wrong'," thereby making explicit the irony that, as already noted, the verse of the Leightons's earlier song is musically closer to the familiar version of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Stack-O-Lee"

The Leightons's "Frankie and Johnnie" was preceded by the commercial publication of another blues ballad of the "Frankie" family, "Stack-O-Lee" (also known as "Stackolee," "Stagolee," etc.).[75] The authors are given as the three white Kuhns, Robert, Paul, and Charles. Little is known about them, except that they were also the composers of "I'll Be with You When the Clouds Roll By," a conventional Tin Pan Alley romantic song, which was published by the New York firm of Jerome Remick in 1920. It seems reasonable to assume that, like the Leightons, the Kuhns were brothers and worked in vaudeville.[76]

"Stack-O-Lee" was published in 1910 by the Chicago firm of Sunlight Music, an obscure outfit when compared with Tell Taylor, the company that published the Leightons's "Frankie and Johnnie." Perhaps for this reason, the impact of this version "Stack-O-Lee" was negligible. It was never recorded, and seems, in fact, to have sunk almost without trace after its initial appearance. Because of this, it is never been discussed in the relevant literature.

The only known copy of the song is the copyright deposit in the Library of Congress. This has unfortunately been mislaid, and, despite thorough investigation, the

---

"Frankie." A further comment about the different editions of "Frankie": although the 1929 Southern Music version was the first American sheet music edition of the song to use just stanzas, a different all-stanza version had appeared two years earlier in Australia ("Frankie and Andy: A Song of the Underworld," words by Marcus Tozer, music by Frank R. Tozer [Sydney: J. Albert & Son, 1927]). The circumstances surrounding the appearance of this version is not known.

[75] For discussion of the historical background to this song, 242.

[76] It is also possible that, like the Leightons, they were minstrels, or at least regularly used black material in their act, given their name, which plays on the word "coon."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

copy has not materialized at this writing.[77] However, the researcher Thornton Hagert examined the copy in the early 1970s before its disappearance, and, though he was not permitted to photocopy it, he notates the melody, the overall structure, the outline of the harmony, and the lyrics of the refrain. Mr. Hagert's notes, which he has been generous enough to share with me, form the basis of the discussion which follows.

"Stack-O-Lee" is exceptional for commercial proto-blues in that it is in stanzaic construction throughout, that is to say, there is no chorus. In fact, it has the standard form of folk versions of surviving blues ballads of the "Frankie" family, namely a twelve-bar, three-line structure consisting of a two-line verse and a one line refrain (2LV + 1LR). There are fifteen verses, a length unheard of in a commercial publication of the era (especially as there was no chorus to break up the structure), but standard in folk versions.[78] In other words, this version would seem to appear taken directly from a folk source.

I give the basic melody and harmony used for the first fourteen verses in the example 6.11 (a) and that of the last verse in example 6.11 (b). Examination of the example clearly shows the standard blues ballad 2LV + 1LR structure, with each line four measures in length (mm. 1-4, 5-8, and 9-12 respectively). The only part of the text to be noted by Hagert is the refrain "ev'rybody-body talk about Stack-O-Lee" given in mm. 9-11 of example 6.11 (a). The phrasing of the song is identical to the "Bully Song," where the third line was found to finish a measure earlier than the first two (at the beginning of

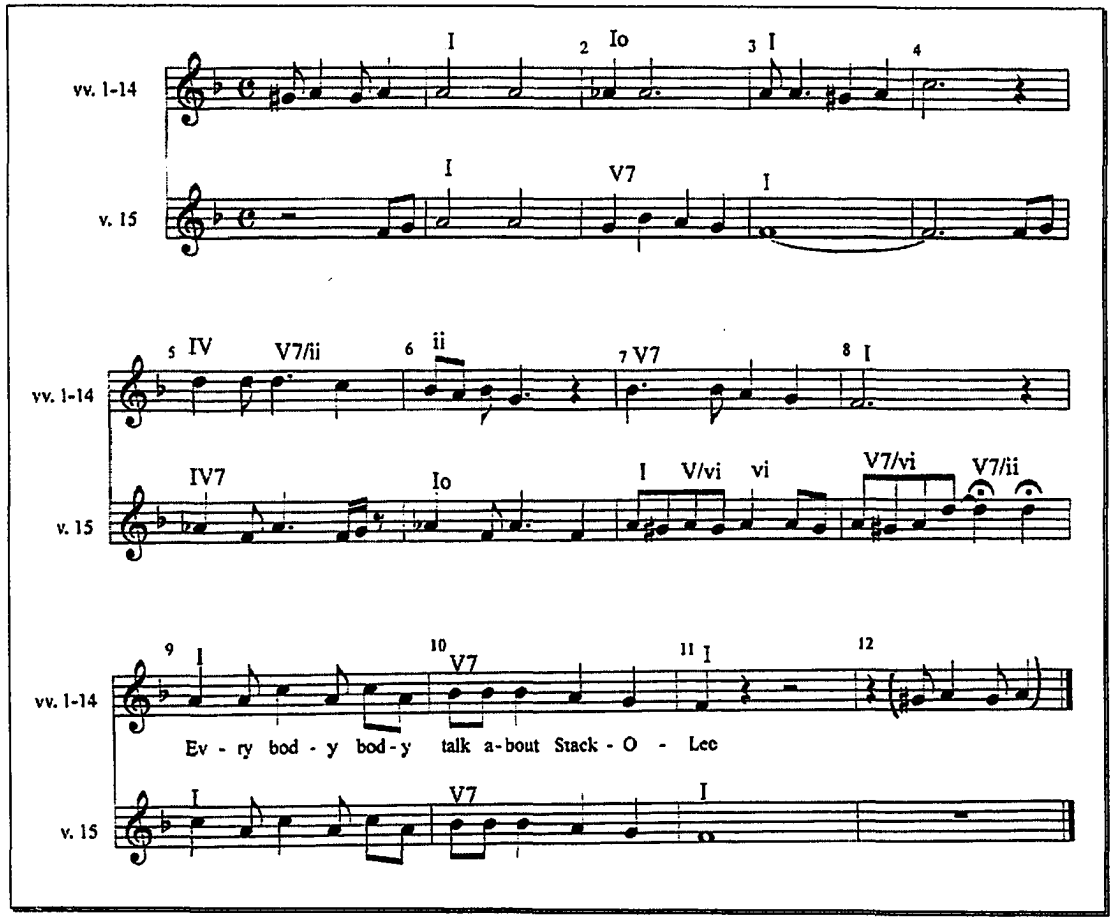
---

[77] The most likely explanation is that it was misfiled. I am grateful to the LC librarian Wayne Shirley for his strenuous, though ultimately fruitless, efforts to obtain the work.

[78] For example Howard Odum collected an eleven-verse example c. 1908 (Odum and Johnson *The Negro and his Songs*, 196-97); a later version collected by Alan Lomax has as many as forty (*American Ballads and Folk Songs*, 96-99). Also note that the Trevathan version of the "Bully Song" (see above, 259-60) has a total of fourteen verses, though these are broken up by repetitions of a regular sixteen-measure chorus.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 6.11.
The Three White Kuhns: "Stackolee" (1910)
a. Melody of verses 1-14 with text of refrain
b. Melody of verse 15



m. 11 instead of 12), but without the hypermetric shift (beginning in m. 8) of blues ballads like "Frankie and Johnnie."[79]

The similarity between "Stack-O-Lee" and the "Bully Song" is not confined just to phrase structure. Table 6.8 compares the harmony of example 6.11 (a) with that of Howard's 1896 version of the "Bully Song," "The New Bully."

---

[79] See above, 239-40.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 6.8. Harmonization of the Main Melody of the Kuhns's "Stack-O-Lee" as compared with that of the First Half of the Verse of Howard's "The New Bully"

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
a. Stack-O-Lee (ex. 6.10 [a])	I	Io	I	I	IV	V7/ii ii	V7	I
b. The New Bully	I	Io	I	I	ii	V7/ii	ii	ii

	9	10	11	12
a. Stack-O-Lee	I	V	I	I
b. The New Bully	I	V	I	I

Clearly the first and last lines (mm. 1-4 and 9-12) of the two songs are harmonically identical. Particularly significant is the diminished chord in the second measure, which in both songs harmonizes a flattened third in the melody that lasts the entire measure. As previously noted, this harmonic peculiarity is found in almost all the commercial versions of the "Bully Song" from 1895-96.[80] It is, however, found in no other known commercial proto-blues apart from these two, suggesting a strong link between them. Another common feature of the harmony is the use of the supertonic in the second line (mm. 5-8). Again, this feature is found only in these two songs.

The link between the two songs is confirmed by transcriptions of the text of folk versions which sometimes mix elements of both. For example a version transcribed by Mary Wheeler begins:

> Stacker Lee is lookin' fo' the Bully,
> The Bully can't be found,
> Now we're goin' to walk the levee roun', roun',
>
> Goin' to walk the levee roun', roun',

[80] See above, 259.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

I'm lookin' fo' the Bully uv yo' town.[81]

Example 6.11 (a) is in two ways harmonically closer to a fully evolved blues ballad than any of the early printed versions of the "Bully Song." First, it has the characteristic move to the subdominant in m. 5, although it is only for a half measure, as opposed to three full measures in a prototypical "Frankie" progression. Second, it resolves on the tonic at the end of the second line (m. 8) just as with "Frankie and Johnnie." In other words, the harmonic scheme of example 6.11 (a) has features both of the "Bully Song" and the more evolved blues ballad, which suggests that in evolution it is mid-way between them. This is confirmed by the chronology: the murder on which "Stack-O-Lee" was based occurred in 1895; that of "Frankie and Johnnie" was 1899; while I previously argued that the (unknown) incident that generated the "Bully Song" was probably dated from the early 1890s.[82]

In contrast, the last verse of "Stack-O-Lee" (example 6.10 [b]) is closer to a regular blues than a blues ballad. First, there is a prominent blue seventh featured in the melody in mm. 5-6. In addition, the harmonic substitutions used in mm. 2 and 6 are standard in later blues. Even more suggestive is the return to the tonic from the subdominant in the seventh measure, as opposed to the eighth, the single most important harmonic distinction between the "Frankie" and blues prototypes.[83] The composer(s) (or if, in fact, this is basically a transcribed performance from a folk original, the performer)

---

[81] Wheeler, *Steamboatin' Days*, 100. For another version that combines textual elements of both songs see Odum and Johnson, *The Negro and His Songs*, 197-98.

[82] See 263, fn. 17.

[83] See 231.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

seems to be using the blues idiom in the last verse of "Stack-O-Lee" as a structural device, to round off the work after fourteen verses in a more conservative language.

Other Proto-Blues Showing the Influence of the "Frankie" Family

There are four other known proto-blues from the period 1910-13 showing the influence of the "Frankie" song family: "Bad Rag" (Maggio, 1910), "I'm A 'Do-Right' Woman" (Leslie/Muir, 1912), "You're My Baby" (Brown/Ayer, 1912), and "All Night Long" (Brooks, 1912).[84] I will survey them briefly.

The first is the A strain of "Bad-Rag" by Antonio Maggio, the composer of "I Got the Blues" (examples 1.2, 5.4 [a] and [b]), which was copyrighted two years earlier. Both works are multi-strain piano rags, and both use the twelve-bar blues matrix in the first strain. Unlike "I Got the Blues," "Bad-Rag" was never published, and the only known copy is a manuscript deposit in the Library of Congress. The first strain is given in example 6.12. Melodically, the strain is based on the syncopated blue-note motif in m. 1: D sharp, E, G (the first strain of "I Got the Blues" also featured the blue third in its main motif). Harmonically, example 6.12 corresponds exactly with the "Frankie" prototype. From this point of view, it differs from "I Got the Blues," which uses a standard twelve-bar blues matrix, the difference being, of course, the prolonged subdominant in m. 7 of "Bad-Rag."

The other three items are all pop songs. All have the standard twenty-four bar verse that uses the harmonic scheme of the "Frankie" prototype. In addition, all have

---

[84] See table 6.3, and Appendix 4 for further details.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 6.12. Maggio: "Bad-Rag" (1910), A Strain

melodies which employ the "Frankie"-type phrasing, with "You're My Baby," in fact, quoting directly the "Frankie and Johnnie" theme. Two of the songs have regular thirty-two bar choruses. "You're My Baby," however, is unusual in that the chorus, as well as the verse, has twenty-four bars (example 6.13). It effectively divides up into two twelve-measure periods. Unlike the verse, however, neither the melody nor the harmony of the chorus is linked in any way to the proto-blues idiom. It is, in fact, a most original notion to combine twenty-four bar verse and choruses in this way in a popular song at this time.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The only example I know of which predates it is Chris Smith's "Honky Tonky Monkey Rag" from 1911, another proto-blues, which is discussed in the next chapter.[85] Given its structural quirkiness, it is surprising to discover that this song was commercially successful, with Gardner citing it as the nineteenth best-selling song of the year.[86] Of even greater interest is Shelton Brooks's "All Night Long," whose verse is given in example 6.14. Along with the "Frankie" harmonization and phrasing (hypermetric shift in m. 8), it has a 2LV+1LR structure, the refrain being repeated within the third line, "All night long, all night long," as in such "Frankie" variants as "Boll Weevil" (example 5.10:

Example 6.13. Seymour and Ayer: "You're My Baby" (1912), chorus

[85] See below, 346-51.

[86] *Popular Songs of the Twentieth Century*, 299.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Just a-lookin' for a home, just a-lookin' for a home"). In fact, "All Night Long" is a folk song of which a number of field recordings survive, made by both black and white

Example 6.14. Brooks: "All Night Long" (1912), verse

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

musicians.[87] Brooks's song, along with the twelve-bar matrix, uses many other features associated with blues. The text is based on the matrix of the rejection by the lover, with the first verse containing the line "I always feel so blue" (mm. 7-8). There is also a prominent blue third in the melody in m. 5 (repeated in m. 17), while the use of the matrix of the barbershop cadence in mm. 11-12 and 23-24 add to the dolorous effect. The contours of the phrases of the melody are generally descending: although the first phrase (mm. 1-4) starts and ends on the same note, the second (mm. 5-8) falls by a step, while the third (mm. 9-12) falls continuously by a seventh. The entire verse falls by a major third (G to E flat). This all adds to the generally dolorous effect.

"All Night Long" was one of the last proto-blues to be published; it appeared in 1912, the year in which the commercial blues industry got under way. Thereafter pieces like this were usually called blues.

Although "All Night Long" is the most blues-oriented of Brooks's compositions of this period, three other works should be mentioned. "Some of These Days"[88] and "There'll Come a Time When You'll Feel Lonely"[89] preceded "All Night Long." Both concern the threatened loss of the lover, with the protagonist trying to persuade him not to go. This is rather different from both "All Night Long," and blues expression in general, which is concerned with the protagonist's feelings of loss and loneliness after,

---

[87] For recordings by African Americans, see Dixon, Godrich, and Rye, *Blues and Gospel Records*,1077; for recordings by white folk musicians, see Meade, Spottswood, and Meade, *Country Music Sources*, 548-49. The published version of the song predates the recordings, which are from the 1920s and 30s. However, the fact that there are a large number of them, and that they vary widely in text and melody, suggest that the song existed independently in folk culture. In instances where a commercial song passes into folk culture, recordings of the folk version have a close relationship with the original. For example, hillbilly recordings of "Bill Bailey" (listed in *Country Music* Sources, 490) are close to the original song. The various recordings of "All Night Long" I have heard display a much more independent relationship with the published version.

[88] Chicago: Will Rossiter, 1910.

[89] Chicago: Will Rossiter, 1911.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 6.15. Brooks: "I Wonder Where My Easy Rider's Gone" (1913), chorus, first sixteen measures

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

not before, her lover has left. Although the subject matter of these songs is blues-related, the music is not. "I Wonder Where My Easy Rider's Gone?"[90] is musically blues-related in its chorus (see example 6.15). It starts off by using a similar structure to the regular twelve-bar matrix, only diverging on m. 11 to form a sixteen-measure period. Notice also the prominent use of blue notes: sevenths in the melody and accompaniment in mm. 1-3 and 5-8, thirds in the accompaniment in mm. 4-5. Brooks, incidentally, was one of the most successful black songwriters of the 1910s,[91] and "Some of These Days," in particular, was the second best-selling song of 1910,[92] and, indeed, has remained a standard ever since.

Conclusion

The central theme that emerges from this and the previous chapter is the overwhelming importance of the "Frankie" folksong family on the development of commercial proto-blues. It appears that there are three phases to this development. The first begins with the sudden emergence of the "Bully Song" into the mainstream in 1895. The second, beginning in 1900 with "Just Because She Made Dem Goo-Goo Eyes," and continuing till about 1905, when Cannon ceased publishing, is certainly the most prolific and, arguably, also the most creative period. The final phase, from 1912 to 1913, is centered round the Leightons's "Frankie and Johnny." Their "Bill, You Done Me Wrong" from 1908 can be regarded as a transitional work, standing mid-way between

---

[90] Chicago: Will Rossiter, 1913.

[91] For biographical/career details, see Jasen and Jones, *Spreadin' Rhythm Around*, 145-151.

[92] Gardner, *Popular Songs of the Twentieth Century*, 290.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Cannon's "He Done Me Wrong" —on which it is based—from four years earlier and "Frankie and Johnny" from four years later, which it anticipates.[93]

The majority of the "Frankie"-related proto-blues were the work of a small group of men who, the evidence suggests, probably all knew one another and, in many instances, worked together: John Queen, Walter Wilson, the Leightons, and Hughie Cannon. They were, of course, dominated by Cannon, at least in terms of output, and, I would suggest, therefore, labeling this group of proto-blues songwriters the "Cannon school."

The members of this school all seem to have started out as minstrels (though the Leightons, for example, worked extensively in vaudeville, which had, by the first decade of the twentieth century, largely replaced the older-style independent minstrel show). This is not a coincidence, for, in imitating African Americans as their profession, they were inspired to adapt authentic material which they apparently went to some lengths to obtain. The Leightons summarized the group's activities in their 1922 *Variety* article:

> The explorers, Frank and Burt Leighton, now standard variety artists, belonged to a group of minstrels, most of whom died young after going down into strange places to bring up the songs of Negro outcasts.[94]

The group cited is the Leightons themselves, Cannon, Wilson, Queen, and Ben Harney, another composer of coon songs whose contribution to proto-blues is examined in the next chapter. According to the Leightons, the group commercialized "the pathetic

---

[93] I have not included Maggio's "Bad-Rag" in this scheme, as it was never published.

[94] "Origin of 'Blues' (or Jazz)," 164.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

lamentation of the unfortunates of the underworld," which they characterized as "an origin of the blues."[95]

Having explored the relationship between the "Frankie" family and commercial proto-blues, I will, in the next chapter, examine proto-blues influenced by other aspects of black folk music. In particular, I will trace the development of the standard twelve-bar blues matrix in commercial compositions before 1912.

---

[95] Ibid., 164.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter 7

PROTO-BLUES III
Other Proto-Blues

Introduction

In my discussion of commercial proto-blues in the last two chapters, I dealt with auto-referential proto-blues (Chapter 5) and non-auto-referential proto-blues related to the blues ballad (Chapters 5 and 6). My survey of commercial proto-blues concludes with an examination of non-auto-referential proto-blues that are *un*related to the blues ballad. I begin by discussing the appearance of an African-American blues-related folksong in published coon-songs of the 1890s.

The Appearance of "Sweet Thing" in Coon Songs of the 1890s

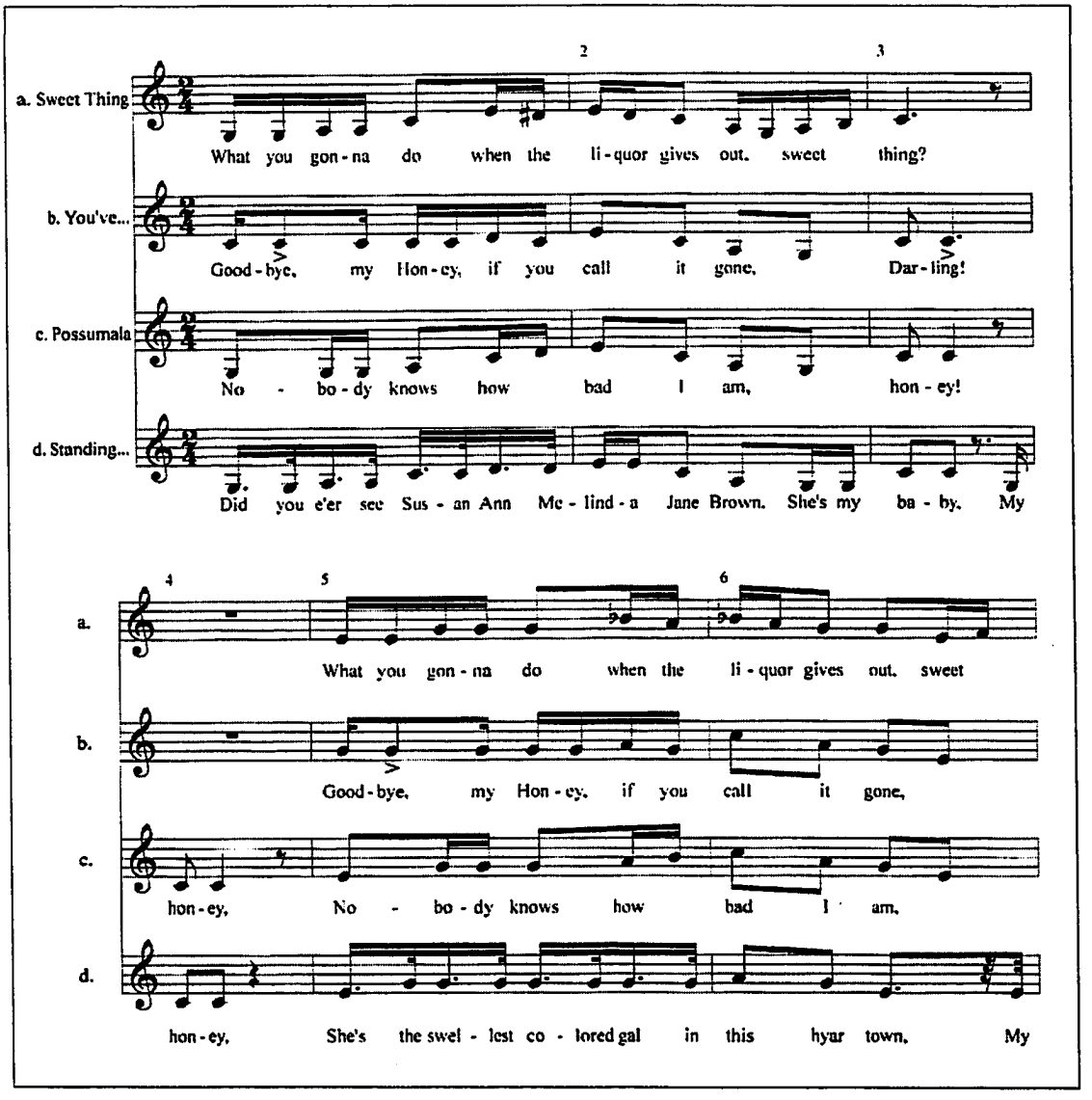
The folksong in question, "Sweet Thing," is given in example 7.1 (a).[1] The song exists in numerous other versions: "Sugar Babe," "Sometime," "The Crawdad Song," "This Morning, This Evening, So Soon," "Birmingham," "Pork Chops," and "Going Back to Jericho" are just some of its manifestations. According to John and Alan Lomax, the song was "originally a Negro blues. . . adopted by white banjo and guitar pickers."[2] Examples 7.1 (b)-(d) show the use of the song in the melody of three published coon songs. Example 7.1 (b) is from "You've Been a Good Old Wagon, But You've Done

[1] A version from a 1935 field recording by Leroy Allen. See John A. Lomax and Alan Lomax, *Our Singing Country: Folk Songs and Ballads* (New York: Dover, 2000), 298.

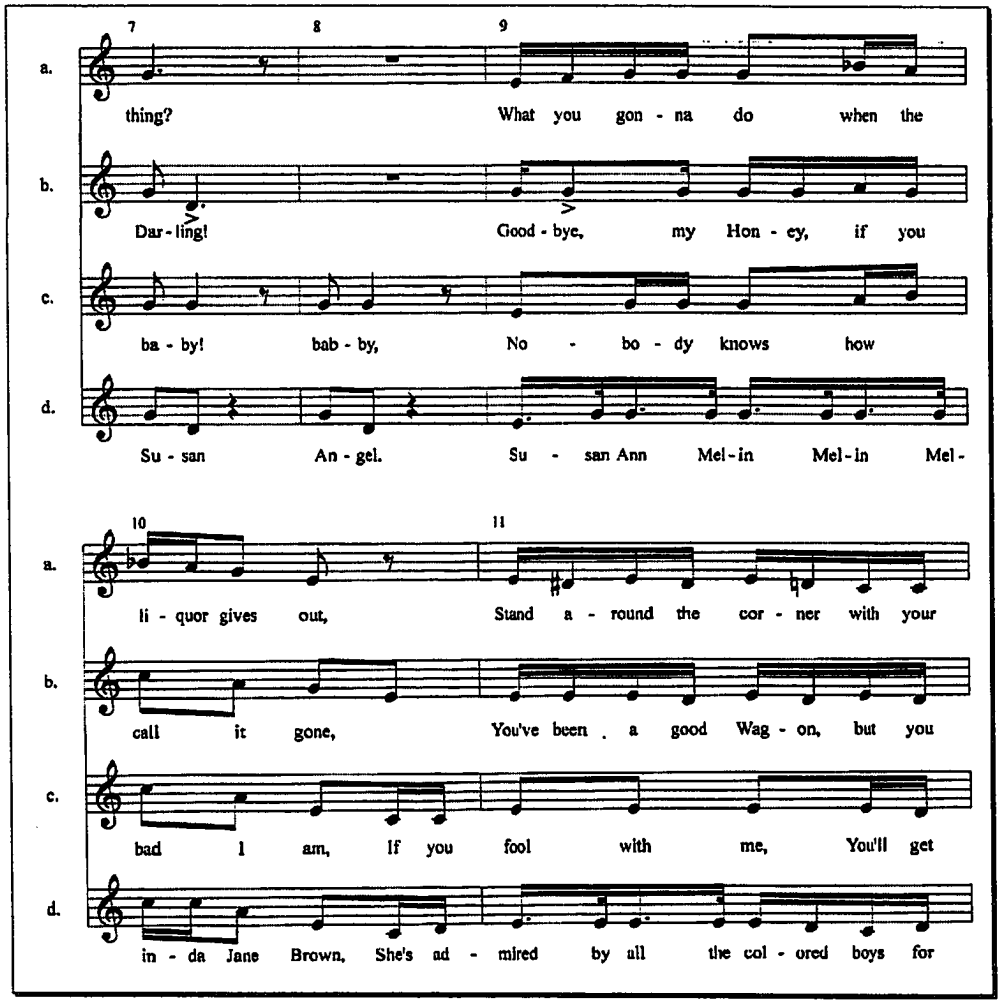
[2] John A. Lomax and Alan Lomax, *Best Loved American Folk Songs*, 4th ed. (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1953), 83.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 7.1.
a. "Sweet Thing," first stanza
b. Harney: " You've Been a Good Old Wagon" (1895), chorus (Original: D major)
c. Jones: "Possumala Dance" (1894), chorus (Original: F major)
d. Evans: "Standing on the Corner" (1894), first half of verse (Original: F major)



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Broke Down," by Ben Harney.[3] The melody is used in both verse and chorus, though only the latter is quoted here. This song first appeared in print in 1895 (although it was composed in 1893, or possibly earlier)[4] and its importance in the history of popular music

[3] Details about this song and all other proto-blues discussed in this chapter are found in Appendix 4.

[4] William Tallmadge, "Ben Harney: The Middlesborough Years," *American Music* 13/2 (summer 1995), 173-74.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

has long been acknowledged. It is, as Berlin points out, one of the first published ragtime songs,[5] and was in its day a most popular item. Example 7.1 (c) is the chorus of Irving Jones's "Possumala Dance," from 1894. This was the earliest of several commercial versions of a dance, also known as the "Possum a La" or "Pas Ma La," which was very popular with African Americans in the 1890s.[6] Example 7.1 (d) is the verse of another coon song from the same year, "Standing on the Corner Didn't Mean No Harm" by George Evans. Evans was a minstrel, like most white appropriators of proto-blues in this period, and the song was successfully featured by Primose and West's Minstrels.[7] This song also seems to have been popular in its day, and was reissued as late as 1936.[8] These examples are related by more than melody: the texts show an identical AAB structure (discussed below), each line ending with some form of endearment ("sweet thing," "honey," etc.).[9]

Another variant of "Sweet Thing" is also found in the verse of another coon song by Ben Harney, "Mister Johnson Turn Me Loose" (1896), which appeared in the wake of "You've Been a Good Old Wagon," and was also a major hit (see example 7.2). The melody used is a minor version of the one used by Harney in example 7.1 (b), and

---

[5] Edward A. Berlin, "Ragtime Songs," in *Ragtime: Its History, Composers, and Music*, ed. John Edward Hasse (London: Macmillan, 1985), 72.

[6] See Abbott and Seroff, *Out of Sight*, 444-447, for full discussion of the dance and its versions. Jones's version is the only one that quotes "Sweet Thing."

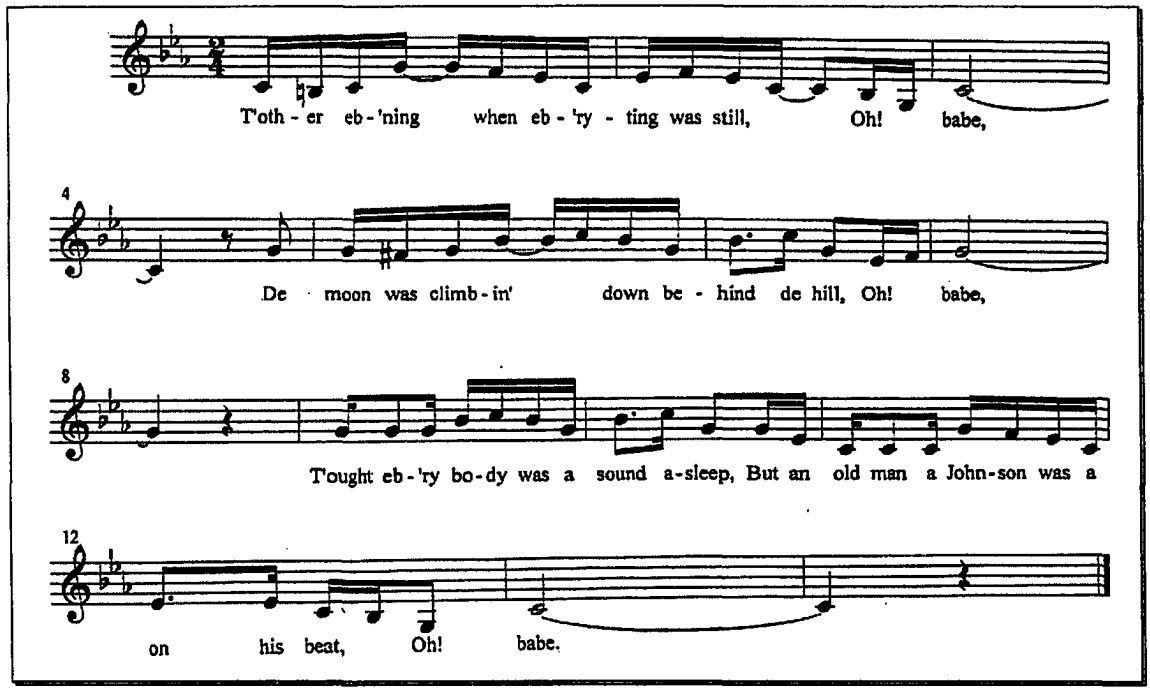
[7] *Out of Sight*, 336. Evans is best remembered for his 1902 song "In the Good Old Summertime" (Chicago: Tell Taylor). This was co-written with Ren Shields, who was also involved in proto-blues, being the co-author, along with the Leighton Brothers, of the first published version of "Frankie and Johnnie" (see above, 294).

[8] *Out of Sight*, 336.

[9] The only exception is measure 13 of example 7.1b, which uses "Bye-Bye." This is, however, probably a variant—intentional or otherwise—of "baby" (note that example 7.1d uses "my baby" at this point).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 7.2. Harney: "Mister Johnson, Turn me Loose" (1896), verse, first section (Original: E minor)



although the text of example 7.2 does not have the AAB structure of examples 7.1 (a)-(c), it does have the characteristic two-syllable endearment at the end of each line ("Oh! Babe").

The history of "Sweet Thing" is racially mixed. Although the fully evolved form used in the 1890s coon songs is African-American,[10] the ultimate origin of the song is

[10] This is shown by its manifestation in the coon songs quoted in example 7.1, for when writers of such songs incorporated folk material (as, for example, with the "Bully Song" or the numerous manifestations of the "Frankie" family discussed in the last two chapters), it was always African-American in origin, in keeping with the ethnic flavor of such songs.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Mister Frog Went A-Courtin',"[11] the celebrated Anglo-American folksong which was known to both whites and blacks in the American South in the nineteenth century.[12] The

Example 7.3.
a. "Mister Frog," first stanza
b. "Sugar Babe," first stanza

relationship between the two is made explicit by example 7.3, which compares an Appalachian variant of "Sweet Thing" titled "Sugar Babe" (example 7.3 [b])[13] with a

[11] Van der Merwe, *The Origins of Popular Style*, 280-81; Tallmadge, "Ben Harney: The Middlesborough Years," 181-82.

[12] See example 6.2.

[13] From Dorothy Scarborough, *On the Trail of Negro Folksongs*, 49.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

typical version of "Mister Frog" (example 7.3 [a]):[14] the phrasing, text structure, and melodic contours of the two are clearly closely linked.

By the 1920s, "Sweet Thing" had passed from fashion among the African-American community, and it was rarely performed on race records. It was, however, popular among whites during that period, being extensively recorded by hillbilly groups in the 1920s and 1930s.[15]

There are, therefore, three stages to the development of "Sweet Thing." Originally an Anglo-American folksong, it is transformed by African-American folk culture during the nineteenth century, finding its way into several popular songs in the 1890s. Finally it passes back to white musicians in the modified form while, at the same time, losing popularity among blacks.[16]

This "white-to-black-to-white" process is also found with other folk proto-blues, particularly "Frankie and Johnnie." As I have suggested previously, it would seem that the twelve-bar, three-line stanza form of "Frankie" is of Anglo-American origin,[17] although the song itself in its fully evolved form is undoubtedly African-American (being based on an 1899 shooting incident in the black underworld as previously discussed). And just like "Sweet Thing," it lost favor with African Americans and passed to whites; in the 1920s and 1930s, there are many more early white than black folk recordings of the

---

[14] From Cecil J. Sharp, comp., *English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians*, ed. Maud Karpeles (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932), 2: 357

[15] For a list of these recordings, see Meade, Spottswood, and Meade, *Country Music Sources*, 504-06.

[16] Of course, the original ancestor of the song, "Mister Frog," survived independently throughout this entire period, and survives to the present as a staple of Anglo-American folk culture.

[17] See above, 266-68.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

song. In other words, the ethnic history and origins of "Sweet Thing" lend weight to the Anglo-American origin of the twelve-bar blues sequence via the blues ballad that I argued for in Chapter 6.

Even though the Lomaxes describe "Sweet Thing" as "originally a blues," the connections between songs of the "Sweet Thing" family and the blues are tenuous. None of the examples uses blues matrices to any degree, with the exception of the example 7.1 (a), which makes limited use of blue notes. The blue seventh is prominently used in the second and third phrases—the B flat in mm. 5-6 and 9-10; there is also a passing blue third—the D sharp—in mm. 1, and 11. There is one other characteristic of "Sugar Babe" that is suggestive of blues and that is the AAB structure of the text. In example 7.1 (c), for instance, the first phrase (A) occupies mm. 1-4; the second (A) mm. 5-8, and the third (B) mm. 9-16.[18] This structure is rather different from that of a regular blues where the lines are usually of approximately equal length (four measures each). However, the length of the last line "Sweet Thing" is variable: in the version quoted in example 7.1 (b), it is only a measure longer than the first two lines. Therefore, in versions like this it was quite close to a blues structure.[19]

---

[18] At first sight it is tempting to parse mm. 9-16 as containing two four-measure phrases rather than one eight-measure phrase. There are two factors that point to the latter interpretation. First, the third line begins with the same text as the first two. However, the endearments which ended the first two lines are delayed until m. 13, which encourages us to perceive mm. 9-13 as one extended phrase rather than two separate ones. This effect is greatly reinforced by the running together of the two sub-phrases in m. 10. Both these features are inherited from "Mister Frog" (see example 7.3 [a]).

[19] This is perhaps the place to note that some of the commentary on Harney's "You've Been a Good Old Wagon" and "Mister Johnson, Turn Me Loose" has exaggerated the bluesy features of this song. Rudi Blesh wrote of "Mister Johnson": "the first fourteen-measure portion of the verse deserves careful scanning, for this section is nothing less than a Negro spiritual already half-transformed into the blues, with its double statement and single answer" (*They All Played Ragtime*, 94). This is a mystifying comment, as the section in question, example 7.2, does not use an AAB form. Unfortunately the author does not elaborate. Similarly, regarding "You've Been a Good Old Wagon," Blesh writes: "To any student of the blues, the traditional imagery is apparent and the refrain words are typical blues 'answers': the 'O Babe'. . . appear[s] in countless examples of the old rural blues" (96). Again, he gives no further

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

I am not suggesting a direct influence of "Sweet Thing" on the evolution of the AAB blues form, for, as Van der Merwe notes, AAB stanzas were not that rare in American folk music in the late nineteenth century; he quotes, for example, the Anglo-American "Pretty Polly" and the African-American work-song "Po' Lazarus".[20] "Sweet Thing" is, however, an example of a pre-blues folk song possessing certain bluesy traits that was in circulation in African-American culture in the 1890s, and therefore has importance as a proto-blues. As far as I am aware, it and "The Bully Song" are the only two African-American proto-blues to pass from the folk sector to the commercial mainstream before 1900.

"I Natur'ly Loves That Yaller Man"

There is one other published proto-blues from the 1890s. It is an obscure coon song from 1898, "I Natur'ly Loves That Yaller Man," with words and music by the black songwriting and vaudeville partnership of Lawrence Deas and Jack "The Bear" Wilson.[21] The entire song is presented in example 7.4. It has the standard form of introduction

---

explanation. Part of this remark can be accounted for by the fact that the text he quotes is quite different from the one quoted in example 7.2b, which was used for both the first (1895) and second (1896) edition. As the exact source is not cited, the matter remains unexplained. Under the influence of Blesh, Abbott and Seroff refer to the "blues-like imagery, form and feeling that distinguishes 'You've Been a Good Old Wagon'" (*Out of Sight*, 336). Again, there is little discussion, although it is apparent that the authors are referring to the same, apparently spurious version of the song as Blesh uses, as they quote the first line of Blesh's version which differs from the original (their version is: "Standin' on the corner, didn't mean no harm/This mawnin'" [*They All Played Ragtime*, 95]; the original is: "I was standing in a crap game doing no harm, Baby!"). The most likely explanation for this discrepancy is that the authors are using a later edition of Harney's songs, with extra, and/or emended, verses, though if so, I have not as yet been able to locate them. A similar error is apparent in Abbott and Seroff's discussion of Evans's "Standing on the Corner, Didn't Mean No Harm," whose alleged bluesiness centers around a verse found in the 1936 edition of the song, not the 1893 original (336).

[20] *Origins of Popular Style*, 191-193. Both songs are related to "Sweet Thing" in their melodic contour and their AAB form.

[21] For background, see Abbott and Seroff, *Out of Sight*, 454-55.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(mm. 1-7), vamp (mm. 8-9), verse (mm. 10-41), and chorus (mm. 42-57). Most of the song's proto-blues features are in the verse. Though it is a regular thirty-two bars in length, it begins with a twelve-bar blues sequence:

Table 7.1. Harmonization of the Verse of "I Natur'ly Loves that Yaller Man"

m. 10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
I	I	I	I	IV	IV	I	I	V	V	I	I

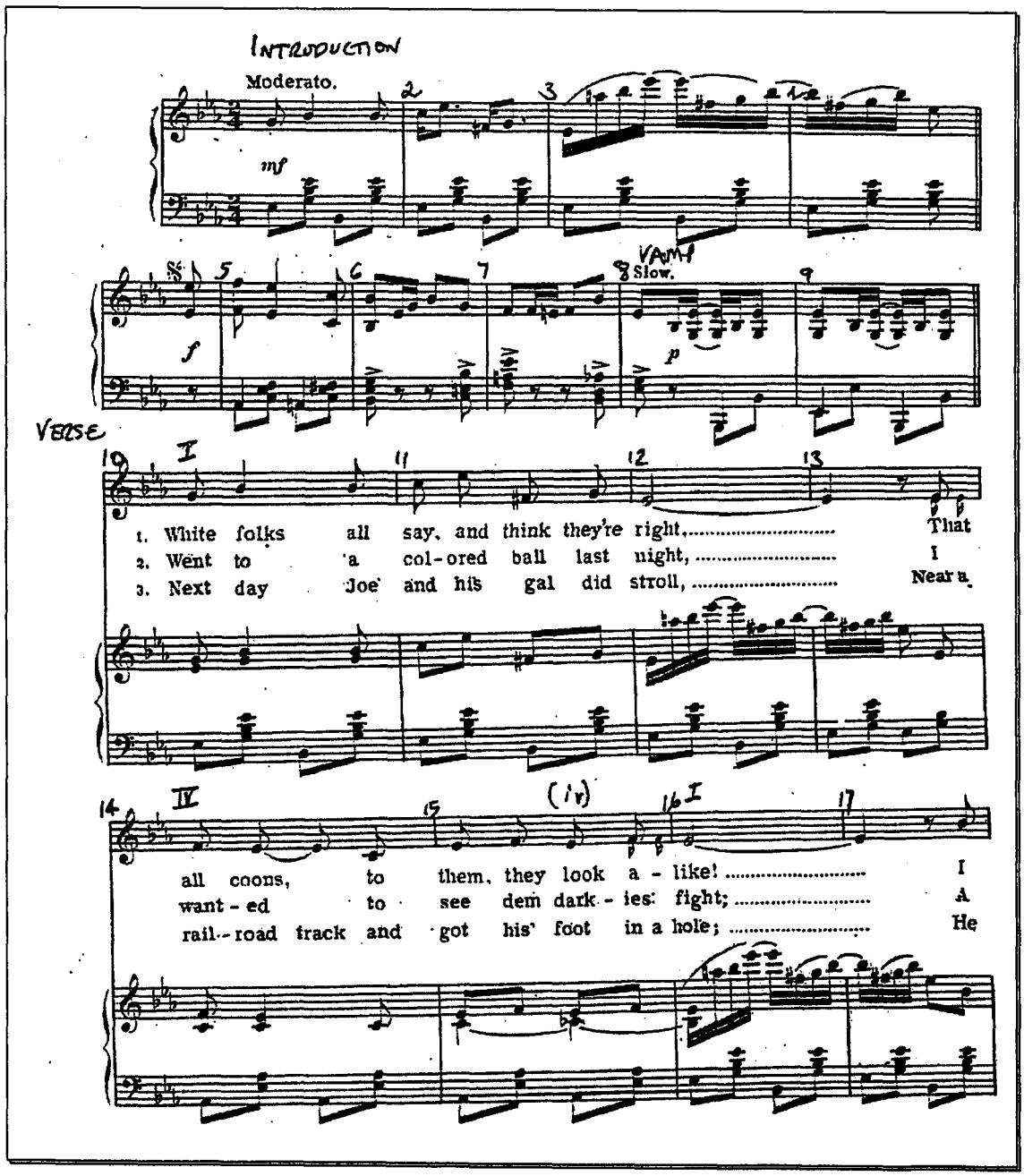
Note that this is not the "Frankie" sequence found in the verses of proto-blues by Cannon and others, but a "true" blues sequence (i. e., using a tonic in m. 16 rather than prolonging the subdominant and moving to the tonic in m. 17). The only other proto-blues I have so far come across that uses the straight sequence is the A-strain of Maggio's "I Got the Blues" (example 1.2), which, was published ten years later. "I Natur'ly Loves That Yaller Man" is, in fact, the earliest known use of the regular sequence in published music.

There is a complication, however: the text of the verses clearly divides into eight-bar, rather than twelve-bar, sections. Thus the first section of the first verse ("White folks all say, and think they're right,/That all coons, to them, they look alike!") encompasses mm. 10-17, the second ("I once done had a gal named Lucy Jane,/Who also thought that all coons was the same") mm. 18-25. The blues sequence thus ends in the middle of the second phrase of the text; we do not perceive it as a twelve-bar section but hear a sixteen-measure period, as defined by the text. Note that the music of mm. 22-29 is a repeat of mm. 14-21, which again goes against the structure of the words (musically, we hear m. 29 as the end of a period, yet the text is again at the end of the first line of a couplet). Overall the misalignment of words and music in mm. 10-29 is quite disorienting, an

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

effect enhanced by the fact that each of these lines ends with the same two measures, consisting of a long note in the melody and a syncopated figuration in the

Example 7.4. Deas and Wilson: "I Natur'ly Loves that Yaller Man" (1898)



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

accompaniment. This is most unusual, particularly in a popular song of this era, and gives a meandering quality to the music. The lack of harmonic progression is reinforced: each of these phrases ends on the tonic. If the music were to cadence on the dominant in mm. 20-21, for example, the tonal section of this passage would be clearer. Again, this is far removed from the conventions of Tin Pan Alley, but it is a feature of blues.

Even though the structure of the text undercuts that of the music to the extent that the effect of the twelve-bar structure is weakened, that does not mean we should regard the relationship of this song to blues as coincidental. First, numerous commercial blues songs of the 1910s adapted the twelve-bar form of blues by adding four extra measures to make a sixteen-measure period, the standard structural unit of popular songs.[22] An example is the first half of the chorus of "Tishomingo Blues" (example 4.2) which begins with a twelve-measure sequence and adds an extra four measures (mm. 13-16) to make the musical structure mirror that of the text, just as with "I Natur'ly Loves That Yaller Man."

In addition, there are various other blues matrices in "I Natur'ly Loves That Yaller Man" that reinforce the connection with blues. First, the verse makes repeated use of the blue third, both in the melody (mm. 11, 19, and 27) and the accompaniment (mm. 12-13, 16-17, 20-21, 24-25, and 28-29). Note that it is often used prominently, particularly in measure 11, where it occurs on a main beat, and is a diminished seventh below the previous note. In addition, the slow tempo (marked in m. 8), uncharacteristic of a coon song, adds intensity, as does the chord progression in mm. 15-16 (IV-iv-I,

---

[22] See above, 146-48.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

repeated mm. 23-24), which, while not isolated as a blues matrix in chapter 4, is nevertheless found in many folk and commercial blues.

There is one other blues matrix, that of the falling melodic contour.[23] The device is strikingly used in the first, third, and fifth phrases of the verse (mm. 10-12, 18-20, 26-28). This is not in itself exceptional, as many popular songs use the device. What is more striking is the precise contour used: in each case the line rises above its starting note before it falls. This particular shape was selected—out of a possible fifteen shapes—by Titon in his survey of country blues as being overwhelmingly the most common in rural blues.[24] The wide range of these lines adds to the effect: the first phrase covers an octave, while the third and fifth span a major seventh.

The use of the falling melodic contour is even more striking in the chorus. Every phrase falls (mm. 42-45, 46-49, 50-53, 54-56), most noticeably the first and third which do so by an octave. This sort of dramatically falling contour is most unusual in a popular song, but common in country blues. In addition, the chorus taken as a whole falls, also by an octave (E flat to E flat).

In addition to these matrices, the phrasing of the verse of "I Natur'ly Loves That Yaller Man" links the song decisively with blues. The first six four-bar phrases of the verse (mm. 10-13, 14-17, 18-21, 22-25, 26-29, and 30-33) are identically constructed: in each case, the melody ends on the downbeat of the third measure with the remainder of the phrase filled by figurations in the upper register of the piano. This is, in other words,

---

[23] See above, 168-72.

[24] *Early Downhome Blues*, 162.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

an example of the classic call-and-response pattern that is a hallmark of country blues.[25] For instance, Handy's "Saint Louis Blues" (example 4.8 [a] and [b]) shows exactly this form: the melody of each phrase comes to rest at the beginning of the third measure, just as in "I Natur'ly Loves That Yaller Man," and there are just under two measures of piano fill before the next line begins. Although call-and-response is quite uncommon in commercial blues of the 1910s, it is most definitely a feature of rural blues styles as evidenced by recordings from the late 1920s. In fact, call-and-response is associated with blues far more than with any other American vernacular style, and is therefore almost as defining of the genre as the twelve-bar sequence.

The call-and-response approach is African-American, and ultimately African, in origin, deriving from slave music such as field hollers and work-songs. It therefore comes as no surprise that the 2LV+1LR type of British folksong that I have argued is the ultimate ancestor of the harmonic structure of the blues ballad, and hence ultimately the twelve-bar blues form,[26] makes no use of call-and-response. In a song like "Tattie Jock," for example,[27] each of the three lines ends at the beginning of the fourth measure, allowing enough time for a breath before the next line or new stanza, but not for a full-blown response.

This makes interesting comparison with blues ballads of the "Frankie" family, where the first two lines are of the British ballad type, ending on the downbeat of their

---

[25] Evans, *Big Road Blues*, 22.

[26] See above, 265-68.

[27] See above, 266.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

fourth measure,[28] while the last line (the refrain) is of the blues call-and-response type, ending on the downbeat of its third measure.[29] This adds weight to the argument that the 2LV+1LR British ballad is the ancestor of the twelve-bar form of mature blues, for the "Frankie" family shows an evolutionary link between the two. The implication is that the shortened third-line phrase of the blues ballad evolved when the 2LV+1LR British ballad became African-Americanized in the later 1800s.

This argument is somewhat at odds with the standard theory that blues evolved from the grafting of the call-and-response pattern onto the twelve-bar structure of the blues ballad,[30] for blues ballads of the "Frankie" family already use the call-and-response pattern in the third line refrain. One can in fact envision African-American folksingers towards the end of the nineteenth century creating the familiar phrasing of a standard blues stanza by tinkering with the first two lines of the stanza of blues ballads so that they use the same call-and-response as the refrain. I offer this explanation only tentatively for evolution does not usually happen in such a straight-line manner. Whatever the exact mechanism of this evolution, however, it is clear that by 1898 the call-and-response pattern was being used in conjunction with the twelve-bar sequence, as is shown by the verse of "I Natur'ly Loves That Yaller Man."

---

[28] That the second line of a blues ballad of the "Frankie" type is longer than the second line of a blues explains the major harmonic discrepancy between the two genres. In both cases, the subdominant resolves to the tonic as the text of the second line of the stanza finishes; but, as the line is a measure shorter in a blues, the move to the tonic occurs in the seventh measure, whereas in songs of the "Frankie" family, it is delayed until the eighth measure.

[29] See table 5.5 and example 5.7.

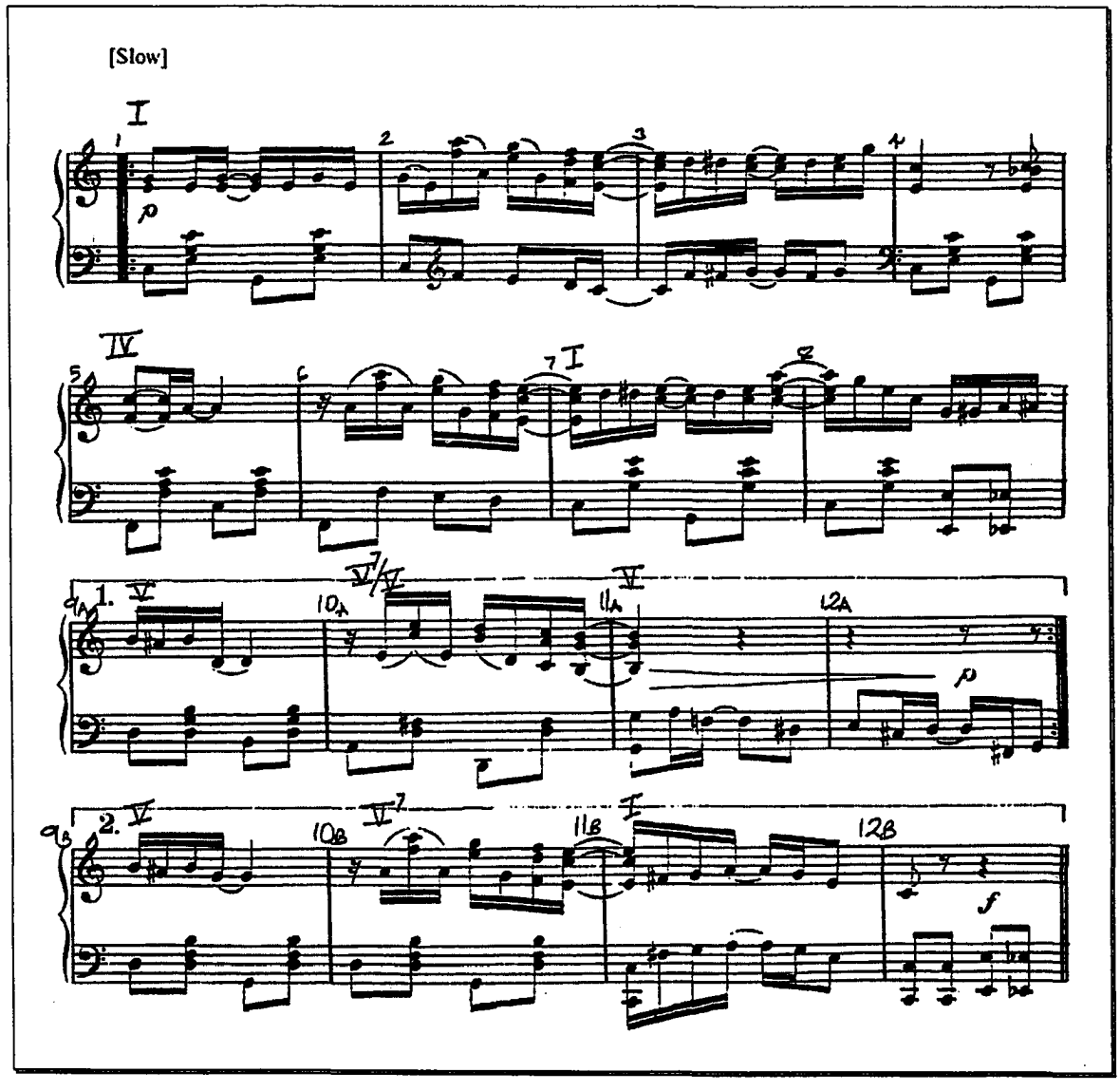
[30] See above, 244.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The Standard Twelve-Bar Pattern in Commercial Proto-Blues After 1900

"I Natur'ly Loves That Yaller Man" is the only known example of the standard blues progression in published music before 1900. In fact, there are no other published songs that use it prior to 1911 with the possible exception of the chorus of Cannon's

Example 7.5. Chapman and Smith: "One o' them Things!" (1904), A strain



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Alic Busby" (example 5.11), which is a sixteen-bar expansion of the basic twelve-bar progression. There are, however, a handful of instrumental ragtime compositions that use the sequence.

The first is "One o' Them Things?" by James Chapman and Leroy Smith, which was published in St. Louis in 1904.[31] The first strain of this rag is given in example 7.5. It uses a regular twelve-bar blues sequence; the tonic returns in m. 7 rather than m. 8. As an instrumental piece, it does not have the ambiguity of the phrasing in the verse of "I Natur'ly Loves That Yaller Man." The first time through, however, the music cadences on the dominant (m. 11[a]), a feature alien to later blues which usually just repeats the standard sequence, cadencing on the tonic in every line. In other words, the A-strain of "One o' Them Things" is really a twenty-four-measure pattern with only the second half corresponding exactly to a blues sequence. Notice, incidentally, that the strain does not use call-and-response phrasing: each of the three lines comes to rest on the fourth measure rather than the third. This phrasing also differentiates it from the "Frankie" type, which uses such phrases for the first two lines but call-and-response phrasing for the third.

Aside from the harmony, there is little use of blues matrices in this work. As with "I Natur'ly Loves That Yaller Man," the tempo marking is "slow," suggestive of homeopathic blues, of course. There are also some blue notes, including a conspicuous one in m. 7, but their use is quite limited, no more than normal for a ragtime composition of this period. "One o' Them Things?" is therefore a fairly conventional piece of ragtime writing, aside from its twelve-bar structure and possibly its tempo.

---

[31] See Appendix 4 for details.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The other instrumental proto-blues that uses the standard blues twelve-bar sequence is Maggio's "I Got the Blues" (example 1.2). This composition has already been examined in some detail and further discussion is unnecessary.[32]

In addition to these two ragtime compositions, there is a further pair reported by Joyner which uses the basic blues sequence extended for four measures for one of their strains.[33] They are Callis Jackson's "Texas Rag," a Dallas publication from 1905, and Geraldine Dobyn's "Bull Dog Rag," which appeared in Memphis in 1908.[34] In the C strain of "Texas Rag" (example 7.6), the first twelve bars follow the standard blues pattern. There follow two different four-bar extensions: the first cadences on the dominant (measure 15 [a]); the second settles on the tonic (measure 15 [b]) and then moves to the subdominant (16 [b]), the key of the next strain. There is a direct parallel between the first sixteen measures of example 7.6 and the first sixteen measures of "Tishomingo Blues" (example 4.2): both passages extend the twelve-bar form by four measures and cadence on the dominant via V/V. In example 7.6, each of the four-bar phrases ends on the third measure, except the last phrase, which stops just before the beginning of the fourth measure (measure 16 [b]). This extract, therefore, uses the blues-type call-and-response form, although the response is muted, being limited to a repeat of a syncopated chordal pattern heard in the first measure of each phrase.

Apart from these two pieces, the only other appearance of the standard twelve-bar

---

[32] See above, 210-13.

[33] Joyner, "Southern Ragtime and its Transition to the Blues," 164-67.

[34] Details of these items in Appendix 4.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

blues sequence in proto-blues appears in the verses to a quartet of ragtime songs from 1911. The songs in question are: "Honky Tonky Monkey Rag," words and music by

Example 7.6. Jackson: "Texas Rag" (1905), C strain

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chris Smith; "Let's Go to Savannah G. A.," words by L. Wolfe Gilbert, music by Lewis F. Muir and Maurice Abraham; "Oh You Beautiful Girl" by Brown and Ayer; and "When Ragtime Rosie Ragged the Rosary" words by Edgar Leslie, music by Lewis F. Muir.[35]

These songs share a number of features with each other and with the proto-blues of the Cannon school of the previous decade (except of course, no member of the Cannon school uses the regular blues sequence with a tonic in the seventh measure). First, they are lighthearted in mood, although they are not, unlike the output of the Cannon school, coon songs, which had become unfashionable by this time. Second, they confine the twelve-bar blues sequence to the verse, in every case using it twice, thereby making the verses twenty-four measures long.

The melodies of the verses to the four 1911 songs are given in example 7.7; while they share the same overall set of harmonies, the approach to each is quite distinct. The verse to "Oh You Beautiful Doll," example 7.7 (b), begins with the same stock blue-note motif (D sharp-E-C) found in Maggio's "I Got the Blues" and Handy's "Saint Louis Blues."[36] In fact, the first four measures of Maggio's composition and example 7.7 (b) are quite similar. The same motif is also found in examples 7.7 (a), mm. 4-5 and 12-13, and 7.7 (c), mm. 12-13. Blue notes are in fact used extensively in all four melodies: in addition to the instances cited, blue thirds appear in m. 7 of example 7.7 (a), measure 4 of 7.7 (b), and mm. 2, 3, 4, and 8 of 7.7 (c); while blue sevenths appear in mm. 5 and 6 of example 7.7 (a), and mm. 3, 5, and 7 of example 7.7 (d). The melody of "Let's Go to Savannah G. A." (example 7.7 [d]) is notable for the first known use of a

---

[35] Details of these items in Appendix 4.

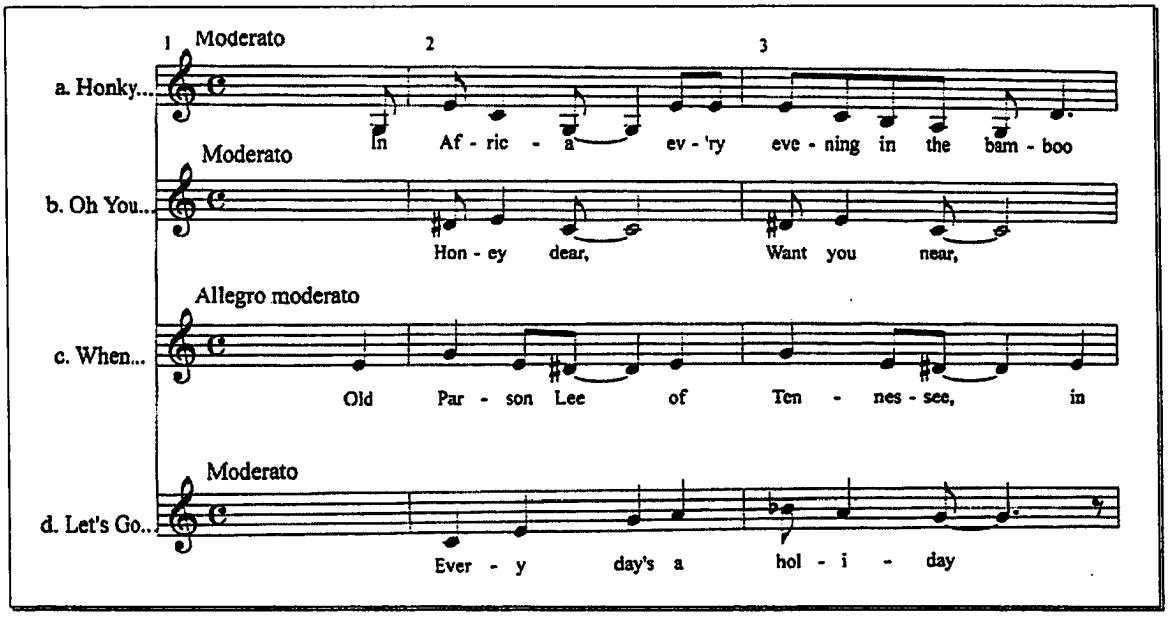
[36] Example 5.4; see also commentary above, 211-12.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

two-bar blues riff which was later to become a cliché of boogie-woogie and derived styles such as rhythm and blues (mm. 2-3, 4-5, and 6-7).

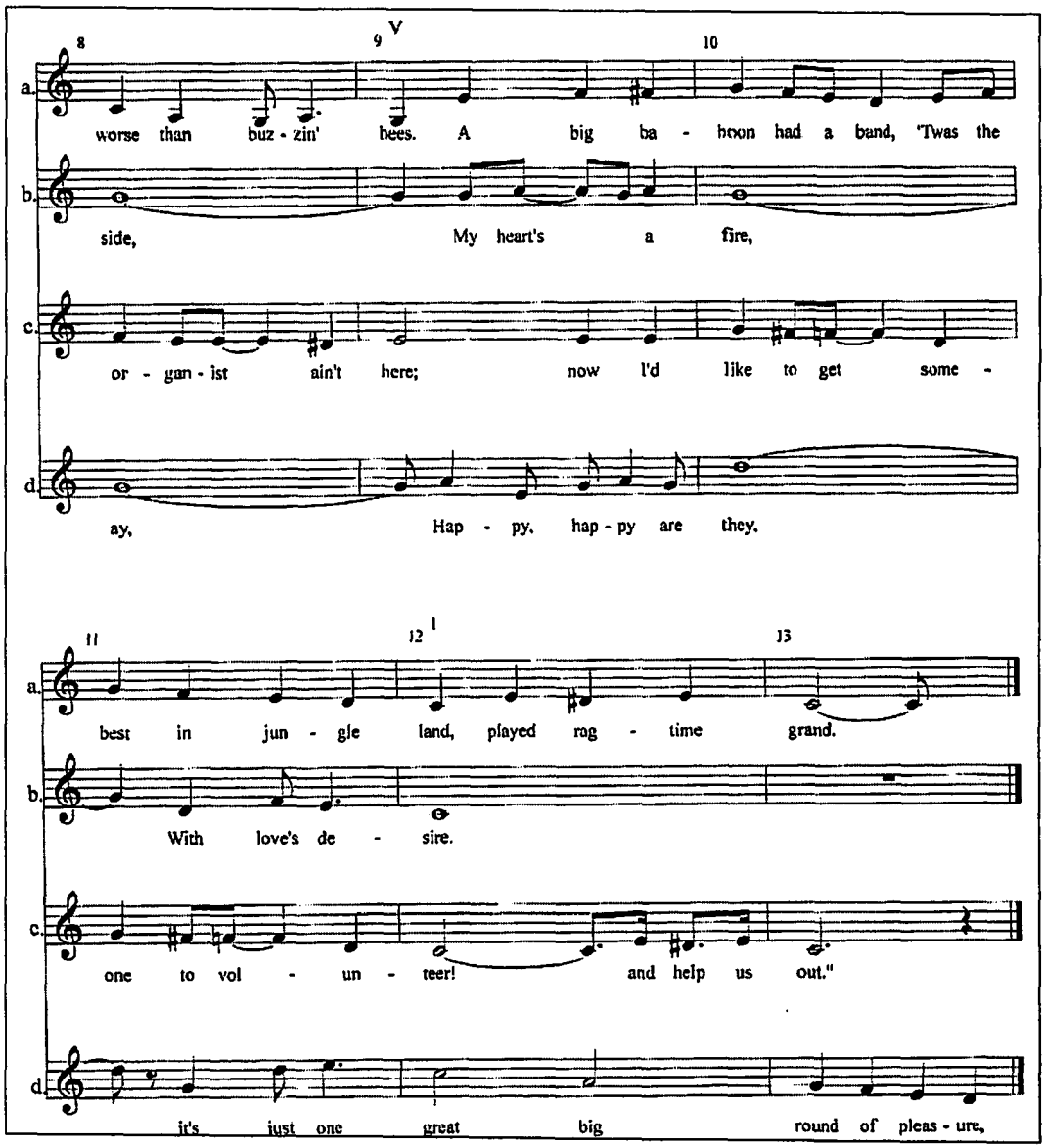
Of the four songs, only one, "When Ragtime Rosie Ragged the Rosary," has a regular thirty-two bar chorus. The choruses of "Oh You Beautiful Doll" and "Let's Go to Savannah G. A." are both an asymmetrical twenty measures subdivided 8 + 4 + 8. Still more unusual is the chorus of Chris Smith's "Honky Tonky Monkey Rag" which has a twelve-bar structure. This song, then, uses a twelve-bar structure throughout, the first to

Example 7.7.
a. Smith: "Honky Tonky Monkey Rag" (1911), first half of verse (Original: F major)
b. Brown and Ayer: "Oh You Beautiful Doll" (1911), first half of verse (Original: E flat major)
c. "When Ragtime Rosie Ragged the Rosary" (1911), first half of verse (Original: C major)
d. Gilbert, Muir, and Abraham: "Let's Go to Savannah G. A." (1911), first half of verse (Original: C major)



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



do so since Cannon's "You Needn't Come Home" (example 5.6) from a decade earlier.[37] However, unlike Cannon's song, the harmonic structure of the chorus is different from that of the verse (see example 7.8). Table 7.2 compares the harmonic structure of the

[37] There exists an instrumental version of the song entitled "Monkey Rag" (Chicago: Thomson, 1911). This has an extra strain with a conventional sixteen measures rather than twelve.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 7.8.
Smith: "Honky Tonky Monkey Rag" (1911), chorus

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

chorus with a regular blues sequence. It is the first six measures that differ from the norm. Smith's sequence is unique—I have found it in no other sheet music or recording of proto-blues or blues.

Table 7.2. Harmonization of the Chorus of "Honky Tonky Monkey Rag," as Compared with Blues Prototype

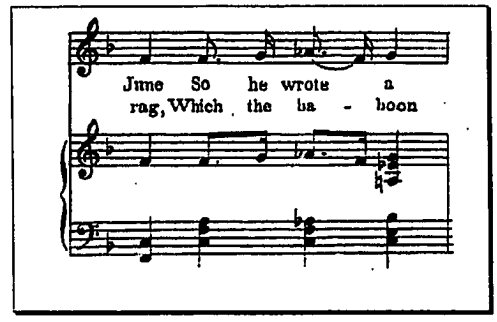
Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
a. Blues	I	I	I	I	IV	IV	I	I
b. Honky Tonky	V	V	V	V	I	I	I	I

	9	10	11	12
Blues	V	V	I	I
Honky Tonky	V	V	I	I

This song is remarkable in that it abounds in musical devices that are only rarely found in contemporaneous songs, but which became regular features of later commercial blues: for example, the one-bar riff used in the melody for the first eight bars of the chorus featuring a blue seventh, and accompanimental writing such as that shown in example 7.9, with its highlighted blue third (A flat), the sharp juxtaposition of major and minor chords on the second and third beats, and the violent clash of tonalities on the fourth beat. The composer of "Honky Tonky Monkey Rag," Chris Smith, was an African-American deeply immersed in early blues culture: he had earlier produced a proto-blues in 1901 ("I Got de Blues," example 5.3), was the first to copyright a blues in 1912, and produced a number of important blues and blues-related songs in the 1920s. "Honky Tonky Monkey Rag" is therefore an important transitional work, a link from earlier proto-blues to blues culture of the 1910s.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 7.9.
Smith: "Honky Tonky Monkey Rag" (1911), measure 22



The 1911 proto-blues were all relatively successful commercially. The runaway hit of the four was "Oh You Beautiful Doll," which Gardner rates as the second best-selling song of 1911-12,[38] although "Honky Tonky Monkey Rag" was also a clear success, rated number thirty-six during the same period.[39] "When Ragtime Rosie" was, according to Jasen, popular, and attracted notoriety because of its combining religion with ragtime.[40] Probably the least commercially viable of the four was "Let's Go to Savannah G. A.," which, however, is quite common in sheet music form, suggesting that sales were at least reasonable.

Other Ragtime Compositions Using Folk Proto-Blues

My survey of proto-blues concludes with three ragtime instrumental compositions that use African-American proto-blues. The first is a 1904 rag, "St. Louis Tickle," by "Barney & Seymore," a pseudonym for Theron C. Bennett (1879-1937), the Missouri

[38] *Popular Songs of the Twentieth Century*, 297.

[39] *Popular Songs of the Twentieth Century*, 294.

[40] *Tin Pan Alley*, 83.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 7.10
Bennett: "St. Louis Tickle" (1902), B strain

pianist best known for purchasing W. C. Handy's "The Memphis Blues" in 1912.[41] The second strain uses the melody from a bawdy African-American folk song well known in the South known as "Funky Butt" (example 7.10). The melody was considerably slowed down later and recorded as a sixteen-bar blues, notably by Jelly Roll Morton under the

[41] See Jasen and Tichenor, *Rags and Ragtime: A Musical History*, 46-47, for background about Bennett and discussion of this work.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

title "Buddy Bolden's Blues."[42] The strain as notated is not particularly bluesy, however. Blue notes are used only occasionally and incidentally. Otherwise, there are no blues matrices at all, with the striking exception of the four-note chromatic motif,[43] which is prominently used at the beginning of both halves of the melody (mm. 1-2 and 9-10).

The other two rags using folk proto-blues form a pair: the "Southern Rag Medleys" by the black concert pianist John W. Boone (1864-1927), known as Blind Boone. The first—subtitled "Strains from the Alleys"—was published in 1908, while its successor—"Strains from the Flat Branch"—appeared the following year.[44] Both were published in Missouri. These are ragtime arrangements of vernacular material, mostly, if not entirely, African-American in origin. There are five songs used in the first medley and four in the second. Of these nine songs, four are proto-blues.

The first, the B-strain of the first medley, is "Make me a Pallet on Your Floor," a sixteen-bar folksong that was later adapted by W. C. Handy and published under the title "Atlanta Blues."[45] The D-strain is the chorus of Deas and Wilson's "I Natur'ly Loves That Yaller Man" (example 7.11). It is quite different from the original (example 7. 4, mm. 42-57), with both music and words altered, which suggests a process of oral transmission. It shows that ten years after its original publication, "Yaller Man" was still

---

[42] The first recording of this as a blues is by Morton (General 4003, 1939). Buddy Bolden was a pioneer cornetist in New Orleans at the turn of the century, allegedly the inventor of jazz, with whom the song was particularly associated.

[43] See above, 163-64.

[44] Details in Appendix 4.

[45] New York: Handy Brothers, 1923. The theme is also used as the final strain of "Tenth Street Rag" by Euday L. Bowman, which was unpublished, but copyrighted in 1914.

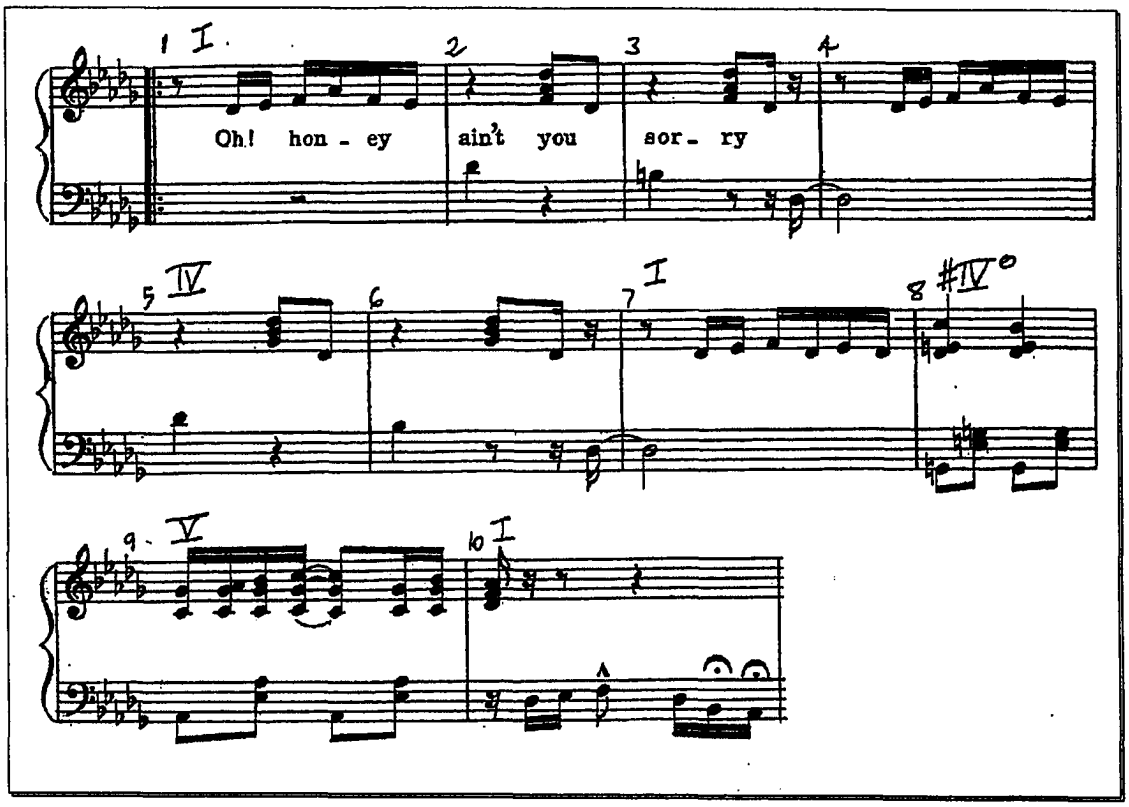
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 7.11
Boone: "Southern Rag Medley Number 1," D strain

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

current in oral culture, which is surprising given that it was not a commercial success (judging from the lack of known recordings, and the fact that copies of the sheet music are rare).[46] One possible explanation is that the song was not composed by Deas and Wilson, but preexisted in black folk culture and remained in circulation till the time Boone encountered it. Certainly the verse of the original, with its eccentric structure and bluesy idiom, suggests a fairly direct influence of folk music.

Example 7.12
Boone: "Southern Rag Medley Number 2," D strain



[46] The only copy I have located is the one sent in for copyright deposit at the Library of Congress.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The second "Southern Rag Medley" uses "I'm Alabama Bound" as its second strain. It appeared the same year as Robert Hoffman's first version, discussed earlier.[47] That two versions of the same song appeared almost simultaneously in different parts of the South (New Orleans and Columbia, Missouri) demonstrates how widely it was disseminated by 1908. The D-strain of Boone's second medley, given in example 7.12, is a song which has an unusual ten-bar form. The harmonic sequence is a truncated twelve-bar blues.

---

[47] See above, 218-20.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter 8

THE EMERGENCE AND DISSEMINATION OF EARLY BLUES

This final chapter draws upon many of the findings presented in earlier chapters and attempts to integrate them. My focus is the character and evolution of early blues and the dissemination of commercial blues in mainstream culture in the 1910s.

Blues and Ragtime

The connection between blues and ragtime is well-established. As discussed in Chapter 2, many early commercial blues share structural and musical characteristics with ragtime.[1] However, the link between ragtime and proto-blues has been much less discussed: with the exception of just one item, Shannon's "Gee, But I've Got the Blues" from 1909,[2] all known commercial proto-blues from 1894, whether songs or instrumentals, are ragtime.

This is, perhaps, unsurprising. Ragtime was, after all, *the* disseminator of African-American secular folk culture before the rise of the commercial blues industry in 1912. What is perhaps more noteworthy is the number of proto-blues songs that were popular hits in their day. In particular, the chronological sequence of proto-blues that begins with "The Bully Song" (example 6.1) and "You've Been a Good Old Wagon" (example 7.1 [b]), both from 1895, and continues with Harney's "Mister Johnson, Turn me Loose" of 1896 (example 7.2) and the early successes of the Cannon school, notably

---

[1] See above, 82-84.

[2] See above, 217-18.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Just Because She Made Dem Goo-goo Eyes," 1900 (example 5.8), "Ain't Dat a Shame," 1901 (example 6.4), and "Bill Bailey," 1902 (example 5.9): these were among the most popular songs of their era, and, as much as any other compositions, fanned the flames of the ragtime craze that swept America in the late 1890s and early 1900s.

Two inferences are drawn from this. First, it paints quite a different picture of the relationship between ragtime and blues, for it shows that not only was ragtime an influence on commercial blues of the 1910s, but also that proto-blues were intimately involved in the initial dissemination of ragtime in the 1890s. Second, it shows that the general public was encountering aspects of blues in commercial music at a much earlier stage than previously acknowledged—particularly the twelve-bar sequence, which, in the form derived from the blues ballad, was a feature of proto-blues from the time of "The Bully Song."

The Emergence of the Standard Twelve-Bar Form from the "Frankie" Sequence

It is possible to infer a number of points regarding the evolution of the twelve-bar blues from published proto-blues. Most early twelve-bar proto-blues use for their verses the "Frankie" chord sequence with its prolonged subdominant in the seventh measure, or a variant that is derived from the "Frankie" song family. The standard twelve-bar blues sequence is found much more rarely in proto-blues: the only clear examples before the appearance of the four proto-blues from 1911[3] are Chapman and Smith's "One o' Them

---

[3] See above, 359 ff.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Things," 1904 (example 7.5), Maggio's "I Got the Blues," 1908 (example 1.2),[4] and the concluding (fifteenth) verse of the Kuhns's "Stack-O-Lee," 1910 (example 6.11 [b]).

This is entirely in accord with the standard theory that blues evolved from blues ballads.[5] The case becomes even more compelling when one considers that the "Frankie" sequence is rare in commercial music after 1913. Auto-referential blues from the 1910s hardly ever use it: Shelton Brooks's "Love-Sick Blues" from 1918, and W. C. Handy's "Hesitating Blues" from 1915 are the only exceptions I have found.[6] In the 1920s it is even rarer: in terms of published sheet music, I have found only a single blues, "Jackass Blues," a fairly successful composition from 1925 by white bandleaders Art Kassel and Mel Sitzel,[7] which uses the regular sequence in the verse, and the "Frankie" sequence in the chorus ("Hesitating Blues" also mixes the two forms).[8] Just as the "Frankie" sequence effectively disappears after 1913, the regular sequence starts to appear with increasing frequency with the rise of auto-referential blues from 1912.

Interestingly, there is a clear period of overlap from 1910-13, when both the "Frankie" sequence and the standard blues sequence are used regularly in commercial proto-blues. In 1911, four standard blues sequence songs appear: "Honky Tonky Monkey Rag" (examples 7.7 [a], 7.8), "Let's Go to Savannah G. A." (example 7.7 [d]),

---

[4] Other examples of the regular twelve-bar sequence such as found in the verse to "I Natur'ly Loves that Yaller Man" (example 7.4) and the C strain of "Texas Rag" (example 7.5) are expanded versions of the original twelve-bar formula.

[5] See 244.

[6] Details in Appendix 1.

[7] Chicago: Melrose Music, 1925.

[8] The only non-auto-referential commercial blues composition from the 1920s which uses the "Frankie" sequence is Duke Ellington's "Creole Love Call" (Victor 21137, 1927). I should add that the sequence is also extremely rare in records by hillbilly and African-American folk artists of the 1920s and 1930s, except in instances where they are performing what were by then archaic genres such as blues ballads.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Oh You Beautiful Doll" (example 7.7 [b]), and "When Ragtime Rosie Ragged the Rosary" (example 7.7 [c]). In 1912 there are three: Hart Wand's "Dallas Blues," W. C. Handy's "Memphis Blues," and "Lasses" White's "Negro Blues" (example 2.5).[9] In the same year there also three published compositions using the "Frankie" sequence: the Leighton Brothers' "Frankie and Johnnie" (example 6.7), Leslie and Muir's "I'm a 'Do-Right' Woman," and Brown and Ayer's "You're my Baby" (example 6.13). In 1913, the regular sequence outnumbers the "Frankie" sequence for the first time: the only composition using the "Frankie" sequence is Shelton Brook's "All Night Long" (example 6.14), while there are two compositions that use the regular blues sequence: Alex Valentine's "1913 Medley Blues" and W. C. Handy's "Jogo Blues." By 1914, the changeover is complete—there are no known compositions published that use the "Frankie" sequence, while there are no fewer than nine auto-referential blues using the standard twelve-bar sequence.

As a corollary to this, we find two composers from the same period who experiment with both forms. One is Antonio Maggio, whose "I Got the Blues" of 1908 (example 1.2) uses the regular blues sequence, while his (unpublished) "Bad Rag" of 1910 (example 6.12) uses the "Frankie" sequence. The other composer is Lewis Muir: his "Let's Go to Savannah G. A." (example 7.7 [d]) and "When Ragtime Rosie Ragged the Rosary" (example 7.7 [c]), both from 1911, use the regular blues sequence, while "I'm a 'Do-Right' Woman" from 1912 uses the "Frankie" sequence.

---

[9] For this, and most of the subsequent discussion in this chapter, I recommend the second part of Appendix 1, beginning 453, which presents the material chronologically, rather than alphabetically by title.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

A unique case in terms of published music is the Kuhns's "Stack-O-Lee" (1910, example 6.11) which mixes old and new forms of the twelve-bar sequence within the same song: the first fourteen verses (example 6.11 [a]) use an antiquated variation of the sequence closely related to the "Bully Song," while the last verse (example 6.11 [b]) uses a fully evolved blues progression.[10] This mixing of styles was probably quite common among folk performers during this period of transition.

It does not automatically follow, of course, that what is shown here in a commercial context—the "Frankie" sequence giving way after c. 1911 to the regular sequence—exactly mirrors folk culture. However, the trend is quite consistent within published proto-blues, and is also in accordance with standard theories of the evolution of the twelve-bar sequence; hence, it would seem reasonable to conclude that the trends found in the sheet music reflect at least partially a process that was also unfolding in folk music at roughly the same time.

Another aspect of the twelve-bar form, the call-and-response phrase structure, is poorly represented in commercial proto-blues, occurring only in the verse to "I Natur'ly Loves that Yaller Man" (1898, example 7.4) and the C strain of Jackson's "Texas Rag" (1905, example 7.5). The main reason for this is that the blues ballad, the major influence on proto-blues, did not use the call-and-response phrasing except in the last (third) line of the stanza.[11] Call-and-response phrasing is also uncommon in commercial blues of the 1910s, although it was undoubtedly used quite extensively in folk blues at the time. The decision not to use call-and-response was probably partly inspired by

---

[10] See above, 308.

[11] See above, 339-40.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

commercial considerations: Tin Pan Alley songs, which formed the basic model for commercial blues composers of the 1910s, did not normally use long gaps at the end of each line (with some exceptions). It is, therefore, quite possible that this is part of the reason that published proto-blues also avoid using call-and-response. If so, this raises the possibility that in folk proto-blues of the 1890s and 1900s, twelve-bar stanzas using call-and-response at the end of every line, while less common than in the 1910s, were found more frequently than is suggested by their scarcity in commercial proto-blues.

Commercial proto-blues not only show the emergence of the standard twelve-bar form from the "Frankie" sequence, they also hint at an earlier stage of development, a time when the "Frankie" sequence was one among many alternative harmonizations of the three-line twelve-bar blues ballad. We find evidence for this in the verses of various proto-blues that are connected to blues ballads of the "Frankie" type in their phrasing, and/or the use of the third-line refrain, but which use unorthodox harmonic progressions. Examples are Trevathan's "The Bully Song" (examples 6.1 and 6.2), Johnson and Furth's "Since Bill Bailey Came Back Home" (example 6.4), and two songs by Cannon: "Just Because She Made Them Goo-Goo Eyes" (example 5.8) and "Bill Bailey" (example 5.9).[12] All proto-blues based on the "Frankie" type that appear after the Leighton brothers' "Bill, You Done me Wrong" in 1908 use the familiar "Frankie" sequence. This presumably reflects the fact that by a certain date the sequence had become standardized in folk culture, which in turn lends weight to the theory that the earlier harmonic aberrations are representatives of an earlier stage in the development of the sequence.

---

[12] The twelve-bar verse of another Cannon song, "Ain't Dat too Bad?" from 1905 has an equally unorthodox harmonic structure, although it has not been discussed in this study.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Commercial proto-blues also show that, at this early stage of development, the twelve-bar sequence could be varied in length, as well as harmonically. In particular, three proto-blues examined—the chorus to Cannon's "Alic Busby" (example 5.11), the C strain of Jackson's "Texas Rag" (example 7.6), and the A strain of Dobyn's "Bull Frog Rag"[13]—extend the standard sequence by four measures. In the last two instances, Joyner speculates that the reason for the extension is that "composers felt uncomfortable imposing a twelve-bar blues form on the traditional sixteen-bar format of the rag and popular song."[14] This is not a convincing explanation: if commercial hits such as "The Bully Song," "Goo-Goo Eyes" and "Bill Bailey," all of which had used twelve-bar sequences, had already become nationally recognized, why would the composers of these obscure rags, working in the South for a local public, who were presumably more familiar with the culture of the blues than the national audience of the earlier hits, have been "uncomfortable" with using the straight twelve-bar sequence? Such sixteen-measure sequences, therefore, probably reflect genuine variants used in folk culture.

In fact, the interconnectedness between the twelve-bar and the sixteen-bar blues structures survived into the race record era. For example, a blues-related folksong popular in the 1920s and 30s, titled "Sweet Petunia," survives in a number of recordings by African-American artists of the period in both sixteen- and twelve-bar versions.[15] Whereas Cannon's "Alic Busby" extends the sequence by repeating the harmonies of the first line (mm. 1-4), and "Texas Rag" and "Bull Frog Rag" extends it by repeating the

---

[13] See above, 343.

[14] "Southern Ragtime and its Transition to Published Blues," 164.

[15] I am grateful to Konrad Nowakowski for drawing my attention to this song and supplying me with recordings of it. See also Oliver, *Screening the Blues*, 219-25 for a discussion of the song.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

harmonies of the last line (mm. 9-12) of the three-line stanza, "Sweet Petunia," in its sixteen-bar form, repeats the second line. The first two versions, both probably recorded *circa* March 1927 are both sixteen-bar,[16] while the next three, from 1927-28 respectively, are twelve-bar.[17] There follow two more of the sixteen-bar versions.[18] Both forms of the song remain current until 1937, after which all recorded versions are twelve-bar. I see this process as a symbol for the evolution of the twelve-bar sequence: a form that is initially either twelve or sixteen measures eventually becomes standardized as the former.

This is not to imply that the blues sequence occurred only in twelve-bar and sixteen-bar forms in its early evolution. After all, many American folksongs are found in versions with different lengths. For instance, the ballad "Pretty Polly," which seems to have some relationship to early blues, has been found in eight-, twelve, and sixteen-bar versions.[19] Similarly, before blues stabilized into the twelve-bar, three-line stanza, a multiplicity of variants must have existed. The structurally idiosyncratic verse to "I Natur'ly Loves that Yaller Man" (example 7.4) shows one such variant.

Although there is one known commercial proto-blues where the entire song is based on a repeated twelve-bar form (Cannon's "You Needn't Come Home" [example 5.6]), in almost all other instances, sixteen- or thirty-two-bar sections were added to the twelve-bar form, either as choruses for the songs, or as additional strains for the ragtime

---

[16] Lucille Bogan, "Sweet Patunia" (Paramount 12459); Vance Dixon, "Sweet Patunia" (Paramount 12471).

[17] Lil and Will Brown, "Save My Jelly" (Black Patti 8008); Triangle Harmony Boys, "Sweet Patootie" (Gennett 6275); Will Ezell, "Old Mill Blues" (Paramount 12688).

[18] Curley Weaver, "Sweet Petunia" (Columbia 14386-D, 1928); Willie Baker, "Sweet Petunie Blues" (Gennett 6751, 1929).

[19] Van der Merwe, *Origins of the Popular Style*, 191-92.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

instrumentals. These variants raise the question as to how much the commercial sector reflects the reality of proto-blues folk culture at the turn of the century.

It is certainly possible, even probable, that a commercial proto-blues composer who used a twelve-bar form for the verse of a song would hesitate to use it for the chorus, as this would have made the complete song too far removed from the Tin Pan Alley norm. A mixed-length structure, then, was not necessarily common in folk music; it might even, in fact, be almost entirely a product of the commercial song industry.

However, it would seem that certain of the sixteen-bar chord sequences used as the choruses to commercial proto-blues reflect folk practice at the time. This is certainly the case with the chord sequence of "Take Me Back"—IV/IV/I/I/V/V/I/I stated twice—which is used as the chorus of a wide variety of proto-blues and early commercial blues having twelve-bar verses.[20] It seems reasonable to assume that other harmonic schemes of choruses of proto-blues, even their melodies, may have folk derivation. This is a complex area where more research is needed, but the evidence does suggest—and persuasively so—that the twelve-bar sequence was often married to other structures in both folk and commercial music at this early date.

When we put these factors together, we get one scenario of how the twelve-bar blues emerged. The evidence suggests that if we traveled back to 1900 and surveyed American folk music at the time for signs of the twelve-bar form in proto-blues, we would find the following:

---

[20] See above, 297-303.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(1) many blues ballads using the "Frankie" sequence, with a wide range of harmonic variants (by 1900, however, there would have been fewer variants, and greater standardization than a decade earlier);

(2) some use of the regular blues sequence, though this would have been much less common than the "Frankie" sequence at this stage;

(3) the frequent extension of both types of straight twelve-bar sequence into sequences of sixteen bars or other lengths;

(4) the frequent grafting of sixteen-measure sections (such as the "Take Me Back" sequence), as well as those of other lengths, onto both types of twelve-bar structure;

(5) only limited use of call-and response phrasing.

It was out of this evolutionary proto-blues "soup" that the twelve-bar blues sequence emerged and eventually triumphed.

There is one final point to make about the twelve-bar blues sequence in proto-blues. It is clear that by the time the commercial blues industry got underway, the general public was quite familiar with the twelve-bar sequence through blues ballads and commercial proto-blues stretching back to 1895. In particular the various published proto-blues of 1911 and 1912 that use the sequence may be regarded as paving the way for the success of the blues industry; for although there were only a very small number of such songs compared to the massive output of Tin Pan Alley, they were very popular, particularly "Oh You Beautiful Doll" (example 7.7 [b]), "You're My Baby" (example 6.13), and "All Night Long" (example 6.14).[21]

---

[21] The popularity of these songs is discussed above, 319 and 351.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The Dissemination of Commercial Blues

Although 1912 marks the beginning of the commercial blues industry, it is not the case that blues acquired instant public recognition. Table 8.1, drawn from Appendix 1, part II, charts the rise of commercial auto-referential blues from 1912 to 1920.

Table 8.1. Growth of the Commercial Blues Industry

Year	*Number of Auto-Referential Blues Published*
1912	4
1913	5
1914	12
1915	18
1916	44
1917	44
1918	51
1919	107
1920	139

As we would expect, the number of blues increases almost every year during this period. However, there is little growth between some years, and much more between others, so that the trend becomes clearer when we group these figures into twos or threes: 1912-13, the average number of blues published is 4.5; 1914-15, it is 15; 1916-18, it is approximately 46; and 1919-20 it is 123. Each of these averages very approximately represents an increase of 300% over the one before it.

Of the nine auto-referential blues published during the years 1912-13, two are of lasting importance. One is Hart Wand's "Dallas Blues," which at first sold steadily in the South,[22] but which did not gain national popularity until recordings by vaudevillian Marie

[22] The circumstances of its composition and early commercial success are recounted by Charters in *The Country Blues*, 35-36.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Cahill in 1917 and Wilbur Sweatman's Jazz Band in 1918.[23] The other is Handy's "The Memphis Blues," which gained national popularity sooner, from the New York song edition of 1913 (the original is a three-strain instrumental published in Memphis), which, according to Handy, had sold fifty thousand copies by fall 1913.[24] The work was recorded three times on disk in 1914, by the Victor Military Band, Prince's Band, and comedian Morton Harvey.[25] These were the first disk recordings of auto-referential blues, and their commercial success must have considerably boosted sheet music sales. Certainly by the end of 1914, it had become clear to the industry that "The Memphis Blues" was a national success and that there was general public interest in the new genre.

It took a little time to manifest itself, however, for in 1915 there was only a small increase in the number of blues published over the previous year, and only one disk recording of "Memphis Blues," by the vaudeville team Collins and Harlan.

A decisive upturn in the blues industry occurs in 1916: the number of published blues more than doubles, and there are eighteen disk recordings. Judging by the latter, the runaway success of the year was Moore and Gardner's "Chinese Blues," which was recorded eight times during the year.[26] Other blues recordings included White's "Nigger Blues," published three years earlier, as well as the first recordings of such classic blues by W. C. Handy as "Saint Louis Blues," "Hesitation Blues," and "Joe Turner Blues."

---

[23] See Appendix 2 for details.

[24] *Father of the Blues*, 109.

[25] See Appendix 2 for details.

[26] See above, 130-31 for commentary on this work.

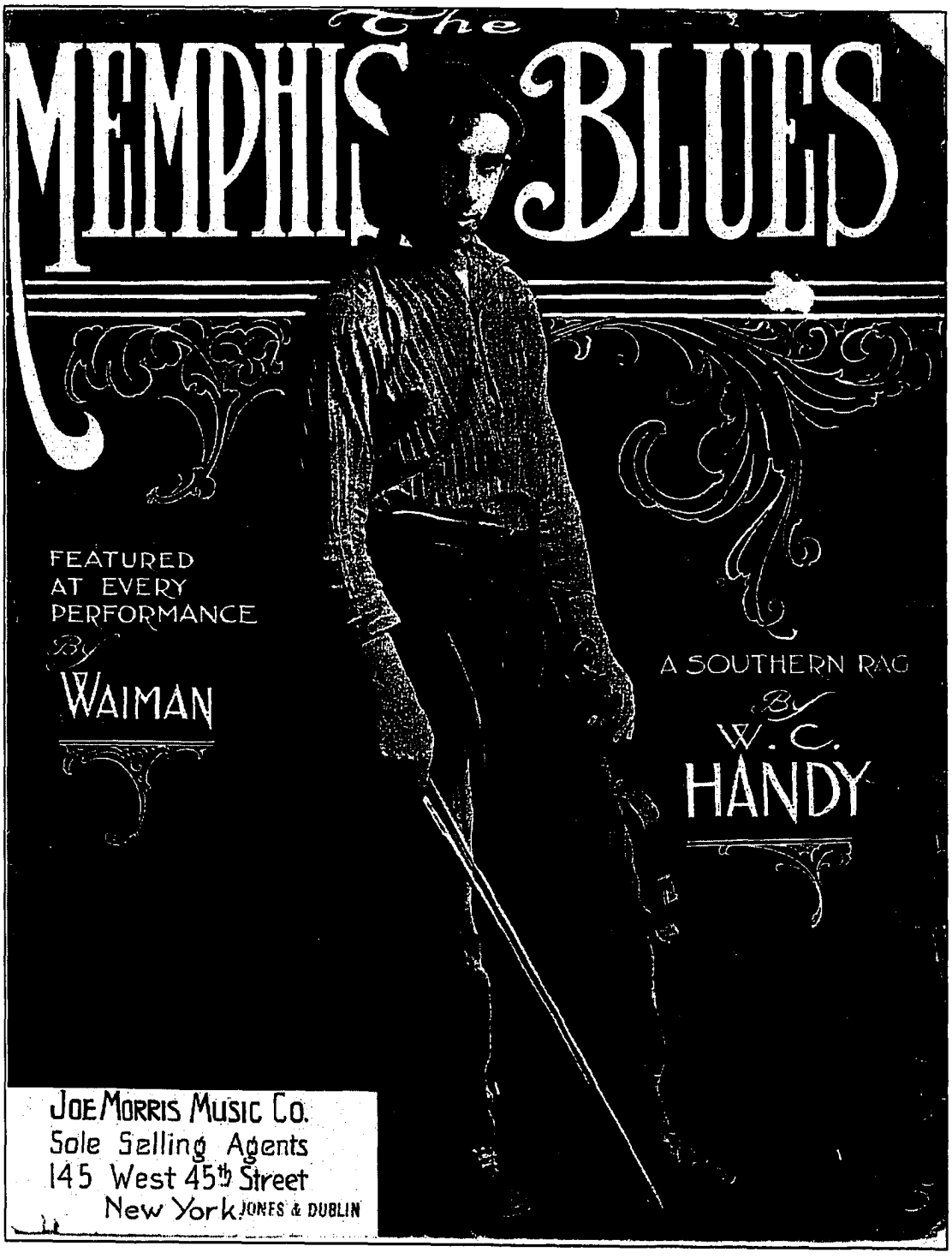
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Because of these recordings, and the successful sales of "The Memphis Blues," Handy was by this stage already achieving status as the preeminent figure in published blues.

Although the number of published blues remains the same in 1916-17, the number of disk recordings rises sharply—to thirty—attesting to the growing popularity of the genre. Undoubtedly the most successful blues recording of 1917 was the Original Dixieland Jazz Band's "Livery Stable Blues," released in May. This bestseller is historically important as the first jazz record. Its impact on the public consciousness of blues can hardly be overestimated, and it initiated an association of jazz with blues that has remained to the present day, a natural consequence of the close link between blues and ragtime, since jazz is essentially an updated form of ragtime. Until the rise of the race record market at the end of 1920, many of the best-selling, and therefore influential, blues recordings were made by jazz bands such as Wilbur Sweatman's, The Louisiana Five, The Frisco Jazz Band, and W. C. Handy's Band, and by the less jazzy dance bands such as the orchestras of Harry Raderman, Joseph C. Smith, the Green Brothers, and Art Hickman. This is not the full extent of recording activity, however. As Appendix 2 testifies, by the end of 1920, auto-referential blues had been recorded by a wide range of instrumental combinations, including military bands, xylophone and orchestra, saxophone sextets, banjo bands, solo accordion, solo piano, piano and drums, marimba bands, and Hawaiian groups. Vocal blues were also recorded prolifically, by top recording artists and groups of the day such as Al Bernard, Henry Burr, Frank Crumit, Arthur Fields, Gene Greene, Ernest Hare, Marion Harris, Irving Kaufman, Billy Murray, George O'Connor, The Premier Quartet, Adele Rowland, and The Three Kaufields.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Figure 8.1.
Handy: "The Memphis Blues" (1913),
front cover to New York edition featuring Waiman



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

As sheet music and record sales boomed, blues became increasingly popular in public performance. Blues had, since its inception, been part of the black working-class entertainment scene. Emerging originally in small rural and urban venues such as honky-tonks, brothels, and barrelhouses, it quickly became a feature of black vaudeville.[27] From there it passed into mainstream (i. e., white) vaudeville, probably shortly after the start of the commercial blues industry. For example, the violinist Waiman featured "The Memphis Blues" in vaudeville from 1913,[28] his picture appearing on the front cover of the New York edition of the instrumental edition from that year (figure 8.1). By 1915, blues had a secure footing in the mainstream entertainment industry: Walsh and Sherman's "Broadway Blues" was featured by the singer Sophie Tucker, then a rising Vaudeville star. The cover of the sheet music showed three pictures of her and proudly announced that the work was "originally introduced in Vaudeville by Sophie Tucker" (figure 8.2).[29] As the decade advanced, blues acquired an increasing presence in vaudeville. Singers such as Marion Harris and Gilda Gray, along with numerous jazz bands and other instrumental and vocal groups used blues as a central part of their act. Vaudeville was, therefore, a central means of dissemination of blues.

At the same time, blues was making its way into musicals. The first show blues to be published was "Old Kentucky Blues" from the black show *George Washington*

---

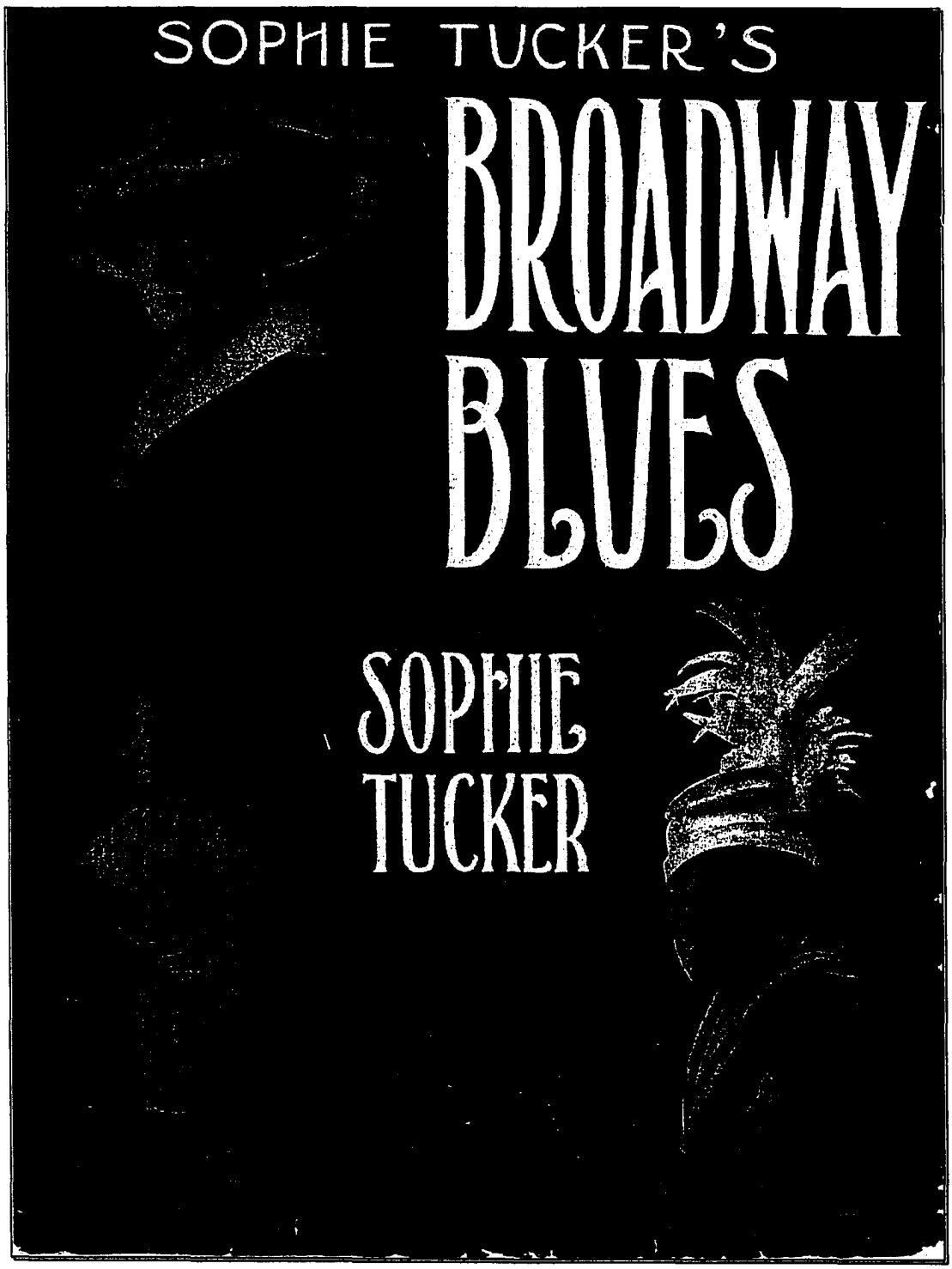
[27] For a discussion of the rise of blues in black vaudeville, see Abbott and Seroff, "'They Cert'ly Sound Good to Me'," *passim.*

[28] W. C. Handy, *Father of the Blues*, 109.

[29] In fact, Tucker's association with blues predates this publication: her picture also appears on the front cover to the instrumental version of Chris Smith's "Honky Tonky Monkey Rag" (examples 7.7a and 7.8, 1911).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Figure 8.2.
Sherman and Walsh: "The Broadway Blues" (1915),
front cover, featuring Sophie Tucker



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Bullion Abroad from 1915. By the end of the decade, the genre was attracting the attention of leading songwriters like Irving Berlin ("Home Again Blues," 1920) and Jerome Kern ("Left All Alone Again Blues," 1920).

As blues became increasingly popular, their geographical base of publication also changed. Most of the earliest auto-referential blues were published in the South—78% in the years 1912-13. In 1914, the figure had fallen to 67%, and in 1915 to 55%. By 1916, the balance is even: exactly half of the blues that year were published in the South, the other half in the rest of the country. By 1920, the figure for Southern published blues has fallen to 28%. These figures reflect the diaspora of blues culture from the South to the North as blues becomes a national, rather than a local, interest.

One other geographical point of interest is the importance of Texas before 1916 as an early center of blues sheet music. If we include the three known auto-referential blues from the period which are copyrighted but unpublished[30] from between 1912 and 1915, twelve of the total of twenty-eight Southern blues emanate from Texas. These are the work of eight different composers. No other state at this time comes even close in these respects: Tennessee, specifically Memphis, comes closest with six blues published, all but one composed by Handy. The predominance of Texas blues in the first years of the commercial blues industry needs further investigation. While it does not imply that blues originated in Texas, it does suggest that the state may have been among the earliest centers of auto-referential blues. Many of the Texas blues are unorthodox as well, and seem to reflect quite directly the inspiration of folk music in various ways.

---

[30] Listed below, 456-57.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The Emergence of Auto-Referential Blues

The emergence of commercial auto-referential blues is a fairly straightforward process when examined from a wide enough vantage point. Commercial auto-referential blues exist in mainstream popular song from the middle of the nineteenth century: for example, "I Have Got the Blues To Day!" (example 5.1) and "Ain't I Got the Blues!" (example 5.2), but their music is indistinguishable from popular songs of the day, showing none of the defining characteristics of later blues, such as the twelve-bar sequence and the use of call-and-response phrasing. At this stage, the title of such pieces are all variants of the phrase "I've got the blues"; none of them uses the more characteristic title "The *x* Blues." Musical features of blues begin to appear independently in sheet music during the last half of the 1890s, but such compositions are not titled blues until the first decade of the twentieth century ("I Got the Blues," example 2.1; "I Got de Blues," example 5.3; "I'm Alabama Bound," subtitled "The Alabama Blues," example 5.5). After 1912, examples of auto-referential blues become increasingly common. In short, compositions called blues that bear the musical characteristics of the genre are unknown in the commercial sector before the first decade of the twentieth century. In this, as elsewhere, it seems that the commercial sector reflects folk culture quite accurately, for it is generally agreed that, while the various musical and textual ingredients of blues existed independently beforehand, blues themselves are basically a twentieth century phenomenon.

Overall, approximately 75% of blues published before 1921 are songs while the remainder are instrumentals.[31] However, a more detailed look at the statistics shows a

---

[31] See above, 81.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

revealing trend: before 1916, instrumentals outnumber songs, with the figure being reversed only after blues acquire national popularity. The switch is quite dramatic—between 1912 and 1915, 54% of copyrighted auto-referential blues are instrumental compositions; by 1920, the figure drops to 6.5%. The results are even more striking if we consider only early auto-referential blues published in the South (that being, of course, the region where blues begin and first flourished): before 1916, 68% of compositions originate as instrumentals. This ties in with Hurwitt's observation that most of W. C. Handy's blues from the 1910s start life as instrumental compositions.[32] The evidence therefore suggests that, to Southern composers at this early stage, the designation "blues" in the title implied primarily an instrumental composition rather than a song. This is the reverse of the situation that has persisted ever since: even today, blues are still considered primarily vocal in nature.

One corroborating piece of evidence for the predominance of instrumental pieces in early blues culture is that, until 1911, the straight twelve-bar blues sequence, as opposed to the "Frankie" sequence, is only found in instrumentals: Chapman and Smith's "One o' Them Things" (example 7.5) and Maggio's "I Got the Blues" (example 1.2). This raises the possibility that the fully evolved harmonic sequence of blues originated in instrumental music (or at least was at first primarily associated with it) rather than songs.

Finally, there is the question of homeopathy and allopathy to consider. As discussed in chapter 1, a majority of commercial blues from the 1910s were allopathic. What about proto-blues? As Evans suggests, blues ballads were usually fast in tempo.[33]

---

[32] "W. C. Handy as Music Publisher," 91. Handy, of course, was from the South: his publishing firm was located in Memphis until his move to New York in 1918

[33] *Big Road Blues*, 45.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In addition, they are, by definition, impersonal narratives (or quasi-narratives). Both of these factors suggest an allopathic approach. The same is true of most commercial proto-blues with blues ballad connections, such as the work of the Cannon school. There are possible exceptions, however, particularly Cannon's "He Done me Wrong" (example 5.12) and the Leighton Brothers' rewrite "Bill, You Done me Wrong" (example 6.6), which, as personal laments using a variety of blues matrices, are as close as we get to a presentist approach to blues before 1912.

There are two proto-blues songs that specify slow tempos: Smith and Bowman's "I Got de Blues" (example 5.3) and Deas and Wilson's "I Natur'ly Loves that Yaller Man" (example 7.4). I think it is of significance that these are also the only proto-blues songs written by African-Americans. This provides some supporting evidence for the standard viewpoint that the slow, homeopathic nature of blues derives predominantly from African-American folk culture.

This is not to suggest that such slow songs were known as "blues" at that time, even in folk culture. As W. C. Handy put it, "what we now call blues, to the folk musicians meant a *kind* of song; individually they bore no such designation."[34] In fact, the word early on seemed to be applied more allopathically than homeopathically. The country blues singer Sleepy John Estes, who was active as a performer from the early years of the century, noted that blues was originally a name given to "a swift fast song . . . now it [has been] slowed down real mellow."[35] The example Estes gives is "Don't

---

[34] *Father of the Blues*, 143.

[35] O'Neal, Jim and Amy Van Singel (eds.), *The Voice of the Blues: Classic Interviews from Living Blues Magazine* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 63.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

You Leave me Here," a variant of "Alabama Bound" (example 5.5). This song was later recorded homeopathically by many blues artists.[36] In other words, we can infer a process where homeopathic blues emerges from allopathic by slowing down the tempo and changing the style. This is in line with David Evans's suggestion that blues arose when blues ballads, and by implication other proto-blues, were slowed down to accommodate changing dance styles.[37] A similar example is seen in the folksong "Funky Butt": its first appearance is in an allopathic ragtime number ("St. Louis Tickle," example 7.10), which may well have reflected how it was played in folk culture; later versions, however, tended to treat the number as a homeopathic blues.[38]

---

[36] See above, 219, for a discussion of blues recordings of this song.

[37] *Big Road Blues*, 46.

[38] See above, 352-53.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study has been to examine commercial blues in America before the rise of the race record industry. A survey of the literature shows that the field of early commercial blues has been woefully neglected. My inquiry has suggested that the reason for this gap centers on two overlapping, largely unconscious, attitudes which have until recently had a pervasive influence on blues writing. The first is *anti-commercialism*, the belief that the only true blues are folk blues. In this view, commercial blues are seen as a debased genre, too close to mainstream popular music to be regarded with anything other than mistrust. More deeply rooted is *phonocentrism*, which I define as the valorizing of oral culture over written. Before the 1920s, commercial blues culture centers round published sheet music, and the subject has therefore been neglected by blues historians.

An additional factor for the neglect of early commercial blues is that published blues compositions of the 1910s are often quite different from blues as we define the term today. Perhaps the most fundamental difference is one of mood: nowadays we think of blues as referring to a slow, sad song, whereas a majority of early commercial blues are just the opposite. I show that the reason for this is that there are two basic approaches to commercial blues. Both are based on the notion that the underlying purpose of the music is to heal the condition known as "the blues," a term which is, in a general sense, synonymous with depression, but which also refers more specifically to the psychological condition of neurasthenia, an illness that was practically an epidemic in America and Europe in the early 1900s. The blues condition can treated in two ways:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

homeopathically, treating like with like, that is, using depressed music for a depressed condition; and *allopathically*, treating with the opposite, that is, cheerful music for a depressed condition. I show that in the commercial music culture of the 1910s, a majority of blues were allopathic. Since that time, however, the homeopathic definition of blues has prevailed in mainstream culture, and hence early commercial blues have been largely ignored.

In examining early blues culture I have, for simplicity, limited my inquiry to *auto-referential* blues, that is, works that refer to themselves as blues in their titles or sub-titles. The early auto-referential blues industry is very large, with well over 700 examples copyrighted between 1912 and the end of 1920 (Appendix 1). There are also a total of approximately 800 known recordings and piano rolls (Appendices 2 and 3).

Auto-referential blues of the 1910s are a hybrid of popular styles and folk blues. The proportion of these two influences varies tremendously, but, on average, the idiom of auto-referential blues lies much closer to popular music than to folk. Three-quarters of published blues from this period are songs, the remainder instrumentals. Nearly all the songs have the familiar verse-chorus format of Tin Pan Alley songs, while the instrumentals usually use the multi-strain structure of ragtime compositions. In general, the language of ragtime is a major influence on early auto-referential blues. There is also a close relationship with blues and the fox-trot.

My analysis of 100 auto-referential blues has given a sense of their style. Their range is wide, some being close to folk blues, others being almost indistinguishable from regular popular songs of the day. For my analysis, I have isolated a number of characteristic musical and textual elements, which I name *matrices*, after Van Der

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Merwe. These are characteristic in the sense that they are more likely to occur in commercial auto-referential blues than in related styles of popular music. In fact, some matrices, such as the twelve-bar sequence and the "I've got the blues" trope, are almost entirely associated with commercial blues at this period. Any given blues will use a particular, unique combination of blues matrices. The amount and type of these will determine the overall character and "bluesiness" of any given composition.

The remainder of the thesis is concerned with a detailed examination of published blues-related compositions that preceded the development of the commercial blues industry in 1912. I term such compositions *proto-blues*. Proto-blues have been all but ignored in historical writing about blues; indeed, a majority of the items I discuss seem entirely unknown to blues scholars. This is not surprising given the dearth of first-hand information that exists about the evolution of blues.

My examination of proto-blues culture has focused on two areas: auto-referential blues and the development of the twelve-bar sequence. My research shows that commercial auto-referential blues are rare before 1912 (as they also were in the folk sector), and the few that exist, the earliest of which dates from 1850, are musically unexceptional, and they do not generally use the characteristic matrices associated with commercial blues of the 1910s.

The twelve-bar sequence is found quite frequently in proto-blues, although, with only one exception, such items are not titled *blues* until after 1912. The majority of twelve-bar-based proto-blues show the influence of the blues ballad, a type of folk song that is regarded in mainstream blues scholarship as the immediate forerunner of blues.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

My study of published twelve-bar proto-blues reveals much about the evolution of the blues ballad and, more generally, about the twelve-bar blues sequence.

Particularly important are the proto-blues of the group of professional associates I have described as the "Cannon school." This group of composers and lyricists were effectively the first folk blues collectors, publishing their versions of underworld ballads from the turn of the century till the beginning of the commercial blues era.

My survey of commercial proto-blues is completed with an examination of published compositions using folk proto-blues with non-twelve bar structures. An example is the African-American folksong "Sweet Thing" that appears in a handful of coon songs in the 1890s.

It is clear from my examination that commercial proto-blues drew extensively from African-American folk culture in a number of ways. This influence is far more pervasive and occurs at a much earlier date (from the early 1890s) than has been hitherto suspected. In general, commercial proto-blues have much to teach us about the evolution of blues.

I view this dissertation as the first examination of what is basically a new, unexplored field. The more-than-700 blues of Appendix 1 are an enormous repository, and while some of this material, particularly the blues of W. C. Handy, is relatively well known, the vast majority is virgin territory. The proto-blues listed in Appendix 4, while much smaller in number, are also largely unknown to blues scholars. Whereas the blues listed in Appendix 1 probably form a fairly complete listing,[1] Appendix 4 makes no

---

[1] It is, however, probable that a few previously unknown auto-referential blues from the 1910s will eventually emerge that were published but never copyrighted, languishing in obscurity on the shelves of the private collections.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

pretence at completeness, for proto-blues are much harder to locate. It seems likely, therefore, that others will surface over time, and, given that the number of proto-blues is relatively small, it is quite possible that a new discovery may add considerably to our understanding of the evolution of blues. I should add that the discography (Appendix 2) is probably relatively complete, but I suspect the rollography (Appendix 3) represents only a fraction of the piano rolls that were actually made.

I suggested in Chapter 1 that the importance of the early commercial blues industry is twofold. First, it allows us to understand more accurately the process of the evolution of blues and its emergence into the mainstream. Second, it is a body of work that is of aesthetic and historical importance in its own right. It is my hope that this study has shown the validity of these points, and will thus stimulate further research in this area.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

BEFORE "CRAZY BLUES": COMMERCIAL BLUES IN AMERICA 1850-1920

by

Peter C. Muir

Volume II

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Music in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

2004

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Appendix 1

COMMERCIAL BLUES 1912-20

Scope and Definition

This appendix lists all known published and unpublished notated blues compositions copyrighted in the United States before January 1, 1921. The definition of blues is that of Chapter 2, that is, pieces that either (1) refer to blues auto-referentially ("Dixie Blues," "The Memphis Blues," "Those Jazz Band Blues," "De Wash Tub Blues"); or (2) use as their title "I've got the/that/those ---------- blues," or variants thereof ("I've Got the Blues," "I've Got the Army Blues," "I Got the Blues, the Soda Pop Blues"), or (3) in their subtitle ("Beale Street: Another Memphis 'Blues'," "Bom-Bom-Bom-Bhe: the Melody Blues").[1]

The list shows all versions of each composition copyrighted before 1921 where there is a change in title, composer, author, copyright holder, publisher, published status (usually a previously unpublished work being published), or where the composition is associated with a particular show in one version and not another. There are also instances of works (or versions of works) that were published but not registered for copyright. Where I have been able to discover such blues, these are also included.

This catalog is in two parts. In Part I the compositions are presented alphabetically by title; in Part II they are listed chronologically. Part I is itself divided into two sections. Part Ia lists all blues that are known to have been published in the period 1912-20, along with their unpublished versions if they were separately registered

[1] See above, 76 ff., for further explanation.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

for copyright (in most cases, the unpublished deposit is the earlier version of the work). Part Ib consists of works that were copyrighted in manuscript form only, and, as far as is known, were never published. This also includes a small number of items that were not copyrighted at all, but exist on contemporaneous recordings. In Part II, published and unpublished works are presented separately within each year.

Methodology & Limitations

This list was compiled mainly by examining all entries registered for copyright at the Library of Congress as contained in the published books of such data for the years 1912-20. This was a substantial task that involved reading approximately a quarter of a million entries. Such an approach is limited in two ways: (1) it omits a certain number of blues or particular versions thereof that were published but never registered for copyright; (2) It often omits blues as defined by definition above , since subtitles often only appear on the sheet music itself. Because of these two problems, I have taken the additional step of consulting with major collectors of blues sheet music throughout the country (as well as more mundane acts, such as checking published anthologies of blues from the period) to obtain information about additional compositions. This, of course, is a fairly random process, and hence this list, although containing all known blues from the period in question that I have been able to locate, cannot claim to be fully comprehensive.

Explanation of column headings

Column 1: C. No. – Library of Congress copyright number. This number was assigned when the composition was registered for copyright. In the period 1912-20, all numbers

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

begin with an E followed by six digits. The letter E is itself preceded either by the letter P (meaning that the work in question, or this particular version of it, if there exists more than one version, was published) or the letter U (meaning that the work in question, or this particular version of it, was unpublished). Where a work, or a particular version of it, was apparently not registered for copyright, there is no Library of Congress catalog number. In the case of published compositions, I have shown this by P----------; in the few instances of unpublished works which were not copyrighted, I have indicated this by U----------.[2]

Column 2: C. Date – Date when the work, or a particular version of it if multiple versions exist, was registered for copyright at the Library of Congress. All blues compositions (as previously defined) registered for copyright on or before 12/31/20 are included. In some instances, I have included a version of a song first published after that date if at least one unpublished version was deposited for copyright before the cut-off date. In the case of published blues that were not copyrighted, the publication date is indicated with as much accuracy as possible.

Column 3: Title – Full title of the composition as it appears on the copyright entry (or in cases where the work was not copyrighted but published, on the printed sheet music in the case of published compositions and on the record label in the case of compositions that were recorded but were not copyrighted, and never appeared in printed form).

[2] The only instances of uncopyrighted, unpublished blues I have discovered are works that were recorded but never registered for copyright.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Columns 4-5: Words/Music – Columns indicate the lyricist (if any) and composer. Copyrighted versions of blues compositions from this era are normally either arrangements for piano only (if there are no words, indicated by a dash [-] in column 4) or voice and piano (if there is a text). Copyrighted arrangements of compositions for combinations other than piano or voice and piano are not included unless they are the first to be copyrighted, in which instance the instrumentation of the arrangement is footnoted. For both words and music I have tried to give the first and last names of the composer/lyricist, as well as middle initial (example: Euday L. Bowman). Where I have not done so, it is either because the author/composer is sufficiently well known (for example, W. C. Handy); or because the person in question is known to have used his middle name (for example H. Qualli Clark); or because copyright records do not provide full information and I was unable to obtain fuller information from other sources.

Column 6: C. Holder – The name of the copyright holder. In the case of a published work, the copyright holder is usually the publisher. Where the two are different, the name of the copyright holder appears in column 6 and the publisher is identified in a footnote. When the work is published but not copyrighted, column 6 gives the publisher.

Column 7: Location – The location of the copyright holder as appears on the Library of Congress copyright card, given as city and (where further clarification is needed) state.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Other explanations: (1) A vertical line [|] in the left-hand margin connects two or more different versions of the same composition.

(2) If the same name is used in columns 4 and 5, 5 and 6, or 4-6, the name is written only once and joined to next column by means of a dotted line: ------

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PART I: Alphabetical by Title

Ia. Published Compositions

1. C. No.	2. C Date	3. Title	4. Words	5. Music	6. C. Holder	7. Location
UE486078	07/10/20	A.B.C.D. Blues (The)	George A. Kershaw	Harry Von Tilzer		New York
PE487631	09/02/20	A.B.C.D. Blues (I've Got the)	George A. Kershaw	Harry Von Tilzer		New York
PE455893	06/20/19	Akron Blues (The)	H. Kid House	Leo Friedman	H. House[3]	Akron, Oh.
PE414625	12/19/17	Alabama Blues	-	Nora Smith Robinson		Opelika, Ala.
PE346618	07/24/14	Alamo Blues	-	Philip L. Eubank		San Antonio, Tex.
PE481051	07/02/20	Alarm Clock Blues (The)	F.T. Underwood	T.F. Cornell	F.T. Underwood[4]	Van Wert, Oh.
PE440075	12/12/18	Alcoholic Blues, The	Edward Laska	Albert Von Tilzer	Broadway Mus. Corp.	New York
PE415598	01/25/18	Alimony Blues	Rennold Wolf	Louis A. Hirsch	M. Witmark	New York

[3] Published by North American Music Pub., Chicago.

[4] Published by Riviera Music Pub., Chicago.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

P----------[5]	--/--/20	Alpine Blues	"Oklahoma"Bob Albright/ Cliff Adams----------		Fisher Thompson	New York
PE496325	10/25/20	Angry Blues	Ota Shipman	Edouard Hesselberg	O. Shipman	Okmulgee, Okla.
UE427294	07/09/18	Anti-Loafin' Blues	Maceo Pinkard----------			New York
PE431330	09/30/18	Anti-Loafin' Blues	Maceo Pinkard----------		Joseph Stern	New York
PE424681	05/01/18	Arkansaw Blues (The)	Miss Bert Humphreys (Mrs. B.H. Crawford)----------			Anniston, Ala.
PE450867	04/19/19	Aviation Blues (The): Them Flyin' Blues[6]	-	Clyde Divers----------		Okla. City, Okla.
PE486376	07/16/20	Aviation Blues (The): Them Flyin' Blues	Clyde Divers----------			Stockton, Cal.
PE390293	07/06/16	Baby Blues (The)	George A. Norton----------			Salt Lake City
P----------[7]	--/--/17	Baby Blues	Margie Brandon	Cal Stark	Syndicate Mus.	St. Louis, Mo.
PE472182	02/06/20	Baby Blues	Alex Rogers	C. Luckeyeth Roberts	A. Rogers/ C.L. Roberts[8]	Brooklyn, N.Y.
PE292185	08/03/12	Baby Seals Blues: Sing 'Em - They Sound Good to Me	Baby Seals----------(arr. Artie Matthews)		Seals & Fisher	St. Louis, Mo.

[5] Apparently not registered for copyright.

[6] Probably the same as "U.S. Aviation Blues."

[7] Apparently not registered for copyright.

[8] Published by Manhattan Music Pub., New York.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE491130	08/27/20	Bachelor Blues	S. Clay Roberts	Leo Friedman	R.S. Clary[9]	Greensboro, N.C.
PE448607	04/21/19	Bagdad Blues	Dorcas Hall/ James Hemsing	Willard C. Sumner----------		Madison, Wis.
PE408131	06/20/17	Baltimore Blues (The)	-	Henry Lodge	Jerome Remick	New York
PE456118	08/08/19	Baltimore Blues (The)	Noble Sissle	Eubie Blake	M. Witmark	New York
PE440046	11/12/18	Barbershop Blues[10]	-	Zarh Myron Bickford	Joe Nicomede	New Alexandria, Pa.
UE404182	04/09/17	Barnyard Blues	-	Dominic J. La Rocca	Max Hart	New York
PE410670	09/24/17	Barnyard Blues	-	Dominic J. La Rocca	Max Hart[11]	New York
PE494216	10/27/20	Baton Rouge Town Blues	Anthony J. Jerome, Jr.----------			[12] Chicago
UE392903	12/01/16	Beale Street	-	W.C. Handy	Pace & Handy	Memphis, Tenn.
PE399908	03/23/17	Beale Street: Another Memphis "Blues"	W.C. Handy----------		Pace & Handy	Memphis, Tenn.
UE450914	05/05/19	Beale St Shimmie (Metropolitan Blues)	Samuel B. Simms----------(arr.Charles H. Booker)		S.B. Simms	Memphis, Tenn.

[9] Published by Riviera Music Pub., Chicago.

[10] This version, the first known to be copyrighted, is an arrangement for mandolin orchestra.

[11] Published by Leo Feist, New York.

[12] Published by Letgers Music Co., Chicago.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

P----------[13]	--/--/19	Beale St Shimmie (Metropolitan Blues)	Samuel B. Simms----------(arr.Charles H. Booker) Johnson		Simms &	Memphis, Tenn.
UE461644	01/10/18	Bean Soup Blues: A Sour Rag	-	Jess H. Valentine (arr. Edgar Rollman)	J.H. Valentine	Asheville, N.C.
PE423756	05/13/18	Bean Soup Blues: A Sour Rag	-	Jess H. Valentine	Pace & Handy	Memphis, Tenn.
UE454956	07/14/19	Beautiful Ohio Blues	-	Robert King (arr. Charles N. Grant)	Shapiro Bernstein	New York
PE459320	09/29/19	Beautiful Ohio Blues	-	Robert King (arr. Charles N. Grant)	Shapiro Bernstein	New York
PE489667	09/21/20	Beauty Parlor Blues	Samuel T.Dew----------			Birmingham, Ala.
UE452326	06/11/19	Bedroom Blues (The)	Walter W. Lewis	Harley Dale	W.W. .Lewis	Pascagoula, Miss.
PE470127	12/31/19	Bedroom Blues (The)	Walter W. Lewis	Robert L. Landon	Warner C. Williams & Co.	Indianapolis, Ind.
PE462901	11/10/19	Be-Hap-E Blues: A Jazzensation	-	Anton Lada/Carl Burger/ Al. Nunez (arr. Leroy Walker)[14]	Leo Feist	New York
PE462431	10/03/19	Bell Hop Blues [fr. *Look Who's Here*]	Frank Goodman	Al Piantadosi	T.B. Harms	New York
PE376828	01/30/15	Bernard Hall Blues; or, Oh You Tutts Johnson	-	Morris Victor/Benjamin H. Homer	M. Victor	Baton Rouge, La.

[13] The published version of this song not registered for copyright.

[14] Copyrighted in orchestral arrangement.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE452060	05/31/19	Bevo Blues	-	Louis Katzmann	Shapiro Bernstein	New York
UE457046	09/08/19	Big Chief Blues	Al Bernard	H. Qualli Clark	Pace & Handy	New York
PE464094	10/22/19	Big Chief Blues	Al Bernard----------		Pace & Handy	New York
PE475181	12/30/19	Birmingham Blues	Turner Jordan	Leo Friedman	T. Jordan[15]	Birmingham, Ala.
UE495280	12/08/20	Bla-Bla Blues	-	Buster Johsnon/ Gus Mueller/ Henry Busse (arr. Gus Mueller)	Leo Feist	New York
PE582464	01/06/22	Bla-Bla Blues	Leo Wood	Buster Johsnon/ Gus Mueller/ Henry Busse (arr. Gus Mueller)	Leo Feist	New York
UE391969	11/29/16	Blind Man's Blues	-	Billy McLaurin	McLaurin	Limberton, N.C.
PE480351	02/27/20	Blind Man Blues	Eddie Green	Billie McLaurin	Pace & Handy	New York
UE492354	10/14/20	Blue Bird Blues	Carl Zerse----------			St. Louis, Mo.
P493856	11/23/20	Blue Bird Blues	Carl Zerse----------		Elite Mus.	St. Louis, Mo.
PE274998	01/12/12	Blues (The)[16]	Chris Smith	James T. Brymn (arr. Eugene Platzmann)	Shapiro Mus.	New York
PE311757	06/06/13	Blues	Edna M. Burrows	Jack Stanley	E.M. Barrows	Little York, Ill.

[15] Published by North American Music Pub., Chicago.

[16] Later (1915) published in an instrumental version under the title "Tar-Heel Blues" (q.v.).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE471269	09/17/19	Blues	Robert O. Mitchell	Leo Friedman	R.O. Mitchell[17]	Washington D.C.
PE486253	07/03/20	Blues, Some Blues	S.W. Simons	A. Leopold Richard	W.S. Simons[18]	St. Louis, Mo.
UE436665	11/07/18	Blues: Uncle Sam Ain't No Woman But He Surely Can Take Your Man Away	Joseph Taylor----------	(arr. Babb Frank)----------	J. Taylor	Chicago
P---------	--/--/18[19]	Blues: Uncle Sam Ain't No Woman But He Surely Can Take Your Man Away	Babb Frank----------			Chicago
PE495108	12/08/20	Boll Weevil Blues	Charles C. Fulcher----------			Augusta, Ga.
PE449877	06/03/19	Bom-Bom-Bom-Bhe: the Melody Blues	Bobby Jones	Billy Frisch	Jerome Remick	New York
UE406779	07/12/17	Bone-Dry Blues (The)	-	Thomas L. Crawford----------		Topeka, Kans.
PE416225	12/20/17	Bone-Dry Blues (The)	Thomas L. Crawford----------			Topeka, Kans..
PE423051	04/18/18	Bone Dry Blues (The)	June Bauer----------			Judsonia, Ark.
P----------[20]	--/--/17	Bone-Head Blues	-	Leo Gordon	Walter Jacobs	Boston, Mass.
PE389966	10/06/16	Border Blues	Guy A. Serler----------			Mercedes, Tex.
PE481568	06/16/20	Bring Back Blues (The)	Leonard J. Costa	Hector Richard	L.J. Cotsa	Cincinnati, Oh.

[17] Published by North American Music Pub., Chicago.

[18] Published by Letgers Music Co., Chicago.

[19] The published version of this song not registered for copyright.

[20] This item, never registered for copyright, appears in a 1917 anthology *The Tuneful Yankee*, published by Walter Jacobs; further details unknown.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE358368	01/18/15	Broadway Blues (The)	J. Brandon Walsh	Terry Sherman	Will Rossiter	Chicago
UE483172	07/16/20	Broadway Blues (The)	Arthur Swanstrom	Carey Morgan	Irving Berlin Inc.	New York
PE406779	07/12/20	Broadway Blues (The)	Arthur Swanstrom	Carey Morgan	Irving Berlin Inc.	New York
PE501268	11/13/18	Broken Hearted Blues	Perry Bradford----------		Frederick V. Bowers	New York
PE472095	02/02/20	Broke Soldier Blues	Roe Gainer	Leo Friedman	R. Gainer[21]	Lubbock, Tex.
PE390292	09/06/16	Bull Frog Blues [fr. *Chin-Chin*]	-	Tom Brown/Guy Shrigley	Will Rossiter	Chicago
PE373854	11/18/15	Bunch of Blues (A)	-	H. Alf Kelley/ J. Paul Wyer	Will Rossiter	Chicago
PE442107	01/25/19	Busted Blues (The)	C.Arthur Fifer----------			Quincy, Ill.
PE490975	09/29/20	Cabaret Blues (The)	Fred H. Newshafer	Leo Friedman	F.H. Newshafer[22]	New York
PE462628	10/29/19	Cairo Blues	Carl Petrillo Jr.	Howard Rossman	Whitmore Mus.	Scranton, Pa.
PE465531	10/01/19	Camel Walk Blues (The)	Ebon Gay----------		Stark Mus.	St. Louis, Mo.
P----------[23]	--/--/17	Camp Cody Blues	-	Harry Baisden (arr. Arthur Ward)	H. Baisden	Camp Cody, N.Mex.
PE491706	10/04/20	Campmeeting Blues (The)	-	William T. Carroll	Pace & Handy	New York

[21] Published by North American Music Co., Chicago.

[22] Published by Riviera Music Pub., Chicago.

[23] This item never registered for copyright.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UE430820	09/07/18	Camp Wheeler Blues	-	Albert C. Mitchell----------		Macon, Ga.
PE438727	12/10/18	Camp Wheeler Blues	Albert C. Mitchell----------			Macon, Ga.
PE430819	09/07/18	Cantonment Blues	-	Carrie I. Booker	Central Mus.	Little Rock, Ark.
PE392309	11/06/16	Carolina Blues (The)	-	William T. Pierson----------		New York
PE392310	11/08/16	Carolina Blues (The)	Arthur Holt	William T. Pierson----------		New York
PE491258	08/29/20	Charenton Blues	W.J.	Edouard Hesselberg	Mrs. Walter Lejeune	Jeanerette, La.
PE471368	02/06/20	Charlotte Blues (The)	Lolita K. Causer----------			Charlotte, Tex.
PE388529	05/29/16	Chattanooga Blues	Maceo Pinkard	Isidor Seidel----------		Indianapolis, Ind.
PE398279	01/29/17	Cheerful Blues	-	Abe Olman	Paramount Mus.	Chicago
PE482823	06/24/20	Chicken Blues	Edward Thornton	Lucien Fields	E. Thornton	Hood River, Ore.
PE451150	05/10/19	China Dragon Blues [fr. *The Lady In Red*]	I. Caesar	Will Donaldson	T.B. Harms	New York
PE472987	03/03/20	Chinatown Blues	James A. Lathrop	Karl J. Hoppe	Hoppe & Lathrop	Rice Lake, Wis.
PE360327	02/18/15	Chinese Blues	Fred D. Moore	Oscar Gardner	Tell Taylor	Chicago
PE481610	06/19/20	Chromatic Blues	Leo Wood/Jack Waldron	Dick Fidler	Leo Feist	New York
PE451758	05/26/19	Church Street Sobbin' Blues	-	Anton Lada/ Joseph Cawley, Al. Nunez	Leo Feist	New York
PE463586	11/22/19	Church Street Sobbin' Blues	Spencer Williams	Anton Lada/ Joseph Cawley, Al. Nunez	Leo Feist	New York

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE488470	06/10/20	Circus Blues	Joe Sivad	George T. Worth	F.B. Haviland	New York
PE391745	11/20/16	Circus Blues, The Bluest of Blues	J. King Wooten----------			[24] Richmond, Ind.
PE411000	09/29/17	Clarinet Blues	-	Fred M. Fagan (arr. Frank E. Barry)[25]	Christian A. Grimm	Chicago
UE374467[26]	12/04/15	Coburn's Blues (The)	-	William K. Phillips----------		Jacksonville, Fla.
PE438185	10/08/18	Coca-Cola Blues	Guy M.Templeton	Guy M. Templeton	G.M. Templeton	Nashville, Tenn.
UE349050	10/22/14	Colorado Blues	-	Euday L. Bowman----------		Fort Worth, Tex.
PE363942	08/14/15	Colorado Blues	-	Euday L. Bowman----------		Fort Worth, Tex.
PE458902	09/18/19	Cootie Blues	E.E. Barthell, Jr.----------			Evanston,. Ill.
PE479779	05/27/20	Corpus Christi Blues	-	E.D. Tressler----------		Wilsonville, Nebr.
PE491246	10/08/20	Cowboy Blues	Scrap Iron Evans----------			Grangeville, Ida.
PE496016	11/15/20	Crazy Blues	Perry Bradford----------			New York
PE456365	08/15/19	Critics' Blues (The) [fr. *Greenwich Village Follies*]	Philip Bartholomae/ John M. Anderson	A. Baldwin Sloane	M. Witmark	New York

[24] Published by Weisbord Music, Richmond, Ind.

[25] Copyrighted in orchestral version.

[26] This blues was published by W.C. Handy, though apparently not copyrighted in its published version, at least at this time. I have not been able to locate a copy of the printed sheet music to check the date.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE296133	08/06/12	Dallas Blues[27]	-	Hart A. Wand[28] (arr. M. Annabel Robbins)	Wand Pub.	Oklahoma City, Okla.
P----------[29]	--/--/12	Dallas Blues[30]	-	Hart A. Wand	Wand Pub.	Oklahoma City Okla.
P----------[31]	--/--/18	Dallas Blues	Lloyd Garrett	Hart A. Wand	Frank K. Root	Chicago
PE396544	12/26/16	Dancing Blues	Richard Goldsmith/ Seymour B. Simons	Seymour B. Simons	B.J. Sherman co.	Ann Arbor, Mich.
UE478488	04/05/20	Dardanella Blues (The)	Fred Fisher	Johnny S. Black (arr. Romo Falk)	Fred Fisher Inc.	New York
PE478819	04/28/20	Dardanella Blues (The) [fr. *Tick Tack Toe*]	Fred Fisher	Johnny S. Black	Fred Fisher Inc.	New York
PE379356	03/25/16	Day and Night[32]	Al. Johnson/Jay P. Roberts/Billy Smythe----------		Billy Smythe	Louisville, Ky.
PE418373	01/17/18	Deep Sea Blues (The)	Q. Roscoe Snowden----------			[33]New York
PE429716	08/08/18	Dem Deming Blues	Willard Robison----------			Coffeyville, Kan.

[27] See also "The Blues" (unpublished) below, which was recorded under the title "Dallas Blues" and is musically related to it.

[28] The copyright entry for this, the earliest version of this well-known blues, gives the composer as anonymous, arranged by Robbins.

[29] This edition apparently not registered for copyright.

[30] This version is musically distinct from the earlier version, with two separate sections, rather than a single one.

[31] This version apparently not registered for copyright.

[32] Subtitled "Lover's Blues" in sheet music, though not on Library of Congress copyright index card.

[33] Published by Morris Music Shop, New York.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE417664	03/06/18	De Wash Tub Blues	Olivia F. Dinkins	Charles M. Smith	O.F. Dinkins	Macon, Ga.
PE462133	10/14/19	Discontented Blues (The)	Q. Roscoe Snowden----------			New York
PE423339	05/02/18	Dixie Blues	Philip L. Eubank----------			San Antonio, Tex.
PE453484	06/02/19	Dixie Blues	Horace S. Scott	Leo Friedman	H.S. Scott	Memphis, Tenn.
PE453880	07/28/19	Dixie Blues	Jack Mahoney	Anton Lada/ Joe Cawley/ Al. Nunez	Leo Feist	New York
PE490740	06/25/20	Dixie Blues	-	Charles E. Warner[34]	Earl Strout/ C.E. Warner	Hannibal, Mo.
PE486954	08/07/20	Dixie Blues	Al Zissette----------			Stroudsburg, Pa.
PE488764	08/23/20	Dixieland Blues (The)	Lannie W. Stewart	George Graff, Jr.	L.W. Stewart	Connersville, Tenn.
PE493313	10/26/20	Dixieland Blues (The)	Frank Reckley, Jr.	Leo Friedman	F.Reckley, Jr.[35]	Indianapolis, Ind.
PE497462	12/04/20	Dog-Gone Lonesome Blues	A.L. Smith	Leo Friedman	A.L. Smith[36]	Central City, Ky.
PE454272	02/18/19	Don't Care Blues	Perry Bradford----------			New York

[34] Copyrighted in band version.

[35] Published by Riviera Music Pub., Chicago.

[36] Published by Riviera Music Pub., Chicago.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UE462589	10/27/19	Don't Mind Cryin' Blues	Clarence Johnson/ Spencer Williams (arr. Dave Peyton)		S. Williams	Chicago
P----------[37]	--/--/19	Don't Mind Cryin' Blues	Clarence Johnson/ Spencer Williams (arr. Dave Peyton)		S. Williams	Chicago
PE443811	03/27/19	Don't Tell Your Monkey Man (Monkey Man Blues)	Lukie Johnson----------		Williams & Piron	Chicago
UE475082	04/10/20	Doo-Dee Blues	Bob Carleton----------		Leo Feist	New York
PE479421	05/15/20	Doo-Dee Blues	Bob Carleton----------		Leo Feist	New York
PE486620	07/15/20	Down Home Blues (The)	Gladys Wilson	Edouard Hesselberg	G. Wilson	Newark, N.J.
PE480876	06/02/20	Dreaming Blues	Joe Davis	Edythe Baker (arr. George F. Briegel)	Triangle Mus.	New York
PE481018	06/01/20	Dreamy Dream Blues	A.G. Graves	Hector Richard	A.G. Graves	Independence, Tex.
PE456023	08/09/19	D.U.R. Blues	-	Charles A. Arthur----------		Detroit, Mich.
P----------	--/--/18	Dying Blues	Alexander Seymour----------	(arr. F.S. Butler)	Butler Music	New York
PE466202	11/19/19	Early Mornin' Blues	-	N.C. Davis----------		Nashville, Tenn.
PE452338	05/05/19	Easy Pickin's: What a Hit You Will Agree[38]	Maceo Pinakrd----------		Shapiro Bernstein	New York
PE391776	11/18/16	Everybodies Blues: Rag and Trot	-	W.A. Atkins	W.S. Atkins	Pine Bluff, Ark.

[37] The published version of this item not registered for copyright.

[38] Subtitled "Blues" in sheet music, though not on Library of Congress copyright index card.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE497065	12/22/20	Everybody's Blues	Tom Delaney----------			New York
PE502148	01/04/21[39]	Fare-Thee Honey Blues	Perry Bradford----------			New York
PE410772	10/12/17	Farm Yard Blues (The)	Chris Smith/Henry Troy----------		Joseph Stern	New York
UE335218	04/07/14	Florida Blues (The)	-	William King Phillips----------		Jacksonville, Fla.
PE370811	09/15/15	Florida Blues (The)	-	William King Phillips	Florida Mus.Pub.	Jacksonville, Fla.
P----------	--/--/16	Florida Blues (The)	-	William King Phillips	Pace & Handy	Memphis, Tenn.
P----------	--/--/17	Florida Blues (The)	Hezekihia Jenkins/Charles A. Jones	William King Phillips	Florida Mus.Pub.	Jacksonville, Fla.
PE396995	01/04/17	Florida Blues (The)	Hezekihia Jenkins/Charles A. Jones	William King Phillips	Pace & Handy	Memphis, Tenn.
UE432802	10/03/18	Flower Garden Blues	Roger Graham	James White	R. Graham	Chicago
PE----------[40]	11/30/19	Flower Garden Blues	Roger Graham	James White	R. Graham	Chicago
PE487207	07/10/20	Flu Blues (The)	M. Edwards	Vincent J. Nery	M. Edwards	Chicago
PE444320	02/17/19	Forgivin' Blues	E.L. Cooke----------		Cooke & Rice	New York

[39] Though this composition was not registered for copyright until the beginning of 1921, it was published at the end of 1920 (the date on the sheet music), and is for this reason included in this catalog.

[40] The published version of this item not registered for copyright.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

P----------	--/--/19[41]	"49" Blues (The): Them Historical Blues	-	Clyde Divers----------		Oklahoma City, Okla.
PE361651	05/04/15	Fort Worth Blues	-	Euday L. Bowman----------		Fort Worth, Tex.
PE494521	11/18/20	Four O'Clock Blues (The)	A.M. Valentine----------		Bluff City Mus.	Memphis, Tenn.
PE475348	11/04/19	'Frisco Blues	Willie L. Page	Leo Friedman	W.L. Page	Floresville, Tex.
PE213791	08/21/09	Gee, But I've Got the Blues	J.R. Shannon----------		Grinell Bros.	Detroit, Mich.
PE382799	04/08/16	German Blues, It's Neutral (The)	Bob Lurtey	Louis E. Zoeller----------		Louisville, Ky.
PE470064	12/27/19	Golden Rod Blues	-	Anton Lada, Joseph Cawley, Al. Nunez	Leo Feist	New York
PE386081	05/27/16	Good-bye Blues	-	George L. Cobb[42]	Charles E. Roat Mus. Co.	Battle Creek, Mich.
PE407917	09/01/17	Goodbye Blues	Lew Payton	Luckey Roberts	Patyon & Brown	New York
P---------[43]	--/--/20	Good-Bye Blues	-	Carleton L. Colby	Harold Rossiter	Chicago
PE396546	12/26/16	Graveyard Blues (The)	Clarence Woods/ John S. Caldwell----------		J.R. Reed Mus.	Austin, Tex.

[41] This item was never copyrighted and no surviving copy of it is shown. However, the first page of the score appears as advertising on the back cover of the same author's "Aviation Blues."

[42] Apparently only published as a band arrangement.

[43] This item not registered for copyright.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE444253	01/24/19	Guard House Blues (The)	Ben Garrison----------		Harry Nagle	Indianopolis, Ind.
PE475834	04/29/20	Hard Luck Blues	C.C. Gibbs	Paul H. Cagle	Southern Mus.	Knoxville, Tenn.
PE509499	09/13/17	Harlem Blues (The)	Perry Bradford----------			Philadelphia, Pa.
PE403675	06/06/17	Harmony Blues	-	J. Bodewalt Lampe	Jerome Remick	New York
PE382786	04/03/16	Hawaiian Blues	-	Stanley Murray (ed./arr. Jean Walz)	Forster Mus.	Chicago
PE403057	04/27/17	Hawaiian Blues	Clarence R. Jones	Clarence R. Jones (arr. R. Anthony Zita)	C.R. Jones	Albany, N.Y.
PE475748	04/14/20	Hawaiian Blues	Ethel L. Foley	George Graff, Jr.	E.L. Foley	Chicago
PE480667	05/08/20	Hawaiian Blues	Eugene Lester----------			New York
PE486289	07/01/20	H.C.L. Blues	Katie Pearson	Hector Richard	K. Pearson	Chicago
PE444036	12/29/19	Heart-Sickness Blues	Sam Coslow	Peter De Rose	F.B. Haviland	New York
PE396105	12/08/16	Heavenly Blues	Frank Goodman	George Rubin	Witmark & Sons	New York
PE475009	03/23/20	Henhouse Blues (The)	Marshall Walker----------	(arr.Frank S. Butler)	Butler Mus. Co.	New York
PE365270	05/05/15	Hesitating Blues (The)	W.C. Handy----------		Pace & Handy	Memphis, Tenn.
PE362252	05/05/15	Hesitation Blues, or Oh! Baby Must I Hesitate	w/m Scott Middleton/Billy Smythe----------		B. Smythe	Louisville, Ky.
PE465348	12/09/19	High Cost of Living Blues (The)	Lew Weiss	Bert Brown	L. Weiss	New York
UE430058	08/13/18	Hindenburg Blues	Sanders Reynolds	Ethel L. Alcorn	S. Reynolds/ E.L. Alcorn	Riverside, Cal.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

P----------[44]	--/--/18	Hindenburg Blues	Sanders Reynolds---------- (arr. Ethel L. Alcorn)		Charles W. Hatch	Los Angeles
PE494808	11/24/20	Home Again Blues	Irving Berlin/ Harry Akst----------		Irving Berlin Inc.	New York
PE383744	06/06/16	Homesickness Blues	Cliff Hess----------		Waterson, Berlin & Snyder	New York
PE392485	11/16/16	Homesickness Blues	-	Cliff Hess	Waterson, Berlin & Snyder	New York
PE494295	11/09/20	Hometown Blues [fr. *Sonny*]	George V. Hobart	Raymond Hubbell	T.B. Harms	New York
PE440357	12/17/18	Homeward Bound Blues	J. Clifford Powers/ Eugene Platzmann----------		Waterman, St. Leon & Fairfax	Oklahoma City, Okl.
P----------[45]	--/--/18	Honeymoon Blues	Lloyd Garrett----------		Frank K. Root	Chicago
UE379164	03/27/16	Honolulu Blues (The)	Grant Clarke	James V. Monaco	Leo Feist	New York
PE379660	04/22/16	Honolulu Blues (The)	Grant Clarke	James V. Monaco	Leo Feist	New York
PE406994	07/11/17	Hooking Cow Blues (The)	Douglass Williams	Douglass Williams/ W.C. Handy	Pace & Handy	Memphis, Tenn.
PE479425	05/14/20	Hoot-Owl Blues	Clarke Leaming	James E. King	Lone Star Mus.	Waxahachie, Tex.
PE411398	10/29/17	Hospital Blues	-	H.M. Skinner	Arling Schaeffer	Chicago
PE472277	02/06/20	House Hunting Blues (The)	Mrs. P.R. Herrington	A. Leopold Richard	Mrs. P.R. Herrington	Pensacola, Fla.

[44] This item not registered for copyright.

[45] This item not registered for copyright.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE431063	09/08/18	Houston Blues (The): A Southern Overture	George W. Thomas----------			New Orleans, La.
PE480365	04/10/20	How Long, How Long: Absent Blues	T. Everett White----------			St. Louis, Mo.
UE465634	11/13/19	Hula Blues (The)	Albert R.Cunha	John A. Noble	A.R. Cunha/ J. A.Noble	Honolulu, Hawaii
PE483233	06/20/20	Hula Blues (The)	Albert R.Cunha	John A. Noble	A.R. Cunha/ J. A. Noble	Honolulu, Hawaii
PE497280	12/23/20	I Don't Care Blues	Oliver D. Hillman----------			Chicago
PE500661	01/10/21[46]	If You Don't Want Me Blues	Perry Bradford----------			New York
PE179376	04/17/08	I Got the Blues	-	Antonio Maggio----------		New Orleans, La.
P----------[47]	--/--/14	I Got the Blues	John C. McKinnon----------		Syndicate Mus.	St. Louis, Mo.
PE458892	09/20/19	I Got the Blues, The Soda Pop Blues[48]	Frank N. Vuille----------		Central Mus. Co.	Murphysboro, Ill.
PE454099	06/14/19	I'm Sorry I Ain't Got It, You Could Have It If Ihad It Blues	Sam E. Lewis/ Joe Young	Ted Snyder	Waterson, Snyder & Berlin	New York
PE440424	12/23/18	Indian Blues	Edwin McHugh/C.Perillo, Jr.----------		Floyd E. Whitmore	Scranton, Pa.
PE379069	03/24/16	Indiana Blues, The	Edwin S. East----------		Warner C.	Indianapolis, Ind.

[46] Although the date of copyright is past the cut-off point for this listing, it was recorded before that date.

[47] This item not registered for copyright.

[48] The title on the cover of the sheet, "I've Got the Blues the Soda Pop Blues"; elsewhere as given.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

					Williams	
PE444016	12/31/18	Indigo Blues	-	Isham Jones	Tell Taylor	Chicago
PE404921	05/04/17	I Never Knew What the Blues Were (Until You Went Away): A Jazz Blues Song	Clarence Williams----------		Williams & Piron	New Orleans, La.
PE441445	12/12/18	Influenza Blues (The)	Happy Klark/ Arthur C. Brown----------		Brown Pub. Co.	McAlester, Okla.
PE450483	04/21/19	Influenza Blues (The)	-	Walter A. Moloney----------		Altoona, Pa.
PE452876	06/25/19	Influenza Blues [fr. *A Lonely Romeo*]	Robert B. Smith	Malvin M. Franklin	Jerome Remick	New York
P----------	--/--/15	Irish Blues - The Meanest Kind, The Greenest Kind	J. Brandon Walsh	Ernie Erdman	Will Rossiter	Chicago
P----------[49]	--/--/18	Irresistible Blues	Homer C. Tutt	Luckey Roberts----------		New York
PE138488	09/28/01	I've Got De Blues	Chris Smith/ Elmer Bowman----------		Lyceum Pub.	New York
		I've Got the A.B.C.D. Blues: See A.B.C.D. BLUES (I'VE GOT THE)				
PE388780	07/29/16	I've Got the Army Blues	L. Wolfe Gilbert/ Carey Morgan----------		Joseph W. Stern	New York
PE431904	10/09/18	I've Got the Blue Ridge Blues [fr. *Sinbad*]	Charles A. Mason	Charles S. Cooke/Richard M. Whiting	Jerome Remick	New York
PE320660	09/08/13	I've Got the Blues	Philip Baxter----------[50]			Carthage, Tex.
PE396870	12/01/16	I've Got the Blues	Lew Berk----------			Rochester, N.Y.

[49] This item not registered for copyright.

[50] Published by W. Kirkus Dugdale Co., Washington D.C.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE379679	04/21/16	I've Got the Blues for Home Sweet Home	William Jerome/ E. Ray Goetz	George W. Meyer	Kalmar, Puck & Abrahams	New York
		I've Got the Blues for My Kentucky Home: See KENTUCKY BLUES				
		I've Got the Blues, the Soda Pop Blues: See I GOT THE BLUES, THE SODA POP BLUES				
PE463441	12/05/19	I've Got the Cryin' Blues	Max C. Freedman	Harry D. Squires	Jerome Remick	New York
PE482424	06/15/20	I've Got the Overall Blues	Henry K. Bauch	L.L. Vosburgh	Bigger-Hand Mus.	New York
		I've Got the Profteering Blues: See, PROFITEERING BLUES (I'VE GOT THE)				
PE444088	02/11/19	I've Got the Prohibition Blues, For Booze	Tom Turner	Carl Zerse----------		St. Louis, Mo.
PE464923	11/18/19	I've Got the Santa Claus Blues[51]	-	Marion/ Roy Bargy	Imperial Player Roll Co.	Chicago
PE443188	03/07/19	I've Got the Shimmee Blues	Harry De Costa----------		M. Witmark	New York
PE489239	08/25/20	I've Got the Shimmee Blues for True	W.H. Davis----------			Oakland, Cal.
PE471627	02/26/20	I've Got the Single Man Blues	Charles A. Arthur----------			Detroit, Mich.
PE478613	04/22/20	I've Got the Sweet Hawaiian Moonlight Blues	Harold G. Frost	F. Henri Klickmann	McKinley Mus.	Chicago
		I've Got the Sweetheart Blues: See SWEETHEART BLUES				

[51] The composition was performed on Imperial Player Roll 9953, played by Roy Bargy. This is apparently the only copyrighted version: there is no trace of a sheet deposit, either published or unpublished.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE347900	08/18/14	I've Got the Weary Blues and Don't Know What To Do	Johnnie Anderson/ Jesse Smith----------		Hatch & Loveland	Los Angeles, Cal.
P----------[52]	--/--/17	I've Got Those Fox-Trot Blues	James White----------		Frank K. Root	Chicago
PE441499	01/29/19	Jail-House Blues	W. Earthman Farrell	Arthur Sizemore	Farrell & Sizemore	Nashville, Tenn.
UE463575	12/10/19	Jakey Ginger Blues	Paul A. Smith	Linwood Murphy	P.A. Smith	East Weymouth, Mass.
PE478276	04/05/20	Jakey Ginger Blues	Paul A. Smith	Linwood Murphy	Smith & Murphy	Boston. Mass.
PE486949	08/07/20	Jamaica-Ginger Blues (The)	Jack Randolph	John F. Carroll	H.M. Keifer	Pawhuska, Okla.
UE413023	11/01/17	Jazz Band Blues	-	James (Slap) White	May Hill	Chicago
PE422580	03/28/18	Jazz Band Blues	-	James (Slap) White	May Hill	Chicago
PE492073	09/28/20	Jazz Band Blues	Roger Graham/ Walter Hirsch	James (Slap) White	R. Graham	Chicago
PE493202	11/01/20	Jazzing Blues	Frank Beck, Jr.	Edouard Hesselberg	Vincent W.L. Rhoda	Cincinnati, Oh.
UE494830	11/27/20	Jazz Me Blues (The)	Tom Delaney----------(arr. James Alston)		Tom Delaney	Baltimore, Md.
PE503763	03/05/21	Jazz Me Blues (The)	Tom Delaney----------		Palmetto Mus.	New York
PE372536	09/22/15	Jelly Roll Blues (The)	-	Ferd. Morton	Will Rossiter	Chicago
PE377736	12/22/15	Joe Turner Blues	W.C. Handy----------		Pace & Handy	Memphis, Tenn.
PE320144	07/26/13	Jogo Blues (The)	-	W.C. Handy	Pace & Handy	Memphis, Tenn.

[52] This item not registered for copyright.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE386844	06/20/16	Joy Man Blues	Scott Middleton	Billy Smythe----------		Louisville, Ky.
PE487945	08/03/20	Jungle Blues (The)	E. Roy Hoy----------			Chicago
UE495653	12/27/20	Jungle Blues	Anton Lada/ Spencer Williams (arr. Harry L. Alford)		Frances Clifford	Chicago
PE503325	02/28/21	Jungle Blues: A Tarzan Oddity	Anton Lada/ Spencer Williams----------		Frances Clifford	Chicago
PE363187	06/18/15	Just Blues	-	Dorothy Harris----------		Hondo, Tex
PE425154	05/29/18	Kaiser Blues (The)	J.C. Jones	Frank W. Ford	J.C. Jones	Laurinburg, N.C.
PE439464	12/02/18	Kaiser's Blues (The)	R.G. Moffett	Sam H. Speck	R.G. Moffett	Dallas, Tex.
UE347970	10/06/14	Kansas City Blues	-	Euday L. Bowman----------		Fort Worth, Tex.
PE363941	08/14/15	Kansas City Blues	-	Euday L. Bowman----------		Fort Worth, Tex.
----------[53]	--/--/15	Kansas City Blues	George H. Bowles	Euday L. Bowman	J.W. Jenkins	Kansas City, Mo.
PE481249	06/14/20	Kentucky Avenue Blues	Lawrence Scott	Paul Jeffries	L. Scott	Atlantic City, N.J.
PE411343	10/22/17	Kentucky Blues[54]	Dot T. Steed	Babe E. Lion	Billy Smythe	Louisville, Ky.
PE482792	07/02/20	Kentucky Blues [fr. *Broadway Levities*]	Clarence Gaskill----------		Witmark	New York
PE464016	10/27/19	Klondyke Blues	-	Anton Lada/ Al. Nunez/ Joe Cawley	Leo Feist	New York

[53] This edition apparently not registered for copyright.

[54] The same composition as "K-Y Blues" (q.v).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UE403447	05/26/17	K-Y-Kee Blues[55]	Babe E. Lion[56]/ Dot T. Steed[57]----------		Madelle G. Lyons	Louisville, Ky.
PE453959	07/18/19	Landlord Blues	Edward Laska`	Albert Von Tilzer	Broadway Mus.	New York
PE448123	04/07/19	Laughing Blues	-	Al Nunez/ Anton Lada/ Joe Cawley	Leo Feist	New York
PE490117	09/08/20	League of Nations Blues	Samuel T. Drew----------			Birmingham, Ala.
PE467123	01/13/20	Left All Alone Again Blues [fr. *The Night Boat*]	Anne Caldwell	Jerome Kern	T.B. Harms	New York
UE403117	05/12/17	Livery Stable Blues	-	May Hill	Roger Graham	Chicago
UE403401	05/24/17	Livery Stable Blues	-	Alcide Nunez/ Ray Lopez	Roger Graham	Chicago
PE408051	06/11/17	Livery Stable Blues	-	Alcide Nunez/ Ray Lopez	Roger Graham	Chicago
PE413396	11/02/17	Livery Stable Blues	Marvin Lee	Alcide Nunez/ Ray Lopez	Roger Graham	Chicago
PE589883	07/03/24[58]	Log Cabin Blues	-	George Hamilton Green----------		New York
PE488255	07/14/20	Lonely Blues (The)	John L. Gedig	Leo Friedman	J.L. Gedig[59]	Indianapolis, Ind.

[55] The same composition as "Kentucky Blues" (q.v.).

[56] Pseudonym of Madelle G. Lyons

[57] Pseudonym of Alma Steedman.

[58] Although this item was copyrighted after the cut-off date for this survey, it was recorded by the composer before that date.

[59] Published by Riviera Music Pub., Chicago.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE482912	07/07/20	Lonesome Alimony Blues [fr. *Ziegfeld Midnight Frolic*]	William Tracey	James F. Hanley	Shapiro Bernstein	New York
P----------	--/--/16	Lonesome Blues	Perry Bradford----------			Philadelphia, P
PE501266	11/18/18	Lonesome Blues	Perry Bradford----------		Frederick W. Bowers	New York
PE441944	02/08/19	Lonesome Road: Blues	-	William Nash (arr. J. Russel Robinson)	Pace & Handy	New York
PE388643	07/24/16	Lone Star Blues (The)	-	Paul Durst	Thomas Goggan	Galveston, Tex.
PE480100	04/30/20	Longing Blues	Philip Kurman	Earl Blankenhorn	Levine, Kurman & Leshin Co.	Milwaukee, Wis.
PE346975	07/31/14	Long Lost Blues (The)	H. Alf Kelley	J. Paul Wyer (arr. W.H. Dorsey)	H.A. Kelley/ J. P. Wyer[60]	Chicago
PE391737	11/20/16	Louisiana Blues	R.T. Dooley----------			Gainesville, Tex.
PE453068	07/01/19	Love Blues	Julius I. Schmidt----------		University Mus. House	Ann Arbor, Mich.
PE475287	12/30/19	Love Lonesome Blues	James Williams	Leo Friedman	J. Williams[61]	San Antonio, Tex.
PE439379	12/31/18	Love-sick Blues	Shelton Brooks----------		Joseph Stern	NewYork
PE419745	04/19/18	Love Sickness Blues	Bob Turner/ Stanley Fairfax	Merle St. Leon	Waterman, St. Leon & Fairfax	Oklahoma City, Okla.

[60] Published by Chicago Music Bureau, Chicago.

[61] Published by World Music Pub., New York.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE419996	04/25/18	Lovin' Blues	Helen E. Wilson----------		Will Rossiter	Chicago
UE472443	03/22/20	Lovin' Blues	Joe Davis/ Frank Papa----------	(arr. H. Qualli Clark)	Pace & Handy	New York
P----------[62]	--/--/20	Lovin' Blues	Joe Davis/ Frank Papa----------		Pace & Handy	New York
PE483328	01/01/20	Loving Blues	Clinton A. Kemp----------			Galveston, Tex.
PE483968	08/02/20	Loving Blues	William C.Busby	Edouard Hesselberg	W.C. Busby	Birmingham, Ala.
PE488863	08/23/20	Loving Blues	James W. Smith	George Graff, Jr.	J.W. Smith	Trappe, Md.
PE444868	03/03/19	Lullaby Blues	Al. M. Kendall	J. Russel Robinson/ Theodore Morse	Leo Feist	New York
PE405037	05/10/17	Mama's Blues	William H.Farrell/James P. Johnson----------		F.B. Haviland	New York
PE472662	02/09/20	Marriage Blues (The)	Carl Weber	Joseph Samuels/Julius & Herman Berkin	Belwin inc.	New York
PE483568	07/01/20	Marriage License Blues	Oscar Moore	Edouard Hesselberg	Oscar Moore	Baltimore, Md.
PE488342	05/25/20	Marriage Life Blues (The)	Joe W. Smith	Leo Friedman	J.W. Smith[63]	Akron, Oh.
PE458608	07/20/19	Matrimonial Blues	-	Paul L.Specht	Monarch Mus.	Reading, Pa.
PE476354	04/26/20	Matrimony Blues	Art Brown----------			Ottawa, Can.
PE432218	06/30/18	Melancholy Blues: The Yodlin' Blues	Ollie Debrow/Spencer Williams/J. Russell Robinson		C.A. Grimm	Chicago

[62] The published edition not copyrighted.

[63] Published by Riviera Music Pub., Chicago.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

P----------[64]	09/27/12[65]	Memphis Blues (The), or Mister Crump	-	W.C. Handy----------[66]		Memphis, Tenn.
PE339414	11/10/13	Memphis Blues (The)	George A. Norton	W.C. Handy	Theron Bennett	New York
		Metropolitan Blues: See BEALE ST SHIMMIE				
PE389425	09/06/16	Mexican Blues (The)	Arthur C. Newton----------			El Paso, Tex.
PE453190	07/03/19	Midnight Blues	Errol Collins	Herbert I. Brown----------		Los Angeles
PE457958	10/02/19	Midnight Blues	George A. Wood----------			Natchez, Miss.
PE483540	06/22/20	Midnight Blues	Lasses White[67]----------		Buckeye Mus.	Columbus, Oh.
PE324513	05/01/18	Misery Blues	-	Henry Lodge	M.Witmark	New York
PE452478	02/15/19	Missouri Blues	-	Harry Brown	Forster Mus.	Chicago
PE464336	10/08/19	Missouri Blues	James S. Royce	Harry Brown	Forster Mus.	Chicago
PE387044	07/01/16	Money Blues (The)	-	Hugo Frey	G. Ricordi	New York
P----------[68]	--/--/16	Moonlight Blues	-	Homer Deane	Frank K. Root	Chicago

[64] This edition apparently not registered for copyright.

[65] Publication date as given by Handy in *Father of the Blues*, 107.

[66] Copyright transferred to, and published by Theron Bennett, New York later in 1912.

[67] Pseudonym of Leroy White.

[68] This composition apparently not registered for copyright in this arrangement. The earliest to be copyrighted was an arrangement for six saxophones accompanied by piano or organ, arranged by Lester Brockton (PE422167; 02/14/18; same composer and publisher).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE480974	05/29/20	Morning Glory Blues (The)	William Van Bever	Hector Richard	W. Van Bever	Green Bay, Wis.
UE428471	07/03/18	Mournin' Blues (The)	-	Anthony Sbarbaro	Leo Feist	New York
PE430047	08/0918	Mournin' Blues (The)	-	Anthony Sbarbaro	Leo Feist	New York
PE448488	04/19/19	Mournin' Blues (The)	J. Russel Robinson	Anthony Sbarbaro	Leo Feist	New York
UE442895	02/08/19	Muscleshoals Blues	-	George W. Thomas----------		New Orleans, La.
PE520252	08/29/21	Muscleshoals Blues	-	George W. Thomas----------		New Orleans, La.
PE483375	07/23/20	Nanking Blues [fr. *Silks and Satins*]	Louis Weslyn/ William Rock	Leon Rosebrook	Jerome Remick	New York
PE463629	12/10/19	Neglectful Blues	Everett Sanderson----------			Toledo, Oh.
UE298185	11/09/12	Negro Blues[69]	Le Roy Lasses White----------			Dallas, Tex.
UE418885	03/13/18	Nervous Blues (The)	Perry Bradford	Perry Bradford (arr. Dave Peyton)	Ricketts & Bradford	New York
PE521047	09/05/21	Nervous Blues (The)	Perry Bradford----------			New York
PE386709	06/06/16	New Orleans Hop Scop Blues	George W. Thomas----------			New Orleans, La.
PE432819	06/01/18	Newport News Blues	Hal Oliver	Willie Shifrin	Frederick V. Bowers	New York
PE418293	12/24/17	New York Blues	James H. Whelpley----------		John S. Rose[70]	Washington C.H., Oh.

[69] Later rearranged and published under the title "Nigger Blues" (q.v.).

[70] Published by Irvin Music Pub., Washington C.H., O.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE339801	05/23/14	New York Tango Blues	-	Willliam N. Spiller		New York
PE315286	07/24/13	Nigger Blues[71]	Le Roy Lasses White		Bush & Gerts	Dallas, Tex.
		Nigger War Bride Blues: See WAR BRIDE BLUES				
PE494260	10/26/20	Night-Mare Blues	E.A. Lampkin		[72]	Muncie, Ind.
UE305797	03/29/13	1913 Medley Blues	-	Alex M. Valentine, Jr.	[73]	Memphis, Tenn.
PE329820	12/01/13	1913 Medley Blues	-	Alex M. Valentine, Jr.	Hayworth Mus.	Washington D.C.
PE490581	10/01/20	99 Blues	Henry McCurdy	S.J. Saunders		Ottawa, Can.
PE383129	05/08/16	Norfolk Blues	-	Sam E. Simmons		Norfolk, Va.
PE473534	03/22/20	Ocean Blues [fr. *The New Dictator*]	Frank Craven	Silvio Hein	T.B. Harms	New York
PE425691	06/17/18	Oglethorpe Blues (The)	Dolly Stark		Pace & Handy	Memphis, Tenn.
PE500163	12/23/20	Oh, I've Got the Swimming Blues	I.H. Burnham	Leo Friedman	I.H. Burnham[74]	Branford, Conn.
PE370815	08/29/15	Oklahoma Blues	Willard Robison/Bud Brownie	Bud Brownie		Tulsa, Okla.
PE373527	10/29/15	Oklahoma Blues	Willard Robison			Tulsa, Okla.

[71] The later, published version of "Negro Blues" (q.v.).

[72] Published by Lennox Co., New York.

[73] Copyrighted as an orchestral arrangement.

[74] Published by Riviera Music Pub., Chicago.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE397928	03/06/17	Oklahoma Blues	-	Bruce F. Johnson----------		Jersey City, N.J.
PE486547	07/09/20	Oklahoma Oil Field Blues (The)	Jack Randolph	John F. Carroll	H.M. Keifer Mus.	Pawhuska, Okla.
PE455835	08/15/19	Old Joe Blues	L.Wolfe Gilbert	Joe Samuels/ Nat Vincent	Gilbert & Friedland	New York
PE373167	10/13/15	Old Kentucky Blues [fr. *George Washington Bullion Abroad*]	J. Homer Tutt/S. Tutt	James J. Vaughan Whitney	Joseph Stern	New York
UE408901	07/27/17	Old Maid Blues	Web Maddox	David W. Guion----------		New York
PE415246	01/05/18	Old Maid Blues	Web Maddox	David W. Guion	T.B. Harms	New York
PE390016	07/17/18	Ole Miss Rag[75]	-	W.C. Handy	Pace & Handy	Memphis, Tenn.
PE455794	08/11/19	120th Regimental Blues	-	Corp. A. A. Montebaro----------		Memphis, Tenn.
PE482794	07/02/20	Oriental Blues	Noble Sissle	Eubie Blake	M. Witmark	New York
PE335887	05/11/14	Original Blues (The): A Real Southern Rag	-	Ted S. Barron	Metropolis Mus.	New York
PE359206	03/08/15	Original Chicago Blues (The)	-	James White	Frank K. Root	Chicago
PE478492	03/15/20	Original Oklahoma Blues	Willard Robison----------		C.A. Grimm	Chicago
PE470923	02/05/20	Pajama Blues [fr. *The Naughty Bride*]	Alfred Dubin	Harry Olsen	M. Witmark	New York
PE452268	06/07/19	Palmer House Blues	-	Fred Meinken----------		Chicago
PE387475	07/25/16	Pan Handle Blues (The)	-	William Eugene Wright----------		Amarillo, Tex.

[75] Although originally entitiled "rag," this composition was recorded under the title "blues" in several piano roll and disk recordings from before 1921.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE389942	10/14/16	Paradise Blues; or, When You Play the Blues, I'm Right in Paradise	Walter Hirsch	Spencer Williams	Roger Graham	Chicago
PE471047	02/09/20	Pay Day Blues	Mrs. C.B. Worthington	George Graff, Jr.	Mrs. C.B. Worthington	Fordyce, Ark.
UE457057	08/08/19	Pee Gee's Blues	-	H. Qualli Clark	Pace & Handy	New York
PE490164	09/17/20	Pee Gee's Blues	Alex Rogers	H. Qualli Clark	Pace & Handy	New York
UE457900	10/02/19	Pickaninny Blues	Harold G. Frost	F. Henri Klickmann	McKinley Mus.	Chicago
PE463491	12/08/19	Pickaninny Blues	Harold G. Frost	F. Henri Klickmann	McKinley Mus.	Chicago
UE417587	03/05/18	Pipe Dream Blues	Marguerite Kendall	Spencer Williams/ J. Russel Robertson	Lee S. Roberts	Chicago
PE423878	05/13/18	Pipe Dream Blues	Marguerite Kendall	Spencer Williams/ J. Russel Robertson	Lee S. Roberts	Chicago
PE497322	12/15/20	Pool Room Blues	Paul R. Conaway	Edouard Hesselberg	P.R. Conaway	Martins Ferry, Oh.
UE388449	07/13/16	Preparedness Blues	-	Charles Hillman (arr. Alex Valentine)	Pace & Handy	Memphis, Tenn.
PE408045	06/11/17	Preparedness Blues	-	Charles Hillman	Pace & Handy H.J. Idle	Memphis, Tenn.
UE470158	01/08/20	Profiteering Blues	Al. Wilson	Irving Bibo	Irving Berlin Inc.	New York
PE474300	03/1120	Profiteering Blues (I've Got the)	Al. Wilson	Irving Bibo	Irving Berlin Inc.	New York
PE410106	09/14/17	Prohibition Blues	Al. Sweet----------		M. Witmark	New York
PE450855	04/30/19	Prohibition Blues [fr. *Ladies First*]	Ring Lardner	Nora Bayes	Jerome Remick	New York

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE451968	06/0419	Prohibition Blues	Tom Huston/ Charles Matthews/ Burrell Van Buren		Huston & Matthews	Charleston, Miss.
PE462381	10/13/19	Prohibition Blues	Thomas Reese[76]			Birmingham, Ala.
PE465416	11/17/19	Prohibition Blues	Joe R. Durham	Hector Richard	J.R. Durham[77]	Magnolia Springs, Fla.
PE483971	08/02/20	Prohibition Blues (The)	Louis Galloway	Edouard Hesselberg	L. Galloway	St. Louis
PE492496	10/16/20	Race Track Blues (The)	Edgar Leslie/ Pete Wendling/ James Monaco		Lesie, Monaco & Wendling	New York
UE473290	03/19/20	Racing Blues	Neville Fleeson	Albert Von Tilzer	Artmusic Inc.	New York
PE480495	04/28/20	Racing Blues (fr. *Honey Girl*)	Neville Fleeson	Albert Von Tilzer	Artmusic Inc.	New York
PE465820	12/27/19	Ragtime Wedding Blues [fr. *Kiss Me Again*]	Victor Scott		Frederick V. Bowers Inc.	New York
PE352291	10/12/14	Railroad Blues	Westbrook H. Carr		Bush & Gerte	Dallas, Tex.
UE463832	12/12/19	Railroad Blues	Howard C. Washington	Howard C. Washington/ Lucky Roberts	H.C. Washington	Cincinnati, Oh.
PE472171	02/03/20	Railroad Blues	Howard C. Washington/ Haven Gillespie	Lucky Roberts (ed. Roy Bargy)	Van Alstyne & Curtis	Toledo, Oh.

[76] Published by Letgers Music Co., Chicago.

[77] Published by Letgers Music Co., Chicago.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE494099	11/01/20	Railroad Blues (The)	Fred Brooks	Leo Friedman	F. Brooks[78]	Brookhaven, Miss.
UE430015	07/22/18	Rainy Day Blues	-	Frank Warschauer[79]----------		Rockaway Beach, N.Y.
PE442152	11/22/18	Rainy Day Blues	-	Frank Warschauer	Maurice Richmond Mus.	New York
PE445250	03/22/19	Rainy Day Blues	Sidney D. Mitchell	Frank Warschauer----------	Maurice Richmond Mus.	New York
PE409781	08/27/17	Rambling Blues (The)	Betty Tilford	Myrtle Kemper (arr. Phil. Epstein)	J.S. Kemper	Ausin, Tex.
PE416504	12/29/17	Regretful Blues	Grant Clark	Cliff Hess	Kalmar Puck & Abraham	New York
PE409084	07/30/17	Remorse Blues	-	Henry Lodge	Jerome Remick	New York
PE374624	11/06/15	Rice Hotel Blues	-	Jimmie Marten	Homer D. Matthew	Houston, Tex.
PE423753	05/04/18	Ringtail Blues	-	J. Russel Robinson/ Spencer Williams	Pace & Handy	Memphis, Tenn.
PE426928	07/05/18	Ringtail Blues	J. Russel Robinson/Spencer Williams----------		Pace & Handy	Memphis, Tenn.
UE472183	02/06/20	Rock-a-bye Baby Blues	Alex Rogers	C. Luckeyeth Roberts	A. Rogers/ C. L. Roberts	Brooklyn, N.Y.
PE497855	01/04/21	Rock-a-bye Baby Blues	Alex Rogers	C. Luckeyeth Roberts	Broadway Mus.	New York

[78] Published by Riviera Music Pub., Chicago.

[79] This (initial) version of "Rainy Day Blues" registered as a solo violin melody.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE483552	07/01/20	Rooster Crowing Blues (The)	J.R. Thompson	Edouard Hesselberg	J.R. Thompson	Rose Hill, Va.
PE453445	07/16/19	Royal Garden Blues	Spencer Williams	Spencer Williams/ Clarence Williams	C. Williams	Chicago
PE452023	05/12/19	Sad and Lonely Blues	Eddie & Victoria Jackson----------		E. Jackson	New Orleans, La.
PE448887	05/03/19	Sad, Sad Blues (The)	Y. Arthur Brown----------			Martinsburg, W. Va.
PE348241	09/11/14	Saint Louis Blues	W.C. Handy----------[80]			Memphis, Tenn.
UE495656	12/27/20	Sandman Blues	Ray Miller/ Spencer Williams--(arr. Harry L. Alford)		Frances Clifford	Chicago
PE503324	02/25/21	Sandman Blues	Ray Miller/ Spencer Williams--(arr. Harry L. Alford)		Frances Clifford	Chicago
PE392636	11/13/16	San Francisco Blues	-	Chris Smith (arr. Lester E. Stevens)	Sherman Clay & Co.	San Francisco
UE438441	12/05/18	Satanic Blues	-	Emile Christian/Larry Shields (arr. J. Russel Robinson)	D.J. La Rocca/ E. Christian/L. Shields/H. Ragas/A. Sbarbaro	New York
PE462170	10/11/19	Satanic Blues	-	Emile Christian/Larry Shields	Leo Feist	New York
PE51334	07/20/21	Satanic Blues	Emil Christian/ Larry Shields----------		Leo Feist	New York
PE478143	05/02/19	Saxophone Blues	Al. Bernard	Rudy Wiedoft	Pace & Handy	New York

[80] Published by Pace & Handy, Memphis, Tenn.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UE467605	01/28/20	Shim-me King's Blues	Porter P. Grainger----------			Chicago
P----------[81]	--/--/20	Shim-me King's Blues	Porter P. Grainger----------		Griffin Mus.	Chicago
PE467730	01/30/20	Shimmy Blues (The)	Florence Unruh	George Graff, Jr.	F. Unruh[82]	Detroit, Mich.
PE486308	07/01/20	Shimmy Blues (The)	Charlie Garrison	Hector Richard	C. Garrison[83]	St. Joseph, Miss.
PE495861	12/10/20	Shimmy Blues	George J. Branhof	Norrie Bernard	G.J. Branhof	St. Louis, Mo.
PE451037	05/02/19	Shrapnel Blues	Marcus F. Slayter/ Marion L. Bell----------		M.F. Slayter	Chicago
PE497438	12/04/20	Silly Willy-Billy Blues	William Williams, Jr.	Leo Friedman	W. Williams, Jr.[84]	Elizabeth, N.J.
PE481821	06/12/20	Silly Willy Blues	Melvin E. Knudson	H. Merle Willis----------		Vermillion, S.Dak.
PE472808	02/12/20	Sleepin' Blues [fr. *My Junior Week Girl*]	George W. Teare----------			Ithaca, N.Y.
PE479305	07/07/19	Slide, Kelly, Slide (Trombone Blues)	Slide Kelly	George F. Briegel	??	??
UE483514	07/26/20	Snag 'Em Blues	Spencer Williams----------(arr. Bert Peters)		S. Williams	Chicago
PE513181	06/18/21	Snag 'Em Blues [*Chocolate Brown*][85]	Spencer Williams----------		Irwin C. Miller/ S. Williams	Chicago

[81] This version never registered for copyright.

[82] Published by World Music Pub., New York.

[83] Published by Legters Music Pub., Chicago.

[84] Published by Riviera Music Pub., Chicago.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE496952	12/02/20	Snagle-Tooth Blues (The)	Clarence Monroe	J.A. Cooke	C. Monroe[86]	Marcus Hook, Pa.
PE374671	10/01/15	Snakey Blues (The)	-	William Nash----------	[87]	Hot Springs, Ark.
PE442931	02/19/19	Soldier Blues	Admond Nivelles	Billy Smythe----------		Louisville, Ky.
PE412067	07/31/17	Some Jazz Blues	-	M.L. Lake	Carl Fischer	New York
PE488187	05/24/20	Southern Blues	Clinton Foster/ Raymond Beyer	Leo Friedman	C. Foster/ R. Beyer[88]	Tigerville, S.C.
PE494581	10/16/20	Southern Blues at the Halimaloo (The)	Charles W. Smith	Leo Friedman	C.W. Smith[89]	Chicago
PE454755	07/09/19	Souvenir Blues	-	James Walter	Jerome Remick	New York
UE475814	04/28/20	Spanish Blues	Harold A. Dellon/ Jack Stanley----------		Irving Berlin Inc.	New York
PE479710	05/22/20	Spanish Blues	Harold A. Dellon/ Jack Stanley----------		Irving Berlin Inc.	New York
PE452166	06/03/19	Spanish Flu Blues	Narcissus L. Bush----------		[90]	Dumberton, S.C

[85] Although strictly outside the scope of this listing, it should be noted that this number was put in the show *Put and Take* and republished by Perry Bradford, New York (PE532412, c.09/01/21).

[86] Published by United States Melody Studios and Song Service, Passaic, N.J.

[87] Published by Pace and Handy, Memphis, Tenn.

[88] Published by Riviera Music Pub., Chicago.

[89] Published by Riviera Music Pub., Chicago.

[90] Published by Delmar Music Co., Chicago.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE494340	11/12/20	Spooky-ooky Blues	-	Carl D. Vandersloot	----------	Williamsport, Va.
PE452337	05/0519	Squealin' Pig Blues	Edna Alexander[91]	----------	Shapiro Bernstein	New York
PE492079	09/22/20	Stage Door Blues [fr. *Broadway Brevities 1920*]	Bert Kalmar/ Harry Ruby	----------	T.B. Harms	New York
P----------[92]	--/--/18	Step on Down: Blues	-	Johnny Cooper	Melody Shop	Los Angeles, Cal.
UE489301	09/14//20	Stingaree: Blues in the Bottle[93]	Clinton A.Kemp	----------		Galveston, Tex.
UE495608	12/12/20	Stingaree: Blues in the Bottle	Clinton A.Kemp	----------	Handy Bros.	New York
P----------[94]	--/--/--	Stingaree: Blues in the Bottle	Clinton A.Kemp	----------	Handy Bros.	New York
UE409760	08/31/17	Stock Yard Blues	-	Maceo Pinkard	Leo Feist	New York
PE413098	11/05/17	Stock Yard Blues	-	Maceo Pinkard	Leo Feist	New York
PE493446	10/18/20	Street Walking Blues	C.L. Bradley	Edouard Hesselberg	C.L. Bradley	New Orleans, La.
PE465483	12/09/19	Sugar Blues	Lucy Fletcher	Clarence Williams	Williams & Piron	Chicago
PE455295	07/01/19	Suicide Blues	George A. Norton	Peter De Rose	F.B. Haviland	New York
UE467808	02/02/20	Swanee Blues	Frank Goodman	J. Milton Delcamp	Al. Piantadosi	New York
PE472628	02/02/20	Swanee Blues	Frank Goodman	J. Milton Delcamp	Al. Piantadosi	New York

[91] On the sheet music this name appears under the pseudonym Alex Belledna.

[92] This item never registered for copyright.

[93] Although the wording of this title does not warrant it for inclusion on this list, it was known as "Stingaree Blues" (also, "Stingaree Blues: A Down Home Blues") either from the first published edition or shortly thereafter.

[94] The published edition of this item not copyrighted.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE398066	01/10/17	Sweet Baby Blues	-	Ralph (Nigger) Williams	Mellinger Pub.	St. Louis, Mo.
PE448812	05/01/19	Sweetheart Blues	Bertina B. Lee	Artie Bowers	B.B. Lee	Jersey City, N.J.
UE479568	05/21/20	Sweetheart Blues (I've Got the)	Al Wilson/ Irving Bibo----------		Leo Feist	New York
PE489164	09/12/20	Sweetheart Blues (The)	Al Wilson/ Irving Bibo----------		Leo Feist	New York
PE495846	12/10/20	Sympathizing Blues (The)	H.L. Sales----------			Hartford, Conn.
PE362627	05/25/15	Tar-Heel Blues (The)[95]	-	J.Tim Brymn arr. Eugene Platzmann	Shapiro Bern-stein	New York
UE454427	06/26/19	Taxation Blues	Cliff Hess----------		Leo Feist	New York
PE456179	09/09/20	Taxation Blues	Cliff Hess/ Joe Rosey/ Joseph H. Santly----------		Leo Feist	New York
PE452134	06/06/19	Temptation Blues (The)	J. Berni Barbour----------		Seidel Mus.	Indianapolis, Ind.
UE458538	09/04/19	Temptation Blues (Those Cruel Sinful Mean)	J. Berni Barbour----------		Pace & Handy	New York
PE387688	08/11/16	Tennessee Blues	Arthur F. Holt	William Warner	W.T. Pierson	New York
PE413898	12/07/17	Texas Blues	-	Les Copeland	Waterson, Berlin & Snyder	New York
PE470023	12/18/19	That Heavenly Jazz (the Religious Blues)	James E. Dempsey	Johann C. Schmid----------		Philadedelphia, Pa.
UE396369	12/14/16	Them Doggon'd Triflin' Blues	Will E. Skidmore----------			Kansas City, Mo
P----------[96]	--/--/17	Them Doggon'd Triflin' Blues	Will E. Skidmore----------			Kansas City, Mo.

[95] This composition is an instrumental arrangement of "The Blues" (1912, q.v.).

[96] This published edition of this item not registered for copyright.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE481757	06/25/20	Those Aggravating Morning Blues	Mark A. Mitchelson	T.F. Cornell	M.A. Mitchelson	New York
PE448385	03/03/19	Those American Blues, I've Got 'Em	Art Hiller----------			Kansas City, Mo.
PE467513	01/14/20	Those Auto Blues	Z.L. Bright	Hector Richard	Z.L. Bright[97]	Mobile, Ala.
PE487049	08/07/20	Those Crazy Blues	Erva K. Burton	Hector Richard	E.K. Burton[98]	Canton, Ill.
		Those Cruel Sinful Mean Tempation Blues: See, TEMPTATION BLUES (THOSE CRUEL SINFUL MEAN)				
UE407427	08/18/17	Those Draftin' Blues	Maceo Pinkard----------		Pinkard/ Griffin Mus.	Chicago
PE407931	09/12/17	Those Draftin' Blues	Maceo Pinkard----------		Griffin Mus.	Chicago
UE416841	02/06/18	Those Jazz Band Blues	James A. Webster/Charles H. Sargent/Dave L. Whiteside		J.A. Webster	San Francisco
PE424708	04/26/18	Those Jazz Band Blues	John E. Smith	Leo Friedman	J.E. Smith[99]	New Orleans, La.
UE489332	09/16/20	Those Let Your Corinne Come Home Blues	Lukie Johnson----------		Pace & Handy	New York
UE495112	12/11/20	Those Let Your Corinne Come Home Blues	Lukie Johnson----------(arr. Will Taylor)		L. Johnson	New York
PE489181	09/04/20	Those Mason-Dixon Blues [fr. *Tittle-Tattle*]	Howard Johnson	Archie Gottler	Leo Feist	New York

[97] Published by Letgers Music Pub., Chicago.

[98] Published by Letgers Music Pub. Chicago.

[99] Published by North American Music Pub., Chicago.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE491132	08/27/20	Those Miscellaneous Blues	Mildred Myers	Leo Friedman	M. Myers[100]	Springfield, Mo.
P----------[101]	--/--/17	Those Navy Blues	Eldon B. Spofford----------		Earl Mus.	Oakland, Cal.
PE378514	01/29/16	Those Nutty Blues	-	Harry P. Schaefer	Henry Packman[102]	New Orleans, La.
PE496408	11/27/20	Those Oriental Blues	Harry Clarke	John L. McManus	M. Witmark	NewYork
PE480991	05/29/20	Those Railroad Blues	S.W. Morris	Hector Richard	S.W. Morris`	Guthrie, Okla.
PE388521	07/20/16	Those Saxophone Blues	-	Paul Biese	Frank K. Root	Chicago
PE389271	09/01/16	Those Sighing Hawaiian Blues	Frank Goodman	George F. Rubin	Tell Taylor	Chicago
UE390680	10/02/16	Those Southern Blues	Everett E. East	Anna Campbell	Everett E. East	Chattanooga, Tenn.
PE392313	11/02/16	Those Southern Blues	Everett E. East	Anna Campbell	East-Campbell Pub.	Chattanooga, Tenn.
PE464353	11/07/19	Those Syncopated Blues	Philip Carpenter	George Graff, Jr.	P. Carpenter[103]	Sea Cliff, N.Y.
PE496287	10/26//20	Those Trifling Blues	N.L. Cauble	Edouard Hesselberg	N.L. Cauble	Smedley, Ind.
PE463585	12/06/19	Thunderbolt Blues	-	Anton Lada/ Al. Nunez/ Joe Cawley	Leo Feist	New York

[100] Published by Riviera Music Pub., Chicago.

[101] This item never registered for copyright.

[102] Published by Regent Music Pub., Lake Charles, La.

[103] Published by World Music Pub., New York.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE412101	09/04/17	Thunderstorm Blues	-	Wallace Field[104]	McKinley Mus.	Chicago
PE432337	09/04/17	Tin-whistle Blues	-	Frank Capie	Jerome Remick	New York
UE372980	10/21/15	Tipperary Blues	-	Euday L. Bowman		Fort Worth, Tex.
PE375747	01/05/16	Tipperary Blues	-	Euday L. Bowman		Fort Worth, Tex.
UE407365	08/11/17	Tishomingo Blues	Spencer Williams		Joseph Stern	New York
PE410634	10/10/17	Tishomingo Blues	Spencer Williams		Joseph Stern	New York
UE457048	09/08/19	Tom Cat Blues (The)	Theo. Pankey/ Gus. Butler		Pace & Handy	New York
P----------[105]	--/--/19	Tom Cat Blues (The)	Theo. Pankey/ Gus. Butler		Pace & Handy	New York
PE489032	08/26/20	Traveling Blues (The)	Mary Mosby (arr. Alex M. Valentine)		M. Mosby	Memphis, Tenn.
PE399187	02/21/17	Triangle Jazz Blues	-	Irwin P. Leclere (arr. Joseph W. Martinez)	Triangle Mus.	New York
PE436118	06/20/18	Trombone Blues[106]	-	Fred Jewell	C.L. Barnhouse	Oskaloosa, Iowa.
PE458267	08/07/19	True Love Blues	John R. Wurth			Larimore, N.Dak.
PE419236	03/25/18	Tulsa Blues (The)	Willard Robison			[107]Coffeyville, Kan.

[104] Pseudonym of Henry Sawyer.

[105] This version apparently not registered for copyright.

[106] Copyrighted as a band arrangement.

[107] Published by Sunflower Music Publishing, unknown location.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE597217	09/08/24[108]	12th Street Blues	Billy Heagney----------		J.W.Jenkins	Kansas City, Mo.
		Uncle Sam Ain't No Woman But He Surely Can Take Your Man: Blues: See BLUES: UNCLE SAM AIN'T NO WOMAN BUT HE SURELY CAN TAKE YOUR MAN				
PE482441	06/14/20	Uncle Sammie's Blues	-	Lee Harrell (arr. S. Vital)	Lee Harrell	Shreveport, La.
UE407549	08/23/17	Undertaker's Blues	-	Ray Lopez	Roger Graham	Chicago
PE120383	10/03/17	Undertaker's Blues	-	Ray Lopez	Roger Graham	Chicago
UE466612	01/02/20	Unlucky Blues [fr. *Greenwich Village Follies*]	Ted Lewis/ J. Russel Robinson----------		Irving Berlin Inc.	New York
PE470609	01/22/20	Unlucky Blues [fr. *Greenwich Village Follies*]	Ted Lewis/ J. Russel Robinson----------		Irving Berlin Inc.	New York
PE423989	05/20/18	U.S. Aviation Blues[109]	-	Clyde Divers----------		Waurika, Okla.
PE449237	05/13/19	Useless Blues	Jimmie Marten	Mitch Le Blanc	Thomas Goggan	Houston, Tex.
PE439378	12/31/18	Vampire Blues	Maceo Pinkard----------		Joseph Stern	New York
PE488869	08/23/20	Vampire Blues	Amos Forman	George Graff, Jr.	A. Forman[110]	Akron, Oh.
PE451197	05/10/19	Venus Blues	Al Bernard	J. Russel Robinson	Leo Feist	New York

[108] This item, though published in 1924 and therefore too late for this list, is included as it appeared twice in the 1920 Melodee Piano Roll catalog, once asan arrangement (303343) and once played by Edythe Baker (3893). It is not uncommon in this era for recordings of popular music to be made some time before the piece appeared in print. It is possible, however, that this instance is an error for "12th Street Rag" by Euday L. Bowman which first appeared in 1914. This is confirmed by the fact that on the catalog composer credit for both items is given to Bowman, not Heagney. Only an aural identification will clear the matter up, and it has not yet been possible to locate a copy of either roll.

[109] Probably the same as "Aviation Blues."

[110] Published by World Music Pub., New York.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE474796	03/29/20	Vin Blanc Blues	W. Clifford Chapman, Jr.	Hector Richard	W.C. Chapman	Pittsburgh, Pa.
PE393136	12/11/16	Virginia Blues	Otis Albert Kleine----------		Academy Pub.	Sterling, Ill.
PE463590	12/06/19	Virginia Blues	Spencer Williams	Anton Lada/ Al. Nunez/ Joe Cawley	Leo Feist	New York
PE444696	02/18/19	Waco Blues	Floyd K. Russell----------			Waco, Tex.
UE478466	04/14/20	Waikiki Blues	Cal De Voll	Maceo Pinkard	Irving Berlin Inc.	New York
PE480553	05/19/20	Waikiki Blues	Cal De Voll	Maceo Pinkard	Irving Berlin Inc.	New York
UE458292	08/25/19	Wall Street Blues	Thomas A. Johnstone/ Harry Auracher----------			New York
PE462485	10/22/19	Wall Street Blues [fr. *Love For Sale*]	Thomas A. Johnstone/ Harry Auracher----------		Joseph Stern	New York
UE388916	08/11/16	Wandering Blues	Enrique R. Smith----------			Dallas, Tex.
PE393330	12/18/16	Wandering Blues	Enrique R. Smith----------		Ayers & Smith	Dallas, Tex.
UE479194	05/10/20	Wang-Wang Blues	-	Buster Johnson/ Gus Mueller/ Henry Busse (arr. Ferd. Grofé)	B. Johnson/ G. Mueller/ H. Busse	Los Angeles, Cal.
PE500303	01/03/21	Wang-Wang Blues	-	Buster Johnson/ Gus Mueller/ Henry Busse	Leo Feist	New York
PE411798	11/12/17	War Bride Blues[111]	Jimmie Marten	Mitch Le Blanc	Thomas Goggan	Houston, Tex.
PE490766	09/16/20	Washtub Blues	Arthur U. James	Frank Wright	F.B. Haviland	New York
PE371554	10/25/15	Weary Blues (The)	-	Artie Matthews	John Stark	St. Louis, Mo.

[111] Also titled "Nigger War Bride Blues" on the sheet music. The Library of Congress copyright entry uses "Nigger War Bride Blues."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE383220	04/26/16	Weary Blues (The)	H. Alf Kelley----------		Will Rossiter	Chicago
UE403141	05/12/17	Weary Way Blues (The)	Coleman L. Minor----------			Pittsburgh, Pa.
PE418608	12/28/17	Weary Way Blues (The)	Coleman L. Minor----------		Weile Mus. Pub.	St. Louis, Mo.
PE397182	01/22/17	Weatherford Blues	-	Frank Babek	Babek Bros. Mus.	Dallas, Tex.
PE445406	03/19/19	Wedding Blues (The) [fr. *Tumble In*]	Otto Harbach	Rudolf Friml	G. Schirmer	New York
PE490690	10/02/20	Wedding Blues (The) [fr. *Pitter-Patter*]	William B. Friedlander----------		T.B. Harms	New York
PE459810	10/18/19	Weeping Willow Blues	-	Robert King (arr. Charles N. Grant)	Shapiro Bernstein	New York
PE455125	07/21/19	Western Blues (The)	Charles G. Bathe	J.C. Halls	C.G. Barthe[112]	Colorado Springs, Col.
UE417331	02/21/18	West Texas Blues (The)	-	Charles H. Booker, Jr.----------		Greenville, Miss.
PE457088	09/08/19	West Texas Blues (The)	Charles H. Booker, Jr.----------		Yancy & Booker	Memphis, Tenn.
PE494375	11/02/20	Where-Is-My-Daddy-Now Blues	Jack Yellen	Otto Motzan/ Abe Olman	Forster Mus.	Chicago
PE495966	01/03/20	Whistling Blues	Joe Diamond	Jack Barnett/ Saxi Holtsworth	Pace & Handy	New York

[112] Published by Western Music Pub., Denver, Col.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UE459141	09/29/19	White Mule Blues (The): Blues With a Kick to it	-	Busch/ Saxi Holtsworth[113]	S. Holtsworth	New York
UE487115	08/14/20	White Mule Blues	-	Saxi Holtsworth (arr. H. Qualli Clark)	Pace & Handy	New York
P----------[114]	--/--/20	White Mule Blues	-	Saxi Holtsworth	Pace & Handy	New York
PE451759	05/26/19	White-Way Blues	-	Anton Lada/ Joe Cawley/ Al. Nunez	Leo Feist	New York
PE454518	06/25/19	Why Don't You Drive My Blues Away? (Lovesick Blues)	Joe Davis	Frank Papa	Triangle Mus.	New York
PE540588	01/01/22[115]	Wicked Blues	Perry Bradford----------			New York
PE488651	08/20/20	Wild Romantic Blues [fr. *The Century Revue and Midnight Rounders*]	Alfred Bryan	Jean Schwartz	Jerome Remick	New York
PE490112	09/08/20	Winter Blues	Eddie Fortier----------			Bayfield, Wis.
PE398098	01/01/17	Work House Blues	W. Earthman Farrell----------			Nashville, Tenn.
PE419635	03/15/18	World War Blues (The)	G.B. Harris, Jr.----------			Bruceville, Tex.
PE378899	03/13/16	Worried Blues (The)	Le Roy Williams	Clarence Woods	Le Roy Williams/ Clarence Woods	Fort Worth, Tex.
PE483977	08/02/20	Worried Blues (The)	Robert L. Perkins	Edouard Hesselberg	R.L. Perkins	Rosedale, Miss.

[113] Copyrighted as a violin solo.

[114] This version not registered for copyright.

[115] Despite the later publication date, this appeared in 1919 on piano roll in two versions: Columbia 94122 (played by Clarence Jones), and QRS 937 (played by Pete Wendling).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE458654	08/27/19	Wouldn't Know Blues (The)	Isabelle H. Baggs	George Graff, Jr.	I.H. Baggs	Wayne, Pa.
PE444008	02/10/19	Yama Yama Blues	Spencer Williams/ Clarence Williams----------		Shapiro Bernstein	New York
PE353260	12/02/14	Yellow Dog Rag[116]	W.C. Handy----------			[117] Memphis, Tenn.
PE452744	07/23/19	Yelping Hound Blues	-	Anton Lada/ Al. Nunez/ Joe Cawley	Leo Feist	New York
PE422625	03/14/18	Yiddisha Army Blues	Johnny Cooper----------			Los Angeles
PE486913	08/07/20	Yodeling Blues	Lew Wilson----------		Oscar F. Hodge	New York

Ib. Unpublished Compositions

1. C. No.	2. C Date	3. Title	4. Words	5. Music	6. C. Holder	7. Location
UE448883	05/03/19	Aeroplane Blues (The)	W.J. Harvey----------			Memphis, Tenn.
UE491780	10/29/20	Airplane Dream Blues (The)	A.C. Pfifer	E.S.S. Huntington	A.C. Pfifer	Leachville, Ark.
UE483508	07/26/20	Alexander's Harmony Blues	-	James A. Murray----------		Boston
UE449668	05/26/19	Alibi Blues Those Excusin' Blues	I. Caesar	Carey Morgan	Joseph Stern	New York
UE398200	12/26/16	Apple Blossom Blues	-	Ray F. Edwards/ Fred Mayo	R.F. Edwards/F. Mayo	Minneapolis, Minn.

[116] In 1919, republished under the title "Yellow Dog Blues" (that version apparently not registered for copyright). The work was referred to as a blues from at least 1916 (Elliott S, Hurwitt, *W.C. Handy As Music Publisher: Career and Reputation*, Ph.D., City University of New York, 2000, p.109)

[117] Published by Pace & Handy, Memphis, Tenn.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UE470843	02/03/20	Aristocratic Blues	-	Corrie M. Walker----------		St. Louis, Mo.
UE489090	09/07/20	Arizona Blues	Lawrence L. White ----------(arr. Ralph P. Law)		L.L. White	Jerome, Ariz.
UE474186	02/24/20	Auto Blues (The)	Estee Johnson----------			Philadelphia, Pa.
UE490157	09/17/20	Baby Blues	-	Buster Johnson/ Gus Mueller (arr. F. Grofé)	B. Johnson/ G. Mueller	New York
UE410545	08/30/17	Bama Blues	-	Arthur Sumner Shaw----------		New York
UE404376	04/16/17	Barrel House Blues (The)	-	Charles J. Williamson----------		Memphis, Tenn.
UE444626	03/03/19	Battling Blues (The)	Ben E. Norris	Ben E. Norris/ Carl R. Haller	B. Norris/ C. Haller	Cleveland, Oh.
UE443066	02/13/19	Before Day Blues	Lemuel Fowler	Lemuel Fowler, arr. Clarence Jones	William Thomas	Chicago
UE393213	12/15/16	Bermuda Blues	Fred Gray	Joseph A. Kulscar----------		Chicago
U----------[118]	--/--/19	Bigamus Blues	-	Max Kortlander	prob. M. Kortlander	New York
UE453234	07/12/19	Black and White Melody Blues	-	George Walsh/Norman Carp, arr. Raymond Miller[119]	R. Miller	New York
UE403449	05/26/17	Blarney Blues (The)	-	R.L. Halle----------		New York
UE487630	08/31/20	Blue Bell Blues	William Jerome	Nat Goldstein (arr. Ed Smalle)	Harry Von Tilzer	New York

[118] This item never copyrighted and only known from QRS Piano Roll 795 (released 05/19), played by Max Kortlander.

[119] Copyrighted in orchestral arrangement.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

U----------[120]	--/--/19	Blue Bird Blues	Russell/Smith----------		-	-
UE488440	08/13/20	Blue Jay Blues	-	Anton Lada/ Frank Rizzo (arr. Ray Brost)	Fred Fisher Inc.	New York
UE463442	12/05/19	Blue Law Blues	Nat Vincent	Leon Flatow	Broadway Mus. Corp.	New York
UE347980	10/04/14	Blues	Billy House	Pat Patterson	Southwestern Mus.	Dallas, Tex.
UE386222	05/23/16	Blues (The)[121]	Bert Leighton/Frank Leighton (arr. Christian A. Praetorius)		Bert Leighton	Long Island, N.Y.
UE495598	12/23/20	Blue Sunday Blues	-	Joseph K. Freeman----------		New Haven, Conn.
UE450044	04/09/19	Bombay-Blues	Roland B.McConnnell----------			El Paso, Tex.
UE414495	12/01/17	Bone-Dry Blues (The)	Ethel M. Lackey----------			Nashville, Tenn.
UE472206	02/09/20	Boo-Hoo Blues	D. George Reinhard	George Trevor	D.G. Reinhard	Shawano, Ark.
UE490057	09/13/20	Boot- Black Blues	Boyce H.Cullen----------			Logansport, Ind.
UE429509	08/05/18	Boston Blues	Sue M. Rollins	Mary L. Rollins----------		Little Rock, Ark.
UE495478	12/08/20	Broadway Limited Blues	-	Buster Johnson, Gus Mueller & Henry Busse	Leo Feist	New York
UE471391	02/11/20	Bugaboo Blues	Abe Lipschutz	Jack Maser	A. Lipschutz/ J.	Philadelphia, Pa.

[120] This item never copyrighted and is only known from a single record, Okeh 1126.

[121] This was recorded under the title "Dallas Blues" by Marie Cahill (Vic 55081, released 02/17)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

					Maser	
UE467105	01/14/20	Bugle Blues	-	Spencer Williams (arr. Bert Peters)	Spencer Williams	Chicago
UE462761	10/04/19	Bugler's Blues (The)	-	Edward W. Bailey----------		Chicago
UE483837	07/31/20	Bullfrog Blues	-	J.S. Zamecnik	Sam Fox Mus.	Cleveland, Oh.
U----------[122]	--/--/19	Burmese Blues	-	[? Eugene] Platzman[n]	-	-
UE471717	03/03/20	Cactus Blues	Gaylord Shepard	R.A. Browne	G. Shephard	Turlock, Cal.
UE471842	02/20/20	California Blues	Walter M. Seyerfelich	Oscar Gardiner	W.M. Seyerfelich	Chicago
UE486322	07/17/20	Campaign Blues	Thomas J. Price----------			Little Rock, Ark.
UE451262	05/19/19	Camp Life Blues	-	Lorenzo Calduel----------		Columbus, Oh.
UE462338	10/20/19	Camp Meade Blues	B.P.Hemphill	E.S.S. Huntington	B.P. Hemphill	Wilmington, Del.
UE486558	07/02/20	Cannibal Blues	Charles Snyder	Fay P. Stanton C. Snyder	F.P. Stanton	New York
UE422322	03/11/18	Cannon Ball Blues	Avelyn M. Kerr----------			Milwaukee, Wis.
UE430819	09/07/18	Cantonment Blues	Albert C. Mitchell----------			Macon, Ga.
UE448088	04/03/19	Can't Sleep Blues	William H. Miller----------			Gary, Ind.
UE440366	12/21/18	Care Free Blues	Otto J. Broones	Martin Broones----------		New York
UE493112	11/04/20	Cat-Step-Blues	-	Philip N. Moriarty----------		El Segundo, Cal.

[122] This item never copyrighted and is only known from a single record, Columbia A-2481.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UE393088	12/08/16	Charleston South Carolina Blues (The)	Ned Williams	H.B. Roland	N. Williams	Charleston, S.C.
UE480481	05/18/20	Cheer Up Blues	Anne Reynolds	E.S.S. Huntington	A. Reynolds	Wilkinson, Ind.
UE452298	06/13/19	Cheery Blues	George .J. Sevally, Jr.	E.S.S. Huntington	G.J. Sevally, Jr.	Brooklyn, N.Y.
UE377840	03/02/16	Chesterfield Blues	W.G. Morrow----------			Danville, Va.
UE444354	02/24/19	Chicken Blues	Bob Sutton	Edward J. Schumacher----------		Maryville, Mo.
UE430180`	08/14/18	Coal Man Blues	Billie Nye Sandefur/Elmer Schoebel----------		W.H. Sandefur	Evansville, Ind.
UE496855	12/15/20	Colorado Blues	John H. Roy	Gustave Barto[123]	J.H. Roy	Oenaville, Tex.
UE471866	03/05/20	Come Back Blues (The)	Billy E. Mills---------- (arr. Frank S. Butler)		B.E. Mills	New York
UE379031	03/20/16	Coon-Can Blues	Anon.	Froebel E. Lee----------		Fort Smith, Ark.
UE448441	04/10/19	Cootie Blues	Stewart D. Allen	Arthur A. Northrop	S.D. Allen, A.A. Northrop	Columbus, Oh.
UE465684	12/26/19`	Cotton Picking Blues (The)	Harry De Troy	Lucien Matthias	H. De Troy/ L. Matthias	Haworth, N.J.
U----------[124]	--/--/20	Creole Blues	-	Norworth	-	-
UE466242	12/27/19	Crying Blues	Howard C. Washington----------			Cincinnatti, Oh.
UE489491	08/25/20	Crying Blues	Cyril Ogle	E.S.S. Huntington	C. Ogle	Baltimore, Md.

[123] Pseudonym of Ethel Fisher.

[124] This item never copyrighted and is only known from two recordings, Pathé 22424 and Operaphone 31165..

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UE479443	06/08/20	Da-daddy Blues	Charles F. Hirsh/ Raymond S. Moers (arr. Artie Matthews)		C.A. Hirsh/ R.S. Moers	Cincinnati, Oh.
UE480026	05/04/20	Damme Blues	Harold Wilson----------		George B. Gerard	Holland Patent, N.Y.
UE495171	12/07/20	Dancehall Blues (The)	William Fowler/Hubert Smith	R. A. Leopold Richard	W. Fowler/ H.R. Smith	Syracuse, N.Y.
UE472350	02/16/20	Dancing Blues (The)	W. Vernon Draper----------			Greybull, Wyo.
UE494929	12/04/20	Dancing Blues (The)	-	Jesus R. Hurtado----------		Hartford, Conn.
UE441004	01/09/19	Darktown Blues	William H. Stocker----------			Wenatchee, Wash.
UE479536	05/19/20	Denim Blues: A Pair of Blues	Rholin Cooley	Vernon M. Suckow	Madrona Mus.	Portland, Ore.
UE455824	08/15/19	Disappointment Blues	Hal Ehrig	Lou Bro/ Hal Ehrig/ Charles Byron	H. Ehrig	Chicago
UE440244	12/16/18	Dixie Blues	G.W. Bruffey----------			New York
UE463368	12/01/19	Dixie Blues	Thomas Gibson, Jr.	E.S.S. Huntington	T. Gibson	Brownwood, Tex.
UE471849	03/05/20	Dry Cabaret Blues	-	Sam Smolin----------		Akron, Oh.
UE406503	06/18/17	Dry Town Blues	-	Lou F. Chiha----------		New York
UE491837	11/01/20	Easy Street Blues	-	Clarence M. Jones (arr. Horace O. Prell)	C.M. Jones/ H.O. Prell	Chicago
UE490064	09/15/20	Examination Blues	Stella H. Gilmore----------			New York
UE495226	12/11/20	Female Jury Blues	William H. Rhoads----------(arr. Frank Black)		W.H. Rhoads	New York

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UE432604	09/27/18	Fighting Blues	Fred Douglas	E.S.S. Huntington	F. Douglas	Eudora, Ark.
UE481055	06/07/20	Frettin' Blues (The)	-	A.J. Bacquet/ J. Durante----------		New York
UE415023	12/29/17	Frisco Blues (The)	-	Clyde L. Flory----------		New York
UE466895	01/05/20	Gamblin' Blues	L.D. Waldorf	E.S.S. Huntington	L.D. Waldorf	Binghampton, N.Y.
UE454987	06/26/19	Gas Mask Blues (The)	John T. Van Rensalier----------			Paterson, N.J.
UE398439	01/31/17	Gee I've Got the Blues	Louis Richter	H.B. Roland	L. Richter	Rochester, N.Y.
UE487122	08/14/20	Give It Down Blues	Grace E. Connelly	Chappy Chapman[125]	Martin R. Chapman	Lincoln, Neb.
UE479511	05/19/20	Gosh Darn Walkin' Blues (The)	Forrest L. Robbins	Gustave Barto[126]	F.R. Robbins	Medicine Park, Okla.
UE486021	06/11/20	Grown-up Baby Blues (The)	Harry De Costa----------		Capitola De Wolfe	Yonkers, N.Y.
UE432886	09/28/18	Guard House Blues (The)	Lake Reynolds	William H. Badke	L. Reynolds/W. H. Badke	Sherman, Tex.
U----------[127]	--/--/19	Guatemalan Blues	?	?	-	-
UE491385	10/15/20	Happy Six Blues	Sam Harris	Clifford McEldridge	S. Harris	New York

[125] Pseudonym of copyright holder.

[126] Pseudonym of Ethel Fisher.

[127] This item never copyrighted and is only known from a single record, Victor 72600.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UE482743	07/01/20	Harem Blues	George H. Stamper	Tausha Hammed	G.H. Stamper/ T. Hammed	New York
UE479055	05/03/20	Haunting Blues (The)	William De Luca	E.S.S. Huntington	W. De Luca	Newark, N.J.
UE473920	04/02/20	Hereditary Blues	Aileen Craft	Artie Bowers	A. Craft	Ellisville, Miss.
UE417211	02/20/18	Hick-up Blues	-	Rudolph O. Erlebach----------		Woodcliff, N.J.
UE463389	12/03/19	High Cost of Livin' Blues (The)	Thomas Harris	H. Qualli Clark	T. Harris	New York
UE465103	11/22/19	High Cost o' Livin' Blues (The)	Louis Zuber	Louis Zuber/ Harry Gruetzmacher	Louis Zuber	Woodhaven, N.Y.
UE459102	09/24/19	High Rent Blues	Rufus Whittaker----------			New York
UE471356	02/17/20	High Yellow's Blues (The)	-	Thomas P. Brown----------		New York
UE493368	10/04/20	Home Brew Blues	Levi N. Harmon----------			Idaho Falls, Ida.
UE444917	03/10/19	Honolulu Blues	Corlies H. Jackson----------			Gloversville, N.Y.
UE487445	08/26/20	Hoodoo Blues	Harry Walker	Vincent Valentini	H. Walker/ V. Valentini	New York
UE463439	12/05/19	Hot Foot Blues	-	Maceo Pinkard	Shapiro Bernstein	New York
UE463602	11/24/19	Humming Blues	Lukie Johnson	Lukie Johnson, arr. Lovie Austin	L. Johnson	New York
UE459995	10/29/19	I Got De East Side Yiddisha Blues	H. Duncan Peckham----------			Brooklyn, N.Y
UE410505	10/03/17	I Got the Fiddlin' Blues	Thomas R. Gilbert	E.S.S. Huntington	T. R. Gilbert	San Antonio, Tex.
UE486966	08/12/20	Il Trovatore Blues	Harold G. Frost----------		McKinley Mus.	Chicago

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UE482855	07/07/20	Influenza Blues (The)	Fred W. Ersfeld	E.S.S. Huntington	F.W. Ersfeld	Lakeville, Minn.
UE486004	07/19/20	Irish Blues (The)	Alex Rogers	C. Luckeyth Roberts	A. Rogers/ C. L. Roberts	Brooklyn
UE409295	08/08/17	I'se Got the Blues	Frank D. Withers	Frank D. Withers (arr. Nelson Kincaide)	F.D. Withers	New York
UE444691	03/05/19	I've Got De Didn't Get Over Blues	Burle Wilson----------			Cincinnatti, Oh.
UE486709	07/23/20	I've Got the Blues, I've Got the Blues, I've Got the Delaware Peaches Blues	Fred S. Ebertz	Frank W. Ford	F.S. Ebertz	New York
UE456281	08/14/19	I've Got the Bolsheviki Blues	Anthony D. Visk	E.S.S. Huntington	A.D. Visk	Bellwood, Pa.
UE411713	11/14/17	I've Got the Dixie, Dixie Blues	Virgil B. Miller	J.E. Andino	V.B. Miller	Charleston, W.Va.
UE462744	11/01/19	I've Got the Envious Blues	Charles S. Reed II	Allen H. Gleason	C.S. Reed II	Cambridge, Mass.
UE473437	03/22/20	I've Got the Fanatic Blues	J.W. Mabin	Artie Bowers	J.W. Mabin	Springfield, Oh.
?E479232	05/12/20	I've Got the Loving Blues From Loving You	Harry Thompson----------		(arr. Arthur P. Cogan)	Philadelphia
UE493475	11/11/20	I've Got the Sweet Southland Blues	Leslie A. Andrews	E.S.S. Huntington	L.A. Andrews	Quincy, Mass.
UE482948	07/12/20	I've Got the Weary Egyptian Blues	Eddie Malle----------	(arr. Charles Borrelli)	E. Malle	Philadelphia
UE475005	04/08/20	I've Got Them Mystical Blues	Julius Adler----------	(arr. Dave Peyton)	J. Adler	Chicago
UE489484	09/25/20	I've Got the Teasing Blues	Gus Kondas	Herman A. Hummel	G. Kondas	Ashtabula, Oh.
UE479633	05/12/20	I've Got Those Cave Man Blues	George Stamper	H. Qualli Clark	H.Q. Clark/ G.	New York

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

					Stamper	
UE411253	10/26/17	I've Got Those Dog-Gone, Confound Mexican Army Blues	A.J. Skeens	E.S.S. Huntington	A.J. Skeens	Columbus, N.Mex.
UE436602	11/04/18	I've Got Those Navy Blues	Warren Scherer	Hugh A.Barrett	W. Scherer/ H.A. Barrett	Rochester, N.Y.
UE473913	04/02/20	I've Just Got the Blues That's All	Blanche C. Botts	Artie Bowers	B.C. Botts	Fredericksburg, Va.
UE439039	12/23/18	Jackie Blues	Claire Garneau/ Florence Lambert	Elise Garneau----------		St. Louis, Mo.
U----------[128]	--/--/17	Jass Lazy Blues	?	?	-	-
UE482067	06/04/20	Jealous Blues (The)	Thomas Gibson, Jr.	E.S.S. Huntington	T. Gibson, Jr.	Brownwood, Tex.
UE487276	08/20/20	Jealous Blues	M.A. Williams	E.S.S.Huntington	M.A. Williams	Wadsworth, Ill.
UE490199	09/17/20	Jealous Blues (The)	George H. Greene	E.S.S. Huntington	G.H. Greene	Newport, R.I.
UE482891	07/07/20	Jealous Hearted Blues	E.G. Mansfield	E.S.S. Huntington	E.C. Mansfield	Dallas, Tex.
UE406255	06/21/17	Johnson's Jazz Blues	-	E. Arnold Johnson	E.A. Johnson	New York
UE428559	07/06/18	Jolly Wobble Blues (The)	D. Smith/ Readie Walker	E.S.S. Huntington	D. Smith/ R. Walker	Pittsburgh, Pa.
UE473459	03/22/20	Jungle Blues	Tom Delaney/ Baby Grice----------		T. Delaney	Baltimore, Md
UE433834	11/09/18	Kaiser Blues	James E. Cooper----------			Chicago

[128] This item never copyrighted and is only known from a single record, Aeolian-Vocalion 1218.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UE422417	03/16/18	Kaiser Blues (The)	Eustatia Landry----------			Brooks, La.
UE430910	09/13/18	Kaiser Blues	Mrs. F. Schrader	E.S.S. Huntington	F. Schrader	Greenville, Miss.
UE439098	12/26/18	Kaiser's Blues	Pasquale Forte	Dan L. Presti	P. Forte	Chicago
UE445339	03/24/19	Kaiser's Blues, The	Samuel W. Woodson	E.S.S. Huntington	S.W. Woodson	Lumberport, W. Va.
UE463501	12/08/19	Kaufield Blues (The)	-	Achile J. Baquet----------		New York
UE478504	04/13/20	Kentucky Blues	Eric D. Lindberg	Winifred B. Lindberg	E.D. Lindberg	Appleton, Wis.
UE411934	11/21/17	Khaki Blues	Margeret Locke	Carl Muehling	M. Locke	Running Water, Tex.
UE466243	12/27/19	Killing Blues	Walter Davidson/ Howard C. Washington	Eddie Gray	H.C. Washington	Cincinnati, Oh.
UE486058	07/08/20	Kupiditee Blues	Delmour J. Fuqua	Delmour J. Fuqua/ Roy Roy Kuhn	D.J. Fuqua	Washington
UE460499	09/29/19	Lazy Blues	Margeret R. Edwards	Jean Navarre[129]	M.R. Edwards	Waco, Tex.
UE472757	01/27/20	Leap Year Blues	Charles G. Shaw	Grace Bristed----------		Lennox, Mass.
UE488725	08/23/20	Lonely Blues: Negro Folk Song	Raymond R. Prisby----------			Youngstown, Oh.
UE388545	07/21/16	Lonesome Blues (The)	George Square	E.S.S. Huntington	George Square	Laurel, Miss.
UE452291	06/13/19	Lonesome Blues	Leora P. Detrick	J.E. Andino	L.P. Detrick	W. Pittson, Pa.
UE462010	10/20/19	Lonesome Sunday Blues	Porter P. Grainger----------			Chicago

[129] Pseudonym of Ethel Fisher.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UE496071	11/13/20	Long Wearing Blues	T. Everett White----------(arr. Edward Hudson)		T.E. White	St. Louis, Mo
UE458381	09/02/19	Lovesickness Blues	Wendell W. Hall	Ray Hibbeler	W.W. Hall	Chicago
UE457519	09/18/19	Loving Blues	Amos Forman	E.S.S. Huntington	A. Forman	Cleveland, Oh.
UE470209	01/08/20	Loving Blues (The)	Hardin L. Rogers	E.S.S. Huntington	H.L. Rogers	Eureka Springs, Ark.
UE493933	11/29/20	Loving Blues	Irving Mathews de Masque--------(arr. Arthur Darvo)		Frank S. Boroughs	Long Island, N.Y.
UE497022	12/20/20	Melancholy Blues	Lester Calvin---------- (arr. Leonard L. VosBurgh)		L. Calvin	New York
UE487883	09/13/20	Memory Blues	Edna Pearson	Artie Bowers	E. Pearson	Dayton, Oh.
UE450914	05/05/19	Metropolitan Blues	Samuel S. Simms----------(arr. Charles H. Booker)		S.B. Simms	Memphis, Tenn.
UE374674	11/26/15	Mexican Blues	-	William Eugene Wright----------		Fort Worth, Tex.
UE450910	05/05/19	Midnight Blues (The)	Rufus Whitaker	George Mitchell	R. Whitaker	New York
UE458126	08/22/19	Midnight Blues (The)	F.S. Kelly	E.S.S. Huntington	F.S. Kelly	Toronto, Can.
UE458914	09/22/19	Midnight Blues	Henry C. Griffith	E.S.S. Huntington	H.C. Griffith	New York
UE491202	10/13/20	Midnight Blues	Norman O'Neal	Louis Huntzinger (arr. James Altiere	L. Huntzinger	Hammond,Ind.
UE46228	05/07/19	Minstrel Blues	Bernie Norris	Carl R. Haller	B. Norris/ C.R. Haller	Cleveland, Oh.
UE405172	05/14/17	Mississippi Blues (The)	-	Charles H. Booker----------		Greenville, Miss.
UE492910	10/26/20	Mohammedan Blues (The)	H.G. Phelps	R.A. Browne	H.G. Phelps	Cranberry Lake, N.Y.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UE425463	06/10/18	Monday Blues	K. Boys ----------		Stanley W. Krebs	New York
UE474219	03/13/20	Monday Morning Blues	George E. Dennis	Sidney Reinherz (arr. George L. Tracy)	Dennis & Devine	Boston
UE478046	04/07/20	Monday Morning Blues	O.M. Leirevag/ A. Borge	E.S.S. Huntington	O.M. Leirevag/ A. Borge	Chicago
UE458140	08/22/19	Money Blues	Frank Carter	E.S.S.Huntington	F. Carter	Pittsburgh, Pa.
UE494455	11/19/20	Moonlight Blues	Mae Cogge	Keats Moran	M. Cogge	Melaval, Can.
UE483350	07/23/20	Moonshine Blues (The)	Vernon H. Holm	Gustave Barto[130]	V.H. Holm	Minneapolis
UE486790	08/05/20	Moonshine Blues (The)	H. Rawls Mallory	E.S.S. Huntington	H.R. Mallory	Savannah, Ga
UE493788	11/26/20	Moonshine Blues	John Hritz	E.S.S. Huntington	J. Hritz	Van Wert, Oh.
UE412370	09/29/17	More Power Blues	-	Tom Brown/Cliff Adams	Roger Graham	Chicago
UE474416	03/20/20	Mother Blues	Joseph Jerinsky	E.S.S. Huntington	J. Jerinsky	New York
UE464857	11/14/19	Mott St. Blues	-	H. Charles Wolf----------		Trenton, N.J.
U----------[131]	--/--/19	Movie Blues	?	?	-	-
UE455560	08/04/19	Musical Comedy Blues	Bud Green	Sammy Stept, arr. Ernst Bial	Al. Pianiadosi	NewYork
UE455365	07/30/19	Mythological Blues	William E. Rogers----------, arr. Byron H. Warner		John A. Parsons	Hawkinsville, Ga.

[130] Pseudonym of Ethel Fisher.

[131] This item never copyrighted and is only known from a single unreleased recording made for Victor by the Six brown Brothers.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

U----------[132]	--/--/18	Naby Blues	?	?	-	-
UE465213	12/06/19	Natural Blues	Edward M. Anderson	E.S.S. Huntington	E.M. Anderson	Detroit, Mich.
UE405471	05/25/17	Navy Blues	-	Edna Beutz----------		New York
UE407016	07/21/17	Navy Blues (The)	-	Paul Von Zmidzinski----------		Chicago
UE413074	11/03/17	Navy Blues (The)	William E. Broaddus	Ben J. Bradley----------		Orlinda, Tenn
UE429532	08/16/18	Navy Blues (The)	Alex Rogers	Luckey Roberts	McCarthy & Fisher	New York
UE475028	04/08/20	Navy Blues (The)	Leslie Respess	E.S.S. Huntington	L. Respess	New London, Conn.
UE486601	07/29/20	Navy Blues (The)	Robert L. Lukens----------			Honolulu, Hawaii
UE491519	10/20/20	Navy Blues (The)	Chester De Voude---(arr. C. De Voude/ Will Vodery)		Edna Bennett	New York
UE431018	09/13/18	Negro Soldier Blues (The)	Beulah F. Bell	E.S.S. Huntington	B.F. Bell	Mt. Vernon, Ill.
UE466801	01/05/20	Nervous Walking Blues (The)	George W. Edwards	Artie Bowers	G.W. Edwards	New York
U---------	--/--/16	New York Blues: Rag Classical[133]	-	Pietro Frosini	?	?
UE497200	12/27/20	New York Blues	-	Lyle E. Sharpe----------		Hastings, Nebr.
UE483843	07/26/20	Niff-Niff Blues	-	Buster Johnson/ Gus Mueller (arr. Ferdie Grofe)	B. Johnson/ G. Mueller	Atlantic City, N.J.

[132] This item never copyrighted and is only known from a single unreleased recording made for Victor by Marion Harris.

[133] This composition was apparently never registered for copyright; its only known manifestation is a solo accordion recording by the composer on Edison 3052, issued 12/16.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UE479713	05/24/20	Nursery Blues (The)	Gilbert Wells	Lynn Cowan	Irving Berlin Inc.	New York
UE473578	03/26/20	Ocean Blues	Alma L.R. Spencer	E.S.S. Huntington	A.L.R. Spencer	Newport News, Va
UE441515	01/18/19	Oh, Singum Blues	Babb Frank	Babb Frank/ Benny Turner	B. Frank	Chicago
UE456454	09/21/19	Oh! Those Colloseum Blues	Kathleen Burns	Artie Bowers	K. Burns	St. Joseph, Mo.
UE443076	02/20/19	Oh, Those Jazzy Blues	Lew Stern	Harry Kaplan----------		Newark, N.J.
UE495434	12/18/20	Oh, Those Misery Blues	Rebecca Viney	E.S.S. Huntington	R.Viney	Cleveland, Oh.
UE467817	02/02/20	Old Bossie Blues	-	Robert King (arr. Charles N. Grant)	Shapiro Bernstein	New York
U----------[134]	--/--/20	Old Grey Mare Blues	?	?	-	-
UE472937	03/04/20	Opium Blues (The)	Charles H. Hughes	Charles H. Hughes/ Jirah D. Buck	C.H. Hughes	Cincinnati, Oh.
UE417329	02/21/18	Oriental Blues	-	Samuel Bernstein----------		Butler, Pa.
UE444390	02/24/19	Oriental Blues	-	Rudy Wiedoeft----------		New York
UE472425	02/20/20	Oriental Blues	A.J. Bruhn----------			San Francisco
UE479742	05/26/20	Ouija Board Blues (The)	Irene Godding	Frank C. Doyle	I. Godding/F.C. Doyle	Detroit, Mich.
U----------	--/--/17	Palakiko Blues[135]	?	?	-	-

[134] This item never copyrighted and is only known from a single unreleased recording made for Columbia by Yerkes Southern Five.

[135] This item never copyrighted and is only known from a single record, Columbia A-2214.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UE387475	07/25/16	Panic Blues (The)	Henrel S. Holmes	E.S.S. Huntington	Henrel S. Holmes	Mobile, Ala.
UE488703	08/23/20	Parisian Blues	Clyde Hooper----------			San Antonio, Tex.
UE440916	01/03/19	Pavo Blues	Norman S. Matthews`	Norman Spencer (arr. Norman S. Matthews)	N.S. Matthews	San Francisco
UE451213	05/08/19	Pison Spider Blues	Robert M. Warfield----------			Chicago
UE470725	01/24/20	Prescription Blues	Harold G. Frost----------		McKinley Mus.	Chicago
UE481301	06/14/20	Prescription Blues	Herbert J. Idle	William B. Phillips	W.B. Phillips/ H.J. Idle	Chicago
UE453001	07/02/19	Prohibition Blues	C.W. Lashorn	D.M. Redman	Lashorn & Redman	Piedmont, W. Va.
UE487615	07/29/20	Race Track Blues (The)	Ida M. Snyder	Harry T. Myers	Southern Song Service	Louisville, Ky.
UE428192	06/26/18	Railroad Blues	Perry Bradford----------			New York
UE478681	04/23/20	Rain-Drop Blues	Francis M. Sterling	E.S.S. Huntington	F.M. Sterling	Knoxville, Tenn.
UE470937	02/10/20	Ravin' Cravin' Blues	Lukie Johnson----------	(arr. Qualie Clarke)	L. Johnson	New York
UE431991	10/10/18	Reveille Blues (The)	Jack Cary	E.S.S. Huntington	J. Cary	?, N.Y.
UE433074	09/28/18	Rickety Rackety Blues (The)	Queenie M. Ross----------			Minneapolis, Minn.
UE472823	02/28/20	Rockin' Rye Blues	Harry Hoffman----------			Pittsburgh, Pa.
UE482470	06/19/20	Romantic Blues	Paul Stewart----------			Orleans, Iowa.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UE375749	01/21/16	Rosary Blues	-	Euday L. Bowman----------		Fort Worth, Tex.
U----------[136]	--/--/19	St. Francis Blues	-	Art Hickman	-	-
U----------[137]	--/--/19	St. Swithin Blues	-	? Phil Baker	-	-
UE441943	02/08/19	Salvation Blues: A Camp Meetin' Croon	Augustus Butler----------	(arr. J. Russel Robinson)	Pace & Handy	New York
UE402040	03/13/17	Sa-Mo-a Blues	-	Ernest M. Pérès (arr. Michael Pérès)	E.M. Pérès	New Orleans, La.
UE495279	12/08/20	Santa Fe Blues	-	Buster Johnson/ Gus Mueller/ Henry Busse/ (arr. Gus Mueller)	Leo Feist	New York
UE473767	03/29/20	Saxitown Blues	Edward S. Pumphrey-------	(arr. Mrs. Frank F. Tower)	E.S. Pumphrey	Boston
UE393013	12/04/16	Sensational Blues (The)	Adolph Atkins----------			Memphis, Tenn.
UE438758	12/16/18	Separation Blues	J. Berni Barbour----------		Griffin Music	Chicago
UE471459	02/21/20	Shawnee Blues (The)	Wynetta Hopkins	Artie Bowers	W. Hopkins	Tecumseh, Okla.
UE481137	06/08/20	Shimmy Blues (The)	Charles F. Hirsch/ Raymond S. Moers (arr. Artie Matthews)		C.F. Hirsch/ R.S. Moers	Cincinnati, Oh.
UE416443	01/01/18	Sho' Nuff Shimmeying Blues	Michael M. Kippel----------			St. Louis, Mo.
UE457993	10/08/19	Shoulder Shakin' Blues	Lew Brown	Albert Von Tilzer	Broadway Mus.	New York

[136] This item never copyrighted and is only known from a single record, Columbia A-2813.

[137] This item never copyrighted and is only known from a single record, Emerson 1086.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

U---------[138]	--/--/18	Skip-a-Long Blues	-	?	-	-
UE548068	09/19/22[139]	Slow Drag Blues	Q. Roscoe Snowden----------		Handy Brothers	New York
UE466943	01/05/20	Smiling Blues	Mrs. William L. Shockley	Herman A. Hummel	Mrs. W.L. Shockley	St. Louis, Mo.
UE415947	02/19/18	Society-Blues	-	John C. Spikes----------		Los Angeles
UE492330	10/09/20	Soda Water Blues (The)	Eugene West	Clyde Roland	Leo Feist	New York
UE370957	09/16/15	So Different Blues	-	William Eugene Wright----------		Fort Worth, Tex.
UE456174	07/21/19	Solid Ivory Blues	John S. Caldwell	R.L. Grisson	J.R. Reed Mus.	Austin, Tex.
UE489511	09/25/20	Sorrow-Night Blues	Loe Loncaric	E.S.S. Huntington	J. Loncaric	St. Louis
U----------	--/--/17	Southern Blues (Old Hawaiian Medley)[140]	-	?	-	-
UE422935	04/17/18	Springtime Blues	D.V. Masson	E.S.S. Huntington	D.V. Masson	Washington, Iowa.
UE479420	05/17/20	Steamboat Blues (The)	Leo Wood/ Theodore Morse/ Walter Donovan--------		Leo Feist	New York
UE409849	09/04/17	Stock Yards Blues	Walter Hirsch	James (Slap) White	Roger Graham	Chicago
UE437380	11/26/18	Sweetheart Blues	Oliver J. Frank	Ernie A. Creech	O.J. Franke/	France[141]

[138] This item never copyrighted and is only known from a single record, Emerson 7440.

[139] Although the date of copyright of this work is after the cut-off point for this listing, it was recorded before 1921.

[140] This composition is probably different from the work of the same title in the published section of this listing. It was never registered for copyright and its only known manifestation is on a recording by Louise and Ferara Hawaiian Troupe on Pathé 20101, issued 02/17.

[141] Franke and Creech were apparently American soldiers stationed in France.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

					E.A. Creech	
UE487892	08/13/20	Sweetheart Blues (The)	Basil B. Truby	Artie Bowers	B.B. Truby	Protection, Kans.
UE416750	01/18/18	Syncopated Blues	-	Harry M. Pennypacker----------		Philadelphia, Pa.
UE442499	02/07/19	Syncopatin' Blues	Elizabeth T. Boutelle----------			New York
UE487732	09/08/20	Tampa Blues	Henry W. Heath----------			Oakville, Tenn.
UE495564	12/27/20	Tee-Roller Blues	Ted Lewis/ Spencer Williams (arr. Harry L. Alford)		Frances Clifford	Chicago
UE454520	07/01/19	Texas Blues (The)	Adele Peairs ----------(arr. Jacob Sauerwein)		A. Peairs	San Antonio, Tex.
UE443068	02/13/19	Thanatopsis Blues	Porter P. Grainger ----------(arr. Clarence M. Jones)		William A. Thomas	Chicago
UE479257	05/12/20	That Steamship Blues	M.J. Woods	E.S.S. Huntington	M.J. Woods	Hartford, Conn.
UE482022	07/03/20	Them Devil Blues	J.C. Davison	Gustave Barto[142]	J.C. Davison	Kansas City, Mo.
UE426817	06/29/18	Them Jazzin' Blues	Chales Beetho----------			Kansas City, Mo.
UE494464	11/19/20	Those Baby Blues	Asbury Stephens	Keats Moran	A. Stephens	Tarrytown, N.Y.
UE489263	09/11/20	Those Dissipated Blues	Glad Forester----------			New York
UE444532	02/28/19	Those Doggone Penetrating Blues	James A. Shackleford	E.S.S. Huntington	J.A. Shackleford	Venice, Cal.
UE487537	08/28/20	Those Dog-Gone Saxophone Blues	J.B. Langevin	E.S.S. Huntington	J.B. Langevin	Fall River, Mass.
UE393026	12/06/16	Those European Blues	Frank Scott	E.S.S. Huntington	Frank Scott	St. Joseph, Mo.

[142] Pseudonym of Ethel Fisher.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

U----------[143]	pre-1921	Those Harmelodic Blues	-	Phil Goldberg----------		?
UE457508	09/18/19	Those Hell-Bound Blues	Tom Delaney----------	(arr. James Alston)	T. Delaney	Baltimore
UE456385	08/05/19	Those Lonely Blues	Armand J. Piron/ Eddie Jackson----------		A.J. Piron	New Orleans, La.
UE441495	01/22/19	Those Moaning Blues	-	Walter E. Grimm----------		Stockton, Cal.
UE470631	01/22/20	Those Oklahoma Blues	Lloyd B. Fields	E.S.S. Huntington	L.B. Fields	Washington D.C.
UE487885	09/13/20	Those Raggy, Jazzy, Hypnotizin' Blues	Nicholas Davirro	Artie Bowers	N. Davirro	Alexandria, La.
UE462958	11/13/19	Those Ragtime Monkey Blues	Billy Smith	Frank W. Ford	B. Smith	Egg Harbor, N.J.
UE487908	09/13/20	Those Regretful Blues	Clyde G. Smith	E.S.S. Huntington	C.G. Smith	Little Rock, Ark.
UE493689	11/18/20	Those Separation Blues	James B. Barbour----------			New York
UE465148	12/04/19	Those Sorry Blues	Wendell W. Hall ----------	(arr. Cook)	W.W. Hall	Chicago
UE455413	07/25/19	Those Vampire Blues	Frank Moyer	Thomas L. Crawford----------		Topeka, Kans
UE467104	01/14/20	Transatlantic Blues	Harold R. Owen----------	(arr. Charles Albert)	H.R. Owen	San Francisco
UE453004	07/02/19	Transport Blues (The)	Edward A. Schilling	Raymond A. Browne	E.A. Schilling	Horicon, Wis.
UE442855	02/21/19	Travelling Blues	Myrtle Clossen	E.S.S. Huntington	M. Clossen	Coffeyville, Kans.
UE495353	12/16/20	Trombone Blues	-	Charles W. Hillman----------		Memphis, Tenn.
UE415158	01/03/18	U-Boat Blues (The)	Lulu L. Gibbs	E.S.S. Huntington	L.L. Gibbs	Trenton, N.J.

[143] The item not registered for copyright and known only from U.S. Piano Roll 18939, played by Phil Goldberg.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

U----------	--/--/16	Ukelele Blues[144]	-	Louise/Ferara	-	-
U----------	--/--/16	Unison Blues[145]	-	Rogers	-	-
UE439453	02/02/19	U.S. Blues	John Parker----------			San Quentin, Cal.
UE398752	02/07/17	Vapor City Blues	-	Joseph B. Freese----------		Morgantown, W.Va.
U----------[146]	--/--/19	Venice Blues	-	Scibilia	-	-
UE458763	09/16/19	Vermont Blues (The)	Mrs. G.W. Stephens	Artie Bowers	G.W. Stephens	El Reno, Okla.
UE462891	11/11/19	Victory Blues	-	James Bruno (arr.Dave Kaplan	J. Bruno	New York
UE409912	09/08/17	Victrola Blues	Walter Hirsch	James (Slaps) White (arr. Frank E. Barry)	Roger Graham	Chicago
UE5021132	12/24/20	Waltz Blues	-	Placido Zingaro/ Fred Martin	P. Zingaro/ F. Martin	New York
UE489040	09/02/20	Wand'ring Blues	Ernest A. Place----------			Bridgeport, Conn.
UE454986	07/01/19	Weary Blues (The)	Adele Peairs ----------	(arr. Jacob Sauerwein) A. Perairs		San Antonio
UE479520	05/20/20	Wedding Bell Blues	-	Charles Olsen----------		Minneapolis,

[144] This item not registered for copyright and known only from two recordings, both by Louise and Ferara, a Hawaiian Duo (Paroquette 54, released 01/17; and Imperial 5519, released 11/17).

[145] This item not registered for copyright and known only for two recordings by Rogers Military Band (Paroquette 37, released 01/17; and Paroquette 512B, released 06/17).

[146] This item never copyrighted and is only known from a single record, Emerson 9138.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

						Minn.
UE490726	10/06/20	Wedding Bell Blues (The)	Howard Johnson/ Cliff Hess/ Al Wilson/ Irving Bibo		Leo Feist	New York
UE456190	08/09/19	Wedding Blues (The)	John Berringer---------- (arr. N.E. Perkins)		J. Berringer	Richmond, Va
UE487210	08/19/20	Weddin' Morn Blues	Albert Carroll----------			New York
UE474887	04/06/20	When Ah All Come Back Blues	D. Smith/ H.T. Haller	E.S.S. Huntington	D. Smith/ H.T. Haller	Buffalo, N.Y.
UE467333	01/26/20	Whiskered Baby Blues	Mrs. William L. Shockley	Herman A. Hummel	Mrs. W.L. Shockley	St. Louis, Mo.
UE429328	08/09/18	Whiskey Blues	Maceo Pinkard----------		Shapiro, Bern-Stein	New York
UE490815	10/08/20	Why and Wherefore Blues	Wendell W. Hall----------		W.W. Hall	Chicago
UE463503	12/08/19	Why Cry Blues	-	James Durante/ Jefferson Loyacayo--------		New Orleans
UE490191	09/17/20	Widow's Blues	Laura Kines	E.S.S. Huntington	L. Kines	Hamtramck, Mich.
UE480143	05/06/20	Wild Cat Blues (The)	Roy Daniel	E.S.S. Huntington	R. Daniel	Mead. Okl.
UE487334	08/21/20	Woman Hating Blues	A.H. Vieno	Keats Moran	A.H. Vieno	Beaumont, Tex.
UE482330	06/15/20	Wood Alcohol Blues	Jerome Hershkowitz	E.S.S. Huntington	J. Hershkowitz	Camp Dix, N.J.
UE492501	10/19/20	Working Blues	Mattie Carter	Keats Moran	M. Carter	Pictou, Colo.
UE404253	04/11/17	Worried Blues	James G. Collins	E.S.S. Huntington	J.G. Collins	Thomasville, Ark.
UE422320	03/11/18	Yankee Blues, The	J. Daniel Knoy	E.S.S. Huntington	J.D. Knoy	Fort Worth, Tex.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UE465181	12/04/19	Yiddische Blues	-	Joseph Frankel----------			New York
UE487274	08/20/20	Yodling Blues	Daniel H. Nagel	E.S.S. Huntington		D.H. Nagel	Fernandina, Fla.

Part II: Chronological Presentation

Note: In instances where a blues was copyrighted in different versions (for example, initially as a manuscript and later in a published version; or initially as an instrumental and later as a song), I have listed the earliest version only of the blues, and used an asterisk by the entry to denote that there are other (later) versions of the composition (which can be ascertained by looking up the relevant title on the alphabetical listing [Part I, above]). In instances where a work, or a particular version of a work, was apparently never registered for copyright, and therefore its exact date of appearance is unknown, I have placed it after the exactly dated entries for the year in question.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1. C. No.	2. C. Date	3. Title	4. Words	5. Music	6. C. Holder	7. Location
			1912 Published			
PE274998	01/12/12	Blues (The)	Chris Smith	James T. Brymn (arr. Eugene Platzmann)	Shapiro Mus.	New York
PE292185	08/03/12	Baby Seals Blues: Sing 'Em - They Sound Good to Me	Baby Seals	(arr. Artie Matthews)	Seals & Fisher	St. Louis, Mo.
PE296133	08/06/12	Dallas Blues	-	Hart A. Wand (arr. M. Annabel Robbins)	Wand Pub	Oklahoma City, Okla.
*P--------	09/27/12	Memphis Blues (The), or Mister Crump	-	W.C. Handy		Memphis, Tenn.
*UE298185	11/09/12	Negro Blues	Le Roy Lasses White			Dallas, Tex
			1912 Unpublished			
[None]						
			1913 Published			
*UE305797	03/29/13	1913 Medley Blues	-	Alex M. Valentine, Jr.		Memphis, Tenn..
PE311757	06/06/13	Blues	Edna M. Burrows	Jack Stanley	E.M. Barrows	Little York, Ill.
PE320144	07/26/13	Jogo Blues (The)	-	W.C. Handy	Pace & Handy	Memphis, Tenn.
PE320660	09/08/13	I've Got the Blues	Philip Baxter			Carthage, Tex.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1913 Unpublished

[None]

1914 Published

*UE335218	04/07/14	Florida Blues (The)	-	William King Phillips----------		Jacksonville, Fla.
PE335887	05/11/14	Original Blues (The): A Real Southern Rag	-	Ted S. Barron	Metropolis Mus.	New York
PE339801	05/23/14	New York Tango Blues	-	Willliam N. Spiller----------		New York
PE346618	07/24/14	Alamo Blues	-	Philip L. Eubank----------		San Antonio, Tex.
PE346975	07/31/14	Long Lost Blues (The)	H. Alf Kelley	J. Paul Wyer (arr. W.H. Dorsey)	H.A. Kelley/ J. P. Wyer	Chicago
PE347900	08/18/14	I've Got the Weary Blues and Don't Know What To Do	Johnnie Anderson/ Jesse Smith----------		Hatch & Loveland	Los Angeles, Cal.
PE348241	09/11/14	Saint Louis Blues	W.C. Handy----------			Memphis, Tenn.
*UE347970	10/06/14	Kansas City Blues	-	Euday L. Bowman----------		Fort Worth, Tex.
PE352291	10/12/14	Railroad Blues	Westbrook H. Carr----------		Bush & Gerte	Dallas, Tex.
*UE349050	10/22/14	Colorado Blues	-	Euday L. Bowman----------		Fort Worth, Tex.
PE353260	12/02/14	Yellow Dog Rag	W.C. Handy----------			Memphis, Tenn.
P----------	--/--/14	I Got the Blues	John C. McKinnon----------		Syndicate Mus.	St. Louis, Mo.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1914 Unpublished

UE347980	10/04/14	Blues	Billy House	Pat Patterson	Southwestern Mus.	Dallas, Tex.

1915 Published

PE358368	01/18/15	Broadway Blues (The)	J. Brandon Walsh	Terry Sherman	Will Rossiter	Chicago
PE376828	01/30/15	Bernard Hall Blues; or, Oh You Tutts Johnson	-	Morris Victor/Benjamin H. Homer	M. Victor	Baton Rouge, La.
PE360327	02/18/15	Chinese Blues	Fred D. Moore	Oscar Gardner	Tell Taylor	Chicago
PE359206	03/08/15	Original Chicago Blues (The)	-	James White	Frank K. Root	Chicago
PE361651	05/04/15	Fort Worth Blues	-	Euday L. Bowman----------		Fort Worth, Tex.
PE362252	05/05/15	Hesitation Blues, or Oh! Baby Must I Hesitate	w/m Scott Middleton/Billy Smythe----------		B. Smythe	Louisville, Ky.
PE362627	05/25/15	Tar-Heel Blues (The)	-	J.Tim Brymn Arr. Eugene Platzmann	Shapiro Bernstein	New York
PE363187	06/18/15	Just Blues	-	Dorothy Harris----------		Hondo, Tex.
*PE370815	08/29/15	Oklahoma Blues	Willard Robison/Bud Brownie	Bud Brownie----------		Tulsa, Okla.
PE372536	09/22/15	Jelly Roll Blues (The)	-	Ferd. Morton	Will Rossiter	Chicago
PE374671	10/01/15	Snakey Blues (The)	-	William Nash----------		Hot Springs, Ark.
PE373167	10/13/15	Old Kentucky Blues [fr. *George Washington Bullion Abroad*]	J. Homer Tutt/S. Tutt	James J. Vaughan Whitney	Joseph Stern	New York

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*UE372980	10/21/15	Tipperary Blues	-	Euday L. Bowman----------		Fort Worth, Tex.
PE371554	10/25/15	Weary Blues (The)	-	Artie Matthews	John Stark	St. Louis, Mo.
PE374624	11/06/15	Rice Hotel Blues	-	Jimmie Marten	Homer D. Matthew	Houston, Tex.
PE373854	11/18/15	Bunch of Blues (A)	-	H. Alf Kelley/ J. Paul Wyer	Will Rossiter	Chicago
*UE374467	12/04/15	Coburn Blues	-	William K. Phillips----------		Jacksonville, Fla
PE377736	12/22/15	Joe Turner Blues	W.C. Handy----------		Pace & Handy	Memphis, Tenn.
P----------	--/--/15	Irish Blues - The Meanest Kind, The Greenest Kind	J. Brandon Walsh	Ernie Erdman	Will Rossiter	Chicago

1915 Unpublished

UE370957	09/16/15	So Different Blues	-	William Eugene Wright----------		Fort Worth, Tex.
UE374674	11/26/15	Mexican Blues	-	William Eugene Wright----------		Fort Worth, Tex.

1916 Published

PE378514	01/29/16	Those Nutty Blues	-	Harry P. Schaefer	Henry Packman	New Orleans, La.
PE378899	03/13/16	Worried Blues (The)	Le Roy Williams	Clarence Woods	Le Roy Williams/ Clarence Woods	Fort Worth, Tex.
PE379069	03/24/16	Indiana Blues, The	Edwin S. East----------		Warner C. Williams	Indianapolis, Ind.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE379356	03/25/16	Day and Night	Al. Johnson/Jay P. Roberts/Billy Smythe----------		Billy Smythe	Louisville, Ky.
*UE379164	03/27/16	Honolulu Blues (The)	Grant Clarke	James V. Monaco	Leo Feist	New York
PE382786	04/03/16	Hawaiian Blues	-	Stanley Murray (ed./arr. Jean Walz)	Forster Mus.	Chicago
PE382799	04/08/16	German Blues, It's Neutral (The)	Bob Lurtey	Louis E. Zoeller----------		Louisville, Ky.
PE379679	04/21/16	I've Got the Blues for Home Sweet Home	William Jerome/ E. Ray Goetz	George W. Meyer	Kalmar, Puck & Abrahams	New York
PE383220	04/26/16	Weary Blues (The)	H. Alf Kelley----------		Will Rossiter	Chicago
PE383129	05/08/16	Norfolk Blues	-	Sam E. Simmons----------		Norfolk, Va.
PE386081	05/27/16	Good-bye Blues	-	George L. Cobb	Charles E. Roat Mus.Co.	Battle Creek, Mich.
PE388529	05/29/16	Chattanooga Blues	Maceo Pinkard	Isidor Seidel----------		Indianapolis, Ind.
*PE383744	06/06/16	Homesickness Blues	Cliff Hess----------		Waterson, Berlin & Snyder	New York
PE386709	06/06/16	New Orleans Hop Scop Blues	George W. Thomas	George W. Thomas	George W.	New Orleans, La
PE386844	06/20/16	Joy Man Blues	Scott Middleton	Billy Smythe----------		Louisville, Ky.
PE387044	07/01/16	Money Blues (The)	-	Hugo Frey	G. Ricordi	New York
PE390293	07/06/16	Baby Blues (The)	George A. Norton----------			Salt Lake City, Utah
*UE388449	07/13/16	Preparedness Blues	-	Charles Hillman (arr. Alex Valentine)	Pace & Handy	Memphis, Tenn.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE388521	07/20/16	Those Saxophone Blues	-	Paul Biese	Frank K. Root	Chicago
PE388643	07/24/16	Lone Star Blues (The)	-	Paul Durst	Thomas Goggan & Leshin Co.	Galveston, Tex.
PE387475	07/25/16	Pan Handle Blues (The)	-	William Eugene Wright----------		Amarillo, Tex.
PE388780	07/29/16	I've Got the Army Blues	L. Wolfe Gilbert/ Carey Morgan		Joseph W. Stern	New York
*UE388916	08/11/16	Wandering Blues	Enrique R. Smith----------			Dallas, Tex.
PE387688	08/11/16	Tennessee Blues	Arthur F. Holt	William Warner	W.T. Pierson & Snyder	New York
PE389271	09/01/16	Those Sighing Hawaiian Blues	Frank Goodman	George F. Rubin	Tell Taylor	Chicago
PE390292	09/06/16	Bull Frog Blues [fr. *Chin-Chin*]	-	Tom Brown/Guy Shrigley	Will Rossiter	Chicago
PE389425	09/06/16	Mexican Blues (The)	Arthur C. Newton----------			El Paso, Tex.
*UE390680	10/02/16	Those Southern Blues	Everett E. East	Anna Campbell	Everett E. East	Chattanooga, Tenn.
PE389966	10/06/16	Border Blues	Guy A. Serler----------			Mercedes, Tex.
PE389942	10/14/16	Paradise Blues; or, When You Play the Blues, I'm Right in Paradise	Walter Hirsch	Spencer Williams	Roger Graham	Chicago
*PE392309	11/06/16	Carolina Blues (The)	Arthur Holt	William T. Pierson----------		New York
PE392636	11/13/16	San Francisco Blues	-	Chris Smith (arr. Lester E. Stevens)	Sherman Clay & Co.	San Francisco
PE391776	11/18/16	Everybodies Blues: Rag and Trot	-	W.A. Atkins	W.S. Atkins	Pine Bluff, Ark
PE391745	11/20/16	Circus Blues, The Bluest of Blues	J. King Wooten----------			Richmond, Ind.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE391737	11/20/16	Louisiana Blues	R.T. Dooley----------			Gainesville, Tex.
*UE391969	11/29/16	Blind Man's Blues	-	Billy McLaurin	McLaurin	Limberton, N.C.
*UE392903	12/01/16	Beale Street	-	W.C. Handy	Pace & Handy	Memphis, Tenn.
PE396870	12/01/16	I've Got the Blues	Lew Berk----------			Rochester, N.Y.
PE396105	12/08/16	Heavenly Blues	Frank Goodman	George Rubin	Witmark & Sons	New York
PE393136	12/11/16	Virginia Blues	Otis Albert Kleine----------		Academy Pub.	Sterling, Ill.
*UE396369	12/14/16	Them Doggon'd Triflin' Blues	Will E. Skidmore----------			Kansas City, Mo.
PE396544	12/26/16	Dancing Blues	Richard Goldsmith/ Seymour B. Simons	Seymour B. Simons	B.J. Sherman co.	Ann Arbor, Mich.
PE396546	12/26/16	Graveyard Blues (The)	Clarence Woods/ John S. Caldwell----------		J.R. Reed Mus.	Austin, Tex.
P----------	--/--/16	Moonlight Blues	-	Homer Deane	Framk K. Root	Chicago
			1916 Unpublished			
UE375749	01/21/16	Rosary Blues	-	Euday L. Bowman----------		Fort Worth, Tex.
UE377840	03/02/16	Chesterfield Blues	W.G. Morrow----------			Danville, Va.
UE379031	03/20/16	Coon-Can Blues	Anon.	Froebel E. Lee----------		Fort Smith, Ark.
UE386222	05/23/16	Blues (The)	Bert Leighton/Frank Leighton (arr. Christian A. Praetorius)		Bert Leighton	Long Island, N.Y.
UE388545	07/21/16	Lonesome Blues (The)	George Square	E.S.S. Huntington	George Square	Laurel, Miss.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UE387475	07/25/16	Panic Blues (The)	Henrel S. Holmes	E.S.S. Huntington	Henrel S. Holmes	Mobile, Ala.
UE393013	12/04/16	Sensational Blues (The)	Adolph Atkins----------			Memphis, Tenn.
UE393026	12/06/16	Those European Blues	Frank Scott	E.S.S. Huntington	Frank Scott	St. Joseph, Mo.
UE393088	12/08/16	Charleston South Carolina Blues (The)	Ned Williams	H.B. Roland	N. Williams	Charleston, S.C.
UE393213	12/15/16	Bermuda Blues	Fred Gray	Joseph A. Kulscar----------		Chicago
UE398200	12/26/16	Apple Blossom Blues	-	Ray F. Edwards/ Fred Mayo	R.F. Edwards/F. Mayo	Minneapolis, Minn.
U---------	--/--/16	New York Blues: Rag Classical	-	Pietro Frosini	?	?
U----------	--/--/16	Ukelele Blues	-	Louise/Ferara	?	?
U----------	--/--/16	Unison Blues	-	Rogers	?	?

1917 Published

PE398098	01/01/17	Work House Blues	W. Earthman Farrell----------			Nashville, Tenn.
PE398066	01/10/17	Sweet Baby Blues	-	Ralph (Nigger) Williams	Mellinger Pub.	St. Louis, Mo.
PE397182	01/22/17	Weatherford Blues	-	Frank Babek	Babek Bros. Mus.	Dallas, Tex.
PE398279	01/29/17	Cheerful Blues	-	Abe Olman	Paramount Mus.	Chicago
PE399187	02/21/17	Triangle Jazz Blues	-	Irwin P. Leclere (arr. Joseph W. Martinez)	Triangle Mus.	New York
*UE404182	04/09/17	Barnyard Blues	-	Dominic J. La Rocca	Max Hart	New York

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE403057	04/27/17	Hawaiian Blues	Clarence R. Jones	Clarence R. Jones (arr. R. Anthony Zita)	C.R. Jones	Albany, N.Y.
PE405037	05/10/17	Mama's Blues	William H.Farrell/James P. Johnson----------		F.B. Haviland	New York
*UE403117	05/12/17	Livery Stable Blues	-	May Hill	Roger Graham	Chicago
*UE403141	05/12/17	Weary Way Blues (The)	Coleman L. Minor----------			Pittsburgh, Pa.
PE404921	05/04/17	I Never Knew What the Blues Were (Until You Went Away): A Jazz Blues Song	Clarence Williams----------		Williams & Piron	New Orleans, La.
*UE403447	05/26/17	K-Y-Kee Blues	Babe E. Lion/ Dot T. Steed----------		Madelle G. Lyons	Louisville, Ky.
PE403675	06/06/17	Harmony Blues	-	J. Bodewalt Lampe	Jerome Remick	New York
PE408131	06/20/17	Baltimore Blues (The)	-	Henry Lodge	Jerome Remick	New York
PE406994	07/11/17	Hooking Cow Blues (The)	Douglass Williams	Douglass Williams/ W.C. Handy	Pace & Handy	Memphis, Tenn.
*UE406779	07/12/17	Bone-Dry Blues (The)	-	Thomas L. Crawford----------		Topeka, Kans.
*PE406779	07/12/17	Broadway Blues (The)	Arthur Swanstrom	Carey Morgan	Irving Berlin Inc.	New York
*UE408901	07/27/17	Old Maid Blues	Web Maddox	David W. Guion----------		New York
PE409084	07/30/17	Remorse Blues	-	Henry Lodge	Jerome Remick	New York
PE412067	07/31/17	Some Jazz Blues	-	M.L. Lake	Carl Fischer	New York
*UE407365	08/11/17	Tishomingo Blues	Spencer Williams----------		Joseph Stern	New York
*UE407427	08/18/17	Those Draftin' Blues	Maceo Pinkard----------		Pinkard/ Griffin	Chicago
*UE407549	08/23/17	Undertaker's Blues	-	Ray Lopez	Roger Graham	Chicago

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE409781	08/27/17	Rambling Blues (The)	Betty Tilford	Myrtle Kemper (arr. Phil. Epstein)	J.S. Kemper	Ausin, Tex.
*UE409760	08/31/17	Stock Yard Blues	-	Maceo Pinkard	Leo Feist	New York
PE407917	09/01/17	Goodbye Blues	Lew Payton	Luckey Roberts	Patyon & Brown	New York
PE412101	09/04/17	Thunderstorm Blues	-	Wallace Field	McKinley Mus.	Chicago
PE432337	09/04/17	Tin-whistle Blues	-	Frank Capie	Jerome Remick	New York
PE509499	09/13/17	Harlem Blues (The)	Perry Bradford----------			Philadelphia
PE410106	09/14/17	Prohibition Blues	Al. Sweet----------		M. Witmark	New York
PE411000	09/29/17	Clarinet Blues	-	Fred M. Fagan (arr. Frank E. Barry	Christian A. Grimm	Chicago
PE410772	10/12/17	Farm Yard Blues (The)	Chris Smith/Henry Troy----------		Joseph Stern	New York
PE411398	10/29/17	Hospital Blues	-	H.M. Skinner	Arling Schaeffer	Chicago
*UE413023	11/01/17	Jazz Band Blues	-	James (Slap) White	May Hill	Chicago
PE411798	11/12/17	War Bride Blues	Jimmie Marten	Mitch Le Blanc	Thomas Goggan	Houston, Tex.
PE413898	12/07/17	Texas Blues	-	Les Copeland	Waterson, Berlin	New York
PE414625	12/19/17	Alabama Blues	-	Nora Smith Robinson----------		Opelika, Ala.
PE418293	12/24/17	New York Blues	James H. Whelpley----------		John S. Rose	Washington C.H., Oh.
PE416504	12/29/17	Regretful Blues	Grant Clark	Cliff Hess	Kalmar Puck & Abraham	New York

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

P----------	--/--/17	Baby Blues	Margie Brandon	Cal Stark	Syndicate Mus.	St. Louis, Mo
P----------	--/--/17	Bone-Head Blues	-	Leo Gordon	Walter Jacobs	Boston, Mass
P----------	--/--/17	Camp Cody Blues	-	Harry Baisden (arr. Arthur Ward)	H. Baisden	Camp Cody, N.Mex.
P----------	--/--/17	I've Got Those Fox-Trot Blues	James White----------		Frank K. Root	Chicago
P----------	--/--/17	Those Navy Blues	Eldon B. Spofford----------		Earl Mus.	Oakland, Cal.

1917 Unpublished

UE398439	01/31/17	Gee I've Got the Blues	Louis Richter	H.B. Roland	L. Richter	Rochester, N.Y.
UE398752	02/07/17	Vapor City Blues	-	Joseph B. Freese----------		Morgantown, W.Va.
UE402040	03/13/17	Sa-Mo-a Blues	-	Ernest M. Pérès (arr. Michael Pérès)	E.M. Pérès	New Orleans, La.
UE404253	04/11/17	Worried Blues	James G. Collins	E.S.S. Huntington	J.G. Collins	Thomasville, Ark.
UE404376	04/16/17	Barrel House Blues (The)	-	Charles J. Williamson----------		Memphis, Tenn.
UE405172	05/14/17	Mississippi Blues (The)	-	Charles H. Booker----------		Greenville, Miss.
UE405471	05/25/17	Navy Blues	-	Edna Beutz----------		New York
UE403449	05/26/17	Blarney Blues (The)	-	R.L. Halle----------		New York
UE406503	06/18/17	Dry Town Blues	-	Lou F. Chiha----------		New York
UE406255	06/21/17	Johnson's Jazz Blues	-	E. Arnold Johnson	E.A. Johnson	New York

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UE407016	07/21/17	Navy Blues (The)	-	Paul Von Zmidzinski----------		Chicago
UE409295	08/08/17	I'se Got the Blues	Frank D. Withers	Frank D. Withers (arr. Nelson Kincaide)	F.D. Withers	New York
UE410545	08/30/17	Bama Blues	-	Arthur Sumner Shaw----------		New Yor
UE409849	09/04/17	Stock Yards Blues	Walter Hirsch	James (Slap) White	Roger Graham	Chicago
UE409912	09/08/17	Victrola Blues	Walter Hirsch	James (Slaps) White (arr. Frank E. Barry)	Roger Graham	Chicago
UE412370	09/29/17	More Power Blues	-	Tom Brown/Cliff Adams	Roger Graham	Chicago
UE410505	10/03/17	I Got the Fiddlin' Blues	Thomas R. Gilbert	E.S.S. Huntington	T. R. Gilbert	San Antonio, Tex.
UE411253	10/26/17	I've Got Those Dog-Gone, Confound Mexican Army Blues	A.J. Skeens	E.S.S. Huntington	A.J. Skeens	Columbus, New M.
UE413074	11/03/17	Navy Blues (The)	William E. Broaddus	Ben J. Bradley----------		Orlinda, Tenn.
UE411713	11/14/17	I've Got the Dixie, Dixie Blues	Virgil B. Miller	J.E. Andino	V.B. Miller	Charleston, W.Va.
UE411934	11/21/17	Khaki Blues	Margeret Locke	Carl Muehling	M. Locke	Running Water, Tex.
UE414495	12/01/17	Bone-Dry Blues (The)	Ethel M. Lackey----------			Nashville, Tenn.
UE415023	12/29/17	Frisco Blues (The)	-	Clyde L. Flory----------		New York
U----------	--/--/17	Jass Lazy Blues	?	?	-	-
U----------	--/--/17	Palakiko Blues	?	?	-	-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

U----------	--/--/17	Southern Blues (Old Hawaiian Medley)	-	?	-	-
			1918 Published			
*UE461644	01/10/18	Bean Soup Blues: A Sour Rag	-	Jess H. Valentine (arr. Edgar Rollman)	J.H. Valentine	Asheville, N.C.
PE418373	01/17/18	Deep Sea Blues (The)	Q. Roscoe Snowden----------			New York
PE415598	01/25/18	Alimony Blues	Rennold Wolf	Louis A. Hirsch	M. Witmark	New York
*UE416841	02/06/18	Those Jazz Band Blues	James A. Webster/Charles Whiteside	H. Sargent/Dave L.	J.A. Webster	San Francisco
*UE417331	02/21/18	West Texas Blues (The)	-	Charles H. Booker, Jr.----------		Greenville, Miss.
*UE417587	03/05/18	Pipe Dream Blues	Marguerite Kendall	Spencer Williams/ J. Russel Robertson	Lee S. Roberts	Chicago
PE417664	03/06/18	De Wash Tub Blues	Olivia F. Dinkins	Charles M. Smith	O.F. Dinkins	Macon, Ga.
*UE418885	03/13/18	Nervous Blues (The)	Perry Bradford	Perry Bradford (arr. Dave Peyton)	Ricketts & Bradford	New York
PE422625	03/14/18	Yiddisha Army Blues	Johnny Cooper----------			Los Angeles
PE419635	03/15/18	World War Blues (The)	G.B. Harris, Jr.----------			Bruceville, Tex.
PE419236	03/25/18	Tulsa Blues (The)	Willard Robison----------			Coffeyville, Kans.
PE423051	04/18/18	Bone Dry Blues (The)	June Bauer----------			Judsonia, Ark.
PE419745	04/19/18	Love Sickness Blues	Bob Turner/ Stanley Fairfax	Merle St. Leon	Waterman, St. Leon & Fairfax	Oklahoma City, Okla.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE419996	04/25/18	Lovin' Blues	Helen E. Wilson----------		Will Rossiter	Chicago
PE424681	05/01/18	Arkansaw Blues (The)	Miss Bert Humphreys (Mrs. B.H. Crawford)----------			Anniston, Ala.
PE324513	05/01/18	Misery Blues	-	Henry Lodge	M.Witmark	New York
PE4233391	05/02/18	Dixie Blues	Philip L. Eubank----------			San Antonio, Tex.
*PE423753	05/04/18	Ringtail Blues	-	J. Russell Robinson/ Spencer Williams	Pace & Handy	Memphis,Tenn.
PE423989	05/20/18	U.S. Aviation Blues	-	Clyde Divers----------		Waurika, Okla.
PE425154	05/29/18	Kaiser Blues (The)	J.C. Jones	Frank W. Ford	J.C. Jones	Laurinburg, N.C.
PE432819	06/01/18	Newport News Blues	Hal Oliver	Willie Shifrin	Frederick V. Bowers	New York
PE425691	06/17/18	Oglethorpe Blues (The)	Dolly Stark----------		Pace & Handy	Memphis, Tenn.
PE436118	06/20/18	Trombone Blues	-	Fred Jewell	C.L. Barnhouse	Oskaloosa, Iowa.
PE432218	06/30/18	Melancholy Blues: The Yodlin Blues	Ollie Debrow/Spencer Williams/J. Russell Robinson		C.A. Grimm	Chicago
*UE428471	07/03/18	Mournin' Blues (The)	-	Anthony Sbarbaro	Leo Feist	New York
PE390016	07/17/18	Ole Miss Rag	-	W.C. Handy	Pace & Handy	Memphis, Tenn.
*UE427294	07/09/18	Anti-Loafin' Blues	Maceo Pinkard----------			New York
*UE430015	07/22/18	Rainy Day Blues	-	Frank Warschauer----------		Rockaway Beach, N.Y.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE429716	08/08/18	Dem Deming Blues	Willard Robison----------			Coffeyville, Kans.
*UE430058	08/13/18	Hindenburg Blues	Sanders Reynolds	Ethel L. Alcorn	S. Reynolds/ E.L. Alcorn	Riverside, Cal.
*UE430820	09/07/18	Camp Wheeler Blues	-	Albert C. Mitchell----------		Macon, Ga.
PE430819	09/07/18	Cantonment Blues	-	Carrie I. Booker	Central Mus.	Little Rock, Ark.
PE431063	09/08/18	Houston Blues (The): A Southern Overture	George W. Thomas----------			New Orleans, La.
*UE432802	10/03/18	Flower Garden Blues	Roger Graham	James White	R. Graham	Chicago
PE438185	10/08/18	Coca-Cola Blues	Guy M.Templeton	Guy M. Templeton	G.M. Templeton	Nashville, Tenn.
PE431904	10/09/18	I've Got the Blue Ridge Blues [fr. *Sinbad*]	Charles A. Mason	Charles S. Cooke/Richard M. Whiting	Jerome Remick	New York
PE501268	11/13/18	Broken Hearted Blues	Perry Bradford----------		Frederick V. Bowers	New York
*UE436665	11/07/18	Blues: Uncle Sam Ain't No Woman But He Surely Can Take Your Man Away	Joseph Taylor----------	(arr. Babb Frank)----------	J. Taylor	Chicago
PE501266	11/18/18	Lonesome Blues	Perry Bradford----------		Frederick W. Bowers	New York
PE439464	12/02/18	Kaiser's Blues (The)	R.G. Moffett	Sam H. Speck Joe Cawley	R.G. Moffett	Dallas, Tex.
*UE438441	12/05/18	Satanic Blues	-	Emile Christian/Larry Shields (arr. J. Russel Robinson)	D.J. La Rocca/ E. Christian/ L. Shields/ H. Ragas/ A. Sbarbaro	New York

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE440075	12/12/18	Alcoholic Blues, The	Edward Laska	Albert Von Tilzer	Broadway Mus. Corp.	New York
PE441445	12/12/18	Influenza Blues (The)	Happy Klark/ Arthur C. Brown----------		Brown Pub. Co.	McAlester, Okla.
PE440357	12/17/18	Homeward Bound Blues	J. Clifford Powers/ Eugene Platzmann----------		Waterman, St. Leon & Fairfax	Oklahoma City, Okla.
PE440424	12/23/18	Indian Blues	Edwin McHugh/C.Perillo, Jr.----------		Floyd E. Whitmore	Scranton, Pa.
PE444016	12/31/18	Indigo Blues	-	Isham Jones	Tell Taylor	Chicago
PE439379	12/31/18	Love-sick Blues	Shelton Brooks----------		Joseph Stern	NewYork
PE439378	12/31/18	Vampire Blues	Maceo Pinkard----------		Joseph Stern	New York
P----------	--/--//18	Honeymoon Blues	Lloyd Garrett----------		Frank K. Root	Chicago
P----------	--/--/18	Irresistible Blues	Homer C. Tutt	Luckey Roberts----------		New York
P----------	--/--/18	Step on Down: Blues	-	Johnny Cooper	Melody Shop	Los Angeles, Cal.

1918 Unpublished

UE416443	01/01/18	Sho' Nuff Shimmeying Blues	Michael M. Kippel----------			St. Louis, Mo.
UE415158	01/03/18	U-Boat Blues (The)	Lulu L. Gibbs	E.S.S. Huntington	L.L. Gibbs	Trenton, N.J.
UE416750	01/18/18	Syncopated Blues[147]	-	Harry M. Pennypacker----------		Philadelphia, Pa.
UE415947	02/19/18	Society-Blues	-	John C. Spikes----------		Los Angeles

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UE417211	02/20/18	Hick-up Blues	-	Rudolph O. Erlebach----------		Woodcliff, N.J.
UE417329	02/21/18	Oriental Blues	-	Samuel Bernstein----------		Butler, Pa.
UE422322	03/11/18	Cannon Ball Blues	Avelyn M. Kerr----------			Milwaukee
UE422320	03/11/18	Yankee Blues, The	J. Daniel Knoy	E.S.S. Huntington	J.D. Knoy	Fort Worth, Tex.
UE422417	03/16/18	Kaiser Blues (The)	Eustatia Landry----------			Brooks, La.
UE422935	04/17/18	Springtime Blues	D.V. Masson	E.S.S. Huntington	D.V. Masson	Washington, Iowa
UE425463	06/10/18	Monday Blues	K. Boys ----------		Stanley W. Krebs	New York
UE428192	06/26/18	Railroad Blues	Perry Bradford----------			New York
UE426817	06/29/18	Them Jazzin' Blues	Chales Beetho----------			Kansas City, Mo.
UE428559	07/06/18	Jolly Wobble Blues (The)	D. Smith/ Readie Walker	E.S.S. Huntington	D. Smith/ R. Walker	Pittsburgh, Pa.
UE429509	08/05/18	Boston Blues	Sue M. Rollins	Mary L. Rollins----------		Little Rock, Ark.
UE429328	08/09/18	Whiskey Blues	Maceo Pinkard----------		Shapiro, Bern-Stein	New York
UE430180	08/14/18	Coal Man Blues	Billie Nye Sandefur/Elmer Schoebel----------		W.H. Sandefur	Evansville, Ind.
UE429532	08/16/18	Navy Blues (The)	Alex Rogers	Luckey Roberts	McCarthy & Fisher	New York
UE430819	09/07/18	Cantonment Blues	Albert C. Mitchell----------			Macon, Ga
UE430910	09/13/18	Kaiser Blues	Mrs. F. Schrader	E.S.S. Huntington	F. Schrader	Greenville, Miss.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UE431018	09/13/18	Negro Soldier Blues (The)	Beulah F. Bell	E.S.S. Huntington	B.F. Bell	Mt. Vernon, Ill.
UE432604	09/27/18	Fighting Blues	Fred Douglas	E.S.S. Huntington	F. Douglas	Eudora, Ark.
UE432886	09/28/18	Guard House Blues (The)	Lake Reynolds	William H. Badke	L. Reynolds/W. H. Badke	Sherman, Tex.
UE433074	09/28/18	Rickety Rackety Blues (The)	Queenie M. Ross----------			Minneapolis, Minn.
UE431991	10/10/18	Reveille Blues (The)	Jack Cary	E.S.S. Huntington	J. Cary	?, N.Y.
UE436602	11/04/18	I've Got Those Navy Blues	Warren Scherer	Hugh A.Barrett	W. Scherer/ H.A. Barrett	Rochester, N.Y.
UE433834	11/09/18	Kaiser Blues	James E. Cooper----------			Chicago
UE437380	11/26/18	Sweetheart Blues	Oliver J. Frank	Ernie A. Creech	O.J. Franke/ E.A. Creech	France
UE440244	12/16/18	Dixie Blues	G.W. Bruffey----------			New York
UE438758	12/16/18	Separation Blues	J. Berni Barbour----------		Griffin Music	Chicago
UE440366	12/21/18	Care Free Blues	Otto J. Broones	Martin Broones----------		New York
UE439039	12/23/18	Jackie Blues	Claire Garneau/ Florence Lambert	Elise Garneau----------		St. Louis, Mo.
UE439098	12/26/18	Kaiser's Blues	Pasquale Forte	Dan L. Presti	P. Forte	Chicago
U----------	--/--/18	Naby Blues	?	?	-	-
U----------	--/--/18	Skip-a-Long Blues	-	?	-	-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1919 Published

PE444253	01/24/19	Guard House Blues (The)	Ben Garrison----------		Harry Nagle	Indianopolis, Ind.
PE442107	01/25/19	Busted Blues (The)	C.Arthur Fifer----------			Quincy, Ill.
PE441499	01/29/19	Jail-House Blues	W. Earthman Farrell	Arthur Sizemore	Farrell & Sizemore	Nashville, Tenn.
PE441944	02/08/19	Lonesome Road: Blues	-	William Nash (arr. J. Russel Robinson)	Pace & Handy	New York
*UE442895	02/08/19	Muscleshoals Blues	-	George W. Thomas----------		New Orleans, La.
PE444008	02/10/19	Yama Yama Blues	Spencer Williams/ Clarence Williams----------		Shapiro Bernstein	New York
PE444088	02/11/19	I've Got the Prohibition Blues, For Booze	Tom Turner	Carl Zerse----------		St. Louis, Mo.
*PE452478	02/15/19	Missouri Blues	-	Harry Brown	Forster Mus.	Chicago
PE444320	02/17/19	Forgivin' Blues	E.L. Cooke----------		Cooke & Rice	New York
PE454272	02/18/19	Don't Care Blues	Perry Bradford----------			New York
PE444696	02/18/19	Waco Blues	Floyd K. Russell----------			Waco, Tex.
PE442931	02/19/19	Soldier Blues	Admond Nivelles	Billy Smythe----------		Louisville, Ky.
PE444868	03/03/19	Lullaby Blues	Al. M. Kendall	J. Russel Robinson/ Theodore Morse	Leo Feist	New York
PE448385	03/03/19	Those American Blues, I've Got 'Em	Art Hiller----------			Kansas City, Mo.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE443188	03/07/19	I've Got the Shimmee Blues	Harry De Costa----------		M. Witmark	New York
PE445406	03/19/19	Wedding Blues (The) [fr. *Tumble In*]	Otto Harbach	Rudolf Friml	G. Schirmer	New York
	04/07/19	Laughing Blues	-	Al Nunez/ Anton Lada/ Joe Cawley	Leo Feist	New York
*PE450867	04/19/19	Aviation Blues (The): Them Flyin' Blues	-	Clyde Divers----------		Okla. City, Okla.
PE448607	04/21/19	Bagdad Blues	Dorcas Hall/ James Hemsing	Willard C. Sumner----------		Madison, Wis.
PE450483	04/21/19	Influenza Blues (The)	-	Walter A. Moloney----------		Altoona, Pa.
PE450855	04/30/19	Prohibition Blues [fr. *Ladies First*]	Ring Lardner	Nora Bayes	Jerome Remick	New York
PE448812	05/01/19	Sweetheart Blues	Bertina B. Lee	Artie Bowers	B.B. Lee	Jersey Cit, N.J.
PE478143	05/02/19	Saxophone Blues	Al. Bernard	Rudy Wiedoft	Pace & Handy	New York
PE451037	05/02/19	Shrapnel Blues	Marcus F. Slayter/ Marion L. Bell----------		M.F. Slayter	Chicago
PE448887	05/03/19	Sad, Sad Blues (The)	Y. Arthur Brown----------			Martinsburg, W. Va.
*UE450914	05/05/19	Beale St Shimmie (Metropolitan Blues)	Samuel B. Simms----------(arr.Charles H. Booker)		S.B. Simms	Memphis, Tenn.
PE452338	05/05/19	Easy Pickin's: What a Hit You Will Agree	MaceoPinakrd----------		Shapiro Bernstein	New York
PE452337	05/05/19	Squealin' Pig Blues	Edna Alexander----------		Shapiro Bernstein	NewYork
PE451150	05/10/19	China Dragon Blues [fr. *The Lady In Red*]	I. Caesar	Will Donaldson	T.B. Harms	New York

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE451197	05/10/19	Venus Blues	Al Bernard	J. Russel Robinson	Leo Feist	New York
PE452023	05/12/19	Sad and Lonely Blues	Eddie & Victoria Jackson----------		E. Jackson	New Orleans, La.
PE449237	05/13/19	Useless Blues	Jimmie Marten	Mitch Le Blanc	Thomas Goggan	Houston, Tex.
*PE451758	05/26/19	Church Street Sobbin' Blues	-	Anton Lada/ Joseph Cawley, Al. Nunez	Leo Feist	New York
PE451759	05/26/19	White-Way Blues	-	Anton Lada/ Joe Cawley/ Al. Nunez	Leo Feist	New York
PE452060	05/31/19	Bevo Blues	-	Louis Katzmann	Shapiro Bernstein	New York
PE453484	06/02/19	Dixie Blues	Horace S. Scott	Leo Friedman	H.S. Scott	Memphis, Tenn.
PE449877	06/03/19	Bom-Bom-Bom-Bhe: the Melody Blues	Bobby Jones	Billy Frisch	Jerome Remick	New York
PE452166	06/03/19	Spanish Flu Blues	Narcissus L. Bush----------			Dumberton, S.C.
PE451968	06/04/19	Prohibition Blues	Tom Huston/ Charles Matthews/ Burrell Van Buren		Huston & Matthews	Charleston, Miss.
*PE452134	06/06/19	Temptation Blues (The)	J. Berni Barbour----------		Seidel Mus.	Indianapolis, Ind.
PE452268	06/07/19	Palmer House Blues	-	Fred Meinken----------		Chicago
UE452326	06/11/19	Bedroom Blues (The)	Walter W. Lewis	Harley Dale	W.W. .Lewis	Pascagoula, Miss.
PE454099	06/14/19	I'm Sorry I Ain't Got It, You Could Have It If Ihad It Blues	Sam E. Lewis/ Joe Young	Ted Snyder	Waterson, Snyder & Berlin	New York
PE455893	06/20/19	Akron Blues (The)	H. Kid House	Leo Friedman	H. House	Akron, Oh.
PE452876	06/25/19	Influenza Blues [fr. *A Lonely Romeo*]	Robert B. Smith	Malvin M. Franklin	Jerome Remick	New York

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE454518	06/25/19	Why Don't You Drive My Blues Away? (Lovesick Blues)	Joe Davis	Frank Papa	Triangle Mus.	New York
*UE454427	06/26/19	Taxation Blues	Cliff Hess----------		Leo Feist	New York
PE453068	07/01/19	Love Blues	Julius I. Schmidt----------		University Mus. House	Ann Arbor, Mich.
PE455295	07/01/19	Suicide Blues	George A. Norton	Peter De Rose	F.B. Haviland	New York
PE453190	07/03/19	Midnight Blues	Errol Collins	Herbert I. Brown	H.I. Brown	Los Angeles
PE479305	07/07/19	Slide, Kelly, Slide (Trombone Blues)	Slide Kelly	George F. Briegel	??	??
PE454755	07/09/19	Souvenir Blues	-	James Walter	Jerome Remick	New York
*UE454956	07/14/19	Beautiful Ohio Blues	-	Robert King (arr. Charles N. Grant)	Shapiro Bernstein	New York
PE453445	07/16/19	Royal Garden Blues	Spencer Williams	Spencer Williams/ Clarence Williams	C. Williams	Chicago
PE453959	07/18/19	Landlord Blues	Edward Laska`	Albert Von Tilzer	Broadway Mus.	New York
PE458608	07/20/19	Matrimonial Blues	-	Paul L.Specht	Monarch Mus.	Reading, Pa.
PE455125	07/21/19	Western Blues (The)	Charles G. Bathe	J.C. Halls	C.G. Barthe	Colorado Springs, Colo.
PE452744	07/23/19	Yelping Hound Blues	-	Anton Lada/ Al. Nunez/ Joe Cawley	Leo Feist	New York
PE453880	07/28/19	Dixie Blues	Jack Mahoney	Anton Lada/ Joe Cawley/ Al. Nunez	Leo Feist	New York

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE458267	08/07/19	True Love Blues	John R. Wurth----------			Larimore, N.Dak.
*UE457057	08/08/19	Pee Gee's Blues	-	H. Qualli Clark	Pace & Handy	New York
PE455794	08/11/19	120th Regimental Blues	-	Corp. A. A. Montebaro----------		Memphis, Tenn
PE456365	08/15/19	Critics' Blues (The) [fr. *Greenwich Village Follies*]	Philip Bartholomae/ John M. Anderson	A. Baldwin Sloane	M. Witmark	New York
PE455835	08/15/19	Old Joe Blues	L.Wolfe Gilbert	Joe Samuels/ Nat Vincent	Gilbert & Friedland	New York
*UE458292	08/25/19	Wall Street Blues	Thomas A. Johnstone/ Harry Auracher----------			New York
PE458654	08/27/19	Wouldn't Know Blues (The)	Isabelle H. Baggs	George Graff, Jr.	I.H. Baggs	Wayne, Pa.
PE456118	08/08/19	Baltimore Blues (The)	Noble Sissle	Eubie Blake	M. Witmark	New York
PE456023	08/09/19	D.U.R. Blues	-	Charles A. Arthur----------		Detroit, Mich.
*UE457046	09/08/19	Big Chief Blues	Al Bernard	H. Qualli Clark	Pace & Handy	New York
PE471269	09/17/19	Blues	Robert O. Mitchell	Leo Friedman	R.O. Mitchell	Washington
PE458902	09/18/19	Cootie Blues	E.E. Barthell, Jr.----------			Evanston,.Ill.
PE458892	09/20/19	I Got the Blues, The Soda Pop Blues	Frank N. Vuille----------		Central Mus. Co.	Murphysboro, Ill.
*UE459141	09/29/19	White Mule Blues (The): Blues With a Kick to it	-	Busch/ Saxi Holtsworth	S. Holtsworth	New York
PE465531	10/01/19	Camel Walk Blues (The)	Ebon Gay----------		Stark Mus.	St. Louis, Mo.
PE457958	10/02/19	Midnight Blues	George A. Wood----------			Natchez, Miss.
*UE457900	10/02/19	Pickaninny Blues	Harold G. Frost	F. Henri Klickmann	McKinley Mus.	Chicago

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE462431	10/03/19	Bell Hop Blues [fr. *Look Who's Here*]	Frank Goodman	Al Piantadosi	T.B. Harms	New York
PE462381	10/13/19	Prohibition Blues	Thomas Reese----------			Birmingham, Ala.
PE462133	10/14/19	Discontented Blues (The)	Q. Roscoe Snowden----------			New York
PE459810	10/18/19	Weeping Willow Blues	-	Robert King (arr. Charles N. Grant)	Shapiro Bernstein	New York
*UE462589	10/27/19	Don't Mind Cryin' Blues	Clarence Johnson/ Spencer Williams, arr. Dave Peyton		S. Williams	Chicago
PE464016	10/27/19	Klondyke Blues	-	Anton Lada/ Al. Nunez/	Leo Feist	New York
PE462628	10/29/19	Cairo Blues	Carl Petrillo Jr.	Howard Rossman	Whitmore Mus.	Scranton, Pa
PE475348	11/04/19	'Frisco Blues	Willie L. Page	Leo Friedman	W.L. Page	Floresville, Tex.
PE464353	11/07/19	Those Syncopated Blues	Philip Carpenter	George Graff, Jr.	P. Carpenter	Sea Cliff, N.Y.
PE462901	11/10/19	Be-Hap-E Blues: A Jazzensation	-	Anton Lada/Carl Burger/ Al. Nunez (arr. Leroy Walker)	Leo Feist	New York
*UE465634	11/13/19	Hula Blues (The)	Albert R.Cunha	John A. Noble	A.R. Cunha/ J. A.Noble	Honolulu, Hawaii
PE465416	11/17/19	Prohibition Blues	Joe R. Durham	Hector Richard	J.R. Durham	Magnolia Springs, Fla.
PE464923	11/18/19	I've Got the Santa Claus Blues	-	Marion/ Roy Bargy	Imperial Player Co.	Chicago
PE466202	11/19/19	Early Mornin' Blues	-	N.C. Davis----------		Nashville, Tenn.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE463441	12/05/19	I've Got the Cryin' Blues	Max C. Freedman	Harry D. Squires	Jerome Remick	New York
PE463585	12/06/19	Thunderbolt Blues		Anton Lada/ Al. Nunez/ Joe Cawley	Leo Feist	New York
PE463590	12/06/19	Virginia Blues	Spencer Williams	Anton Lada/ Al. Nunez/ Joe Cawley	Leo Feist	New York
PE465348	12/09/19	High Cost of Living Blues (The)	Lew Weiss	Bert Brown	L. Weiss	New York
PE465483	12/09/19	Sugar Blues	Lucy Fletcher	Clarence Williams	Williams & Piron	Chicago
*UE463575	12/10/19	Jakey Ginger Blues	Paul A. Smith	Linwood Murphy	P.A. Smith	East Weymouth, Mass.
UE463629	12/10/19	Neglectful Blues	Everett Sanderson----------			Toledo, Oh.
*UE463832	12/12/19	Railroad Blues	Howard C. Washington	Howard C. Washington/ Lucky Roberts	H.C. Washington	Cincinnati, Oh.
PE470023	12/18/19	That Heavenly Jazz (the Religious Blues)	James E. Dempsey	Johann C.Schmid----------		Philadedelphia, Pa.
PE470064	12/27/19	Golden Rod Blues	-	Anton Lada, Joseph Cawley, Al. Nunez	Leo Feist	New York
PE465820	12/27/19	Ragtime Wedding Blues [fr. *Kiss Me Again*]	Victor Scott----------		Frederick V. Bowers Inc.	New York
PE444036	12/29/19	Heart-Sickness Blues	Sam Coslow	Peter De Rose	F.B. Haviland	New York
PE475287	12/30/19	Love Lonesome Blues	James Williams	Leo Friedman	J. Williams	San Antonio,Tex.
PE475181	12/30/19	Birmingham Blues	Turner Jordan	Leo Friedman	T. Jordan	Birmingham, Ala.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE470127	12/31/19	Bedroom Blues (The)	Walter W. Lewis	Robert L. Landon	Warner C. Williams & Co.	Indianaoplis, Ind.
P----------	--/--/19	"49" Blues (The): Them Historical Blues	-	Clyde Divers----------		Oklahoma City, Okla.
			1919 Unpublished			
UE440916	01/03/19	Pavo Blues	Norman S. Matthews'	Norman Spencer (arr. Norman S. Matthews)	N.S. Matthews	San Francisco
UE441004	01/09/19	Darktown Blues	William H. Stocker----------			Wenatchee, Wash.
UE441515	01/18/19	Oh, Singum Blues	Babb Frank	Babb Frank/ Benny Turner	B. Frank	Chicago
UE441495	01/22/19	Those Moaning Blues	-	Walter E. Grimm----------		Stockton, Cal.
UE439453	02/02/19	U.S. Blues	John Parker----------			San Quentin, Cal.
UE442499	02/07/19	Syncopatin' Blues	Elizabeth T. Boutelle----------			New York
UE441943	02/08/19	Salvation Blues: A Camp Meetin' Croon	Augustus Butler----------	(arr. J. Russel Robinson)	Pace & Handy	New York
UE443066	02/13/19	Before Day Blues	Lemuel Fowler	Lemuel Fowler, arr. Clarence Jones	William Thomas	Chicago
UE443068	02/13/19	Thanatopsis Blues	Porter P. Grainger ----------	(arr. Clarence M. Jones)	William A. Thomas	Chicago
UE443076	02/20/19	Oh, Those Jazzy Blues	Lew Stern	Harry Kaplan	H. Kaplan	Newark, N.J.
UE442855	02/21/19	Travelling Blues	Myrtle Clossen	E.S.S. Huntington	M. Clossen	Coffeyville, Kan.
UE444354	02/24/19	Chicken Blues	Bob Sutton	Edward J. Schumacher----------		Maryville, Mo.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UE444390	02/24/19	Oriental Blues	-	Rudy Wiedoeft----------		New York
UE444532	02/28/19	Those Doggone Penetrating Blues	James A. Shackleford	E.S.S. Huntington	J.A. Shackleford	Venice, Cal.
UE444626	03/03/19	Battling Blues (The)	Ben E. Norris	Ben E. Norris/ Carl R. Haller	B. Norris/ C. Haller	Cleveland, Oh.
UE444691	03/05/19	I've Got De Didn't Get Over Blues	Burle Wilson----------			Cincinnatti, Oh.
UE444917	03/10/19	Honolulu Blues	Corlies H. Jackson----------			Gloversville, N.Y.
UE445339	03/24/19	Kaiser's Blues, The	Samuel W. Woodson	E.S.S. Huntington	S.W. Woodson	Lumberport, W. Va.
UE448088	04/03/19	Can't Sleep Blues	William H. Miller----------			Gary, Ind.
UE450044	04/09/19	Bombay-Blues	Roland B.McConnnell----------			El Paso, Tex.
UE448441	04/10/19	Cootie Blues	Stewart D. Allen	Arthur A. Northrop	S.D. Allen, A.A. Northrop	Columbus, Oh.
UE448883	05/03/19	Aeroplane Blues (The)	W.J. Harvey----------			Memphis, Tenn.
UE450914	05/05/19	Metropolitan Blues	Samuel S. Simms----------(arr. Charles H. Booker)		S.B. Simms	Memphis, Tenn.
UE46228	05/07/19	Minstrel Blues	Bernie Norris	Carl R. Haller	B. Norris/ C.R. Haller	Cleveland, Oh.
UE451213	05/08/19	Pison Spider Blues	Robert M. Warfield----------			Chicago
UE451262	05/19/19	Camp Life Blues	-	Lorenzo Calduel----------		Columbus, Oh.
UE449668	05/26/19	Alibi Blues Those Excusin' Blues	I. Caesar	Carey Morgan	Joseph Stern	New York
UE452298	06/13/19	Cheery Blues	George .J. Sevally, Jr.	E.S.S. Huntington	G.J. Sevally, Jr.	Brooklyn, N.Y.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UE452291	06/13/19	Lonesome Blues	Leora P. Detrick	J.E. Andino	L.P. Detrick	W. Pittson, Pa.
UE454987	06/26/19	Gas Mask Blues (The)	John T. Van Rensalier----------			Paterson, N.J.
UE454520	07/01/19	Texas Blues (The)	Adele Peairs ----------(arr. Jacob Sauerwein)		A. Peairs	San Antonio, Tex.
UE454986	07/01/19	Weary Blues (The)	Adele Peairs ----------(arr. Jacob Sauerwein)		A. Perairs	San Antonio
UE453001	07/02/19	Prohibition Blues	C.W. Lashorn	D.M. Redman	Lashorn & Redman	Piedmont, W. Va.
UE453004	07/02/19	Transport Blues (The)	Edward A. Schilling	Raymond A. Browne	E.A. Schilling	Horicon, Wis.
UE453234	07/12/19	Black and White Melody Blues	-	George Walsh/Norman Carp, arr. Raymond Miller	R. Miller	New York
UE456174	07/21/19	Solid Ivory Blues	John S. Caldwell	R.L. Grisson	J.R. Reed Mus.	Austin, Tex.
UE455413	07/25/19	Those Vampire Blues	Frank Moyer	Thomas L. Crawford----------		Topeka, Kan.
UE455365	07/30/19	Mythological Blues	William E. Rogers----------, arr. Byron H. Warner		John A. Parsons	Hawkinsville, Ga.
UE455560	08/04/19	Musical Comedy Blues	Bud Green	Sammy Stept, arr. Ernst Bial	Al. Pianiadosi	New York
UE456385	08/05/19	Those Lonely Blues	Armand J. Piron/ Eddie Jackson----------		A.J. Piron	New Orleans, La.
UE456190	08/09/19	Wedding Blues (The)	John Berringer---------- (arr. N.E. Perkins)		J. Berringer	Richmond, Va.
UE456281	08/14/19	I've Got the Bolsheviki Blues	Anthony D. Visk	E.S.S. Huntington	A.D. Visk	Bellwood, Pa.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UE455824	08/15/19	Disappointment Blues	Hal Ehrig	Lou Bro/ Hal Ehrig/ Charles Byron	H. Ehrig	Chicago
UE458126	08/22/19	Midnight Blues (The)	F.S. Kelly	E.S.S. Huntington	F.S. Kelly	Toronto, Can.
UE458140	08/22/19	Money Blues	Frank Carter	E.S.S.Huntington	F. Carter	Pittsburgh, Pa.
UE458381	09/02/19	Lovesickness Blues	Wendell W. Hall	Ray Hibbeler	W.W. Hall	Chicago
UE457048	09/08/19	Tom Cat Blues (The)	Theo. Pankey/ Gus. Butler----------		Pace & Handy	New York
UE458763	09/16/19	Vermont Blues (The)	Mrs. G.W. Stephens	Artie Bowers	G.W. Stephens	El Reno, Okla.
UE457519	09/18/19	Loving Blues	Amos Forman	E.S.S. Huntington	A. Forman	Cleveland, Oh.
UE457508	09/18/19	Those Hell-Bound Blues	Tom Delaney----------	(arr. James Alston)	T. Delaney	Baltimore, Md.
UE456454	09/21/19	Oh! Those Colloseum Blues	Kathleen Burns	Artie Bowers	K. Burns	St. Joseph, Mo.
UE458914	09/22/19	Midnight Blues	Henry C. Griffith	E.S.S. Huntington	H.C. Griffith	New York
UE459102	09/24/19	High Rent Blues	Rufus Whittaker----------			New York
UE460499	09/29/19	Lazy Blues	Margeret R. Edwards	Jean Navarre	M.R. Edwards	Waco, Tex.
UE462761	10/04/19	Bugler's Blues (The)	-	Edward W. Bailey----------		Chicago
UE457993	10/08/19	Shoulder Shakin' Blues	Lew Brown	Albert Von Tilzer	Broadway Mus.	New York
UE462010	10/20/19	Lonesome Sunday Blues	Porter P. Grainger----------			Chicago
UE462338	10/20/19	Camp Meade Blues	B.P.Hemphill	E.S.S. Huntington	B.P. Hemphill	Wilmington, Del.
UE459995	10/29/19	I Got De East Side Yiddisha Blues	H. Duncan Peckham----------			Brooklyn, N.Y.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UE462744	11/01/19	I've Got the Envious Blues	Charles S. Reed II	Allen H. Gleason	C.S. Reed II	Cambridge, Mass.
UE462891	11/11/19	Victory Blues	-	James Bruno (arr.Dave Kaplan	J. Bruno	New York
UE462958	11/13/19	Those Ragtime Monkey Blues	Billy Smith	Frank W. Ford	B. Smith	Egg Harbor, N.J.
UE464857	11/14/19	Mott St. Blues	-	H. Charles Wolf----------		Trenton, N.J.
UE465103	11/22/19	High Cost o' Livin' Blues (The)	Louis Zuber	Louis Zuber/ Harry Gruetzmacher	Louis Zuber	Woodhaven, N.Y.
UE463602	11/24/19	Humming Blues	Lukie Johnson	Lukie Johnson, arr. Lovie Austin	L. Johnson	New York
UE463368	12/01/19	Dixie Blues	Thomas Gibson, Jr.	E.S.S. Huntington	T. Gibson	Brownwood, Tex.
UE463389	12/03/19	High Cost of Livin' Blues (The)	Thomas Harris	H. Qualli Clark	T. Harris	New York
UE465148	12/04/19	Those Sorry Blues	Wendell W. Hall ----------(arr. Cook)		W.W. Hall	Chicago
UE465181	12/04/19	Yiddische Blues	-	Joseph Frankel----------		New York
UE463442	12/05/19	Blue Law Blues	Nat Vincent	Leon Flatow	Broadway Mus. Corp.	New York
UE463439	12/05/19	Hot Foot Blues	-	Maceo Pinkard	Shapiro Bernstein	New York
UE465213	12/06/19	Natural Blues	Edward M. Anderson	E.S.S. Huntington	E.M. Anderson	Detroit, Mich.
UE463501	12/08/19	Kaufield Blues (The)	-	Achile J. Baquet----------		New York
UE463503	12/08/19	Why Cry Blues	-	James Durante// Jefferson Loyacayo--------		New Orleans
UE465684	12/26/19	Cotton Picking Blues (The)	Harry De Troy	Lucien Matthias	H. De Troy/ L.	Haworth, N.J.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

					Matthias	
UE466242	12/27/19	Crying Blues	Howard C. Washington----------			Cincinnati, Oh.
UE466243	12/27/19	Killing Blues	Walter Davidson/ Howard C. Washington	Eddie Gray	H.C. Washington	Cincinnati, Oh.
U----------	--/--/19	Bigamus Blues	-	Max Kortlander	prob. M. Kortlander	New York
U----------	--/--/19	Blue Bird Blues	Russell/Smith----------		-	-
U----------	--/--/19	Burmese Blues	-	[? Eugene] Platzman[n]	-	-
U----------	--/--/19	Guatemalan Blues	?	?	-	-
U----------	--/--/19	Movie Blues	?	?	-	-
U----------	--/--/19	St. Francis Blues	-	Art Hickman	-	-
U---------	--/--/19	St. Swithin Blues	-	? Phil Baker	-	-
U----------	--/--/19	Venice Blues	-	Scibilia	-	-
			1920 Published			
PE483328	01/01/20	Loving Blues	Clinton A. Kemp----------			Galveston, Tex.
*UE466612	01/02/20	Unlucky Blues [fr. *Greenwich Village Follies*]	Ted Lewis/ J. Russel Robinson----------		Irving Berlin Inc.	New York
PE495966	01/03/20	Whistling Blues	Joe Diamond	Jack Barnett/ Saxi	Pace & Handy	New York

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Holtsworth

*UE470158	01/08/20	Profiteering Blues	Al. Wilson	Irving Bibo	Irving Berlin Inc.	New York
PE467513	01/14/20	Those Auto Blues	Z.L. Bright	Hector Richard	Z.L. Bright	Mobile, Ala.
*UE467605	01/28/20	Shim-me King's Blues	Porter P. Grainger----------			Chicago
PE467730	01/30/20	Shimmy Blues (The)	Florence Unruh	George Graff, Jr.	F. Unruh	Detroit, Mich.
PE472095	02/02/20	Broke Soldier Blues	Roe Gainer	Leo Friedman	R. Gainer	Lubbock, Tex.
*UE467808	02/02/20	Swanee Blues	Frank Goodman	J. Milton Delcamp	Al. Piantadosi	New York
PE470923	02/05/20	Pajama Blues [fr. *The Naughty Bride*]	Alfred Dubin	Harry Olsen	M. Witmark	New York
PE471368	02/06/20	Charlotte Blues (The)	Lolita K. Causer----------			Charlotte, Tex.
PE472277	02/06/20	House Hunting Blues (The)	Mrs. P.R. Herrington	A. Leopold Richard	Mrs. P.R. Herrington	Pensacola, Fla.
PE472182	02/06/20	Baby Blues	Alex Rogers	C. Luckeyeth Roberts	A. Rogers/ C.L. Roberts	Brooklyn, N.Y.
*UE472183	02/06/20	Rock-a-bye Baby Blues	Alex Rogers	C. Luckeyeth Roberts	A. Rogers/ C. L. Roberts	Brooklyn, N.Y.
PE472662	02/09/20	Marriage Blues (The)	Carl Weber	Joseph Samuels/Julius & Herman Berkin	Belwin inc.	New York
PE471047	02/09/20	Pay Day Blues	Mrs. C.B. Worthington	George Graff, Jr.	Mrs. C.B. Worthington	Fordyce, Ark.
PE472808	02/12/20	Sleepin' Blues [fr. *My Junior Week Girl*]	George W. Teare----------			Ithaca, N.Y.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE471627	02/26/20	I've Got the Single Man Blues	Charles A. Arthur----------			Detroit, Mich.
PE472987	03/03/20	Chinatown Blues	James A. Lathrop	Karl J. Hoppe	Hoppe & Lathrop	Rice Lake, Wis.
PE478492	03/15/20	Original Oklahoma Blues	Willard Robison----------		C.A. Grimm	Chicago
*UE473290	03/19/20	Racing Blues	Neville Fleeson	Albert Von Tilzer	Artmusic Inc.	New York
*UE472443	03/22/20	Lovin' Blues	Joe Davis/ Frank Papa----------(arr. H. Qualli Clark)		Pace & Handy	New York
PE473534	03/22/20	Ocean Blues [fr. *The New Dictator*]	Frank Craven	Silvio Hein	T.B. Harms	New York
PE475009	03/23/20	Henhouse Blues (The)	Marshall Walker---------- (arr.Frank S. Butler)		Butler Mus. Co.	New York
PE474796	03/29/20	Vin Blanc Blues	W. Clifford Chapman, Jr.	Hector Richard	W.C. Chapman	Pittsburgh, Pa.
*UE475082	04/10/20	Doo-Dee Blues	Bob Carleton----------		Leo Feist	New York
PE480365	04/10/20	How Long, How Long: Absent Blues	T. Everett White----------			St. Louis, Mo.
*UE478466	04/14/20	Waikiki Blues	Cal De Voll	Maceo Pinkard	Irving Berlin Inc.	New York
PE475748	04/14/20	Hawaiian Blues	Ethel L. Foley	George Graff, Jr.	E.L. Foley	Chicago
PE478613	04/22/20	I've Got the Sweet Hawaiian Moonlight Blues	Harold G. Frost	F. Henri Klickmann	McKinley Mus.	Chicago
PE476354	04/26/20	Matrimony Blues	Art Brown----------			Ottawa, Can.
*UE475814	04/28/20	Spanish Blues	Harold A. Dellon/ Jack Stanley----------		Irving Berlin Inc.	New York
PE475834	04/29/20	Hard Luck Blues	C.C. Gibbs	Paul H. Cagle	Southern Mus.	Knoxville, Tenn.
PE480100	04/30/20	Longing Blues	Philip Kurman	Earl Blankenhorn	Levine, Kurman	Milwaukee

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE480667	05/08/20	Hawaiian Blues	Eugene Lester----------			New York
*UE479194	05/10/20	Wang-Wang Blues	-	Buster Johnson/ Gus Mueller/ Henry Busse (arr. Ferd. Grofé)	B. Johnson/ G. Mueller/ H. Busse	Los Angeles, Cal.
PE479425	05/14/20	Hoot-Owl Blues	Clarke Leaming	James E. King	Lone Star Mus.	Waxahachie, Tex.
*UE479568	05/21/20	Sweetheart Blues (I've Got the)	Al Wilson/ Irving Bibo----------		Leo Feist	New York
PE488187	05/24/20	Southern Blues	Clinton Foster/ Raymond Beyer	Leo Friedman	C. Foster/ R. Beyer	Tigerville, S.C.
PE488342	05/25/20	Marriage Life Blues (The)	Joe W. Smith	Leo Friedman	J.W. Smith	Akron, O.
PE479779	05/27/20	Corpus Christi Blues	-	E.D. Tressler----------		Wilsonville, Neb.
PE480974	05/29/20	Morning Glory Blues (The)	William Van Bever	Hector Richard	W. Van Bever	Green Bay, Wis.
PE480991	05/29/20	Those Railroad Blues	S.W. Morris	Hector Richard	S.W. Morris'	Guthrie, Okl.
PE481018	06/01/20	Dreamy Dream Blues	A.G. Graves	Hector Richard	A.G. Graves	Independence, Tex.
PE480876	06/02/20	Dreaming Blues	Joe Davis	Edythe Baker (arr. George F. Briegel)	Triangle Mus.	New York
PE488470	06/10/20	Circus Blues	Joe Sivad	George T. Worth	F.B. Haviland	New York
PE481249	06/14/20	Kentucky Avenue Blues	Lawrence Scott	Paul Jeffries	L. Scott	Atlantic City, N.J.
PE482441	06/14/20	Uncle Sammie's Blues	-	Lee Harrell (arr. S. Vital)	Lee Harrell	Shreveport, La.
PE482424	06/15/20	I've Got the Overall Blues	Henry K. Bauch	L.L. Vosburgh	Bigger-Hand Mus.	New York

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE481568	06/16/20	Bring Back Blues (The)	Leonard J. Costa	Hector Richard	L.J. Cotsa	Cincinnati, Oh.
PE481610	06/19/20	Chromatic Blues	Leo Wood/Jack Waldron	Dick Fidler	Leo Feist	New York
PE482823	06/24/20	Chicken Blues	Edward Thornton	Lucien Fields	E. Thornton	Hood River, Ore.
PE490740	06/25/20	Dixie Blues	-	Charles E. Warner	Earl Strout/ C.E. Warner	Hannibal, Mo.
PE481757	06/25/20	Those Aggravating Morning Blues	Mark A. Mitchelson	T.F. Cornell	M.A. Mitchelson	New York
PE486289	07/01/20	H.C.L. Blues	Katie Pearson	Hector Richard	K. Pearson	Chicago
PE483568	07/01/20	Marriage License Blues	Oscar Moore	Edouard Hesselberg	Oscar Moore	Baltimore, Md.
PE483552	07/01/20	Rooster Crowing Blues (The)	J.R. Thompson	Edouard Hesselberg	J.R. Thompson	Rose Hill, Va.
PE486308	07/01/20	Shimmy Blues (The)	Charlie Garrison	Hector Richard	C. Garrison	St. Joseph, Miss.
PE481051	07/02/20	Alarm Clock Blues (The)	F.T. Underwood	T.F. Cornell	F.T. Underwood	Van Wert, Oh.
PE482792	07/02/20	Kentucky Blues	Clarence Gaskill----------		Witmark	New York
PE482794	07/02/20	Oriental Blues	Noble Sissle	Eubie Blake	M. Witmark	New York
PE486253	07/03/20	Blues, Some Blues	S.W. Simons	A. Leopold Richard	W.S. Simons	St. Louis, Mo.
PE482912	07/07/20	Lonesome Alimony Blues [fr. *Ziegfield Midnight Frolic*]	William Tracey	James F. Hanley	Shapiro Bernstein	New York
PE486547	07/09/20	Oklahoma Oil Field Blues (The)	Jack Randolph	John F. Carroll	H.M. Keifer Mus.	Pawhuska, Okla.
*UE486078	07/10/20	A.B.C.D. Blues (The)	George A. Kershaw	Harry Von Tilzer----------		New York
PE487207	07/10/20	Flu Blues (The)	M. Edwards	Vincent J. Nery	M. Edwards	Chicago

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE488255	07/14/20	Lonely Blues (The)	John L. Gedig	Leo Friedman	J.L. Gedig	Indianapolis, Ind.
PE486620	07/15/20	Down Home Blues (The)	Gladys Wilson	Edouard Hesselberg	G. Wilson	Newark, N.J.
PE483375	07/23/20	Nanking Blues [fr. *Silks and Satins*]	Louis Weslyn/ William Rock	Leon Rosebrook	Jerome Remick	New York
*UE483514	07/26/20	Snag 'Em Blues	Spencer Williams----------(arr. Bert Peters)		S. Williams	Chicago Pa.
PE483968	08/02/20	Loving Blues	William C.Busby	Edouard Hesselberg	W.C. Busby	Birmingham, Ala.
PE483971	08/02/20	Prohibition Blues (The)	Louis Galloway	Edouard Hesselberg	L. Galloway	St. Louis, Mo.
PE483977	08/02/20	Worried Blues (The)	Robert L. Perkins	Edouard Hesselberg	R.L. Perkins	Rosedale, Miss.
PE487945	08/03/20	Jungle Blues (The)	E. Roy Hoy----------			Chicago
PE486954	08/07/20	Dixie Blues	Al Zissette----------			Stroudsburg, Pa.
PE486949	08/07/20	Jamaica-Ginger Blues (The)	Jack Randolph	John F. Carroll	H.M. Keifer	Pawhuska, Okla.
PE487049	08/07/20	Those Crazy Blues	Erva K. Burton	Hector Richard	E.K. Burton	Canton, Ill.
PE486913	08/07/20	Yodeling Blues	Lew Wilson----------		Oscar F. Hodge	New York
PE488651	08/20/20	Wild Romantic Blues [fr. *The Century Revue and Midnight Rounders*]	Alfred Bryan	Jean Schwartz	Jerome Remick	New York
PE488764	08/23/20	Dixieland Blues (The)	Lannie W. Stewart	George Graff, Jr.	L.W. Stewart	Connersville, Tenn.
PE488863	08/23/20	Loving Blues	James W. Smith	George Graff, Jr.	J.W. Smith	Trappe, Md.
PE488869	08/23/20	Vampire Blues	Amos Forman	George Graff, Jr.	A. Forman	Akron, Oh.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE489239	08/25/20	I've Got the Shimmee Blues for True	W.H. Davis			Oakland, Cal.
PE489032	08/26/20	Traveling Blues (The)	Mary Mosby (arr. Alex M. Valentine)		M. Mosby	Memphis, Tenn.
PE491130	08/27/20	Bachelor Blues	S. Clay Roberts	Leo Friedman	R.S. Clary	Greensboro, N.C.
PE491132	08/27/20	Those Miscellaneous Blues	Mildred Myers	Leo Friedman	M. Myers	Springfield, Mo.
PE491258	08/29/20	Charenton Blues	W.J.	Edouard Hesselberg	Mrs. Walter Lejeune	Jeanerette, La.
PE490112	09/08/20	Winter Blues	Eddie Fortier			Bayfield, Wis.
PE489181	09/04/20	Those Mason-Dixon Blues [fr. *Tittle-Tattle*]	Howard Johnson	Archie Gottler	Leo Feist	New York
PE490117	09/08/20	League of Nations Blues	Samuel T. Drew			Birmingham, Ala.
*UE489301	09/14//20	Stingaree: Blues in the Bottle	Clinton A.Kemp			Galveston, Tex.
*UE489332	09/16/20	Those Let Your Corinne Come Home Blues	Lukie Johnson		Pace & Handy	New York
PE490766	09/16/20	Washtub Blues	Arthur U. James	Frank Wright	F.B. Haviland	New York
PE489667	09/21/20	Beauty Parlor Blues	Samuel T.Dew			Birmingham, Ala.
PE492079	09/22/20	Stage Door Blues [fr. *Broadway Brevities 1920*]	Bert Kalmar/ Harry Ruby		T.B. Harms	New York
PE490975	09/29/20	Cabaret Blues (The)	Fred H. Newshafer	Leo Friedman	F.H. Newshafer	New York
PE490581	10/01/20	99 Blues	Henry McCurdy	S.J. Saunders		Ottawa, Can.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE490690	10/02/20	Wedding Blues (The) [fr. *Pitter-Patter*]	William B. Friedlander----------		T.B. Harms	New York
PE491706	10/04/20	Campmeeting Blues (The)	-	William T. Carroll	Pace & Handy	New York
PE491246	10/08/20	Cowboy Blues	Scrap Iron Evans----------			Grangeville, Id.
*UE492354	10/14/20	Blue Bird Blues	Carl Zerse----------			St. Louis, Mo.
PE492496	10/16/20	Race Track Blues (The)	Edgar Leslie/ Pete Wendling/ James Monaco--------		Lesie, Monaco & Wendling	New York
PE494581	10/16/20	Southern Blues at the Halimaloo (The)	Charles W. Smith	Leo Friedman	C.W. Smith	Chicago
PE493446	10/18/20	Street Walking Blues	C.L. Bradley	Edouard Hesselberg	C.L. Bradley	New Orleans, La.
PE496325	10/25/20	Angry Blues	Ota Shipman	Edouard Hesselberg	O. Shipman	Okmulgee, Okla.
PE493313	10/26/20	Dixieland Blues (The)	Frank Reckley, Jr.	Leo Friedman	F.Reckley, Jr.	Indianapolis
PE494260	10/26/20	Night-Mare Blues	E.A. Lampkin----------			Muncie, Ind
PE496287	10/26//20	Those Trifling Blues	N.L. Cauble	Edouard Hesselberg	N.L. Cauble	Smedley, Ind.
PE494216	10/27/20	Baton Rouge Town Blues	Anthony J. Jerome, Jr.----------			Chicago
PE493202	11/01/20	Jazzing Blues	Frank Beck, Jr.	Edouard Hesselberg	Vincent W.L.	Cincinnati, Oh.
PE494099	11/01/20	Railroad Blues (The)	Fred Brooks	Leo Friedman	F. Brooks	Brookhaven, Oh.
PE494375	11/02/20	Where-Is-My-Daddy-Now Blues	Jack Yellen	Otto Motzan/ Abe Olman	Forster Mus.	Chicago
PE494295	11/09/20	Hometown Blues [fr. *Sonny*]	George V. Hobart	Raymond Hubbell	T.B. Harms	New York
PE494340	11/12/20	Spooky-ooky Blues	-	Carl D. Vandersloot----------		Williamsport, Va.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PE496016	11/15/20	Crazy Blues	Perry Bradford----------			New York
PE494521	11/18/20	Four O'Clock Blues (The)	A.M. Valentine----------		Bluff City Mus.	Memphis, Tenn.
PE494808	11/24/20	Home Again Blues	Irving Berlin/ Harry Akst----------		Irving Berlin Inc.	New York
*UE494830	11/27/20	Jazz Me Blues (The)	Tom Delaney----------(arr. James Alston)		Tom Delaney	Baltimore, Md.
PE496408	11/27/20	Those Oriental Blues	Harry Clarke	John L. McManus	M. Witmark	New York
PE496952	12/02/20	Snagle-Tooth Blues (The)	Clarence Monroe	J.A. Cooke	C. Monroe	Marcus Hook, Pa.
PE497462	12/04/20	Dog-Gone Lonesome Blues	A.L. Smith	Leo Friedman	A.L. Smith	Central City, Ky.
PE497438	12/04/20	Silly Willy-Billy Blues	William Williams, Jr.	Leo Friedman	W. Williams, Jr.	Elizabeth, N.J.
*UE495280	12/08/20	Bla-Bla Blues	-	Buster Johsnon/ Gus Mueller/ Henry Busse (arr. Gus Mueller)	Leo Feist	New York
PE495108	12/08/20	Boll Weevil Blues	Charles C. Fulcher----------			Augusta, Ga.
PE495861	12/10/20	Shimmy Blues	George J. Branhof	Norrie Bernard	G.J. Branhof	St. Louis, Mo.
PE495846	12/10/20	Sympathizing Blues (The)	H.L. Sales----------			Hartford, Conn.
PE497322	12/15/20	Pool Room Blues	Paul R. Conaway	Edouard Hesselberg	P.R. Conaway	Martins Ferry, Oh.
PE497065	12/22/20	Everybody's Blues	Tom Delaney----------			New York
PE497280	12/23/20	I Don't Care Blues	Oliver D. Hillman----------			Chicago
PE500163	12/23/20	Oh, I've Got the Swimming Blues	I.H. Burnham	Leo Friedman	I.H. Burnham	Branford, Conn.
*UE495653	12/27/20	Jungle Blues	Anton Lada/ Spencer Williams (arr. Harry L. Alford)		Frances Clifford	Chicago

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*PE495656	12/27/20	Sandman Blues	Ray Miller/ Spencer Williams--(arr. Harry L. Alford)		Frances Clifford	Chicago
P----------	--/--/20	Alpine Blues	"Oklahoma"Bob Albright/ Cliff Adams----------		Fisher Thompson	New York
P---------	--/--/20	Good-Bye Blues	-	Carleton L. Colby	Harold Rossiter	Chicago
PE502148	01/04/21	Fare-Thee Honey Blues	Perry Bradford----------			New York
PE500661	01/10/21	If You Don't Want Me Blues	Perry Bradford----------			New York
PE540588	01/01/22	Wicked Blues	Perry Bradford----------			New York
PE589883	07/03/24	Log Cabin Blues	-	George Hamilton Green----------		New York
PE597217	09/08/24	12th Street Blues	Billy Heagney----------		J.W.Jenkins	Kansas City, Mo.
			1920 Unpublished			
UE466895	01/05/20	Gamblin' Blues	L.D. Waldorf	E.S.S. Huntington	L.D. Waldorf	Binghampton, N.Y.
UE466801	01/05/20	Nervous Walking Blues (The)	George W. Edwards	Artie Bowers	G.W. Edwards	New York
UE466943	01/05/20	Smiling Blues	Mrs. William L. Shockley	Herman A. Hummel	Mrs. W.L. Shockley	St. Louis, Mo.
UE470209	01/08/20	Loving Blues (The)	Hardin L. Rogers	E.S.S. Huntington	H.L. Rogers	Eureka Springs, Ark.
UE467105	01/14/20	Bugle Blues	-	Spencer Williams (arr. Bert Peters)	Spencer Williams	Chicago
UE467104	01/14/20	Transatlantic Blues	Harold R. Owen----------(arr. Charles Albert)		H.R. Owen	San Francisco
UE470631	01/22/20	Those Oklahoma Blues	Lloyd B. Fields	E.S.S. Huntington	L.B. Fields	Washington D.C.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UE470725	01/24/20	Prescription Blues	Harold G. Frost----------		McKinley Mus.	Chicago
UE467333	01/26/20	Whiskered Baby Blues	Mrs. William L. Shockley	Herman A. Hummel	Mrs. W.L. Shockley	St. Louis, Mo.
UE472757	01/27/20	Leap Year Blues	Charles G. Shaw	Grace Bristed----------		Lennox, Mass.
UE467817	02/02/20	Old Bossie Blues	-	Robert King (arr. Charles	Shapiro Bernstein	New York
UE470843	02/03/20	Aristocratic Blues	-	Corrie M. Walker----------		St. Louis, Mo.
UE472206	02/09/20	Boo-Hoo Blues	D. George Reinhard	George Trevor	D.G. Reinhard	Shawano, Ark.
UE470937	02/10/20	Ravin' Cravin' Blues	Lukie Johnson----------(arr. Qualie Clarke)		L. Johnson	New York
UE471391	02/11/20	Bugaboo Blues	Abe Lipschutz	Jack Maser	A. Lipschutz/ J. Maser	Philadelphia, Pa.
UE472350	02/16/20	Dancing Blues (The)	W. Vernon Draper----------			Greybull, Wyo.
UE471356	02/17/20	High Yellow's Blues (The)	-	Thomas P. Brown----------		New York
UE471842	02/20/20	California Blues	Walter M. Seyerfelich	Oscar Gardiner	W.M. Seyerfelich	Chicago
UE472425	02/20/20	Oriental Blues	A.J. Bruhn----------			San Francisco
UE471459	02/21/20	Shawnee Blues (The)	Wynetta Hopkins	Artie Bowers	W. Hopkins	Tecumseh, Okla.
UE474186	02/24/20	Auto Blues (The)	Estee Johnson----------			Philadelphia
UE472823	02/28/20	Rockin' Rye Blues	Harry Hoffman----------			Pittsburgh, Pa.
UE471717	03/03/20	Cactus Blues	Gaylord Shepard	R.A. Browne	G. Shephard	Turlock, Cal.
UE472937	03/04/20	Opium Blues (The)	Charles H. Hughes	Charles H. Hughes/ Jirah D. Buck	C.H. Hughes	Cincinnati, Oh.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UE471866	03/05/20	Come Back Blues (The)	Billy E. Mills----------	(arr. Frank S. Butler)	B.E. Mills	New York
UE471849	03/05/20	Dry Cabaret Blues	-	Sam Smolin----------		Akron, Oh.
UE474219	03/13/20	Monday Morning Blues	George E. Dennis	Sidney Reinherz (arr. George L. Tracy)	Dennis & Devine	Boston
UE473207	03/17/20	Bungling the Bugle – Blues	-	R.S. Ashford----------		?
UE474416	03/20/20	Mother Blues	Joseph Jerinsky	E.S.S. Huntington	J. Jerinsky	New York
UE473437	03/22/20	I've Got the Fanatic Blues	J.W. Mabin	Artie Bowers	J.W. Mabin	Springfield, Oh.
UE473459	03/22/20	Jungle Blues	Tom Delaney/ Baby Grice----------		T. Delaney	Baltimore, Md.
UE473578	03/26/20	Ocean Blues	Alma L.R. Spencer	E.S.S. Huntington	A.L.R. Spencer	Newport News, Va.
UE473767	03/29/20	Saxitown Blues	Edward S. Pumphrey-------	(arr. Mrs. Frank F. Tower)	E.S. Pumphrey	Boston
UE473920	04/02/20	Hereditary Blues	Aileen Craft	Artie Bowers	A. Craft	Ellisville, Miss
UE473913	04/02/20	I've Just Got the Blues That's All	Blanche C. Botts	Artie Bowers	B.C. Botts	Fredericksburg, Va.
UE478488	04/05/20	Dardanella Blues (The)	Fred Fisher	Johnny S. Black (arr. Romo Falk)	Fred Fisher Inc.	New York
UE474887	04/06/20	When Ah All Come Back Blues	D. Smith/ H.T. Haller	E.S.S. Huntington	D. Smith/ H.T. Haller	Buffalo, N.Y.
UE478046	04/07/20	Monday Morning Blues	O.M. Leirevag/ A. Borge	E.S.S. Huntington	O.M. Leirevag/ A. Borge	Chicago
UE475005	04/08/20	I've Got Them Mystical Blues	Julius Adler----------	(arr. Dave Peyton)	J. Adler	Chicago

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UE475028	04/08/20	Navy Blues (The)	Leslie Respess	E.S.S. Huntington	L. Respess	New London, Conn.
UE478504	04/13/20	Kentucky Blues	Eric D. Lindberg	Winifred B. Lindberg	E.D. Lindberg	Appleton, Wis.
UE478681	04/23/20	Rain-Drop Blues	Francis M. Sterling	E.S.S. Huntington	F.M. Sterling	Knoxville, Tenn.
UE479055	05/03/20	Haunting Blues (The)	William De Luca	E.S.S. Huntington	W. De Luca	Newark, N.J.
UE480026	05/04/20	Damme Blues	Harold Wilson----------		George B. Gerard	Holland Patent, N.Y.
UE480143	05/06/20	Wild Cat Blues (The)	Roy Daniel	E.S.S. Huntington	R. Daniel	Mead. Okla.
UE479633	05/12/20	I've Got Those Cave Man Blues	George Stamper	H. Qualli Clark	H.Q. Clark/ G. Stamper	New York
?E479232	05/12/20	I've Got the Loving Blues From Loving You	Harry Thompson----------		(arr. Arthur P. Cogan)	Philadelphia, Pa.
UE479257	05/12/20	That Steamship Blues	M.J. Woods	E.S.S. Huntington	M.J. Woods	Hartford, Conn.
UE479420	05/17/20	Steamboat Blues (The)	Leo Wood/ Theodore Morse/ Walter Donovan--------		Leo Feist	New York
UE480481	05/18/20	Cheer Up Blues	Anne Reynolds	E.S.S. Huntington	A. Reynolds	Wilkinson, Ind.
UE479536	05/19/20	Denim Blues: A Pair of Blues	Rholin Cooley	Vernon M. Suckow	Madrona Mus.	Portland, Ore.
UE479511	05/19/20	Gosh Darn Walkin' Blues (The)	Forrest L. Robbins	Gustave Barto	F.R. Robbins	Medicine Park, Okla.
UE479520	05/20/20	Wedding Bell Blues	-	Charles Olsen----------		Minneapolis, Minn.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UE479713	05/24/20	Nursery Blues (The)	Gilbert Wells	Lynn Cowan	Irving Berlin Inc.	New York
UE479742	05/26/20	Ouija Board Blues (The)	Irene Godding	Frank C. Doyle	I. Godding/F.C. Doyle	Detroit, Mich.
UE482067	06/04/20	Jealous Blues (The)	Thomas Gibson, Jr.	E.S.S. Huntington	T. Gibson, Jr.	Brownwood, Tex.
UE481055	06/07/20	Frettin' Blues (The)	-	A.J. Bacquet/ J. Durante----------		New York
UE481137	06/08/20	Shimmy Blues (The)	Charles F. Hirsch/ Raymond S. Moers (arr. Artie Matthews)		C.F. Hirsch/ R.S. Moers	Cincinnati, Oh.
UE479443	06/08/20	Da-daddy Blues	Charles F. Hirsh/ Raymond S. Moers (arr. Artie Matthews)		C.A. Hirsh/ R.S. Moers	Cincinnati, Oh.
UE486021	06/11/20	Grown-up Baby Blues (The)	Harry De Costa----------		Capitola De Wolfe	Yonkers, N.Y.
UE481301	06/14/20	Prescription Blues	Herbert J. Idle	William B. Phillips	W.B. Phillips/ H.J. Idle	Chicago
UE482330	06/15/20	Wood Alcohol Blues	Jerome Hershkowitz	E.S.S. Huntington	J. Hershkowitz	Camp Dix, N.J.
UE482470	06/19/20	Romantic Blues	Paul Stewart----------			Orleans, Iowa.
UE482743	07/01/20	Harem Blues	George H. Stamper	Tausha Hammed	G.H. Stamper/ T.	New York
UE486558	07/02/20	Cannibal Blues	Charles Snyder	Fay P. Stanton C. Snyder	F.P. Stanton	New York
UE482022	07/03/20	Them Devil Blues	J.C. Davison	Gustave Barto	J.C. Davison	Kansas City, Mo.
UE482855	07/07/20	Influenza Blues (The)	Fred W. Ersfeld	E.S.S. Huntington	F.W. Ersfeld	Lakeville, Minn.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UE482891	07/07/20	Jealous Hearted Blues	E.G. Mansfield	E.S.S. Huntington	E.C. Mansfield	Dallas, Tex.
UE486058	07/08/20	Kupiditee Blues	Delmour J. Fuqua	Delmour J. Fuqua/ Roy Roy Kuhn	D.J. Fuqua	Washington
UE482948	07/12/20	I've Got the Weary Egyptian Blues	Eddie Malle----------	(arr. Charles Borrelli)	E. Malle	Philadelphia, Pa.
UE486322	07/17/20	Campaign Blues	Thomas J. Price----------			Little Rock, Ark.
UE486004	07/19/20	Irish Blues (The)	Alex Rogers	C. Luckeyth Roberts	A. Rogers/ C. L. Roberts	Brooklyn, N.Y.
UE486709	07/23/20	I've Got the Blues, I've Got the Blues, I've Got the Delaware Peaches Blues	Fred S. Ebertz	Frank W. Ford	F.S. Ebertz	New York
UE483350	07/23/20	Moonshine Blues (The)	Vernon H. Holm	Gustave Barto	V.H. Holm	Minneapolis Minn.
UE483508	07/26/20	Alexander's Harmony Blues	-	James A. Murray----------		Boston, Mass
UE483843	07/26/20	Niff-Niff Blues	-	Buster Johnson/ Gus Mueller (arr. Ferdie Grofe)	B. Johnson/ G. Mueller	Atlantic City, N.J.
UE486601	07/29/20	Navy Blues (The)	Robert L. Lukens----------			Honolulu, Hawaii
UE487615	07/29/20	Race Track Blues (The)	Ida M. Snyder	Harry T. Myers	Southern Song Service	Louisville, Ky.
UE483837	07/31/20	Bullfrog Blues	-	J.S. Zamecnik	Sam Fox Mus.	Cleveland, Oh.
UE486790	08/05/20	Moonshine Blues (The)	H. Rawls Mallory	E.S.S. Huntington	H.R. Mallory	Savannah, Ga.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UE486966	08/12/20	Il Trovatore Blues	Harold G. Frost----------		McKinley Mus.	Chicago
UE488440	08/13/20	Blue Jay Blues	-	Anton Lada/ Frank Rizzo (arr. Ray Brost)	Fred Fisher Inc.	New York
UE487892	08/13/20	Sweetheart Blues (The)	Basil B. Truby	Artie Bowers	B.B. Truby	Protection, Kans.
UE487122	08/14/20	Give It Down Blues	Grace E. Connelly	Chappy Chapman	Martin R. Chapman	Lincoln, Neb.
UE487210	08/19/20	Weddin' Morn Blues	Albert Carroll----------			New York
UE487276	08/20/20	Jealous Blues	M.A. Williams	E.S.S.Huntington	M.A. Williams	Wadsworth, Ill.
UE487274	08/20/20	Yodling Blues	Daniel H. Nagel	E.S.S. Huntington Mueller (arr. F. Grofé)	D.H. Nagel Mueller	Fernandina, Fla.
UE487334	08/21/20	Woman Hating Blues	A.H. Vieno	Keats Moran	A.H. Vieno	Beaumont, Tex.
UE488725	08/23/20	Lonely Blues: Negro Folk Song	Raymond R. Prisby----------			Youngstown, Oh.
UE488703	08/23/20	Parisian Blues	Clyde Hooper----------			San Antonio, Tex.
UE489491	08/25/20	Crying Blues	Cyril Ogle	E.S.S. Huntington	C. Ogle	Baltimore, Md.
UE487445	08/26/20	Hoodoo Blues	Harry Walker	Vincent Valentini	H. Walker/ V. Valentini	New York
UE487537	08/28/20	Those Dog-Gone Saxophone Blues	J.B. Langevin	E.S.S. Huntington	J.B. Langevin	Fall River, Mass.
UE487630	08/31/20	Blue Bell Blues	William Jerome	Nat Goldstein (arr. Ed Smalle)	Harry Von Tilzer	New York
UE489040	09/02/20	Wand'ring Blues	Ernest A. Place----------			Bridgeport, Conn.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UE489090	09/07/20	Arizona Blues	Lawrence L. White ----------(arr. Ralph P. Law)		L.L. White	Jerome, Ariz.
UE487732	09/08/20	Tampa Blues	Henry W. Heath----------			Oakville, Tenn.
UE489263	09/11/20	Those Dissipated Blues	Glad Forester----------			New York
UE490057	09/13/20	Boot- Black Blues	Boyce H.Cullen----------			Logansport, Ind.
UE487883	09/13/20	Memory Blues	Edna Pearson	Artie Bowers	E. Pearson	Dayton, Oh.
UE487885	09/13/20	Those Raggy, Jazzy, Hypnotizin' Blues	Nicholas Davirro	Artie Bowers	N. Davirro	Alexandria, La.
UE487908	09/13/20	Those Regretful Blues	Clyde G. Smith	E.S.S. Huntington	C.G. Smith	Little Rock, Ark.
UE490064	09/15/20	Examination Blues	Stella H. Gilmore----------			New York
UE490157	09/17/20	Baby Blues	-	Buster Johnson/ Gus Mueller (arr. F. Grofé)	B. Johnson/ G. Mueller	New York
UE490199	09/17/20	Jealous Blues (The)	George H. Greene	E.S.S. Huntington	G.H. Greene	Newport, R.I.
UE490191	09/17/20	Widow's Blues	Laura Kines	E.S.S. Huntington	L. Kines	Hamtramck, Mich.
UE489484	09/25/20	I've Got the Teasing Blues	Gus Kondas	Herman A. Hummel	G. Kondas	Ashtabula,Oh.
UE489511	09/25/20	Sorrow-Night Blues	Loe Loncaric	E.S.S. Huntington	J. Loncaric	St. Louis, Mo.
UE493368	10/04/20	Home Brew Blues	Levi N. Harmon----------			Idaho Falls, Ida.
UE490726	10/06/20	Wedding Bell Blues (The)	Howard Johnson/ Cliff Hess/ Al Wilson/ Irving Bibo		Leo Feist	New York
UE490815	10/08/20	Why and Wherefore Blues	Wendell W. Hall----------		W.W. Hall	Chicago
UE492330	10/09/20	Soda Water Blues (The)	Eugene West	Clyde Roland	Leo Feist	New York

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UE491202	10/13/20	Midnight Blues	Norman O'Neal	Louis Huntzinger (arr. James Altiere	L. Huntzinger	Hammond, Ind.
UE491385	10/15/20	Happy Six Blues	Sam Harris	Clifford McEldridge	S. Harris Hammed	New York
UE492501	10/19/20	Working Blues	Mattie Carter	Keats Moran	M. Carter	Pictou, Colo.
UE491519	10/20/20	Navy Blues (The)	Chester De Voude---(arr. C. De Voude/ Will Vodery)		Edna Bennett	New York
UE492910	10/26/20	Mohammedan Blues (The)	H.G. Phelps	R.A. Browne	H.G. Phelps	Cranberry Lake, N.Y.
UE491780	10/29/20	Airplane Dream Blues (The)	A.C. Pfifer	E.S.S. Huntington	A.C. Pfifer	Leachville, Ark.
UE491837	11/01/20	Easy Street Blues	-	Clarence M. Jones (arr. Horace O. Prell)	C.M. Jones/ H.O. Prell	Chicago
UE493112	11/04/20	Cat-Step-Blues	-	Philip N. Moriarty----------		El Segundo, Cal.
UE493475	11/11/20	I've Got the Sweet Southland Blues	Leslie A. Andrews	E.S.S. Huntington	L.A. Andrews	Quincy, Mass
UE496071	11/13/20	Long Wearing Blues	T. Everett White----------(arr. Edward Hudson)		T.E. White	St. Louis, Mo.
UE493689	11/18/20	Those Separation Blues	James B. Barbour----------			New York
UE494455	11/19/20	Moonlight Blues	Mae Cogge	Keats Moran	M. Cogge	Melaval, Can.
UE494464	11/19/20	Those Baby Blues	Asbury Stephens	Keats Moran	A. Stephens	Tarrytown, N.Y
UE493788	11/26/20	Moonshine Blues	John Hritz	E.S.S. Huntington	J. Hritz	Van Wert, Oh.
UE493933	11/29/20	Loving Blues	Irving Mathews de Masque--------(arr. Arthur Darvo)		Frank S. Boroughs	Long Island, N.Y.
UE494929	12/04/20	Dancing Blues (The)	-	Jesus R. Hurtado----------		Hartford, Conn.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UE495171	12/07/20	Dancehall Blues (The)	William Fowler/Hubert Smith	R. A. Leopold Richard	W. Fowler/ H.R. Smith	Syracuse, N.Y.
UE495478	12/08/20	Broadway Limited Blues	-	Buster Johnson, Gus Mueller & Henry Busse	Leo Feist	New York
UE495279	12/08/20	Santa Fe Blues	-	Buster Johnson/ Gus Mueller/ Henry Busse/ (arr. Gus Mueller)	Leo Feist	New York
UE495226	12/11/20	Female Jury Blues	William H. Rhoads----------	(arr. Frank Black)	W.H. Rhoads	New York
UE496855	12/15/20	Colorado Blues	John H. Roy	Gustave Barto	J.H. Roy	Oenaville, Tex.
UE495353	12/16/20	Trombone Blues	-	Charles W. Hillman----------		Memphis, Tenn.
UE495434	12/18/20	Oh, Those Misery Blues	Rebecca Viney	E.S.S. Huntington N. Grant)	R.Viney	Cleveland, Oh.
UE497022	12/20/20	Melancholy Blues	Lester Calvin----------	(arr. Leonard L. VosBurgh)	L. Calvin	New York
UE495598	12/23/20	Blue Sunday Blues	-	Joseph K. Freeman----------		New Haven, Conn.
UE502132	12/24/20	Waltz Blues	-	Placido Zingaro/ Fred Martin	P. Zingaro/ F. Martin	New York
UE497200	12/27/20	New York Blues	-	Lyle E. Sharpe----------		Hastings, Nebr. Va.
UE495564	12/27/20	Tee-Roller Blues	Ted Lewis/ Spencer Williams	(arr. Harry L. Alford)	Frances Clifford	Chicago
U----------	--/--/20	Creole Blues	-	Norworth	-	-
U----------\	--/--/20	Old Grey Mare Blues	?	?	-	-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

U--------	pre-1921	Those Harmelodic Blues	-	Phil Goldberg----------	?	
UE548068	09/19/22	Slow Drag Blues	Q. Roscoe Snowden----------		Handy Brothers	New York

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Appendix 2

DISCOGRAPHY OF COMMERCIAL BLUES RECORDINGS 1914-21

Scope and Sources

This a list of all known blues recordings made in America before January 1, 1921, with blues being defined as discussed in chapter 2, and as applied in Appendix 1.[1] I have also included the few recordings of blues that American bands made outside America in the same period. Entries are arranged in alphabetical order of song title, multiple recordings of entries being placed in chronological order under the title. Discographical information is comparatively well preserved, and therefore the discography is fairly, if not totally, comprehensive.

Explanation of Column Headings

Song Title. These reproduce the titles as they appear in Appendix 1. Where variant titles are used on the label or in contemporaneous company catalogs, I have noted this in square parentheses in column 4.[2] I give composer and lyricist in parenthesis after the song title. For further details see appendix 1.

Column 1. This lists the record company of each recording and the number of the first known issue. Where this is not known, I have listed possible candidates in numerical order. I have also included details of recordings made but never released where that

---

[1] See above, 383.

[2] I have only been able to inspect a small percentage of the records here listed, so there may be other discrepancies in the title.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

recording represents the only known recording of that work by a particular group or artist for a particular label. These are indicated by "rej." (for "rejected") after the company name. Although rejected records were never commercially issued, test pressings may exist in some cases.

Abbreviations for record companies as follows:

Amb = Amberol

AV = Aeolian Vocalion

Cdl = Cardinal

Col = Columbia

Ed = Edison

Em = Emerson

Emp = Empire

GG = Grey Gull

Gnt = Gennett

HMV = His Master's Voice

Imp = Imperial

LW = Little Wonder

Med = Medallion

OK = OKeh

Op = Operaphone

PA = Pathé Actuelle

Pat = Pathé

Phon = Phonola

Pm = Paramount

Vic = Victor

Voc = Vocalion

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Other record companies given by their full names.[3]

Column 2. This lists the name of principal artist/s or group given as they appear on recordings. Extra clarifiers are placed in square brackets. There are instances where the same artist or group recorded the same title for different, or even the same record companies in close chronological proximity. Where these are listed separately, they are, as far as is known, different recordings, not different issues of the same recording.

Column 3. This lists the date of recording (r.) or issue (i.). My preference is to list the date of recording. When this is not known, I have listed the date of issue. Records were typically issued about three to four months after recording, but this varies considerably. As the aim of the discography is to list all blues *recorded* before January 1 1921, I have included blues *issued* up till the end of May 1921, as it is probable that these recordings were made before the cut-off date. This is not entirely reliable, however, and it is possible that some records issued from February to May 1921 were recorded after the cut-off date, and also that some items recorded before the cut-off date were not issued until after May 1921. Note: r. = recorded; i.= issued; c. = *circa*.

Column 4. This lists variant titles found on the record label or in company catalogs, which appear in square brackets. In addition, I note where a composition is played as part of a medley on a particular recording. Where the other compositions played on the

[3] For background information about these labels, see Allan Sutton and Kurt Nauck, *American Record Labels and Companies: An Encyclopedia (1891-1943)* (Highlands Ranch, CO: Mainspring, 2000).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

medley are not blues, I do not list them, and state "as part of medley" in column 4. Where they are blues, I list the titles in column 4 ("with 'The *x* Blues'"), as well as including the recording as a separate entry under each of the titles.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1. Label & Issue No.	2. Performer(s)	3. Recording/Issue	4. Variant titles
A-B-C-D Blues (Kershaw/von Tilzer)			
Col rej.	Marion Harris	r. 09/17/20	[I've Got the A-B-C-D Blues]
Em 10264	Irving Kaufman	i. 12/20	
Vic 18704	Billy Murray- Ed Smalle	i. 01/21	[I've Got the A-B-C-D Blues]
Alcoholic Blues (The) (Laska/von Tilzer)			
Col A-2702	Billy Murray	r. 01/24/19	
Vic 18522	Billy Murray	i. 03/19	
Pat 22117	Synco Jazz Band	r. 03/19	
Pm 30097	Billy Murray	i. 05/19	
Em 1025, 7530	Emerson Military Band	r./c. 05/19	
Ed 3735	Vernon Dalhart	i. 06/19	
Col A-2775	Louisiana Five	r. 06/23/19	as part of medley
Vic rej.	All Star Trio	r. 09/02/19	
Ed 50529	Vernon Dalhart	i. 07/19	
Vic 18617	All Star Trio	r. 09/16/19	
Gnt 9004	Cordes' Society Orchestra	r./c. 09/19	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Lyric 5151	Billy Murray	i. 10/20	

Alibi Blues (Caesar/Morgan)

Pat 22393	Aileen Stanley	r. 3-4/20	

Alimony Blues (Wolf/Hirsch)

Br 5228	Collins & Harlan	r./c. 05/18	
Ok 1022	Arthur Collins	i. 07/18	

All Blues Medley [Hesitation Blues/ Joyman Blues]

Col A-2194	Saxo Sextette	r./c. 11/01/17	
Col rej.	Columbia Saxophone Sextette	r. 07/03/19	

Barnyard Blues (La Rocca)

AV 1205	Original Dixieland Jazz Band	r. 08/17/17	
Col 735	Original Dixieland Jazz Band	r. 04/16/19	

Beale Street (Handy)

Col A-2327	Prince's Band	r. 05/24/17	with Jogo Blues

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Vic 18369	Earl Fuller's Famous Jazz Band	r. 08/13/17	[Beale Street Blues]
Pat 20441	Wadsworth's Novelty Dance Orch.	r./c. 08/18	[Beale Street Blues]
Arrow 504	Synco Jazz Band	r. 03/19	[Beale Street Blues]
Col A-2813	Art Hickman & His Orch.	r. 09/20/19	[Beale Street Blues] as part of medley
Lyratone 4211	Handy's Orch. of Memphis	r./c. 09/19	[Beale Street Blues]
Lyric 4209	All Star Trio	r./c. 11/19	[Beale Street Blues]
Ed 50536	Al Bernard	i. 07/19	[?Beale Street Blues]
GG L-1014	Gilt-Edge Four	r./c. 05/20	[Beale Street Blues]
Br 2062	Al Bernard	r./c. 11/20	[?Beale Street Blues]

Beautiful Ohio Blues (King)

Col A-2784	Columbia Saxophone Sextette	r. 07/21/19	
AV 12195	Dabney's Band	r./c. 07/19	

Be-Hap-E Blues (Lada/Burger/Nunez)

Ed 50569	Louisiana Five	r. 04/14/19	[B-Hap-E]
Em 10229	Louisiana Five	r. 11/19	[B-Hap-E]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Bell Hop Blues (Goodman/Piantadosi)

Pat 22354	Van Eps – Banta Trio	r./c. 02/20

Bevo Blues (Katzman)

Col A-2720	Yerkes Jazarimba Orch.	r. 02/21/19
AV 12112	Yerkes Jazarimba Band	r./c. 02/19

Big Chief Blues (Bernard)

Pat 22180	Master Saxophone Sextette	r./c. 06/19
Lyratone 4207	[Yerkes'] Novelty Five	r./c. 09/19
AV 12191	Al Bernard	i. 10/19

Blue Bird Blues (Russell/Smith)

OK 1126	Harry Ellis	i. 04/19

Boll Weevil Blues (Hess)

Voc 14151	Ernest Hare	i. 03/21

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Broadway Blues (Swanstrom/Morgan)

Pat 20473	Jack Norworth	r./c. 04/20	
Em 10296	Noble Sissle	r./c. 07/20	
Vic 18691	Aileen Stanley	r. 08/12/20	
Col A-3311	Nora Bayes	r. 08/26/20	
Br 2047	Aileen Stanley	r./c. 08/20	
Vic 18691	Aileen Stanley	i. 11/20	
Gnt 9077	Al Bernard	i. 11/20	
Lyric 5228	Billy Jones	i. 11/20	
Em 10315	Merry Melody Men	i. 12/20	
Voc A14138	The Melody Men	i. 03/21	
Amb 4181	Al Bernard	i. 03/21	
Em 10315	Merry Melody Men	i. 03/21	
Gnt 4661	Joe Coleman's President Orch.	i. 03/21	with Home Again Blues

Bull Frog Blues (Brown/Shrigley)

Vic 18097	Six Brown Brothers	r. 06/20/16	
Starr 7654	Starr Band	r./c. 11/16	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Col A-2194	Saxo Sextette	i./c. 04/17
Col rej.	Columbia Saxophone Sextette	r. 07/10/19

Bunch of Blues (A) (Kelley/Wyer)

Col A-2418	Handy's Orch. of Memphis	r. 09/24/17
Pat 20358	Charles Klass (accordion)	i. 06/18

Burmese Blues (Platzman)

Col A-2841	Art Hickman's Orch.	r. 09/16/19

Camp Meetin' Blues (Carroll)

AV 12246	Dabney's Band	r./c. 10/19
Vic rej.	All Star Trio	r. 09/28/20

Chinese Blues (Moore/Gardner)

Col 35514	Sousa's Band	i./c. 1/16
Vic 17919	Collins & Harlan	i./c. 1/16
Op 1054	Dance Orch.	i./c. 02/16
Op 1068	Band	i./c. 05/16

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Pat 35019	Pathé Dance Orch.	i./c. 07/16
Starr 7551	Starr Military Band	i./c. 12/16
Em 5175	Gene Greene	r./c. 12/16
Em 7140	Gene Greene	r./c. 12/16
Col 699	Ciro's Club Coon Orch.	r. 09/17

Church Street Sobbin' Blues (Lada/Cawley/Nunez)

Em 9179	Louisiana Five	r./c. 03/19
Em 7517	Louisiana Five	r./c. 03/19

Coburn Blues (The) (Phillips)

Col rej.	Handy's Orch. of Memphis	r. 09/24/17

Crazy Blues (Bradford)

OK/Phon 4169	Mamie Smith	r. 08/10/20
Br 2077	Bennie Krueger's Orch.	r./c. 12/20
Em 10326	Noble Sissle	r./c. 12/20

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Creole Blues (Norworth)

Pat 22424	United States Hotel Orch.	r./c. 05/20	
Op 31165	Ted Gilbert's Dance Orch.	i. 11/20	

Critics Blues (The) (Bartholomae/Anderson/Sloane)

Vic 18626	All Star Trio	r. 10/22/19	as part of medley

Dallas Blues (Wand/Garrett)

Vic 55081	Marie Cahill	r. 01/02/17	
Col A-2663	Wilbur Sweatman's Original Jazz Band	r. 10/07/18	as part of medley
Vic test	Lucille Hegamin	r. 10/11/20	

Dardanella Blues (The) (Fisher/Black)

Col rej.	Frank Crumit	r. 03/26/20	
Em 10215	The Three Kaufields	i. 09/20	

Dixie Blues (Mahoney/Lada/Cawley/Nunez)

Em 1026	Louisiana Five	r./c. 05/19	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Don't Care Blues (Bradford)

OK 4253	Mamie Smith	r. 11/06/20	

Drafting Blues: see **THOSE DRAFTIN' BLUES**

Dreaming Blues (Davis/Baker)

OK 4167	Joseph Samuels' Jazz Band	r. 08/20	
Voc 14090	Thomas' Saxophone Sextette	i. 09/20	

Dry Town Blues (Chiha)

Ed 50515	Lou Chiha "Frisco"	i./c. 10/17	

Easy Pickin's (Pinkard)

AV 12126	Dabney's Band	r./c. 04/19	
Col A-6116	Yerkes Novelty Five	r. 06/02/19	with Squealin' Pig Blues

Everybody's Blues (Delaney)

Arto 9045	Lucille Hegamin	r./c.11/20	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fare Thee Honey Blues (Bradford)

OK/Phon 4194	Mamie Smith	r. 09/12/20

Farmyard Blues (Smith/Troy)

Em 7287	Arthur Collins	i. 01/18

Florida Blues (Phillips)

Col A-5920	Prince's Band	i./c. 02/17
AV 12211	Dabney's Band	r./c. 09/19

Golden Rod Blues (Lada/Cawley/Nunez)

Em 1078	Louisiana Five	r./c. 07/19

Graveyard Blues (Woods/Caldwell)

Em 7210	Arthur Collins	i. 09/17
Col A-2523	Earl Fuller's Rector Novelty Orch.	r. 03/01/18

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Guatemalan Blues (Anon.)

Vic 72600	Mata's Blue and White Marimba Band	r. 01/30/20

Hawaiian Blues (Murray)

Col A-5971	Prince's Band	r. 01/15/17
Paroquette 71	Walter B. Rogers Band	r./c. 01/17
Pat 20107	Van Eps-Banta Trio	i./c. 01/17
Emp 6219	Van Eps Trio	r./c. 03/18
Pat 20107	Van Eps-Banta Trio	r./c. 04/17

Heart Sickness Blues (Coslow/De Rose)

Em 9150	Louisiana Five	r./c. 12/18
Em 7481	Frisco Five	r./c. 12/18

Hestitating Blues (Handy)

Col A-5572	Prince's Band	r. 10/21/15
Em 761	Henry Burr	i./c. 07/16
Col A-2769	Adele Rowland	r. 03/04/19

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Pat 22086	Lt. Jim Europe's 369th Infantry ("Hell Fighters") Band	r./c. 03/07/19	
Col A-2813	Art Hickman & His Orch.	r. 09/20/19	as part of medley
Lyratone 4212	Handy's Orch. of Memphis	r./c. 09/19	

Hesitation Blues (Smythe)

Vic 18163	Victor Military Band	r. 09/15/16	
Col A-2194	Saxo Sextette	r./c. 11/01/17	[All Blues Medley] with Joy Man Blues
Col rej.	Columbia Saxophone Sextette	r. 07/03/19	[All Blues Medley] with Joy Man Blues
Ed 50524	Al Bernard	i. 06/19	

Home Again Blues (Berlin)

Br 2060	Gene Rodemich's Orch.	r./c. 11/20	
Col rej.	Nora Bayes	r. 11/24/20	
Em 10328	Plantation Dance Orch.	r./c.12/08/20	
Med 771	Plantation Dance Orch.	r./c. 12/08/20	
Arto 9046	Merry Melody Men	r./c.12/20	
Ed 50727	Harry Raderman's Jazz Orch.	r. 12/09/20	
Voc A14135	Ernest Hare	i. 03/21	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Pat 22497	Ernest Hare	i. 03/21	
Gnt 4661	Joe Coleman's President Orch.	i. 03/21	with Broadway Blues

Homesickness Blues (Hess)

Vic 45100	Nora Bayes	r. 05/04/16	
Col A-5920	Prince's Band	i./c. 02/17	
HMV rej.	Elsie Janis	r. 03/21/19	
Col A-2944	Marion Harris	r. 04/16/20	

Hooking Cow Blues (Williams/Handy)

Col A-2420	Handy's Orch. of Memphis	r. 09/24/17	
Vic rej.	Frantzen's Society Orch.	r. 03/06/19	
Vic 18618	Joseph C. Smith Orch.	r. 10/01/19	with Yellow Dog Blues

Hula Blues (The) (Cunha/Noble)

Col A-3306	Ted Lewis Jazz Band	r. 08/25/20	
Ed ?, Amb 4200	Harry Raderman's Jazz Orch.	r. 10/06/20	
Em 10281	Plantation Dance [or Jazz] Orch.	r./c. 10/20	
OK 4227	Okeh Marimba Band	r./c. 10/20	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Br 2065	Green Brothers' Novelty Band	r. 10-11/20
Gnt 4648	Harry Raderman's Jazz Orch.	r./c. 11/20
Pm 20041	Vernon Trio	r./c. 11/20
Pat 22486	Green Brothers' Novelty Band	r. late 11/20

If You Don't Want Me Blues (Bradford)

OK/Phon 4228	Mamie Smith	r. 11/05/20

I'm Sorry I Ain't Got It You Could Have It If I Had It Blues (Lewis/Young/Snyder)

Col A-2877	Bert Williams	r. 11/24/19
Col A-2949	Louisiana Five	r. 12/16/19

Indigo Blues (Jones)

AV 12097	Dabney's Band	r./c. 01/19

I've Got the Army Blues (Gilbert/Morgan)

Em 759	Manuel Romain	r./c. 10/16
Col A-5951	Prince's Band	r. 01/15/17

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

I've Got the Blue Ridge Blues (Mason/Cooke/Whiting)

Em 9136	Jack & Phil Kaufman	i. 03/19

I've Got the Blues for Home Sweet Home (Jerome/Goetz/Meyer)

Col A-2003	Oscar Shaw	r. 04/21/16

I've Got the Blues for My Old Kentucky Home (Gaskill)

Pm 20015	Flo Bert	r./c. 07/20
Col A-3336	Van and Schenk	r. 09/28/20
GG L-1034	The Banjopators	r./c. 09/20
Vic 18703	Aileen Stanley	r. 10/22/20
Ed 50737	Premier Quartet	r./c. 1920
Lyric 5229	Helen Bell Rush	i. 12/20
Pat 22465	The Harmonizers	i. 01/21
Cdl 2002	Helen Bell Rush	i. 02/21
Voc A14131	The Harmonizers	i. 03/21
Amb 4219	Premier Quartet	i. 04/21

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

I've Got the Profiteering Blues (Bibo)

Col A-2940	Frank Crumit	r. 04/28/20	

Jass "Lazy Blues" (The) (Anon.)

AV 1218	Dabney's Band	r. 11/17	

Jazz Band Blues (White)

Em 10195	Six Brown Brothers	r./c.04/20	

Jazz Me Blues (Delaney)

Arto 9045	Lucille Hegamin	r./c.11/20	

Joe Turner Blues (Handy)

Col A-5854	Prince's Band	i./c. 09/16	with Yellow Dog Rag
Vic 18174	Victor Military Band	i./c. 11/16	with St. Louis Blues
Em 5178	Emerson Military Band	r./c. 02/17	as part of medley
Paroquette 105	Walter B. Rogers' Band	r./c. 03/17	
Pat 20167	Sweatman's Jazz Band	r./c. 03/17	with Memphis Blues

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Col rej.	Art Hickman & His Orch.	r. 09/25/19	as part of medley
Lyratone 4211	Handy's Orch. of Memphis	r./c. 09/19	

Jogo Blues (Handy)

Col A-2327	Prince's Band	r. 05/24/17	with Beale Street

Johnson Jazz Blues (Johnson)

Ed 50470	Frisco Jazz Band	r. 05/10/17	

Joyman Blues (Smythe)

Col A-2194	Saxo Sextette	r./c. 11/01/17	[All Blues Medley] with Hesitation Blues
Col rej.	Columbia Saxophone Sextette	r. 07/03/19	[All Blues Medley] with Hesitation Blues

Kansas City Blues (Bowman)

Vic 18163	Victor Military Band	r. 09/15/16	
Col A-2768	Wilbur Sweatman's Original Jazz Band	r. 03/24/19	
LW 1192	Jazz Band [= Wilbur Sweatman]	r. 03/24/19	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Kentucky Blues (Steed/Lion)

Em 10317	Merry Melody Men	r./c. 12/20

Klondyke Blues (Lada/Nunez/Cawley)

Vic test	Louisiana Five	r. 02/11/19

Laughing Blues (Lada/Nunez/Cawley)

Em 9158	Louisiana Five	r./c. 12/18
Em 7494	Frisco Five	r./c. 12/18
OK 1249	Louisiana Five	r./c. 05/19

Left All Alone Again Blues (Caldwell/Kern)

Concert 1039	Lyric Dance Orch.	r./c. 01/20
Pat 22346	Van Eps – Banta Trio	r./c. 02/20
Vic 18661	Joseph C. Smith Orch.	r. 03/02/20
Col A-6148	Yerkes Jazarimba Orch.	r. 03/02/20
Col A-2939	Marion Harris	r. 03/25/20
Em 10163	Plantation Dance [or Jazz] Orch.	r./c.03/20

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Pm 20013	Newport Society Orch.	r./c. 03/20
Gnt 9043	Cordes' Society Orchestra	r./c. 05/20
Arto 9041	Joseph Samuels' Dance Orch.	r./c. 11/20

Livery Stable Blues (Nunez/Lopez)

Vic 18255	Original Dixieland Jazz Band	r. 02/26/17
Col A-2419	Handy's Orch. of Memphis	r. 09/25/17
Em 7238	Emerson Military Band	i. 12/17
Pm 30033	Saxojazz Orch.	r./c. 03/18
Col A-2663	Wilbur Sweatman's Original Jazz Band	r. 08/21/18

Log Cabin Blues (Green)

Em 9138	George Hamilton Green	i. 03/19

Lonely Blues (Gedig/Friedman)

PA (0)20480	Jane Green	r./c. 12/20

Lonesome Alimony Blues (Tracey/Hanley)

Pat 20466	Jack Norworth	r./c. 04/20

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Col A-2979	Bert Williams	r. 05/06/20	
Vic rej.	Margeret Young	r. 07/02/20	

Lonesome Blues (Bradford)

AV 12211	Dabney's Band	r./c. 09/19	

Lonesome Road Blues (Nash)

Col rej.	Wilbur Sweatman's Original Jazz Band		
		r. 02/05/19	as part of medley
AV 12135	[Yerkes] Novelty Five	r./c. 03/19	

Lullaby Blues (Kendall/Robinson/Morse)

Col A-2725	American Quartet	r. 03/14/19	
AV 12123	Premier-American Male Quartet		
		i. 06/19	
Gnt 4522	Irving Kaufmann	i. 06/19	
Vic rej.	Joseph C. Smith Orch.	r. 06/25/19	
Vic 18553	American Quartet	i. 07/19	
Em 7513	Emerson Quartet	i. 08/19	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

OK 1214	Premier-American Quartet	i. 09/19	
Pat 22109	Premier American Male Quartet	i. c. 08/19	
OK 4076	Crescent Trio	i. 04/20	

Mama's Blues (Farrell/Johnson)

Em 7320	Eddie Nelson	i. 04/18	

Marriage Blues (Weber/Samuels/Berkin)

OK 4122	Joseph Samuels' Jazz Band	i. 05/20	

Memphis Blues (Handy)

Vic 17619	Victor Military Band	r. 07/15/14	
Col A-5591	Prince's Band	r. 07/24/14	
Vic 17657	Morton Harvey	r. 10/02/14	
Col A-1721	Collins and Harlan	r. 04/19/15	
Ed 50349	National Promenade Band	r./c. 1918	
Pat 20167	Sweatman's Jazz Band	r./c. 03/17	with Joe Turner Blues
Pat 20378	Wadsworth and Arden	i. 07/18	
Pat 22085	Lt. Jim Europe's 369th Infantry	r./c. 03/07/19	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

("Hell Fighters") Band

Missouri Blues (Royce/Brown)

Op/Emp 31115	Synco Jazz Band	r. 03/19
AV 12126	Dabney's Band	r./c. 04/19
Pat 22147	Lt. Jim Europe's 369th Infantry	r./c. 05/07/19
	("Hell Fighters") Band	
Vic rej.	Six Brown Brothers	r. 05/12/19
Em 1056	Six Brown Brothers	r./c. 07/19
Lyric 4170	Kalawao Hawaiian Orch.	i. 10/19
Lyric 4207	Yerkes Novelty Five	r./c. 11/19

Money Blues (Frey)

Vic 18165	Joseph C. Smith Orch.	r. 09/25/16
Amb 3186	Jaudas's Society Orch.	r. 02/01/17
Col A-2241	Howard Kopp-Frank E. Banta	r. 03/06/17

Moonlight Blues (Deane)

Col A-2418	Handy's Orch. of Memphis	r. 09/22/17

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Mournin' Blues (Robinson/Sbarbaro)

Vic 18513	Original Dixieland Jazz Band	r. 07/17/18

Movie Blues (Anon.)

Vic rej.	Six Brown Brothers	r. 06/06/18

Musical Comedy Blues (Green/Stept)

Vic rej.	Marion Harris	r. 10/30/19

Naby Blues (Anon.)

Vic rej.	Marion Harris	r. 08/14/18

New York Blues (Frosini)

Ed 50454	Pietro Frosini	i./c.12/16

Nigger Blues (White)

Col A-2064	George O'Connor	r. 07/18/16
Col A-5854	Prince's Band	i./c. 09/16

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Vic 18174	Victor Military Band	i./c. 11/16	
Ed 50542	Al Bernard	i. 07/19	

Old Bossy Blues (King)

Col rej.	Art Hickman & His Orch.	r. 09/17/19	

Old Grey Mare Blues (Anon.)

Col rej.	Yerkes Southern Five	r. 03/05/20	

Old Joe Blues (Gilbert/Samuels/Vincent)

Pat 22207	Synco Jazz Band	r. 09/19	
Lyratone 4207	[Yerkes'] Novelty Five	r./c. 09/19	
Col rej.	Synco Jazz Band	r. 10/02/19	
Em 10110	Irving & Jack Kaufman	i. 01/20	

Ole Miss Blues (Handy)

Col A-2420	Handy's Orch. of Memphis	r. 09/22/17	[Old Miss Rag]
OK 1156	New Orleans Jazz Band	r./c. 11/18	[Ole Miss]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Pat 22206	Wadsworth's Novelty Dance Orch.	r./c. 09/19
Emp 507	Janes' Novelty Dance Orch.	i. 05/20

Palakiko Blues (Anon.)

Col A-2214	Helen Louise –Frank Ferara	r. 01/16/17

Paradise Blues (Hirsch/Williams)

Vic 18152	Marion Harris	i./c. 01/17

Pee Gee's Blues (Rogers/Clark)

Pat 22206	Wadsworth's Novelty Dance Orch.	r./c. 09/19
Op 31127	Novelty Dance Orch.	i. 01/20
Col rej.	Wilbur Sweatman's Original Jazz Band	r. 06/22/20

Pickaninny Blues (Frost/Klickmann)

AV 14006	Charles Hart/Elliot Shaw	i. 02/20
OK 4067	Crescent Trio	i. 03/20
Lyric 5212	Crescent Trio	i. 03/20
Op 21154	Lewis James	i. 04/20

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Em 10159	Sterling Trio	i. 05/20	
Pm 20011	Henry Burr	i. 05/20	
Emp 417	Lewis James	i. 05/20	
Col A-6162	Prince's Band	r. 06/21/20	
Ed 4039	Crescent Trio	i. 08/20	

Preparedness Blues (Hillman)

Col rej.	Handy's Orch. of Memphis	r. 09/21/17	

Profiteering Blues (Wilson/Bibo)

Col rej.	Jack Kaufman	r. 02/27/20	[I've Got the Profiteering Blues]
Col A-2940	Frank Crumit	r. 03/24/20	
Vic 18666	Billy Murray	i. 06/20	
Pat 22362	Billy Murray	i. 06/20	
Gnt 9032	Jack Kaufman	i. 06/20	
Voc 10467	Billy Murray	i. 08/20	
Pat 22362	Billy Murray	i. 08/20	
Op 21173	Billy Murray	i. 08/20	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Ed 50687	Billy Murray	i. 12/20
Arto 9028	Billy Murray	i. 12/20

Prohibition Blues (Lardner/Bayes)

Gnt 4513	Arthur Collins	i. 05/19
Col A-2823	Nora Bayes	r. 07/17/19

Railroad Blues (Washington/Roberts)

Voc 14047	Harry A. Yerkes Dance Orch.	r./c. 01/20
Col A-2929	Yerkes Southern Five	r. 03/05/20
Em 10157	Plantation Jazz Orch.	r./c. 03/20
AV 14047	Novelty Five	i. 04/20
Gnt 9039	Harry Raderman's Jazz Orch.	r./c. 04/20
OK 4125	Harry Raderman's Jazz Orch.	r./c. 05/20
Ed/Amb 4156	Harry Raderman's Jazz Orch.	r. 08/11/20
Vic 18850	Benson Orch. of Chicago	r. 09/21/20
Arto 9029	Arto Dance Orch.	r. 09/20

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Rainy Day Blues (Mitchell/Warshauer)

Col A-2707	Wilbur Sweatman's Original Jazz Band	r. 01/17/19
Ed rej.	Rudy Wiedoeft and the Master Saxophone Sextette	r. 02/04/19
AV 12105	Dabney's Band	r./c.02/19
OK 1166	Okeh Dance Band	r./c. 02/19
Pat 22068	Rudy Wiedoeft and the Master Saxophone Sextette	r./c. 02/19
Col rej.	Adele Rowland	r. 03/04/19
Ed 50632	Yerkes Saxophone Sextette	r. 03/28/19
Em 9178	Louisiana Five	r./c.03/19
Em 7519	Louisiana Five	r./c.03/19
Vic 18561	Joseph C. Smith Orch.	r. 04/23/19
Pm 33003	Rudy Wiedoeft and the Master Saxophone Sextette	r./c. 06/19

Regretful Blues (Clark/Hess)

Col A-6038	Nora Bayes	r. 03/14/18

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Col A-2548	Sweatman's Original Jazz Band	r. 03/29/18
Pat 20197	Arthur Fields	i./c. 06/17

Ringtail Blues (Robinson/Williams)

Vic rej.	All Star Trio	r. 12/03/18
Col A-2682	Wilbur Sweatman's Original Jazz Band	r. 12/05/18
LW 1041	Jazz Band [= Wilbur Sweatman]	r. 12/05/18
Em 7461	Emerson Military Band	r./c. 12/18
Pat 22050	Wadsworth's Novelty Dance Orch.	r./c. 12/18
AV 12098	Green Brothers Xylophone Orch.	r./c. 01/19
Em 1083	Louisiana Five	r./c. 09/19

Road Is Rocky (The) (Bradford)

OK/Phon 4194	Mamie Smith	r. 09/12/20

Royal Garden Blues (Williams/Williams)

Col rej.	Al B. White	r. 01/09/20
Col rej.	Morrison's Jazz Orch.	r. 04/02/20
Vic test	Morrison's Jazz Orch.	r. 04/13/20

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Br 2077	Bennie Krueger's Orch.	r./c. 12/20	

St. Francis Blues (Hickman)

Col A-2813	Art Hickman & His Orch.	r. 09/20/19	as part of medley

St. Louis Blues (Handy)

Col A-5572	Prince's Band	r. 21/18/15	
Vic 18174	Victor Military Band	i. 12/16	
Col 699	Ciro's Club Coon Orch.	r. 09/17	
Pat 20392	Arthur Collins	i./c. 09/18	
Pat 22038	Wadsworth's Novelty Dance Orch.	r./c.11/18	
Ed 50523	All Star Trio	r. 01/03/19	
OK 1142	All Star Trio	r./c. 01/19	
Pat 22087	Lt. Jim Europe's 369th Infantry ("Hell Fighters") Band	r./c. 03/05/19	
Gnt 4513	Ernest Hare	i. 05/19	
Em 7477	Al Bernard	i. 05/19	
Ed 50523	All Star Trio	i. 06/19	
AV 12148	Al Bernard (with Yerkes' Novelty Five)	i. 07/19	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Lyric 5152	Al Bernard	i. 10/19	
Lyric 4208	All Star Trio	r./c. 11/19	
Ed 50620	Al Bernard	i. 03/20	
Col A-2944	Marion Harris	r. 04/16/20	
OK 4260	Palace Trio	r. 11/20	
Br 2062	Al Bernard	r./c. 11/20	
Pat 22466	Al Bernard	i. 01/21	

St. Swithin Blues (?Baker)

Em 1086	Phil Baker	r./c. 09/19	

Salvation Blues (A Camp Meetin' Croon) (Butler)

Col rej.	Wilbur Sweatman's Original Jazz Band	r. 02/06/19	as part of medley

Satanic Blues (Christian/Shields)

Col 759	Original Dixieland Jazz Band	r. 08/13/19

Saxophone Blues (Bernard/Wiedoeft)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Pat 22213	Ernest Hare	i. 12/19
Em 1082	Ernest Hare	i. 12/19
AV 14027	Ernest Hare	i. 03/20
Br 2040	Ernest Hare	r./c. 07/20
Pm 20010	Al Bernard	i. 05/20

Skip-A-Long Blues (Anon.)

Em 7440	Emerson Military Band	r./c. 10/18

Slide, Kelly, Slide (Trombone Blues) (Kelly/Briegel)

Col A-2775	Wilbur Sweatman's Original Jazz Band	r. 03/24/19
OK 4103	Harry Raderman's Jazz Orch.	r. 02/20
GG L-1003	Grey Gull Dance Band	r./c. 05/20
Ed 50731	Al Bernard and Ernest Hare	r./c. 1920

Slow Drag Blues (Snowdon)

AV 12195	Dabney's Band	r./c. 08/19

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Snakey Blues (The) (Nash)

Col A-2421	Handy's Orch. of Memphis	r. 09/22/17	

Some Jazz Blues (Lake)

Pat 20236	Memphis Pickaninny Band	r./c. 06/17	
Emp/Imp 5531	Empire [Imperial] Band	i. 02/18	
Em 7319	Emerson Military Band	r./c. 01/18	
Lyratone 4140	Lyric Dance Orch.	r./c. 03/18	

Southern Blues (Anon.)

Pat 20101	Louise and Ferara Hawaiian Troupe	i. 03/17	
LW 501	Guitar Duet	? c. 1917	
Lyratone 4165	Kalawao Hawaiian Orch.	i. 09/19	

Squealing Pig Blues (Alexander)

AV 12179	Dabney's Band	r./c. 06/19	
Col rej.	Louisiana Five	r. 11/07/19	as part of medley
Col A-6116	Yerkes Novelty Five	r. 06/02/19	with Easy Pickin's
Gnt 9089	Yerkes Saxophone Sextet	r./c. 07/20	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Stock Yard Blues (Pinkard)

Pm 2041	Van Eps Trio	r./c. 11/17
Br 5204	Brunswick Military Band	r./c. 02/18
Pat 20328	Van Eps-Banta Dance Orch.	r./c. 03/18
Lyratone 4144	Van Eps Trio	i. 07/18
Emp 6220	Van Eps Trio	r./c. 07/18

Taxation Blues (Hess/Rosey/Santly)

Col A-2823	Nora Bayes	r. 07/17/19

Tennessee Blues (Holt/Warner)

Em 786	Gene Rogers	i./c. 10/16

Them Doggon'd Triflin' Blues (Skidmore)

Em 7224	Emerson Dance Orch.	i./c. 09/17

Those Draftin' Blues (Pinkard)

Col rej.	Handy's Orch. of Memphis	r. 09/25/17

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Vic rej.	Six Brown Brothers	r. 06/05/18	[Draftin' Blues]
Em 7364	Arthur Collins	r. 07/15/18	
Pat 20392	Arthur Collins	i. 08/18	
Col A-2645	Wilbur Sweatman's Jazz Orch.	r. 08/17/18	as part of medley
Voc rej.	Marion Harris	r. 10/30/18	
Col A-2813	Art Hickman & His Orch.	r. 09/20/19	as part of medley

Thunderbolt Blues (Lada/Nunez/Cawley)

Em 1026	Louisiana Five	r./c. 05/19	[Thunderbolt]
Em 7549	Louisiana Five	r./c. 05/19	[Thunderbolt]

Tishomingo Blues (Williams)

Em 7320	Eddie Nelson	i. 04/18	
Col A-2634	American Marimba Band	r. 06/28/18	as part of medley
Pat 20365	Arthur Mack	i. 07/18	
Col A-2813	Art Hickman & His Orch.	r. 09/20/19	as part of medley

Ukelele Blues (Louise/Ferara)

Paroquette 54	Louise & Ferara	i./c. 01/17	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Imp 5519	Louise & Ferara	i. 12/17	

Unison Blues (Rogers)

Paroquette 37	Walter B. Rogers Band	r./c. 11/16	
Paroquette 512	Walter B. Rogers Band	r./c. 04/17	

Unlucky Blues (Lewis/Robinson)

Voc 14053	Palace Trio	r. 01/20	
Col A-2941	Bert Williams	r. 04/18/20	
Op 21162	Al Bernard	i. 06/20	
Pat 22375	Al Bernard	i. 08/20	

Vampire Blues (Pinkard)

Em 9138	Emerson Band	i. 03/19	with Venice Blues

Venice Blues (Scibilia)

Em 9138	Emerson Band	i. 03/19	with Vampire Blues

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Venus Blues (Bernard/Robinson)

AV 12148	Al Bernard (acc. Novelty Five)	r./c. 04/19	
OK 1235	Al Bernard (acc. "xyl. orch.")	i. 09/19	

Viriginia Blues (Williams/Lada/Nunez/Cawley)

Em 1076	Louisiana Five	r./c. 07/19	
Col rej.	Louisiana Five	r. 10/30/19	with White Way Blues

Wang Wang Blues (Johnson/Mueller/Busse)

Vic 18694	Paul Whiteman and His Ambassador Orch.	r. 08/09/20

War Bride Blues (Marten/Le Blanc)

Em 1085	All Star Trio	r./c. 09/19

Weary Blues (The) (Matthews)

Pat 20441	Wadworth's Novelty Dance Orch.	r./c. 08/18
Em 10116	Louisana Five	r. 12/19
Vic test	Windy City Trio	r. 05/10/20

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Wedding Blues (The) (?Friedlander)

OK 4217	Lanin's Roseland Orch.	r./c. 09/27/20	
Ed 50715	Lenzberg's Riverside Orch.	i. 04/21	

Weeping Willow Blues (King)

Col A-2819	Columbia Saxophone Sextette	r. 09/23/19	
Em 10172	Louisana Five	r. 12/19	

Where Is My Daddy Now Blues (Yellen/Motzan/Olman)

Col A-3371	Marion Harris	r. 10/06/20	
Ed 50736	Aileen Stanley	r. 10/19/20	

White Way Blues (Lada/Cawley/Nunez)

Col rej.	Louisiana Five	r. 10/30/19	with Virginia Blues

Why Cry Blues (Durante)

Gnt 9045	Jimmy Durante's Jazz Band	r. 05/20	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Wild Romantic Blues (Bryan/Schwartz)

PA (0)204080	Jane Green	r./c. 12/20	

Yama Mama Blues (Williams/Williams)

Col A-2741	Al Jockers'Dance Orch.	r. 03/20/19	as part of medley
Em 9179	Louisiana Five	r./c. 03/19	
Em 7519	Louisiana Five	r./c. 03/19	

Yellow Dog Blues (Handy)

Col A-5854	Prince's Band	i./c. 09/16	[Yellow Dog Rag] with Joe Turner Blues
Vic test	Ben Kelly's Jass Band	r. 11/08/18	
Pat 22038	Wadsworth's Novelty Dance Orch.	r./c. 11/18	[Yellow Dog Rag]
Empire 31107	All Star Trio	r./c. 01/19	[Yellow Dog Rag]
Lyratone 4212	Handy's Orch. of Memphis	r./c. 09/19	
Vic rej.	Joseph C. Smith Orch.	r. 09/25/19	
Col rej.	Art Hickman & His Orch.	r. 09/25/19	as part of medley
Vic 18618	Joseph C. Smith Orch.	r. 10/01/19	with Hooking Cow Blues

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Voc 14007	Paul Biese & His Novelty Orch.	r. 11/19	
OK 4061	Paul Biese & His Novelty Orch.	r. 12/19	
AV 14007	Paul Biese & His Novelty Orch.	i. 02/20	
Ed 50650	Harry Raderman's Jazz Orch.	r. 01/09/20	
Lyric 4212	Bal Taberin Jazz Orch.	i. 02/20	
Em 10133	Selvin's Novelty Orch.	r./c. 02/20	as part of medley

Yelping Hound Blues (Lada/Cawley/Nunez)

Col A-2742	Louisiana Five Jazz Orch.	r./c. 04/01/19	as part of medley
Em 501	Louisiana Five	r./c. 09/19	
Ed 50622	Louisiana Five	r. 09/12/19	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Appendix 3

ROLLOGRAPHY OF PRE-1921 COMMERCIAL BLUES

Introduction and Scope

Below is a list of piano roll recordings of blues copyrighted before January 1, 1921.[1] I have included all known roll recordings of a composition, whether or not they were made by the cut-off date. Piano rolls are a remarkably neglected area in terms of scholarship, far more so than flat-disc and cylinder recordings. For this reason, precise dating of most of the rolls is problematical, as sufficient data is lacking. I have therefore not attempted to place different recordings of a composition chronologically as I did in the discography (Appendix 2), or indeed to date them at all, but have instead arranged them alphabetically by label. However, where I suspect, or know for sure, that a roll was recorded after 01/01/21, I have placed it in square parentheses.

There are two kinds of piano roll represented in this list: hand-played and arranged. Hand-played rolls, as the name implies, are based on an actual performance, the pianist being named on the roll label and in the catalogs. Arranged rolls consisted of a particular arrangement cut straight onto the roll. This was often little more than a direct transfer of the sheet music, although arrangements could also be quite elaborate at times. The difference between the two roll types is often more blurred than this distinction implies, as the hand-played rolls could, and usually were, doctored by correcting any mistakes, quantizing the rhythms, and, at times, fleshing out the arrangements. The result of this is that some hand-played rolls bear only a tangential relationship to the

[1] In one instance, "Twelfth Street Blues," the composition was not copyrighted till 1924, but appears to have been recorded in 1920. The definition of blues is the same as used elsewhere in these appendices. See above, 383.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

performance on which they are based. Certain hand-played rolls have the designation "assisted by *x*." This means that the original performance was added to by another player at a later date, to fill out the arrangement often in order to bring out the melody more clearly (in these cases, the "assistant's" initials are usually given on the other roll label).[2]

This appendix makes no claim to comprehensiveness as there are very few sources to consult. Rolls were not usually copyrighted (the exception for this period were Imperial and Rythmodik rolls, which, for unknown reasons, seem to have been registered for copyright at the Library of Congress on a consistent basis), and so it was not possible to consult copyright records in the way it was for the list of sheet music (Appendix I). The rollography had therefore to be compiled *de novo*, by means of scouring the collections of major collectors[3] and consulting the few contemporaneous catalogs that were available to me. This list, therefore, probably represents only a fraction of the total number of rolls produced, undoubtedly less than half.

Explanation of Column Headings

Column 1: Title. This is as given in Appendix 1. Where alternative titles are used for a roll, either on catalog listings or on the roll itself, these are noted in column 4 in square parentheses.

Column 2: Label and Issue Number. These are listed as they appear in a catalog or on the roll. I have listed different issues of a roll, where known, under the same entry.

---

[2] I am grateful to Michael Montgomery for providing me with the above explanation (phone conversation, 24 January 2003).

[3] I am indebted to two major collectors, Michael Montgomery and Nan Flint, both of Detroit.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Column 3: Performer. These are listed wherever known for hand-played rolls, the information being derived from the roll or a catalog. Where there is no name in this column, the roll is an arranged roll.

Column 4: Other Label Designation(s). As they appear on the roll. I have included:

(1) indicators of genre and/or dance styles: "Blues," "Rag," "Fox Trot," "Blue Fox Trot," etc.;

(2) alternate titles, or variants in titles, in square parentheses;

(3) miscellaneous commentary: "saxophone arrangement"; "jass effects," etc.

Additional Notes

(1) "arr." in column 3 = arranged by.

(2) "FT" in column 4 = Fox Trot.

(3) an entry placed in square brackets means the recording in question is known to have been made after January 1 1921.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1. Title	2. Label & Issue No.	3. Performer	4. Other Label Designation(s)
A.B.C.D. Blues (I've Got the) (Kershaw/Von Tilzer)			
	Imperial 91161	Clarence Jones	FT
	QRS 1293	Pete Wendling	FT
Alcoholic Blues, The (Laska/Von Tilzer)			
	Ampico 200603-F	Donald Mackay	
	Connorized 6501	Clarence Ward (assisted B. M.)	
	Imperial 9815, 62880	Clarence Jones	FT
	Melodee 3445	G. W. Tiffany	FT
	Pianostyle 46938	–	
	QRS Word Roll 812	Pete Wendling (assisted A. H.)	
	Republic 18014	Victor Lane	
	Rythmodik Z103663	Donald Mackay	
	Simplex 7825	Alvin Gardner	FT
	Sing A5825	-	
	Universal 3445	G. W. Tiffany	FT

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Alimony Blues (Wolf/Hirsch)

Imperial 9604	Gene Rodemich	
QRS 539, 100817	Pete Wendling	
Rolla Artis 50772	Clarence Jones	FT

Baby Blues (Rogers/Roberts)

QRS 1067	Pete Wendling	

Baby Seals Blues: Sing 'Em - They Sound Good to Me (Seals)

QRS 32892	-	

Beale Street (Handy)

Columbia 626	Clarence Johnson	
Diamond 6001	-	
Majestic 6724	-	Rag - One Step [Beale Street Blues]
Paramount 5176	Al Johnson	[Beale Street Blues]
QRS 571	J. Russel Robinson	FT [Beale Street Blues]
QRS 33178	-	[Beale Street Blues]
Vocalstyle 10688	Hilda Myers/Walter Esberger	[Beale Street Blues]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Universal 303233	-	[Beale Street Blues]
Universal/Melodee 3603	Edythe Baker	FT
US 8375 B	-	Jazz Interpolation [Beale Street Blues]
US 28989	J. Russel Robinson	Blues [Beale Street]

Beautiful Ohio Blues (King)

Imperial 9995	Les Hoadley
Republic 36118	-
Rythmodik Z105593	Shipman/Joyce
Solo Artist W1333	-

Bell Hop Blues (Goodman/Piantadosi)

Ampico 201043	[Herbert] Clair/Joyce
[Capitol A-661/2	-]
QRS 1044	Pete Wendling
Rythmodik Z1049993	[Herbert] Clair/Joyce

Bigamus Blues (Kortlander)

QRS 795	Max Kortlander	FT

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Big Chief Blues (Al Bernard)

Universal 3553	Barton/Herzog	

Broadway Blues (The) (Swanstrom/Morgan)

Melodee 4153, QRS Q-194	Eubie Blake	
Orient 12651	Howard Lutter	FT
QRS 1285	Pete Wendling	
Supertone 10262	-	
Wurlitzer 50132	Clarence Jones	FT

Bull Frog Blues (Brown/Shrigley)

Perfection 86911	George Morton	
QRS 100572	Ted Baxter/Max Kortlander	Jazz FT
Universal/Melodee 303039	-	Saxophone arrangement

Bunch of Blues (A) (Kelley/Wyer)

88 Note 7596 B	-	
Kimball B6982	-	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Carolina Blues (The) (Holt/Pierson)

Ideal 9300	-	

Chattanooga Blues (Pinkard/Seidel)

Angelus 91837	-	
Ideal 4201	-	Rag
Pianostyle, unknown number	-	
QRS 33175	-	A Slow Drag

Cheerful Blues (Olman)

Connorized 20520	A. Hyland	FT
Imperial 510950	Charley Straight	FT
Paramount 6859	-	

Chinese Blues (Moore/Gardner)

Diamond 17398	-	One-step
Harmony 17363	-	
Imperial 53093	Zema Randale	One Step or Song

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Marvel 2116	-	
Metro-Art 202502	William E. Berge	FT
Perfection 86717	Bert Wynn	FT
QRS 100275	Max Cortlander [sic]	
QRS 32075	-	One-step for dancing
Rythmodik C14202	Annette Frances	
Unisolo 35185	-	

Church Street Sobbin' Blues (Lada/Cawley/Nunez)

Dyna-Record 50165	Walter Davison	
US 9799	-	Jazz Band Novelty

Coal Man Blues (Sandefur/Schoebel)

Imperial 9874	Charley Straight	

Colorado Blues (Bowman).

[Capitol A-2099	-]	
Deluxe 15474	Adam Carroll	
Imperial 510340	J. Russel Robinson	FT

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

US 7483	- (arr. M. E. Brown)			

Crazy Blues (Bradford)

Arto 1290	Harry Johnson	FT		
Ideal 4724	-	Blues de FT		
Melodee 4199	Eubie Blake	FT		
QRS 1309	Pete Wendling			
Republic 38818	Cal Adams	Crazy FT		
Supertone 10265	-			
Starck 8555	-			
Vocalstyle 11868	Walter Davison			

Dallas Blues (Wand)

88-Note 65950	- (arr. M. Annabel Robbins)	Syncopated melody		
88 Note 2734	-		[Capitol A-1987/3	-]
Imperial 9727	Clarence Jones	FT		
Majestic 6865	-	Rag One Step	Pianostyle 46865	-
US 5950	arr. M. E. Brown			
Vocalstyle 11256	Joe Murray	Blue FT		

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Dardanella Blues (The) (Black)

Ampico	Clair/Muriel Pollock	
Imperial 91093	Clarence Jones	
Melodee 3903	Edythe Baker	Blues FT
Orient 12469	Bob Shoemaker	FT
Pianostyle 47560	-	
QRS 1094	Pete Wendling	FT
Rythmodik Z106193	Clair/Muriel Pollock	

Day and Night (Johnson/Roberts/Smythe)

Imperial 58830	Lewis J. Fulks (assisted W. H.)	"Jazz Rag" Production/ FT
QRS 33049	-	
Universal, unknown number	-	
Wurlitzer, unknown number	-	

Discontented Blues (The) (Snowden)

QRS 1108	Pete Wendling	FT

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Don't Care Blues (Bradford)

QRS 774	Wendling/Robinson	FT

Don't Tell Your Monkey Man (Johnson)

Imperial 9850	Clarence Jones	
Melodee S2966	Eubie Blake	FT
QRS 1338	James P. Johnson	FT

Dreaming Blues (Davis/Baker)

Imperial 91124	Clarence Jones	FT
Melodee 3939	Edythe Baker	Blues FT

Early Mornin' Blues (Davis).

Capitol A-682/3	-	
Vocalstyle 12808	Buck Johnson	

Easy Pickin's: What a Hit You Will Agree (Pinkard)

Connorized 6558	Joe Gold	Bluey FT

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fare-Thee Honey Blues (Bradford)

Melodee , 2949, S2950	Eubie Blake	FT

Florida Blues (The) (Jenkins/Jones/Phillips)

Auto A-661/7	-	
[Capitol A-1987/2	-]	
Connorized 20375	W. Arlington	Rag
QRS 32514	-	
US 8284 B	-	Jazz

Flower Garden Blues (Graham/White)

QRS 773	Zez Confrey	FT

Good-bye Blues (Cobb/Roat)

Perfection 86822	Alvin Gardner	FT

Graveyard Blues (The) (Woods/Caldwell)

88 Note 8315	-	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Autokrat 60541	-	FT
Majestic 46450	-	Rag
QRS 33109	-	
Vocalstyle 10656	Bud Wilson	Blues

Heart-Sickness Blues (Coslow/Rose)

Musicnote 1170	-	

Hesitating Blues (The) (Handy)

65 Note 101165	-	FT
88 Note 3095	-	FT
QRS 32271	-	One-step for Dancing
Universal/Melodee 302229	-	FT

Hesitation Blues, or Oh! Baby Must I Hesitate (Middleton/Smythe)

Aeolian, unknown number	-
Auto A-807/1	-
[Capitol A-1987/10	-]
[Capitol A-2282/8	-]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Imperial 9637	Clarence Jones	
Perfection 86727	Chester Henderson	FT
QRS 492, 533	Pete Wendling	FT
QRS 32326	-	One-Step for Dancing
Rolla Artis 50148	Clarence Jones	
Rose Valley, unknown number	-	
Rythmodik C15832	William Berge	
Ideal 9200	-	FT
Universal/Melodee 203076	George Gershwin	
US 7858 B	-	Popular Song
Vocalstyle, unknown number	-	
Wilcox & White, unknown number	-	
Wurlitzer, unknown number	-	

Home Again Blues (Berlin/Akst)

Columbia 75179	Joe Maxon	
Connorized 6968	Joe Gold	FT
Imperial 91273	Clarence Jones	
Kimball 10094	-	FT

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Melodee S2949	Eubie Blake	FT
QRS 1342	J. Russel Robinson	FT
Supertone 5121	-	
Syncronized 198	-	
US 40222	Chet Gordon	
Vocalstyle 11894	Emil Seidel	FT

Homesickness Blues (Hess)

American 94157	-	
Auto A-375/2	-	
Connorized 10342	-	FT
Ideal 1630	-	
QRS 100561	Pete Wendling	FT
Rythmodik C15172	Pete Wendling	
Supertone 10269	-	
Universal/Melodee 302883	-	FT

Honolulu Blues (The) (Clarke/Monaco)

Metro-Art/Uni-Record 202872	George Gershwin	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

QRS 100387	Hal Pope	FT
Rythmodik A15112	Pete Wendling	

Hooking Cow Blues (The) (Williams/Handy)

QRS 595	J. Russel Robinson (assisted A. H.)	FT
US 28952	J. Russel Robinson	

Houston Blues (The) (Thomas)

Kimball 10217	-	

How Long, How Long: Absent Blues (White)

Connorized 6812	Joe Gold	FT
International 92333	-	FT
QRS 1620	J. Russel Robinson	FT
Vocalstyle 11730	Joe Murray	

Hula Blues (The) (Cunha/Noble)

Imperial 91137	Roy Bargy/Charley Straight	
Melodee 4113	Cliff Hess	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Pop 1186	Bud Sparrow/Al Short	FT
QRS 1232	Pete Wendling	FT

I Got the Blues (Berk)

Connorized 6261	H. Claar	FT

Irresistible Blues (Tutt/Roberts)

Vocalstyle 11463	Luckey Roberts	

I've Got the Army Blues (Gilbert/Morgan)

Ideal 1819	-	Army Blues

I've Got the Blue Ridge Blues (Mason/Cooke/Whiting)

Imperial 9737	Clarence Jones	FT
QRS 689	Arthur Sizemore	FT
Rythmodik Z19673	W. J. Duncan	
Vocalstyle	Joe Murray	FT

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

I've Got the Blues for Home Sweet Home (Jerome/Goetz/Meyer)

QRS 100427	Charley Straight	FT for Dancing

I've Got the Blues for My Old Kentucky Home (Gaskill)

Imperial 91230	Roy Bargy	
Melodee 4121	Erlebach/Milne	
QRS 1294	J. Russel Robinson	FT

I've Got the Prohibition Blues, For Booze (Turner/Zerse)

Connorized 6524	H. Claar (assisted C. M.)	FT

I've Got the Santa Claus Blues (Marion/Bargy)

Imperial 9953	Roy Bargy	

Jazz Band Blues (Graham/White)

Dyna-Record 50129	Allison/Crawford	FT
Keynote 1193	-	
Melodee 3871	Edythe Baker	FT
US 39036	J. Russel Robinson	FT

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Jazz Me Blues (The) (Delaney)

Cecile 7218	-	
Connorized 6958	Joe Gold	FT
[QRS 8790	J. Lawrence Cook]	
Supertone 5154	Paul Jones	
Syncronized 218	-	

Jelly Roll Blues (The) (Morton)

88 Note 7445B	-	FT
Connorized 3485	-	FT
QRS 32351	-	The Original Jelly Roll
Rolla Artis 50192	Clarence Jones	FT
Vocalstyle 50505	Jelly Roll Morton	Blues

Joe Turner Blues (Handy)

Imperial 58820, 958820	Lewis J. Fulks	FT
Kimball B6929	-	
QRS 1830	James P. Johnson	FT

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[QRS 7984	J. Lawrence Cook]	
QRS 32287	-	One-Step Two-Step Rag
Universal/Melodee 3607	Edythe Baker	FT
Universal 302465	-	FT
US 8311 B	-	Jazz Interpolations
Vocalstyle 12218	Harry Wilsey	Blues

Jogo Blues (The) (Handy)

88 Note 2733	-	The Memphis Itch; Rag
US/88 Note 66030	-	The Memphis Itch; Rag

Joy Man Blues (Middleton/Smythe)

National, unknown number	-	
QRS 33022	-	One-Step for Dancing
Vocalstyle, unknown number	-	

Kansas City Blues (Bowles/Bowman)

Auto A-375/9	-	
[Capitol A-2282/5	-]	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Diamond 19753	-	
Kimball A 7011	-	
Melodee 3889	Edythe Baker	FT
U.S. 7482	-	
Vocalstyle 11199	Joe Murray	FT

Kentucky Blues (Steed/Lion)

National, unknown number	-	
QRS, unknown number	-	
Vocalstyle, unknown number	-	

Landlord Blues (Laska/Von Tilzer)

Connorized 6656	Eva Reeves	FT
Imperial 9917	Clarence Jones	FT
Majestic 1199	-	FT

Left All Alone Again Blues (Caldwell/Kern)

Connorized 6790	Joe Gold	FT
Duo-Art 1664	George Gershwin	FT

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Imperial 91042	Charley Straight/Roy Bargy	
Meloart 709	"Woody" Frisino	FT
Melodee 3845	George Gershwin	FT
Orient 12447	-	FT
Pianostyle 47525	-	
QRS 1073	Phil Ohman	FT
Rythmodik Z105993	Clair/Muriel Pollock	
Victory 1392	-	FT
Vocalstyle 11639	-	

Livery Stable Blues (Lee/Nunez/Lopez)

Connorized 20510	W. Arlington	FT
Imperial 510400	Art Kahn	"Jazz Rag" Production FT
Majestic 46421	-	Rag
Paramount	-	Rag
QRS 100646	Ted Baxter/Max Kortlander	Jazz FT
Royal 3957	-	
Rythmodik D18453	William Berge	
Selected 168	-	FT

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Supertone 5231	J. Russel Robinson	
US	J. Russel Robinson	FT

Lonesome Blues (Bradford)

Connnorized 20659	H. Claar	
QRS 544	Pete Wendling	FT
US 8768	-	

Long Lost Blues (The) (Kelley/Wyer)

Auto A-661/3	-	
QRS 100256	Harold Weber	

Lovin' Blues (Davis/Papa)

Rhythmodik Z106013	Herbert Clair (assisted M. P.)	

Lullaby Blues (Kendall/Robinson/Morse)

Imperial 62840	Charley Straight/Clyde	
Melodee 3317	Theodore Morse	Waltz Blues
QRS 794	J. Russel Robinson	Waltz Blues

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Universal 3317	Theodore Morse	
Vocalstyle 11451	Walter Davidson	

Mama's Blues (Farrell/Johnson)

Connorized 6129	W. Arlington	FT
Pianostyle 46409	-	Rag One Step
QRS 231	Pete Wendling	FT
Rythmodik E17933	James P. Johnson	
Singa/Supertone 5228	James P. Johnson	FT
UniversalMelodee 2335	James P. Johnson/Edwin E. Wilson	Jass-FT
US 29113	J. Russel Robinson	

Marriage Blues (Weber/Samuels/Berkin)

Rythmodik Z106173	Marion Scott	

Melancholy Blues: The Yodlin' Blues (Debrow/Williams/Robinson)

QRS 749	J. Russel Robinson	FT

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Memphis Blues (The) (Norton/Handy)

88 Note 22014	-	
[Capitol A-1987/5	-]	
Imperial 9639	Jack Clyde	
Kimball B6343	-	or Mr. Crump
Little Gem	Joe Fecher	Mr Crump
Melodee 4371	Eubie Blake	FT
Perfection 86337	Joseph Fecher	
QRS 100243	Phil Goldberg	
QRS 31549	-	or Mr. Crump
QRS 491	Pete Wendling	FT
[QRS 491	J. Lawrence Cook	Barrelhouse Blues/ New Arrangement]
Supertone 4261	Clarence Jonhson	Blue FT
Universal/Melodee 301153	-	Rag

Misery Blues (Lodge)

Wurlitzer 1045/1	-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Missouri Blues (Royce/Brown)

Imperial 9852	Charley Straight/ Burt Franklin	
Metro-Art 203534	Frank C. Milne	FT
Supertone 10276	-	

Money Blues (The) (Frey)

Duo-Art 1516	Frank Banta	
Universal 203163	Frank Banta	FT

Moonlight Blues (Deane)

Perfection 86988	Frank C. Weston	Jazz-Rag Waltz

Muscleshoals Blues (Thomas)

Kimball 10069	-	FT
QRS 1888	James P. Johnson	FT
US 40258	Chet Gordon	FT
USP 40258	-	
Vocalstyle 12191	Harry Willsey	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Nervous Blues (Bradford)

QRS Q128	James P. Johnson	

New Orleans Hop Scop Blues (Thomas)

Kimball 10070, B7017	-	FT
Meloart 700	Lee Jackson	FT

Nigger Blues (White)

Ideal 4600	-	Saxophone Rag
Imperial 58140	Zema Randale (assisted W. H.)	Jazz chorus with rag obligato [*sic*]
QRS 31663	-	
Vocalstyle 12217	Harry Wilsey	Blues

Old Joe Blues (Gilbert/Samuels/Vincent)

Imperial 9914	Les Hoadley	FT

Ole Miss Blues (Handy)

QRS Q132	James P. Johnson	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Original Chicago Blues (The) (White)

Imperial 54510	Zema Randale	
QRS 32157	-	Rag

Paradise Blues; or, When You Play the Blues, I'm Right in Paradise (Hirsch/Williams)

Ideal 3505	-	Saxophone FT
QRS 33111	-	FT for dancing
QRS 232	Pete Wendling	
Vocalstyle 10633	Hilda Wehmeier (assisted M. A..)	Jazz arrangement

Pickaninny Blues (Frost/Klickmann)

Imperial 91026	Bob Alden/George Stanley	
International 7005	-	
QRS 1181	Victor Arden/Phil Ohman	Waltz
Vocalstyle 11598	Allison/Davison	

Pipe Dream Blues (Kendall/Williams/Robinson)

QRS 494	Phil Baxter/Max Kortlander	FT

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Preparedness Blues (Hillman/Idle)

O.K. Houck Piano Co., unnumbered	-	
Universal 8504, 303235	-	FT

Profiteering Blues (I've Got the) (Wilson/Bibo)

Artempo 74570	-	

Prohibition Blues (Al Sweet)

Ideal 2056	-	FT

Race Track Blues (The) (Leslie/Wendling/Monaco)

QRS 1239	Pete Wendling	FT

Racing Blues (Fleeson/Von Tilzer)

Melodee 3891	Edythe Baker	FT

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Railroad Blues (Washington/Roberts)

Imperial 91005	Roy Bargy	FT
Melodee 3829	Edythe Baker	FT
QRS 1141	Pete Wendling	
Vocalstyle 11356	Luckey Roberts	

Rainy Day Blues (Mitchell/Warschauer)

Auto A-682/1	-	
QRS 830	Zez Confrey	FT
Republic 20914	Cal Adams	FT
Rythmodik J102073	Victor Arden/Harry Thomas	
Supertone 5979	Gordon/Brown	FT

Regretful Blues (Clark/Hess)

Imperial 9505	Charley Straight	FT
Melodee 2737	Erlebach/Hirsch	FT
Perfection 87201	Arthur Franklin	Jazz-Rag FT

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Ringtail Blues (Robinson/Williams)

[Capitol A-1987/6	-]	
Imperial 62490	Charley Straight/Clyde	

Rock-a-bye Baby Blues (Rogers/Roberts)

Melodee 3875	Edythe Baker	FT

Royal Garden Blues (Williams/Williams)

Imperial 9897	Clarence Jones	FT
Melodee 3831	Edythe Baker	FT
QRS 932	J. Lawrence Cook	
QRS 974	J. Russel Robinson	

Saint Louis Blues (Handy)

American/Columbia 547	Clarence Johnson	
Ampico 210351-E	Adam Carroll	FT
Arto 1509	Billy Hegamin	FT
Atlas 3123	Finisher Johnson	
[Capitol A-2282/1	-]	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Connorized 7929	Bud Earl	FT
Duo-Art 0665	A. Moran	
Duo-Art 1650	Edythe Baker	
Imperial 06578	-	Blues FT
Imperial 91146	Clarence Jones	FT
International 93689	-	
Melodee 3463	Edythe Baker	FT
Paramount 5190	Al Johnson	Blues FT
Perfection 86906	Al Burrows	One Step Rag Novelty
[Playrite 5396	Armand Muth	FT]
[QRS 1001	Fats Waller]	
QRS 1185	J. Russel Robinson	FT
[QRS 2323, 3871, 4926	J. Lawrence Cook	Blues FT New Arrangement]
QRS 31664	-	
Rollo Mexico 1509	-	Blues [San Louis Blues]
Supertone 6031	Clarence Johnson	
Universal 302469	-	FT
Universal 3463	Frank C. Milne	FT
US 38935	J. Russel Robinson	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Sa-Mo-a Blues (Pérès)

Kimball 7310 -

Saxophone Blues (Bernard)

Rythmodik Z106133 Herbert Clair/M. P.

Separation Blues (Barbour)

QRS 3603 -

Snakey Blues (The) (Nash)

Ideal 6000 -

Some Jazz Blues (Lake)

Universal/Melodee 303243 -

Squealin' Pig Blues (Alexander)

QRS 916 Pete Wendling FT

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Stock Yard Blues (Pinkard)

Metro-Art 203394	Paul Paris	FT

Sugar Blues (Fletcher/Williams)

Connorized7320	Bert Reeves	FT
Imperial X5193	Jack Clyde	FT
International 92323	-	FT
Pianostyle 17019	-	
QRS 2172, Q140	Clarence Williams	
[QRS 5205	J. Lawrence Cook	FT]
Supreme 6278	Chet Simpson	FT
US 39953	Clarence Johnson	

Suicide Blues (Norton/de Rose)

Col A-2254/7	-

Swanee Blues (Goodman/Delcamp)

Melodee 3873	Edythe Baker	FT

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Sweet Baby Blues (Williams)

Auto A-661/9	-	
US 8316 B	-	Banjo Blues "Jazz" Interpolations

Tar-Heel Blues (The) (Brymn)

Diamond 18513	-	FT
Uni-Record/Melody 202283	Felix Arndt	FT

Taxation Blues (Hess/Rosey/Santly)

Vocalstyle 11480	Cliff Hess	Blue FT

Temptation Blues (The) (Barbour)

Imperial 9927	Roy Bargy	FT

Tennessee Blues (Holt/Warner)

Autokrat 60335	-	FT
Connorized 20380	Mizz M. Blaumann	FT
QRS 228	Pete Wendling	FT
Thermodist Metrostyle	-	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

302997		
Universal 302997	-	FT
US 8248 B	-	Popular Song
Vocalstyle 10571	Hilda Wehmeier	

That Heavenly Jazz (The Religious Blues) (Dempsey/Schmid)

Ideal W4708	Ed Sheppard	

Them Doggon'd Triflin' Blues (Skidmore)

Conorized 20519	A. Hyland (assisted W. K.)	FT- Jass Effects

Those Draftin' Blues (Pinkard)

Connorized 6217	Maceo Pinkard	
Imperial 9552	Clarence Jones	FT
Perfection 87298	Alvin Gardner	FT
QRS 479	Pete Wendling (assisted Gene H. Buck)	
Singa 5629	Alvin Gardner	FT
Universal/Melodee 2915	Herzog/Eastwood	FT
US 38758	Brown/J. Russel Robinson	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Those Harmelodic Blues (Goldberg)

US 18939	Phil Goldberg	

Those Sighing Hawaiian Blues (Goodman/Rubin)

QRS 100551	Max Kortlander	FT

Tishomingo Blues (Williams)

Artempo 70940	Lester Alberton	FT
Imperial 9562	Jack Clyde	FT
Imperial 9819	Charley Straight	
Pianostyle 46745	-	Rag Four-hand Arrangement
QRS 431, 100774	Pete Wendling	FT
Rolla Artis 50743	Clarence Jones	FT
Universal/Melodee 3623	Edythe Baker	FT
US 28679	J. Russel Robinson	
Vocalstyle 11024	Joe Murray, assisted W. E.	FT

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Triangle Jazz Blues (Leclere)

QRS 100631	Max Kortlander	

Tulsa Blues (The) (Robison)

US 29145	J. Russel Robinson	FT

Twelfth Street Blues (Heagney)

Duo-Art 713103	Edythe Baker	
Melodee 3893	Edythe Baker	FT
Melodee 303343	-	

Undertaker's Blues (Lopez)

QRS 493	J. Russel Robinson	
US 38963	J. Russel Robinson	

Unlucky Blues (Lewis/Robinson)

Imperial 91046	Clarence Jones	FT

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Wandering Blues (Smith).

QRS 219	Ted Baxter/ Max Kortlander	Jazz One-Step

Wang-Wang Blues (Johnson/Mueller/Busse)

Arto 1403	Doris Goodwin	FT
Connorized 6998	Joe Gold	FT
Diamond D-4	-	FT
Ideal 2949	-	FT de Blues
Kimball 10117	-	FT
Majestic 1617, 4181	-	FT – Blue
Melodee S2985	Eubie Blake	FT
Pianostyle 11049, 47790	-	
Pop 1357	Al Newman (assisted W. C. J.)	FT
QRS 1366	Pete Wendling	FT
Supertone 5141	Dave Gwyn	FT
Vocalstyle 11925	Emil Seidel	Blues

War Bride Blues (Marten/Le Blanc)

Auto A-661/4	-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Melodee S2961	Eubie Blake	FT

Weary Blues (The) (Matthews)

Metrostyle/Universal 302382	-	
Perfection 86706	Elmer Bendix	FT
U.S. 302383	-	

West Texas Blues (The) (Booker)

Melodee 4051	Cliff Hess

Where-Is-My-Daddy-Now Blues (Yellen/Motzan/Olman)

Imperial 91215	Clarence Jones

Whistling Blues (Barnett/Holtsworth)

Supertone 10284	-

Why Don't You Drive My Blues Away? (Lovesick Blues) (Davis/Papa)

Imperial 91035	Clarence Jones
Rhythmodik J104653	Edgar Fairchild

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Wicked Blues (Bradford)

Columbia 94122	Clarence Johnson	
QRS 937	Pete Wendling	FT

Yama Yama Blues (Williams/Williams)

Connorized 6493	H. Claar (assisted B. M.)	FT – a Bluey Blues
Imple 7791	Edna Mackey	FT
Singa 5791	Edna Mackay	FT
Universal 3331	Ennison/Hammond	Saxophone FT

Yellow Dog Blues (Handy)

Arto 1066	Doris Goodwin	One-Step
[Capitol A-2282/6	-]	
Connorized 6709	Joe Gold (assisted E. B.)	FT
Ideal 6002	-	FT
Imperial 9881	Clarence Jones	FT [Yellow Dog Rag]
Paramount	Al Johnson	
Pianostyle 47464	-	FT

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

QRS 1040	J. Russel Robinson	FT
[QRS 9557	J. Lawrence Cook]	
QRS 100247	Phil Goldberg	FT Blues [Yellow Dog Rag]
QRS 32207	-	[Yellow Dog Rag]
Universal/Melodee 3551	Edythe Baker	FT [Yellow Dog Rag]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Appendix 4

COMMERCIAL PROTO-BLUES, 1850-1913

Ain't Dat a Shame? Words by John Queen, music by Walter Wilson. New York: Howley, Haviland & Dresser, 1901.

Ain't Dat Too Bad? Words by Charles Kohlman, music by Hughie Cannon. New York: Parker Music Co., 1905.

Alabama Bound. Words and music by Ed Rogers, Saul Aronson & Will L. Becker. New York: Witmark, 1910.

Alic Busby, Don't Go Away. Words and music by Hughie Cannon. New York: Howley, Haviland & Dresser, 1904.

All Night Long. Words and music by Shelton Brooks. Chicago: Will Rossiter, 1912.

Bad-Rag. Music by Antonio Maggio. Unpublished manuscript in Library of Congress, 1910.

Bill Bailey, Won't You Please Come Home. Words and music by Hughie Cannon. New York: Howley, Haviland & Dresser, 1902.

Bill You Done Me Wrong. Words and music by Leighton and Leighton. Chicago: Tell Taylor, 1908.

Billy's Request: A Cure for the Blues. Words by Billy Birch, music by W. F. Wellman, Jr. Boston: W. F. Wellman, Jr., 1879.

Bull Frog Rag. Music by Geraldine Dobyns. Memphis: Anderson-Reinhardt Co., 1908.

Dat New Bully. Words by Juno P. Wilson, music by Joseph Hirschbach. San Francisco: Pacific Music, 1895.

De New Bully. Words by Will C. Carleton, music by J. W. Cavanaugh. Newark, N. J.: Essex Music, 1896.

Fare Thee "Honey" Fare Thee Well. Words by John Queen, music by Walter Wilson. New York: Howley, Haviland and Dresser, 1901.

Frankie and Johnny, or You'll Miss Me in the Days to Come. Words and music by the Leighton Brothers and Ren Shields. Chicago: Tell Taylor, 1912.

Gee but I've Got the Blues. Words and music by J.R. Shannon. Detroit: Grinnell, 1909.

He Done Me Wrong (The Death of Bill Bailey). Words and music by Hughie Cannon. New York: Howley & Dresser, 1904.

Honky Tonky Monkey Rag. Words and music by Chris Smith. Chicago: Thompson, 1911.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

I'd Leave Ma Happy Home for You. Words by Will A. Heelan, music by Harry Von Tilzer. New York: Shapiro, Bernstein & Von Tilzer, 1899.

I Got the Blues. Music by Antonio Maggio. New Orleans: A. Maggio, 1908.

I Have Got the Blues Today! Words by Sarah M. Graham, music by Gustave Blessner. Troy, NY: Firth Pond & Co., 1850.

I'll Leave It You, or The Chapter Song. Words and music by Hughie Cannon. New York: Howley, Haviland & Dresser, 1903.

I'm a Do Right Woman. Words by Edgar Leslie, music by Lewis F. Muir. New York: F. A. Mills, 1912.

I'm Alabama Bound. Music by Robert Hoffman. New Orleans: Robert Eberman, 1909.

I'm Alabama Bound. Words by John J. Puderer, music by Robert Hoffman. New Orleans: John Puderer, 1910.[1]

I Natur'ly Loves That Yeller Man. Words and music by Deas and Wilson. New York: Joseph W. Stern, 1898.

I've Got De Blues, a Colored Complaint. Words and music by Chris Smith and Elmer Bowman. New York: Lyceum, 1901.

I Wonder Where My Easy Rider's Gone. Words and music by Shelton Brooks. Chicago: Will Rossiter, 1913.

Jim Badger. Words and music by Hughie Cannon. New York: Charles K. Harris, 1904.

Just Because She Made Dem Goo-Goo Eyes. Words by John Queen, music by Hughie Cannon. New York: Howley, Haviland & Dresser, 1900.

Kindly Hum *Home Sweet Home* to Me. Words and music by Hughie Cannon. New York: Howley, Haviland & Dresser, 1903.

Let's Go To Savannah G.A. Words by L. Wolfe Gilbert, music by Lewis F. Muir and Maurice Abraham. New York: F. A. Mills, 1911.

Looking for a Bully. Written and Composed by Joseph E. Howard. New York: Joseph Stern, 1895.

May Irwin's Bully Song. Words and music Charles E. Trevathan. New York: White-South Music Publishing, 1896.

Mister Johnson, Turn Me Loose: a Coon Novelty. Words and music by Ben Harney. New York: Witmark, 1896.

[1] Copyright on this edition transferred to Jerome Remick, New York, 1911.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

New Bully (The). Words and music by Joseph E. Howard. New York: Joseph E. Howard, 1895.

New Bully (The). Words and music by Lee Johnson. San Francisco: Zeno Mauvais Music, 1896

Oh, Ain't I Got the Blues! Words and music by A. A. Chapman. Brooklyn, NY: J.W. Smith, Jr., 1871.

Oh Susie! Dis Coon Has Got the Blues: A Case of African Despondency. Words by J. W. Murray, music by Ferdinand C. Mock. New York: Witmark, 1897.

Oh You Beautiful Doll. Words by A. Seymour Brown, music by Nat D. Ayer. New York: Remick, 1911.

One O' Them Things!: Rag Time Two Step. Music by James Chapman and Leroy Smith. St. Louis: Joseph Lacht, 1904.

Possumala Dance, or My Honey. Words and music by Irving Jones. New York: Willis Woodward, 1894.

Put Me Wise. Words and music by Hughie Cannon. New York: F. A. Mills, 1904.

Rag Medley No. 1. Music by Blind Boone. Columbia, Mo.: Allen Music Co., 1908.

Rag Medley No. 2. Music by Blind Boone. Columbia, Mo.: Allen Music Co., 1909.

St. Louis Tickle. Music by Barney and Seymore [Theron C. Bennett]. Chicago: Victor Kremer and Co. 1902.

Since Bill Bailey Came Back Home. Words by Billy Johnson, music by Seymour Furth. New York: Howley, Haviland & Dresser, 1902.

Stack-O-Lee. Words and music by the Three White Kuhns. Chicago: Sunlight Music Co., 1910.

Standing on the Corner, Didn't Mean No Harm. Words and music by George Evans. Cincinnati: J. C. Groene & Co., 1894.

Take Me Back, Babe! Words and music by T. Barrett McMahon. Boston: George W. Setchell, 1898.

Tenth Street Rag. Music by Euday L. Bowman. Unpublished manuscript in Library of Congress, 1914.

Texas Rag. Music by Callus Welborn Jackson. Dallas: C. W. Jackson, 1905.

When Ragtime Rosie Ragged the Rosary. Words by Edgar Leslie, music by Lewis F. Muir. New York: F.A. Mills, 1911.

You Needn't Come Home. Words and music by Hughie Cannon. New York: Howley, Haviland & Dresser, 1901.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

You're My Baby. Words by Arthur Seymour, music by Nat D. Ayer. New York: Remick, 1912.

You've Been a Good Old Wagon. Words and music by Ben Harney. Louisville, Ky.: Greenup, 1895.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Miscellaneous Books

Abbott, Lynn and Doug Seroff. Out of Sight: The Rise of African American Popular Music 1889-1895. Jackson, Miss.: University of Mississippi Press, 2002.

Anderson, Warren D. Ethos and Education in Greek Music: The Evidence of Poetry and Philosophy. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966.

Armstrong, Mary Frances and Helen Ludlow. Hampton and Its Students. By Two of Its Teachers: With Fifty Cabin and Plantation Songs, arranged by Thomas P. Fenner. New York: G. P. Putnam, 1874.

Badger, Reid. A Life in Ragtime: A Biography of James Reese Europe. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Baresel, Anton. Das Jazz-Buch. Leipzig: Zimmermann, 1926.

Barlow, William. "Looking Up at Down": The Emergence of Blues Culture. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989.

Bastin, Bruce. Red River Blues: The Blues Tradition in the Southeast. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995.

Bergreen, Laurence. As Thousands Cheer: The Life of Irving Berlin. New York: Viking, 1990.

Berlin, Edward A. Ragtime: a Musical and Cultural History. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980.

Blesh, Rudi. Shining Trumpets: a History of Jazz. New York: Knopf, 1946.

_____ and Harriet Janis. They All Played Ragtime, 2nd ed. New York: Oak Publications, 1966.

Borneman, Ernest. A Critic Looks at Jazz. London: Jazz Music Books, 1946.

Bradford, Perry. Born With the Blues. New York: Oak Publications, 1965.

Broonzy, William and Yannick Bruynoghe. Big Bill Blues: Big Bill Broonzy's Story as Told To Yannick Bruynoghe. 1955. Reprint, New York: Oak Publications, 1964.

Brown, Cecil. *Stagolee Shot Billy*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Brunn, H. O. The Story of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band. 1960. Reprint, New York: Da Capo, 1977.

Burian, Emil. Jazz. Prague: Storch-Marien, 1928.

Charters, Samuel. The Country Blues. 1959. Reprint, New York: Da Capo, 1975.

_____. The Bluesmen: The Story and the Music of the Men Who Made the Blues. New York: Oak Publications, 1966-7.

Clarke, Donald. The Rise and Fall of Popular Music. London: Penguin, 1995.

Cockrell, Dale. Demons of Disorder: Early Blackface Minstrels and Their World. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Collier, James Lincoln. The Making of Jazz: A Comprehensive History. New York: Dell, 1979.

_____. The Reception of Jazz in America: A New View. Brooklyn: Institute for Studies in American Music, 1988.

_____. Jazz: The American Theme Song. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Coeuroy, André and André Schaeffner. Le Jazz. Paris: Éditions Claude Aveline, 1926.

Courlander, Harold. Negro Folk Music U.S.A. New York: Columbia University Press, 1963.

Davis, Angela. Blues Legacies and Black Feminism. New York: Vintage Books, 1998.

Davis, Francis. History of the Blues: The Roots, the Music, the People from Charley Patton to Robert Cray. New York: Hyperion, 1995.

Denning, Michael. The Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century. New York: Verso, 1997.

Derrida, Jacques. De la Grammatologie. Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1967.

_____, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. Of Grammatology. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976.

Dobie, J. Frank, ed. Rainbow in the Morning: Publications of the Texas Folklore Society, no.5, 1965. Reprint, Denton, Tex.: University of North Texas Press, 2000.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Dodge, Roger Pryor. Hot Jazz and Jazz Dance: Collected Writings 1929-64. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Douglass, Frederick. My Bondage and Freedom. New York: Penguin Books, 2003.

Epstein, Dena J. Sinful Tunes and Spirituals. Urbana: University of Illinois, 1977.

Evans, David. Big Road Blues: Tradition and Creativity in the Folk Blues. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.

Filene, Benjamin. Romancing the Folk: Public Memory & American Roots Music. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.

Finkelstein, Sidney. Jazz: A People's Music. 948. Reprint, New York: Da Capo, 1975.

Ford, James L. Forty-Odd Years in the Literary Shop. New York: Dutton, 1921.

Garon, Paul. Blues and the Poetic Spirit. London: Edison 1975.

Geller, James L. Famous Songs and Their Stories. New York: Macaulay, 1931.

Goffin, Robert. Aux Frontiéres du jazz. Paris: Éditions du Sagittaire, 1932.

Hamm, Charles. Yesterdays: Popular Song in America. New York: W.W. Norton, 1983.

Handy, William Christopher. Father of the Blues: An Autobiography. 1941. Reprint, New York: Da Capo, 1991.

Hasse, John Edward, ed. Ragtime: Its History, Composers, and Music. London: Macmillan, 1985.

Hatch, Christopher and David W. Bernstein, ed. Music Theory and the Exploration of the Past. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.

Hobson, Wilder. American Jazz Music. 1939. Reprint, New York: Da Capo, 1976.

Jasen, David. Tin Pan Alley: The Composers, the Songs, the Performers and the Times. New York: Donald I. Fine, 1988.

_____ and Trebor Jay Tichenor. Rags and Ragtime: A Musical History. New York: Dover, 1989.

_____ and Gene Jones. Spreading Rhythm Around: Black Popular Songwriters, 1880-1930. New York: Schirmer, 1998.

Christopher Johnson. Derrida. New York: Routledge, 1999.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Jones, Leroi [Amiri Baraka]. Blues People: Negro Music in White America. New York: William Morrow, 1963.

Keil, Charles. Urban Blues. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966.

Koenig, Karl, ed. Jazz in Print (1856-1929): An Anthology of Selected Early Readings in Jazz History. Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon, 2002.

Krehbiel, Henry Edward. Afro-American Folksongs. New York: Schirmer, 1913.

Laws, G. Malcolm, Jr. Native American Balladry, rev. ed. Philadelphia: The American Folklore Society, 1964

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. Tristes Tropiques. Paris: Plon, 1955.

_____. Tristes Tropiques, trans. John Weightman and Doreen Weightman. New York: Atheneum, 1984.

Lomax, Alan. The Land Where the Blues Began. New York: Pantheon Books, 1993.

_____. Mister Jelly Lord: The Fortunes of Jelly Roll Morton. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.

Marsh, J. B. T. The Story of the Jubilee Singers, with Their Songs. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1876.

McClary, Susan. Conventional Wisdom: The Content of Musical Form. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.

Murray, Albert. The Hero and the Blues. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1973.

_____. Stomping the Blues. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1976.

Oakley, Giles. The Devil's Music: A History of the Blues. 1976. Reprint, New York: Da Capo, 1997.

Odum, Howard W. and Guy B. Johnson. The Negro and his Songs. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1925.

_____ and Guy B. Johnson. Negro Workaday Songs. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1926.

Oliver, Paul. Blues Fell this Morning: the Meaning of the Blues. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1960.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

_____. Screening the Blues: Aspects of the Blues Tradition. London: Cassell, 1968.

_____. The Story of the Blues. London: Design Yearbook, 1969.

_____. Savannah Syncopators: African Retentions in Blues. New York: Stein & Day, 1970.

_____. Songsters and Saints: Vocal Traditions on Race Records. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

O'Neal, Jim and Amy Van Singel, eds. The Voice of the Blues: Classic Interviews from Living Blues Magazine. New York: Routledge, 2002.

Osgood, Henry O. So This Is Jazz. Boston: Little and Brown, 1926.

Palmer, Robert. Deep Blues. New York: Penguin Books, 1981.

Panassié, Hughes. Hot Jazz: The Guide to Swing Music, trans. Lyle and Eleanor Dowling. Westport, Conn.: Negro Universities Press, 1936.

_____. The Real Jazz. New York: Smith and Durrell, 1947.

Pratt, Ray. Rhythms of Resistance: Explorations in the Political Use of Popular Music. New York: Praeger, 1990.

Ramsey, Frederic, Jr., and Charles Edward Smith, eds. Jazzmen. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1939.

Reuss, Richard A. American Folk Music and Left-Wing Politics 1927-1957. Langham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2000.

Rosenberg, Neil V., ed. Transforming Tradition: Folk Music Revivals Examined. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993.

Rosenthal, G. S. and F. Zachary, eds. Jazzways. New York: Greenberg, 1946.

Rust, Brian. My Kind of Jazz. London: Elm Tree Books, 1990.

Sanjek, Russell and David Sanjek. American Popular Music Business in the Twentieth Century. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Schuller, Gunther. Early Jazz. New York: Oxford University Press, 1968.

Sargeant, Winthrop. Jazz: Hot and Hybrid. 1938. Reprint, New York: Da Capo, 1975,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Seldes, Gilbert. Seven Lively Arts. New York: Harper Brothers, 1924.

Shapiro, Nat & Nat Hentoff. Hear Me Talkin' to Ya: the Classic Story of Jazz as Told by the Men Who Made It. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1955.

Shaw, Arnold. Black Popular Music in America. New York: Schirmer, 1986.

Sonnier, Austin, Jr. A Guide to the Blues. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1994.

Southern, Eileen, ed. Readings in Black American Music. New York: W. W. Norton, 1971.

Spaeth, Sigmund. A History of Popular Music in America. New York: Random House, 1948.

_____. Read 'Em and Weep: The Songs You Forgot to Remember. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1927.

Stearns, Marshall. The Story of Jazz. New York: Oxford University Press, 1958.

Tawa, Nicholas A. The Way to Tin Pan Alley: American Popular Song 1866-1910. New York, 1990.

Titon, Jeff Todd. Early Downhome Blues: a Musical and Cultural Analysis, 2nd ed. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

Tomlinson, Gary. Music in Renaissance Magic. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1993.

Van der Merwe, Peter. The Origins of Popular Style. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Waters, Ethel. His Eye is on the Sparrow . Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1951.

Wittgenstein, Ludwig. Philosophical Investigations, trans. G. E. M. Anscombe. New York: Macmillan, 1953.

Dissertations

Buckley, Bruce Redfern. "Frankie and Her Men: A Study of the Interrelationships of Popular and Folk Traditions." Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1962.

Chevan, David. "Written Music in Early Jazz." Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1997.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

David, John Russel. "Tragedy in Ragtime: Black Folktales from St Louis." Ph.D. diss., St. Louis University, 1976.

Dougan, John. "Two Steps from the Blues: Discourse and Constructing Canons in Blues Criticism." Ph.D. diss., College of William and Mary, 2001.

Gennari, John. "The Politics of Culture and Identity in American Jazz Criticism." Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1993.

Hurwitt, Elliott S. "W.C. Handy as Music Publisher: Career and Reputation." Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 2000.

Joyner, David Lee. "Southern Ragtime and its Transition to Published Blues," Memphis State University, 1986.

Discographies and Other Reference Works

Dixon, Robert M., John Godrich, and Howard M. Rye. Blues and Gospel Records 1890-1943, 4th ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.

Fuld, James J. The Book of World-Famous Music: Classical, Popular and Folk, 5th ed. New York: Dover, 2000.

Gardner, Edward Foote. Popular Songs of the Twentieth Century: Volume 1—Chart Detail & Encyclopedia 1900-1949. St. Paul, Minn.: Paragon House, 2000.

Laird, Ross. Brunswick Records: A Discography of Recordings, 1916-1931, 4 vols. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2001.

Meade, Guthrie T., Jr., with Richard Spottswood, and Douglas S. Meade. Country Music Sources: A Biblio-Discography of Commercially Recorded Traditional Music. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2002.

Graycyk, Tim, ed. The Encyclopedia of Popular American Recording Pioneers. Granite Bay, Cal.: Victrola and 78 Journal Press, 1999.

Kinkle, Roger D. The Complete Encyclopedia of Popular Music and Jazz 1900-1950. New Rochelle, NY: Arlington House, 1974.

McNamara, Daniel E., ed. The ASCAP Biographical Dictionary of Composers, Authors, and Publishers, 2nd ed. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1952.

Norton, Richard C. A Chronology of Musical Theater. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Rust, Brian. Jazz Records 1897-1942, 5th ed. Chigwell: Storyville, N.D.

_____ and Allen G. Debus. The Complete Entertainment Discography from the Mid-1890's to 1942, 2nd ed. New York: Da Capo, 1989.

_____ and Tim Brooks. The Columbia Master Book Discography, 4 Vols. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1999.

Articles, Unpublished Manuscripts, Album Liner Notes, and Internet Citations

"A Negro with the Blues." Boston Post, 1 January 1840.

Bayard, Samuel. "Aspects of Melodic Kinship and Variation in British-American Folk Tunes." In Papers Read at in the International Congress of Musicology, 1939. New York: American Musicological Society, 1944, 122-30.

Berlin, Edward A. "Ragtime Songs." In Ragtime: Its History, Composers, and Music, ed. John Edward Hasse. London: Macmillan, 1985.

Binder, Ray. "Historique au Jazz." Jazz-Tango-Dancing 4/10 (December 1931): 13-17; and 5/3 (March/June 1932): 15-19.

Blesh, Rudi. "Jazz Begins." In Jazzways, ed. G.S. Rosenthal and F. Zachary. New York: Greenberg, 1946.

"Bully of the Town." htpp://www.bluegrassmessengers.com/master/bullyofthetown1.html.

Campbell, E. Simms. "Blues." In Jazzmen, ed. Frederic Ramsey Jr., and Charles Edward Smith. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1939.

Christensen, Thomas. "Music Theory and Its Histories." In Music Theory and the Exploration of the Past, ed. Christopher Hatch and David W. Bernstein (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1993).

"Class Content of Jazz Music." Daily Worker, 21 October 1933.

Cohen, Norm. Album notes to Minstrels and Tunesmiths. JEMF LP 109.

Deveaux, Scott. "Constructing the Jazz Tradition." Black American Literature Forum 25/3 (Fall 1991): 253-75.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Dodge, Roger Pryor. "Negro Jazz." Dancing Times, October 1929. Reprinted in Roger Pryor Dodge. Hot Jazz and Jazz Dance: Collected Writings 1929-64. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Durst, Don. Series of articles on Hughie Cannon. Jackson Citizen Patriot, 29 January-8 Februray 1966.

Eberhart, George M. "Stack Lee: The Man, the Music, and the Myth." Popular Music and Society 20/1 (spring 1996): 1-70.

Garnett Laidlaw Eskew. "Coonjine in Manhattan." manuscript deposit in the Library of Congress (http://mempry.loc.gov/mss/wpalh0/07/0707/07070413.htm).

David Evans, "Blues." In The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music, vol. 3, The United States and Canada, ed. Ellen Koskoff. New York: Garland, 2001, 637-55.

Garst, John. "The Ballad of Delia Green and Moses 'Cooney' Houston." http://hem.passagen.se/obrecht/backpages/chords/36_wgw/ballad_of_delia_green.htm.

Hagert, Thornton. Newsletter of the Vernacular Music Research Center, Arlington, Virginia. Unpublished, 24 March 1971.

Handy, William Christopher. "How I Came to Write the 'Memphis Blues'." New York Age, 7 December 1916.

http://www.pbs.org/theblues.

Jarrett, Alice. "Young Musician Delves Into History of Noted Song Writer Hughie Cannon." The Daily Courier (Connelsville PA), 10-12 November 1971.

Knowlton, Don. "The Anatomy of Jazz." Harper's Magazine 152 (Apr. 1926), 578-89.

Leighton, Frank and Bert. "Origin of 'Blues' (or Jazz)." Variety, 6 January 1922. Reprint in Jazz in Print (1856-1929): An Anthology of Selected Early Readings in Jazz History, ed. Karl Koenig. Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon, 2002, 164-66.

Lomax, John A. "Self-Pity in Negro Folk-Songs." The Nation 105 (July-Dec, 1917): 141-45.

Lutz, Tom. "Curing the Blues: W.E.B. Du Bois, Fashionable Diseases, and Degraded Music." Black Music Research Journal 11/2 (Fall 1991): 137-56.

Narváez, Peter. "Living Blues Journal: The Paradoxical Aesthetics of the Blues Revival." In Neil V. Rosenberg, ed., Transforming Tradition: Folk Music Revivals Examined. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Niles, Abbe. "The Story of the Blues." In Blues: An Anthology, ed. W. C. Handy. New York: A. & C. Boni, 1926.

Niles, John Jacob. "Shout, Coon, Shout!" Music Quarterly 16/4 (fall 1930): 516-30.

Odum, Howard W. "Religious Folk-Songs of the Southern Negro." American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education, 3 (1908-09): 265-365.

_____. "Folk-Song and Folk-Poetry as Found in the Secular Songs of the Southern Negroes." Journal of American Folklore 24 (1911): 255-94, 351-96.

Oliver, Paul. "Blues to Drive the Blues Away." In Jazz, ed. Nat Hentoff and Albert J. McCarthy. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1959.

_____. "That Certain Feeling: Blues and Jazz...in 1890?" Popular Music 10/1 (1991): 11-19.

_____."Blues." In New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell. London: Macmillan, 2000, 2:730-739.

"Origins of 'Blues' Numbers." Sheet Music News 2/5 (Oct., 1923): 8-9, 41.

Payne, L. W., Jr. "Some Texas Versions of 'The Frog's Courting': The Way of the Folk with a Song." In J. Frank Dobie, ed. Rainbow in the Morning: Publications of the Texas Folklore Society, no.5, 1965. Reprint, Denton, Tex.: University of North Texas Press, 2000.

Petrey, Martin. "Music as a Medicine in the Home." Ladies' Home Journal 20 (1903): 49.

Russell, William. "Boogie_Woogie." In Jazzmen, ed. Frederic Ramsey Jr., and Charles Edward Smith. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1939.

Seroff, Doug and Lynn Abbott. " 'They Cert'ly Sound Good to Me': Sheet Music, Southern Vaudeville, and the Commercial Ascendancy of the Blues." American Music 14/4 (winter 1996): 402-54.

Smith, Ed F. "Well, Anyhow." Jackson Citizen Patriot, 23, April 1944.

"Stencils and Booze His Undoing." The Presto, 10 February 1910.

Swetnam, George. "How 'Bill Bailey' Came Home." The Pittsburgh Press, 25 July 1965.

"The Real Value of Negro Melodies." New York Herald, 21 May 1893.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Talking Machine World (The). January 1914-March 1921.

Tallmadge, William. "Ben Harney: The Middlesborough Years." American Music 13/2 (summer 1995): 167-94.

Thomas, Gates. "South Texas Negro Work-Songs: Collected and Uncollected." In Dobie, J. Frank, ed. Rainbow in the Morning: Publications of the Texas Folklore Society, no.5, 1965. Reprint, Denton, Tex.: University of North Texas Press, 2000.

Tomlinson, Gary. "Ideologies of Aztec Song." Journal of the American Musicological Society 48/3 (fall 1995): 343-79.

Treitler, Leo. "The Politics of Reception: Tailoring the Present as Fulfillment of a Desired Past." Journal of the Royal Musicological Association 116 (1991): 280-98.

Untitled article. Overture 35/9 (December 1955), 13.

Untitled article. The Referee (San Francisco), 29 January 1910.

Westcott, William W. "City vaudeville classic blues: Locale and venue in early blues." In Robert Widmer, ed., Ethnomusicology in Canada: Proceedings of the First Conference on Ethnomusicology in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1990.

Wilgus, D. K. and Eleanor R. Long. "The Blues Ballad and the Genesis of Style in Traditional Narrative Song." In Narrative Folksong: New Directions: Essays in Appreciation of W. Edson Richmond, ed. Carol L. Edwards and Kathleen E. B. Manley. Boulder: Westview, 1985.

"Yes, Bill Bailey Has Gone Home." Toledo Blade, 18 June 1912.

Recordings

Note: this list does not include items listed in Appendix 2 and the Appendix to Chapter 3.

Alderson, Mozelle. "Come on Mama." Jewel 20033 (1930).

Arthur, Emry. "Frankie Baker." Vocalion 5340 (1929).

Baker, Willie. "Sweet Petunie Blues." Gennett 6751 (1929).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Basie, Count. "Goin' to Chicago Blues." Okeh 6244 (1941).

Beaman, Lottie. "Rollin' Log Blues." Gennett 6624 (1928).

Bernard, Al. "He Done Me Wrong." Bell P-120 (c. 1921).

Bogan, Lucille. "Sweet Patunia." Paramount 12459 (1927)

Boswell, Connie. "Fare Thee Honey, Fare Thee Well." Decca 1862 (1938).

Brown, Lil and Will. "Save My Jelly." Black Patti 8008(1927).

Calicott, Joe. "Fare Thee Well Blues." Brunswick 7166 (1930).

Cannon, Gus. "Can You Blame the Colored Man?" Paramount 12571 (1927).

Crumit, Frank. "Frankie and Johnny." Victor 20715 (1927).

Davenport, Charles Cow Cow. "Givin' it Away." Gennett 6829 (1929).

Dixon, Vance. "Sweet Patunia." Paramount 12471 (1927).

Ellington, Duke. "Creole Love Call." Victor 21137 (1927).

Ezell, Will. "Old Mill Blues." Paramount 12688 (1928).

Fenton, Carl. "Frankie and Johnny." Brunswick 2107 (1921).

Frenchy's String Band. "Texas and Pacific Blues." Columbia 14387-D (1928).

Greene, Gene. "Frankie and Johnny." Pathé 5370 and 30103 (1912).

Harris, Marion. "He Done Me Wrong." Columbia A-2968 (1920).

Hill, Bertha Chippie. "Some Cold Rainy Day." Vocalion 1264 (1928)

Jackson, Papa Charlie. "I'm Alabama Bound." Paramount 12289 (1925).

Jefferson, Blind Lemon. "Beggin' Back." Paramount 12394 (1926).

_____. "Elder Green's in Town." Okeh unissued (1927).

Jones, Isham. "Frankie and Johnnie." Brunswick 2423 (1924).

Lewis, Ted. "Frankie and Johnny." Columbia 1017-D (1927).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Marable, Fate. "Frankie and Johnny." Okeh 40113 (1924).

Memphis Jug Band. "I'll See You in the Spring, When the Birds Begin to Sing." Victor 21066 (1927).

_____. "On the Road Again." Victor V38015 (1928).

_____. "Memphis Yo-Yo Blues." Victor V38558 (1929).

_____. "You May Leave, but This Will Bring You Back." Victor 23267 (1930).

Morton, Jelly Roll. "Dead Man Blues." Victor 20252 (1927).

_____. "Mamie's Blues." General 4001 (1939).

_____. "Buddy Bolden's Blues." General 4003 (1939).

Patton, Charlie. "Elder Green Blues." Paramount 13040 (1929).

Prince, Charles. "I'm Alabama Bound." Columbia A-901 (1911).

Puckett, Riley. "Frankie and Johnnie." Bluebird B8277 (1939).

Richardson, Mooch. "Fare Thee Well Blues." Okeh unissued (1928).

Rodgers, Jimmie. "Frankie and Johnny." Victor 22143 (1929).

Smith, Bessie. "St. Louis Blues." Columbia 14064 (1925).

_____. "Backwater Blues." Columbia 14195 (1927).

Smith, Mamie. "That Thing Called Love"/"You Can't Keep a Good Man Down." Okeh/Phonola 4113 (1920).

_____. "Fare Thee Honey Blues." Okeh/Phonola 4194 (1920).

Stokes, Frank. "Take Me Back." Victor V-38531 (1928).

Thomas, Henry. "Texas Easy Street Blues." Vocalion 1197 (1928).

Thompson, Ernest. "Frankie Baker." Columbia 168-D (1924).

Triangle Harmony Boys. "Sweet Patootie." Gennett 6275 (1928).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Weaver, Curley. "Sweet Petunia." Columbia 14386-D (1928).

Music Anthologies

Allen, William Francis, Charles Pickard Ware, and Lucy McKim Garrison. Slave Songs of the United States. 1867. Reprint, New York: Dover, 1995.

Appelbaum, Stanley, ed. "Peg O' My Heart" and Other Favorite Song Hits 1912 & 1913. New York: Dover, 1989.

Charosh Paul and Robert A. Fremont, eds. Song Hits from the Turn of the Century. New York: Dover, 1975.

Cohen, John and Mike Seeger, eds. Old-Time String Band Songbook. New York: Oak Publications, 1964.

Dapogny, James. Ferdinand "Jelly Roll" Morton: The Collected Piano Music. Washington: Smithsonian, 1982.

Downes, Olin and Ellie Siegmeister. A Treasury of American Song, 2nd ed. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1943.

Gordon, Robert Winslow. Folk-Songs of America. New York: National Service Bureau, 1938.

Handy, William Christopher, ed. Blues: An Anthology. New York: A. & C. Boni, 1926.

Jasen, David A., ed. "For Me and My Gal" and Other Favorite Song Hits 1915-1917. New York: Dover, 1994.

_____. Cakewalks, Two-Steps and Trots. New York: Dover, 1997.

_____. Beale Street and Other Classic Blues. New York: Dover, 1998.

Lomax, Alan, ed. The Folksongs of North America. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1960.

_____. The Penguin Book of American Folksongs. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1964.

Lomax, John A., and Alan Lomax. American Ballads and Folk Songs. New York: Macmillan, 1934.

_____. Negro Folk Songs as Sung by Lead Belly. New York: Macmillan, 1936.

_____. Our Singing Country. 1941. Reprint, New York: Dover, 2000.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

_____. Folk Song: U. S. A. New York: Signet, 1947.

Marrone, Sandy. The "Saint Louis Blues" and Other Hit Songs of 1914. New York: Dover, 1990.

Paramount Book of the Blues, The. Port Washington, NY: The New York Recording Laboratories, c.1928.

Randolph, Vance, ed. Ozark Folksongs, rev. ed., 4 Vols. Columbia: University of Missouri, 1980.

Riley, Richard, ed. Early Blues, 3 Vols. Roseville, Cal.: Piano Mania, n. d.

Sandburg, Carl. The American Songbag. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1927.

Sankey, Ira D., James McGranahan, and George C. Stebbins. Gospel Hymns No. 4. New York: Bigelow & Main, 1881.

Scarborough, Dorothy. On the Trail of Negro Folk-Songs. 1925. Reprint, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963.

Sharp, Cecil J., comp. English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians, ed. Maud Karpeles. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932.

Wheeler, Mary. Steamboatin' Days: Folk Songs of the River Packet Era. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1944.

White, Newman I. American Negro Folk-Songs. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1928.

Work, John W. American Negro Songs and Spirituals. New York: Bonanza Books, 1940.

Sheet Music

Note: this list does not include items listed in Appendices 1 and 4 and the Appendix to Chapter 3.

"Atlanta Blues." Words and music by W. C. Handy. New York: Handy Brothers, 1923.

"Babe, You Better Stay Home." Words and music by Hughie Cannon. New York: Witmark and Sons, 1904.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Bill Bailey's Hens." Words by H. G. Wheeler, music by J. W. Wheeler. Boston: Wheeler Brothers, 1895.

"The Dirty Dozen." Words by Jack Frost, music by Clarence M. Jones. Chicago: Frank Root & Co., 1917.

"Doctor Jazz." Words by Walter Melrose, music by Joe Oliver. Chicago: Melrose Music, 1927.

"Don't You Never Take No Ten Cent Drink on Me." Words by John Queen, music by Hughie Cannon. New York: Howley Haviland & Dresser, 1901.

"Frankie and Andy: A Song of the Underworld." Words by Marcus Tozer, music by Frank R. Tozer. Sydney, Australia: J. Albert & Son, 1927.

"Frankie and Johnny." Arranged by Jimmie Rodgers. New York: Southern Music, 1929.

"I Hates to Get Up Early in the Morn." Words by John Queen, music by Hughie Cannon. New York: Howley Haviland & Dresser, 1901.

"I Loves Nobody, `Cause Nobody Loves Me." Words and music by Joseph A. Howard. Chicago: Joseph E. Howard, 1896.

"In the Good Old Summertime." Words and music by George Evans and Ren Shields. Chicago: Tell Taylor, 1902.

"I've Got a Remedy to Cure the Blues." Words and music by Fred Irvin. New York: Fred Irvin, 1916.

"I've Found Someone to Chase the Blues Away." Words by Jack Mahoney, music by Murray Bloom. New York: Harry Von Tilzer, 1916.

"Jackass Blues." Words and music by Art Kassel and Mel Sitzel. Chicago: Melrose Music, 1925.

"Jazzin' the Blues Away." Words by Jeff Branen, music by Dick Heinrich. New York: A. J. Stasny Music, 1918.

"The Kangaroo Hop. Music by Melville Morris. New York: Jerome Remick, 1915.

"Little Gertie Murphy." Words and music by Hughie Cannon. New York: Howley and Dresser, 1904.

"Play That Barber's Shop Chord." Words by William Tracey, music by Lewis F. Muir. New York: Jerome Remick, 1910.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Prince of Borneo," (The). Words by Joseph Farrell, music by Hughie Cannon. New York: Parker Music, 1905.

"Push Along, My Honey, Push Along." Words and music by Dave Reed Jr. New York: Witmark & Sons, 1893.

"Shaking the Blues Away." Words and music by Irving Berlin. New York: Irving Berlin Inc., 1927.

"Some of These Days." Words and music by Shelton Brooks. Chicago: Will Rossiter, 1910.

"Steamboat Bill." Words and music by the Leighton Brothers and Ren Shields. New York: F. A. Mills, 1910.

"Sweet Hawaiian Moonlight." Words by Harold G. Frost, music by F. Henri Klickmann. Chicago: Frank K. Root, 1918.

"That is a Habit I Never Had." Words and music by Walter Wilson. New York: Howley Dresser & Co., 1904.

"There'll Come a Time When You'll Feel Lonely." Words and music by Shelton Brooks. Chicago: Will Rossiter, 1911.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.