

**“Take A Whiff On Me”:
Leadbelly’s Library of Congress Recordings 1933-1942 — An Assessment**

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From the mid-1960s, a small trickle of long-playing records appeared featuring black music from the holdings of the Archive of Folk Culture (formerly Archive of Folk Song) at the Library of Congress, in Washington, D.C. A few were produced by the Archive itself but, more often than not, arrangement with record companies was the principal method by which this material became available.

One of the earliest collections of this type was a three-album boxed set drawn from the recordings made for the Archive by Huddie Ledbetter — Leadbelly — issued by Elektra in 1966. Edited by Lawrence Cohn, this compilation included a very useful booklet, with transcriptions of the songs and monologues contained in the albums, a résumé of Leadbelly’s career, and a selection of important historical photographs. The remainder of Leadbelly’s considerable body of recordings for the Archive, however, was generally unavailable, unless auditioned in Washington, D.C.

In the history of vernacular black music in the U.S., Leadbelly’s controversial role as a leading performer in white ‘folk’ music circles has, for some, set him aside from other similar performers of his generation. The release on LP by Document of virtually all the recordings he made for the Library of Congress, therefore, was of considerable significance. It provided the first broad-based opportunity since the time of their performance to examine the singer’s early repertoire in historical context and his reputation in the light of his musical testament. This assessment of the Document LPs and subsequent CD releases is offered as a contribution towards these aims.

Born in 1889 in north Louisiana, close to the border with Texas, Leadbelly belonged to the ‘Songster’ generation of black entertainers who made their living, or supplemented their income, by providing music of all kinds for different functions and also took up street singing, should the need arise. In this respect he was a multi-instrumentalist, having first learned to play the accordion, or ‘windjammer’ (after he was given one by his uncle, Terrell Ledbetter), before he took up the guitar (a gift from his father). He also played harmonica, mandolin, and bass fiddle (all learned, presumably, during his youth) and a primitive ‘barrelhouse’ style of piano. Leadbelly became most famous for playing the 12-string guitar, an instrument to which he was introduced by a travelling circus musician.

His guitar playing excepted, accordion technique (recorded infrequently between 1938 and his death in 1949) and piano playing (which he demonstrated in his 1944 recordings for Capitol) the evidence for Leadbelly’s musical versatility is contained in the biography by John A. Lomax and Alan Lomax, *Negro Folk Songs As Sung By Lead Belly* (New York, Macmillan, 1936). ‘Lead Belly’ is the form the Lomaxes first chose to present Huddie’s nickname, and it is his association with this father and son team of ‘folk song’ collectors that is the most significant element in his career as a ‘folk’ singer. In addition, the Lomaxes were responsible for almost all of the recordings he made for the Library of Congress.

Before his ‘discovery’ in 1933, Huddie Ledbetter had been an important songster in the area of ‘greater Texas’. He performed first for communities in and around his home settlement of Mooringsport, Louisiana and the nearby cosmopolitan town of Shreveport, with its associated Red River trade. Then, in the early 1900s he moved to the area of Dallas, Texas, where he again sustained his reputation by music-making, although an escape from a chain gang in Harrison County led him to change his name to Walter Boyd. This signals several aspects of his character, his strong physique and associated self esteem, his penchant for amorous adventures, and his ruthless violence when faced with self preservation. In addition to his one-year chain gang sentence, Leadbelly was to pay dearly for his violent temperament. First, as Walter Boyd, he was convicted for murder and assault to kill in 1918. Imprisoned for 30 years in the Texas penal system, he spent two years at the Shaw Farm and, from 1920 until he was pardoned in 1925, was incarcerated at the Central State Farm, Sugarland (near Houston). By reputation, Leadbelly sang his way to remission from this imprisonment with an appeal to Pat Neff, the state’s Governor. During his stewardship of the state Neff paid a visit to Sugarland, where the songster entertained him, and entreated for his release in song. The Governor signed the singer’s pardon document on 16 January 1925 as one of his last acts in office.

Huddie worked for the Buick agency in Houston, Texas in 1925-1926, and in the latter year paid a visit to Kansas City, Missouri (on the evidence of an interview in AFS 4471 B 4 — Document LP DOC 611 and Rounder CD 1099). He then returned to Mooringsport, Louisiana, where he found employment with the Gulf Refining Company. He managed to keep out of the hands of the law, though not to mend his fast living, for four years until 1930, when he was incarcerated again for ‘assault with intent to murder’.

Sentenced to ‘hard labour, for a period of not less than six years nor more than 10 years, subject to the commutation provided by the law,’ he was held at Angola, the Louisiana State Penitentiary. Here, in

July 1933, the Lomaxes found him during the first of their expeditions collecting 'folk songs' for the Library of Congress.

The Lomaxes and Leadbelly: Two Phases of Recordings

The germ of the collection of *American Ballads and Folk Songs* (New York, Macmillan, 1934), which provided the foundation for the subsequent successful careers of John A. and Alan Lomax, had been sown in New York in 1932. Lomax senior suggested the collection to his publisher and the idea was accepted. His fortunes at very low ebb, John A. was galvanised by the good news and set to work. One result of his endeavours was an arrangement with the Library of Congress to provide him with apparatus (including recording blanks) for a field recording expedition. In this, Lomax was seeking novel 'American' material in an academic age when, for conservative scholars, 'ballads' of European origin were the only 'folk' songs, and secular black music was associated with what was seen as the tarnished world of minstrelsy, rag-time and jazz, and treated as worthless. Principally by using the evidence of recordings made during the ensuing field trip, the Lomaxes succeeded in sweeping these views aside and establishing a popular acceptability for American vernacular song. They were, of course, subject to their own preconceptions, although these are not the direct concern of this discussion, excepting their particular understanding of black musical repertoire.

Alan Lomax was 17 years old when he set out with his father in June 1933, equipped with an Edison cylinder machine to make recordings of 'the secular songs of the Negroes, work songs, "barrel-house" ditties, bad-man ballads, corn songs' — as he described them in 1934 — noting that the 'singers classed all these songs to distinguish them from recorded music and from written-out songs in general as "made-up" songs.' They were referred to also as 'jump-up,' 'sinful songs,' or 'reels,' John A. Lomax reported.

Details of the recordings of black music made by the Lomaxes, on this and subsequent expeditions are given in the fourth edition of *Blues And Gospel Records 1890-1943* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1997). More important to this discussion, however, is the type of location in which the two folk song gatherers first sought their black music — 'the plantation, the lumber camp, and the barrel-house' were grouped in one general category by Alan Lomax in 1934, and 'the prison farms' provided a second.

In Texas and Louisiana, the team paid visits to all of these different locations — for work, recreation, or imprisonment — collecting songs with their cylinder machine. One black ballad they garnered was *Stackolee* (Laws I 15) which describes events that took place in St. Louis, Missouri on 26 December 1895. Initially the Lomaxes obtained verses from the future Rhythm 'n' Blues performer Ivory Joe Hunter — described as a 'barrelhouse pianist extraordinary' — whom they recorded at the lumber camp in Wiergate, Texas. Subsequently, Alan Lomax also took down words to another version in the dives of the Crescent City, from one Sullivan Rock — 'a rounder and roustabout on the docks' — who was one of the mentors of Professor Longhair (Roy Byrd), the celebrated idiomatic New Orleans pianist.

A disc recording machine, promised by the Library of Congress, was received by the Lomaxes on 15 July, while they were in the state capitol Baton Rouge, and they first put the equipment to use during the next four days when they visited the Louisiana State Penitentiary, Angola.

The Lomaxes had become convinced that the penitentiaries of Louisiana and Mississippi would yield many songs after successes in obtaining material at similar locations in Texas. They were, however, somewhat disappointed at Angola. 'The officials of the Louisiana prison in their wisdom,' reported Alan, 'had decided all history to the contrary, that Negroes work better when they are not singing'. Leadbelly, however, was some consolation: 'I is de King of de 12- string-guitar players of de worl'. When I was in Dallas, walkin' de streets an' makin' my livin' wid dis box o' mine, de songsters was makin' up dat song 'bout Ella Speed...'

John A. Lomax was similarly impressed, writing of Leadbelly that 'he knew so many songs which he sang with restraint and sympathy that accepting his story in full I quite resolved to get him out of prison and take him along as a third member or our party.' Matters, however, were not so straightforward, as he discovered in the prison records in Baton Rouge. These showed that Leadbelly 'had also served part of a 30-year term in the Texas penitentiary for murder'. The idea of using Leadbelly as an assistant in his recording endeavours, nevertheless, was early in the mind of Lomax, who achieved his objective the year following.

Leadbelly's First Recordings and 'Sinful' Repertoire: 1933-1935

Leadbelly's recordings for the Lomaxes are divided into two phases: the first comprising those he made at Angola in 1933, together with those made on a return visit in 1934, subsequently in the same year, and in early 1935, when the father and son team were writing their book about him. To these may be added the singer's first commercial sessions for the American Record Corporation, made also in early 1935, which form part of the same pattern. On the basis of the evidence available this repertoire

included some 90 songs, most of which Huddie recorded at least once in this period. Only two of the songs were of a Christian religious nature, the rest were secular.

Referring to the same period, in 1936, the Lomaxes reported that they had obtained from Leadbelly 'about one hundred songs that seemed "folky,"' noting that this was 'a far greater number than from any other person' in their collecting experience. They also pointed out that he knew songs 'of the popular sort, current now or in other years,' but appear not to have paid these much attention, concentrating on the fact that 'his 11 years of confinement had cut him off both from the phonograph and the radio.' Evidence from Ledbetter's recordings, however, shows that he had probably been exposed to the former in the period 1925-1930 when he was not in prison. This was the time of the first boom in sales of 'race records,' including many songs played in styles similar to those in his early recorded repertoire.

The Lomaxes viewed Leadbelly's oeuvre in the light of his openness towards outside influences. For them, therefore, he was wholly a 'folk artist,' in essence an interpreter. He was not a 'folk singer' who faithfully handed on a tradition, somehow existing outside the confines of other influences, which was a contemporary perception of 'folk'. He did, however, commit his songs and tunes to memory, and learned them orally, rather than from printed sources.

Angola: 1933

John A. and Alan Lomax chose to print five songs which they attributed to Leadbelly in *American Ballads And Folk Songs*, and their 1933 recordings of four of these are in the Document collections (DLP 601 and DOCD 5579). They are the ballads *Bill Martin And Ella Speed* (or *Ella Speed*), and *Frankie And Albert*, the cocaine song *Honey, Take A Whiff On Me* (or *Take A Whiff On Me*), and the cowboy song *When I Was A Cowboy* (or *The Western Cowboy*). Designated as a reel (but later noted as the songster's personal work song), the fifth, *Julie Ann Johnson*, seems to have been recorded, but no original dated 1933 is held by the Library of Congress. Alan Lomax, in his 1934 article, also attributes a version of the ballad *Po' Laz'us* (Laws I 12) to Huddie but this song has not been associated with the performer otherwise.

One of the additional recordings from 1933 was *Irene*, the celebrated song in waltz-time that Ledbetter made his own, but which he learned from his uncle Terrell, and has been traced to sheet music by the black composer Gussie Davis published in 1886. There were also recordings of the reel *You Cain' Lose Me Cholly* and a miscellany of blues verses called *Angola Blues* that seems to be an unusual version (in the light of his subsequent recordings) of the song Leadbelly otherwise called *Matchbox Blues*. In this he strums his guitar and yodels the chorus in the fashion of Jimmie Rodgers, the highly popular white Mississippi 'Singing Brakeman,' famous for his recordings of blues-influenced 'Blue Yodels'. In the Shreveport area of Louisiana, this style of white blues singing was also taken up by Jimmie Davis (he played on occasion with local black musicians such as Oscar Woods), and Huddie's inclusion of the motif in his repertoire may reflect this popularity in his home region.

Angola and other 1934 locations

When the Lomaxes returned to Angola on 1 July 1934, with a much more efficient disc recording machine than the year previous, they re-recorded all these pieces in better fidelity and explored further facets of Ledbetter's repertoire, notably his blues. Most important to all concerned, however, was the singer's second pardon song: addressed to the Governor of Louisiana, O. K. Allen. The Lomaxes promised to deliver a copy of this to the Governor and allowed their performer to select the recording on the other side — he chose his popular *Irene*. They were true to their word, although whether Leadbelly was pardoned as a result of this disc remains a matter of dispute. The penitentiary authorities claimed that 'he received no clemency and his discharge was a routine matter under the good time law which applies to all first and second offenders.' Whatever the reason, the prisoner was freed on 1 August 1934.

The singer returned to Shreveport immediately after his release but on 16 September arrived in the lobby of a hotel in Marshall, Texas where John A. Lomax was staying, offering to be driver for Lomax's next field recording expedition. Lomax took him on, and Leadbelly became his assistant, singing (and sometimes recording) songs to demonstrate the type of material Lomax was interested in obtaining from black convicts at state prison farms.

This expedition took them to Arkansas, where Ledbetter witnessed the recording of a song with which he was later to be associated: *Rock Island Line* by Kelly Pace and group at the Cumins State Farm, Gould. Huddie then became restless for Shreveport. Martha, his latest girlfriend, Lomax recalled 'had not seen his new clothes and he wanted to drive my car down Fannin Street' (the main black thoroughfare and notorious red light district). Lomax allowed him this indulgence.

In Arkansas, Ledbelly had made several recordings of his work song *Julie Ann Johnson* and a second version of his song about Fannin Street in Shreveport and the town sheriff: *Mr Tom Hughes' Town*. He

also accompanied two white singers (not in the Document albums — see later discographical comments). When they reached Shreveport Lomax recorded Huddie singing the ballad of the *Boll Weevil* for the first time, and took the opportunity of recording some game songs performed by black children (on 5 October). The team then set off for Alabama where they recorded at Birmingham, the Kirby State Prison, Montgomery, and at various other prison farms. By November Huddie was back in Shreveport, and Lomax had returned to his home in Austin, Texas.

John A. Lomax had intended this field trip to be the only one that he undertook with Ledbetter in 1934. He had told him that his next expedition would be to New York and that with his son (Alan) in the car there would be no room for a further passenger. Lomax, however was invited to present Leadbelly and his songs at a meeting of the Modern Language Association in Philadelphia on 30 December and, urged by Alan, decided to 'throw caution to the winds!'

An extra passenger seat was squeezed into the car (alongside the built-in recording equipment) and early in December the Lomaxes arrived in Shreveport to collect the songster for the long drive north. They travelled via Georgia (making records at the Bellwood Prison Camp, near Atlanta, and the State Farm at Milledgeville), Columbia, South Carolina (where the prison authorities refused them access for recording), and Raleigh, North Carolina (where they recorded at the State Penitentiary). They arrived at Washington, D.C., on Christmas Eve, and spent the festive season in the city.

Leadbelly had recorded again at Bellwood, another version of *Julie Ann Johnson*, dance rhythms in accompaniment to a white caller named Sloan Wright (*Dance Calls*), and a song entitled *Shreveport Jail*. The latter was based on the popular white old-time tune known also, for example, as *Birmingham Jail*, and which Jimmie Davis recorded as *Penitentiary Blues* (complete with yodel) in 1930 (Victor 23544). Shrewdly, Huddie used this melody for his pardon song to Governor O. K. Allen.

New York City and Recordings: 1935

At the end of December, Leadbelly's performances for the Modern Language Association were a great success and aroused newspaper coverage as well as interest among academics. John A. Lomax then decided to take another risk and introduce the singer-guitarist to New York City audiences. He, Alan, and Ledbetter arrived in the metropolis on New Year's Eve and instantly they were unable to find accommodation where all three could lodge in the same premises.

For the Lomaxes this proved highly problematic as they experienced great difficulty in keeping Leadbelly out of trouble and in a fit state to fulfil engagements. Despite this, the songster's arrival in New York caused a sensation with interest from many quarters in the ballad-singing two-time convicted murderer, whose life-story provided instant news copy.

Immediately, Huddie was beset with offers, all of which were accepted or rejected by the Lomaxes, who stage-managed his affairs. The problem of his accommodation remained, however, as did his loneliness.

In the end a solution was found by sending for Martha Promise, the singer's woman friend in Shreveport, and obtaining the loan of a cottage in Wilton, Connecticut from Mary Elizabeth Barnicle (a folklorist, at New York University) and M. Conklin (of the publishers, Macmillan). Here the Lomaxes lived with Huddie and Martha (whom he married on 21 January), though there were engagements in upstate New York during the next two-and-a-half months before the newlyweds returned to Shreveport on 26 March.

In Wilton, the Lomaxes made the majority of Leadbelly's recordings for the Library of Congress (represented in the Document albums and subsequent CD issues) as they pieced together his life and selected his 'folk' repertoire for their aforementioned musical biography *Negro Folk Songs As Sung By Lead Belly*. Contemporaneously, Ledbetter recorded similar material for the American Record Corporation, although, at the time, only a few of these items were released commercially.

In addition to establishing a context for Leadbelly's recordings, this chronological survey of the first phase of the singer's recordings (to 1935), served to augment the Document LPs, which lacked notes, and to correct a number of discographical errors (the majority of which were amended in the third and fourth editions of *Blues And Gospel Records*). The inaccuracies were based on a misunderstanding of the historical evidence (including the way in which Archive of Folk Culture material was originally catalogued), and an out-of-date Archive of Folk Culture list of Leadbelly's Library of Congress recordings (copy of original in author's files). The same detailed approach is not necessary for the second phase of the songster's recordings for the Library.

Leadbelly's 'Folk Songs' and Monologues: 1937-1940s

By the time Leadbelly and his wife parted company with the Lomaxes at the end of March 1935, the confidence that existed between the singer and John A. Lomax was broken. He remained on good relations with Alan for the rest of his life, but Huddie's association with the Lomax family became less direct from this point.

In 1936 he moved north from Shreveport with Martha to launch himself as a folk-song performer in New York City, and his subsequent Library of Congress recordings were all made while he was pursuing a career along these lines. At the same time, via the circle of those with whom he was associated as a performer of 'folk' music, Leadbelly became the symbolical black protest singer for the radical left in America. The recordings he made in this era contain occasional references to this radical stance, including his *Bourgeois Blues*.

The Library of Congress appear to have recorded Leadbelly in two ways at this time, either in concert, or at sessions where Alan Lomax utilised his newly developed method of interviewing performers as they played their accompanying instrument. This was a technique he had first used successfully when he documented the life story of the New Orleans blues and jazz pianist and composer Jelly Roll Morton in 1938.

Most important in this respect are the religious selections Lomax was able to coax from Leadbelly in one of the series of monologues cut in 1940. It is also useful to note that while there is an occasional overlap with the material Leadbelly recorded up to 1935, the greater proportion of his subsequent Library of Congress performances do not duplicate the songs he put on disc earlier for the Lomaxes (or the American Record Corporation).

The Repertoire

For contemporary listeners, interest in Leadbelly's music might be said to centre around three principal factors of performance, his powerful singing voice, his rhythmic guitar playing (or other instrumental dexterity, when accompanied), and his style of musical presentation. To these must be added the breadth of his repertoire.

As a singer, it is this variety that makes Leadbelly's contribution to recorded black music so important. It seems appropriate, therefore, to discuss the Document albums in the light of a classification of his songs. The principal codification available is that used by the Lomaxes when they were writing their book on the songster. In addition, Lawrence Cohn has defined the singer's post-1935 Library of Congress repertoire in the Elektra booklet.

Taking Ledbetter's Library of Congress recordings to 1940, as established by his discography in the fourth edition of *Blues And Gospel Records*, the Document albums will be discussed using these criteria. Added will be a few undocumented pieces not catalogued and discovered, therefore, while listening to the Document LPs and the small number of post-1940 recordings by Leadbelly in the Document selections. 1940 has been chosen as a convenient year for concluding this discussion in that Huddie's considerable recorded output after this year requires a very comprehensive analysis that would double the length of this treatment. The present survey, however, is offered as a foundation for understanding all of his recordings.

In each category there is a general commentary providing background information. Individual songs are identified. In addition to books and articles by the Lomaxes and others, reference has been made to unpublished 'Notes on the songs of Huddie Ledbetter' in the files of the Archive of Folk Culture at the Library of Congress (microfilm in possession of author) — indicated as 'Notes' below. The bulk of the manuscript seems to be part of a draft for *Negro Folk Songs As Sung By Lead Belly*, and contains material extra to the book, which was reduced in length for publication.

1. Ballads

Two of the ballads of black-American origin in Ledbetter's oeuvre were identified by the Lomaxes in their earliest encounter and, as has been mentioned, published in *American Ballads And Folk Songs*. Classified by the scholar G. Malcolm Laws Jr. in *Native American Balladry* (revised ed., Philadelphia, American Folklore Society, 1964) in a chapter entitled 'The Negro's Contribution To American Balladry,' Laws identifies 20 ballads and eight possible ballads of black origin. His classification letter for these is capital I, followed by a numerical identification for each item. Where status is doubtful, this is preceded by a lower case d.

These designations are incorporated below with respect to Leadbelly's ballads. Several were also recorded commercially by songsters, prior to his Library of Congress versions and some subsequently by Texas songster Mance Lipscomb. This is true for *Boll Weevil* (Laws I 7), recorded by Mississippi singer Charlie Patton in 1929 (Paramount 12805), elements from which occur also in Roosevelt Sykes' *Cotton Seed Blues* (Melotone 12086), recorded in 1930. Huddie learned his version from his uncle, Terrell.

A song in the 'Notes' entitled *Bad Man Ballad* is a version of *Bad Lee Brown* (Laws I 8), which the performer merged with a song he called *Billy The Weaver*. The Lomaxes first located the former in Mississippi in 1933, while Mary Wheeler obtained a version from riverboat men on the Ohio (*Stemboat in Days*, Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1944).

Ella Speed (Laws I 6) is a typical Louisiana black ballad and exists principally in field recordings obtained by the Lomaxes (several by Ledbetter) and in few commercial versions (one by Huddie: Capitol T 1821 LP, recorded in 1944). The song describes events that took place in New Orleans, on 3 September 1894. Leadbelly, who notes that one of his prison acquaintances Dicklicker also knew this piece (interview in AFS 2504 A), incorporates verses from another black ballad *Bully Of The Town* (Laws I 14). The latter was first popularised in the 1890s by the white vaudevillian May Irwin in *The Widow Jones*, a theatre production which opened in New York City on 16 September 1895. Irwin also recorded the song in 1907 (Victor 31642). 'Ragtime Texas' (Henry Thomas), the early black Texas songster, incorporates verses from *Bully Of The Town* in his *Bob McKinney* (Vocalion 1138) recorded in 1927.

Several of these topical songs share elements in common in their phraseology and imagery, this is true also of *Frankie And Albert* (Laws I 3) — known also as *Frankie And Johnny*. The original event described in this narrative relates to a shooting in St. Louis on 15 October 1899. Under the former title there were two late 1920s commercial recordings by Mississippi songsters: *Frankie* by Mississippi John Hurt (OKeh 8560), in 1928; and *Frankie And Albert* by Charlie Patton (Paramount 13110), in 1929. A two-part Texas version entitled *Frankie And Johnny*, by Nick Nichols, was recorded in Dallas in 1929 (Columbia 2071-D). Like the facts behind *Ella Speed*, Leadbelly claimed to know something of the events described in this topical murder song, which he performed with two distinct accompaniments. These were his conventional strumming on the guitar, or with a knife or slider, a playing technique popular in the Shreveport area with black stylists such as the previously mentioned Oscar Woods.

During the first phase of recording his oeuvre for the Lomaxes, Huddie seems to have developed a technique of introducing spoken interjections and explanations into his performances. This can best be observed by comparing his earliest (1933-1934) performances of both *Ella Speed* and *Frankie and Albert* (in which the spoken passages do not occur) and his 1935 recordings of these ballads. Leadbelly used this technique in several categories of his songs.

Two of the other black ballads in Ledbetter's repertoire were *John Hardy* (Laws I 2), which he learned from the white folk singer Woody Guthrie (interview, AFS 4472 B 1), and the familiar *John Henry* (Laws I 1), both of which date from the second phase of his recordings. *John Henry*, however, was known in Texas (Henry Thomas — 'Ragtime Texas' — recorded a version in 1927; Vocalion 1094) and Leadbelly learned this piece and legends about John Henry from fellow prisoner Dicklicker (interview in AFS 2503 B, 2504 A). This was not the case, however, with *The Titanic* (Laws d I 26) which the Lomaxes attributed to a printed broadside, published soon after the ship's sinking on 15 April 1912.

A rumour persists that Huddie may have memorised the principal white European ballad in his repertoire — *Mama Did You Bring Me Any Silver* (or *The Maid Freed From The Gallows*) — from a book on the shelves of Mary Elizabeth Barnicle's house in Wilton, Connecticut. This is a Child ballad (Child 95), designated by the surname of the man who categorised the English and Scottish ballads.

Leadbelly's other ballad, *If It Wasn't For Dicky*, appears to have been of Irish origin. Known otherwise as *Dhrinnin Dhu Dhrinnin*, it seems to have formed the basis of the 1950s American hit, *Kisses Sweeter Than Wine*.

2. Barrelhouse, 'Jazz,' and Ragtime Songs

This category comes from the unpublished Library of Congress 'Notes'. Like Jelly Roll Morton, Huddie Ledbetter was of the generation familiar with songs that Paul Oliver has termed 'Proto Blues'. These were in popular circulation from the end of the last century to the 1920s and include *Alabama Bound*, *Hesitation Blues*, and *Salty Dog*, all of which both Leadbelly and Morton recorded for the Library of Congress.

Alabama Bound is part of a cycle of lyrics that incorporates *Elder Green's In Town*, and *Don't Leave Me Here*. Leadbelly recalled he learned his version while picking cotton in Texas in 1912. The Lomaxes collected another from the Texan songster Pete Harris in 1934, and there were many commercial recordings of songs within this cycle. Blind Lemon Jefferson cut an unissued rendering for OKeh in 1927.

Hesitation Blues, in sheet music, dates from 1915, when two different variants were published, and there were many subsequent recordings by black and white performers alike.

Salty Dog is generally associated with the New Orleans songster Papa Charlie Jackson who recorded it as early as 1924 (Paramount 12236).

Other titles Ledbetter performed in this category were of similar vintage. They include *Careless Love*, *Easy Mister Tom*, *Take A Whiff On Me* (learned from his uncle, Terrell), and *Take Me Back*, all of which were recorded by the Texas songster Mance Lipscomb in the 1960s. As *Cocaine Habit Blues*, the Memphis Jug Band had made a recording of *Take A Whiff On Me* in 1930 (Victor V-38620), while

Take Me Back has been traced by Paul Oliver to a composition by Barrett McMahon, published in 1898. Elements from this appear in the 1927 recording *Bob McKinney* by 'Ragtime Texas,' mentioned previously. As *Beggin' Back* (Paramount 12394) the song proper was recorded in 1926 by Blind Lemon Jefferson, the celebrated Texas bluesman (and songster) with whom Leadbelly had played in Dallas.

Hello Central (Give Me 47) is a parody of another widely distributed song, the 1901 composition by Charles Harris — *Hello Central Give Me Heaven*. Songs less readily identifiable in early sources are the bawdy *I Ain't Bothered A Bit*, and *I'm Gonna Hold It In Her While She's Young And Tender*, and the more reflective *I'm Sorry Mama*, *The Medicine Man*, *What You Goin' To Do With Your Long Tall Daddy?* and *You Don't Know My Mind*.

Becky Dean is slightly different in that its subject matter is a woman (and a gambler) from a levee, or construction camp. Here men lived who were employed in maintaining the embankments to prevent flooding along the Mississippi River and its tributaries. The song was learned by Leadbelly 'from some levee camp-men who came during the lay-off to help his father with the cotton picking.' In its performance, he calls out the rhythm he is playing on his guitar, first a Kansas-City two step then, speeding up, a cakewalk.

For ARC, Leadbelly also recorded a song entitled *Kansas City Papa* (utilising words from *Ain't Bothered A Bit*) and this forms the basis for his subsequent composition celebrating his arrival in the northern metropolis — *New York City* (AFS 997 A).

3. Blues, and Blues Narratives (The Talkin' Blues)

In *Negro Folk Songs As Sung By Lead Belly* the Lomaxes divide Huddie's blues performances into two distinct modes: conventional performances, and "Talkin' Blues". The latter they call 'Blues Narratives' in their 'Notes' and 'narrative' is an appropriate description of Leadbelly's technique for embellishing certain of his performances with interjections and explanations, as with his ballad repertoire.

Many of the blues and blues narratives the singer recorded for the Library of Congress between 1933 and 1935 had themes relating to Texas or Louisiana, or were otherwise associated with one or other of these states. The exceptions were his *Death Letter Blues*, *Don't You Love Me No Mo'*, *Henry Ford Blues*, and *Red Cross Sto'*. The latter was first recorded at commercial sessions in 1933 by the Alabama singers Bessie Jackson (Lucille Bogan), Walter Roland and Sonny Scott. Its subject appears to have been depression relief, although the Lomaxes suggest Leadbelly's song dated from the First World War. The Texas songster Pete Harris also recorded a version for the Lomaxes in 1934. Similarly, Harris recorded *Thirty Days In Jail*, a variant of another narrative *Thirty Days In The Work House* (or *Jail House Blues*), recorded by Huddie in the following year.

Blues by Leadbelly from this period not directly associated with Texas, or Louisiana, are *Alberta* — described as an old song in the 'Notes'; *Blues I Got Make A New Born Baby Cry* — a two-step, in fast time; and *Send Down Your Hand*.

As has been observed, the narrative blues *Mr. Tom Hughes' Town* (known also as *Fannin Street*) recalls Shreveport, and the sheriff who held office at the time the songster was incarcerated in Angola. *Roberta*, another story song with spoken passages, was performed for the Lomaxes when they asked for a 'low down barrelhouse blues'. This Huddie explained was popular with the women on Fannin Street in the city of his youth.

Which Way Do The Red River Run is a theme of long-standing in greater Texas. There was a 1927 recording by Henry Thomas 'Ragtime Texas' (Vocalion 1137) and, in 1960, Mance Lipsomb recorded a version (Reprise RS 6404). Leadbelly's recording of this song for the Library of Congress, however, includes a verse set in Fannin Street, and another describing his women in Mooringsport, and Shreveport.

Just below Shreveport, on the Bossier City side of the Red River, is Taylortown, and this was the birthplace of yet another of his girlfriends, according to a verse in the singer's *Got A Gal In Town With Her Mouth Full Of Gold*.

Another blues with local references was composed during his incarceration at the Louisiana State Penitentiary, Angola. First performed for the Lomaxes at that location in 1934, Ledbetter made further recordings of this for the Library of Congress on four other occasions, each with different titles — *I Got Up This Morning Had To Get Up So Soon* (1934); *Angola Blues*; *Get Up In The Morning So Doggone Soon* (1935); and *So Doggone Soon* (1940). There is adaptation between each performance, and some of the stanzas were almost certainly in oral circulation. Thus, Huddie's nephew, Noah Moore, made reference to 'Texas Avenue,' in Shreveport, and the 'moving picture show' in his *Jerry's Saloon Blues*, a 1940 recording for John A. Lomax. These elements occur too in his uncle's 1934 recording, and variants are in the two 1935 versions. The latter also include mention of Leadbelly's woman in Taylortown. By 1940, the principal conurbation identified had changed from Shreveport to

New York City. The 1935 and 1940 recordings of this song can be categorised as talkin' blues, or narratives, and this is the case also with the singer's *Fo' Day Worry Blues*, which describes his life with Era, the woman with whom he lived in Louisiana before he was sent to Angola. The songster's *Monkey Men Blues*, from 1937, is another version of this theme.

Leadbelly performed three songs which he associated with the period when he worked with Blind Lemon Jefferson in Dallas. Two of these, *Blind Lemon Blues*, and *Matchbox Blues* — both narratives — are accompanied by knife-style guitar playing. Ledbetter appears to have associated this technique with Jefferson, although the latter made only one commercial recording using this form of accompaniment: *Jack O' Diamond Blues* (Paramount 12373, recorded in 1926). The singer recalled, however, that during the time they played together 'with Huddie's mandolin and Blind Lemon's Hawaiian guitar,' both 'made a good living in the saloons and red-light district of East Dallas'. Recordings of Jefferson pieces for the Lomaxes by two other Texas songsters — Pete Harris and Smith Casey — also feature slide guitar accompaniment. This, plus Leadbelly's two songs, suggests a facet of Jefferson's repertoire not recognised otherwise.

As has been noted, the singer's first *Angola Blues* (recorded in 1933) contains elements of *Matchbox Blues* and, in 1927, Blind Lemon Jefferson himself recorded two versions of a song with this title, with related verses and conventional guitar accompaniment (OKeh 8455, Paramount 12474). Conventional accompaniment is also a feature of Leadbelly's other blues which he recalled playing with Jefferson: *Fort Worth And Dallas Blues*.

Blind Lemon's *Corrina Blues* (Paramount 12367, cut in 1926) is a version of the widely distributed *C. C. Rider*, recorded by Huddie with the latter title and slide-guitar accompaniment. Alan Lomax also obtained a version of this from Jelly Roll Morton in 1938. Leadbelly's other blues, however, were peculiar to his greater Texas environment. *DeKalb Blues* titled for the east Texas town from which he was sent down for murder, and *Shorty George* was the name given by inmates to the railway train that brought women visitors to the Central State Farm, at Sugarland, on Sundays and took them away from the penal compound at night.

The first song Leadbelly heard called a blues (identified thus by his grandfather) was *I'm All Out And Down*, a lyric he learned from a holler performed by a little boy or (more likely) from 'a group of levee workers who stopped overnight at his father's place.' This is another levee camp song and, as the Lomaxes observe, demonstrates one way in which blues developed — from the solo holler to the guitar-accompanied barrelhouse two-step.' This, they believed was 'typical of many, if not all, folk blues'.

I'm All Out And Down is related to the recording *Lovin' Babe* made in 1929 by 'Ragtime Texas' (Henry Thomas): it also includes the familiar stanza:

I'm broke and ain't got a dime,
Every good man gets in hard luck some time;

This is best known via Blind Lemon Jefferson's *One Dime Blues* recorded in 1927 for Paramount (12578). Unlike these two commercial recordings, however, Ledbetter's version is firmly rooted in both the levee work song and entertainment traditions, with references in his lyrics to the type of exertion, working conditions and an individual (Red River) levee contractor, Johnny Ryan (identified also by Texas Alexander in his 1934 recording *One Morning Blues*: Vocalion 02192). In one of his two 1935 renderings of this song (AFS 156 B), however, Leadbelly divides his performance into two parts, the first, unaccompanied, demonstrating the work holler, and the second, guitar accompanied, in dance time. His 1937 performance of the piece is as a work holler (AFS 995 B 3).

The majority of the blues Huddie recorded for the Library of Congress post-1935, and not in his repertoire prior to that year, can be traced directly to commercial recordings by popular blues singers. *Ain't Goin' To Drink No Mo' Blues* from 1937 is a version of *I Keep On Drinking* recorded by Bumble Bee Slim in 1935 (Vocalion 03037), and his *Sail On Little Girl Sail On* (1940) is based on another Bumble Bee Slim recording, for Bluebird in 1934 (Bluebird B 5475). Leroy Carr's popular *When The Sun Goes Down* (Bluebird B 5877) is Leadbelly's *Last Night In The Evening* (1937 and 1940). Learned from the rendition by Blind Lemon Jefferson (Paramount 12685), on two occasions Ledbetter also recorded a version of Carr's most famous blues *How Long?*, in 1940, and in 1942. In the latter he shared his vocal and guitar passages equally with Sonny Terry (harmonica, falsetto vocals), and Brownie McGhee (vocal, guitar) — both of whom took their interpretations from the 1928 Leroy Carr original (Vocalion 1191). *Bottle Up And Go*, from 1940, is based on the Tommy McClennan hit of the previous year (Bluebird B 8373), while Huddie's *T.B. Blues* (recorded commercially for ARC in 1935, and for the Library of Congress in 1940) is based on the Victoria Spivey song, first recorded by her in 1927 (OKeh 8494).

At this point, Leadbelly's *Noted Rider Blues* (1938, 1940, 1940s), and his *Tell Me Baby What's Wrong With You* (1940) have not been traced to other recordings.

It should be mentioned that several of these blues were performed as components of the songster's monologues, recorded in 1940: his *Monologue On T. B.* (AFS 4469-A), and his *Monologue On Blues* (AFS 4470-A).

4. Hollers

The hollers can be divided into three principal sub-divisions: childhood recreations, work songs, and prison songs (including solo versions of prison work songs). Two early childhood hollers (both recorded in 1935) are *Hoday*, and *One Dollar Bill Baby*, called a 'blues holler' but noted as being sung by Leadbelly on his way to school. In 1940, the songster recorded this as an element of a square dance. *Ain't Goin' Down To The Well No Mo* (the well, being the jailhouse or penitentiary) is a work holler that Leadbelly learned 'on a cotton pick in Rockwell County, from Ol' Will Darlin,' at 'Gus Edwards' farm' in 1910.

Each of the prison songs is associated with Huddie's term in the Texas prison system. *Dick Licker's Holler* — a jail house lament — is named after the fellow inmate of this name from whom Leadbelly obtained the song.

His two other hollers are both work songs and in these he sings the leader's part. They are *Go Down Old Hannah* (related to *Ain't No Mo' Cane On The Brazos*), and *In Dem Long Hot Summer Days* (also known as *Ol' Riley*). 'Old Hannah' is a name for the sun. Both chants were still extant in the Texas prison farms in the 1960s and were recorded there by Bruce Jackson. For example, a version of *Go Down Old Hannah*, by David Tippen and group, is included in one of the cassettes of Jackson's recordings released by Curlew (1002).

5. Miscellaneous — (White Influences, Pardon Songs)

Leadbelly recorded two cowboy songs for the Lomaxes. *The Western Cowboy*, was obtained from him as early as 1933. This is related to one of the most famous of all white cowboy songs: *The Old Chisholm Trail*. On occasion Huddie was employed in roping cows and wild horses and was familiar with several black cowboys, such as Jim Coleman, and Willie Wilson. The latter information comes from an interview he recorded in 1940, alongside *Cowboy Song*, known also as *Come Along All You Cowboys*. In this performance, Leadbelly again yodels in the fashion of the popular white singer Jimmie Rodgers. The songster also performed *Dear Old Daddy*, an interpretation of Rodgers' style presumably based on the former's *Daddy And Home*, recorded in 1928 (Victor 21757).

The Shreveport Jail is another lyric from white tradition which, as I have mentioned, was also used by Leadbelly as the melody for his pardon song *Governor OK Allen*.

A further tune popular in the white and black corpus was the prison song *Midnight Special*, which he sang with lyrics that associate his rendering with the Texas penitentiary system.

Others in this category are the singer's first pardon song addressed to the Governor of Texas, in 1925: *Governor Pat Neff*, and the ever-popular *Irene*, that remained a mainstay of his repertoire.

Eva, recorded by Leadbelly in 1938, is difficult to classify, but its subject appears to be the death of a particular 'notoriety woman'. Although the performance is truncated, there is a hint that it may have religious significance.

6. Religious Songs — The Mourner's Bench

The dearth of authoritative work on the black North American religious repertoire means that it is far more difficult to provide a concise informed summary of the religious music Leadbelly recorded for the Library of Congress. A comprehensive knowledge of white hymnody, black spirituals, and the beliefs of different black and white religious sects, as well as their performing styles would be necessary in this respect. The Christian message, however, is the creed with which he and most of his black North American contemporaries would have been familiar.

In 1935 the songster hardly admitted to knowing any black religious music at all, with recordings of only two songs in this vein: *Mary Don't You Weep*, and *Way Over In The Promised Land*. The Lomaxes state that he also knew the spiritual *You Shall Be Free*.

Virtually all the religious music recorded by Leadbelly for the Library of Congress, therefore, comes from the *Monologue On The Mourner's Bench* that he performed for Alan Lomax in 1940 (AFS 4770 B – 4772 A 3). In addition, he recorded a few religious pieces in 1937 and 1938.

In 1940, Leadbelly told Alan Lomax that most of the sacred music he knew was associated with three different denominations: Baptist, Holy Rollers (or Holy Ghost) and Methodist. These churches he had visited more than any others. He demonstrated this, for example, in singing *Amazing Grace* — the white spiritual that was equally popular with blacks — in common meter (Baptist style) and short meter (Methodist style), and *Let It Shine On Me* in the style of each. There are three performances of *Must I*

Be Carried To The Sky On Flowered Beds Of Ease, one in long meter (Baptist), a Methodist interpretation (short meter), and a version in which the song is 'moaned'.

Run Sinners and *Ride On* are performed as Baptist moans, and it seems that the majority of Leadbelly's Christian repertoire was Baptist, as this was the church he attended with his parents when he was a child.

The titles of his religious pieces seem to represent many of the familiar songs of this type, including *Ain't Goin't Study War No More* (or *Down By The Riverside*); *The Blood Done Signed My Name*; *Down In The Valley To Pray*; *Hallelujah* (or *True*, or *Pure Religion*); *Git On Board*; *Join The Band*; *Meeting At The Building*; *Nobody Knows The Trouble I've Seen*; *Old Time Religion*; *Outshine The Sun*; *Stand Your Test In Judgement*; *Swing Low Sweet Chariot*; *When The Train Comes Along*; and *Witness For My Lord*. His wife, Martha, joins him on versions of *Nobody Knows The Trouble I've Seen*, and *Outshine The Sun*, and Leadbelly sings some of the other songs unaccompanied.

Of the 1938 performances, two feature the songster playing guitar for other vocalists: *He's Just The Same Today* by Sarah Garland; and *Rock Of Ages* by Sarah and Jim Garland.

Something, Something Keeps-A Worryin' Me (or *Oh, Something On My Mind*) is a Holy Roller's spiritual song, while *How Long?* (not to be confused with the blues of the same title) is a version of *Tell Me How Long Has The Train Been Gone?*, in which Huddie turns his hand to preaching. He talks of having heard Preacher Burnett when he was in Kansas City in 1926 and this was almost certainly Rev J. C. Burnett, the popular black preacher who made his first commercial records in the same year (Meritt 2203), and was based in that conurbation. Ledbetter, however, was never a preacher and, although he used to lead singing in church, he never took prayers. He learned the technique, nevertheless, by listening to others, and recorded a very authentic *Prayer* for Alan Lomax in 1940. Leadbelly's interests were worldly rather than religious, notwithstanding, and he became what is known as a 'backslider,' the subject of *Backslider Fare You Well*, sung in churches when individuals had transgressed accepted religious behaviour.

Two of the religious songs have been omitted from the Library of Congress (and, hence, the Document) listings: *Soldier In The Army Of My Lord* [AFS 4471 A 4 (a)], and *Tall Angel At The Bar* [AFS 4471 B 4 (b)]. Mention must also be made of the songster's description entitled *Christmas*: this details the way in which the Christmas / New Year festival was celebrated in the Baptist church he attended as a child. Christmas was an important festival in the black slave community, in both the English-speaking West Indies and the United States, and the celebration retained its special character in these territories after slaves had been emancipated.

7. Square Dances, or Sooky Jumps

One aspect of Christmas / New Year celebrations mentioned by Leadbelly was 'traced dances,' held each night from 25 December to 1 January. Reels (or square dances) were the principal components of such events, and also entertainments throughout the year in communities that mirrored those of his youth.

This again is an under-researched topic, although the black string band album *Altamont* (featuring 1940s Library of Congress field recordings from Tennessee) remains a welcome addition to the spartan evidence available (Rounder CD 0238). The spread of formal dances from Europe to the Americas and the Caribbean and their adoption and adaptation by blacks and whites for social functions was a wide-spread phenomenon throughout the 19th century.

'Do The Bombashay' apart — the chapter devoted to dance songs and routines in Paul Oliver's *Songsters And Saints* — there has been little analysis of this aspect of black music in the repertoire recorded commercially in the United States between 1925 and 1930. In the greater-Texas area, however, Mack McCormick identifies five 'reels' in the compass of 'Ragtime Texas' (Henry Thomas) recorded between 1927 and 1929: *The Little Red Caboose* (Vocalion 1138, cut in 1927); *Honey Won't You Allow Me One More Chance* (Vocalion 1141, also from 1927); *Fishing Blues* (Vocalion 1249, made in 1928); *Old Country Stomp* (Vocalion 1230, likewise from 1928); and *Charmin' Betsy* (Vocalion 1468, recorded in 1929). In this respect *Old Country Stomp* is the most interesting as Thomas includes square dance calls in its lyrics. In 1934, Pete Harris recorded a song for the Lomaxes containing similar instructions entitled *Square Dance Calls* and, as indicated, in the same year Leadbelly played guitar for, *Dance Calls*, a like composition with Sloan Wright as caller.

The majority of Ledbetter's repertoire of reels and associated music was explored by the Lomaxes in their 1933-35 recordings; much of his 1940 *Monologue On Square Dances, or, Sooky Jumps* providing supplementary information and performances of the same titles.

When Huddie took up the guitar (aged between 14 and 16) the initial pieces he learned were reels. The first was *Po' Howard*, and he acquired this 'Spanish fandang' from one Jim Fagin. Bill Coleman provided him with his second reel (or fiddle song): *Green Corn*. Leadbelly also demonstrates the

incorporation of his schoolboy holler *One Dollar Bill Baby* into a square dance, along with *Shoo Fly*. He likewise performed a children's song *Ha, Ha This-A-Way* (used for ring play) as a reel. Songs from slavery — or, immediate post-slavery times — that he performed as reels were *Jawbone Walk*, and *Racoon Up A Simmon Tree* (the latter to the same melody as his interpretation of the Child ballad *The Maid Freed From The Gallows*). Both of these were recorded in 1937, as was his *Polly Wolly Wee*, a fast dance tune.

Square dances recorded in 1935 are *Gwine Dig A Hole To Put The Devil In*, and *Old Maid Settin' In The Comer Dying*. *I Walked Her And I Talked Her* also fits this pattern. In addition Huddie classified *Tight Like That* as a square dance, and this may indicate that this piece (first recorded commercially by Tampa Red and Georgia Tom in 1928: Vocalion 1216), has earlier rural origins.

A popular 'jig, or, ragtime strut' recorded by Ledbetter in 1933, 1934, and 1935, was *You Cain' Lose Me Cholly*. This, the Lomaxes noted, was used 'for knocking the back step and double shuffle, or cutting the pigeon wing,' all dance movements that date from early in the twentieth century, if not before.

8. Topical and 'Protest' Songs

The decision by Leadbelly to sing songs with themes reflecting topicality and, or, protestation, that appealed to radical white Americans, was almost certainly an outcome of his move to New York City in 1936 to make a career there as a folk singer. In essence, however, this was a continuation of his role as a songster, who adapted old material for new ends, or wrote new songs as the need arose to suit the changing perceptions of his audience.

In the works he recorded for the Library of Congress that can be categorised using this heading, there are a number of examples of this process. These can be identified by comparison with other aspects of his repertoire. Thus, his song about the liner *Queen Mary* is based on his earlier ballad devoted to the sinking of the *Titanic*. Likewise, his *Roosevelt Song* (with its 1940 theme of peace) is based on a song about the Spanish-American war in 1898, unidentified in Library of Congress sources but included in the Document albums (AFS 994 B 2, in DLP 608). *The Bourgeois Blues*, about racial discrimination in Washington, D.C., is played to the same tune as his *Noted Rider Blues*.

Discrimination against a group of nine blacks from Alabama, who became known as the 'Scottsboro Boys,' was another segregation topic taken up by the songster: this in a song named after these unfortunates. Dubious and unsubstantiated charges against the group, alleging sexual attacks on two white women, led to six trials in Alabama, and three appeals to the U.S. Supreme Court, between 1931 and 1937.

Another topic he covered was the terrible conflagration, on 6 May 1937, when the airship *Hindenburg* exploded endeavouring to dock in America, after its third voyage across the Atlantic. For this he composed two songs, both entitled *The Hindenburg Disaster*. Air travel seems to have fascinated Huddie, for he also wrote a song about the efforts of the reclusive millionaire Howard Hughes to fly round the world in an attempt to beat a record set by the aviator Charles Lindberg that Leadbelly recorded as *Howard Hughes* in 1940. His *Turn Yo' Radio On* commemorates the marvels of this means of mass communication, which are now taken for granted.

9. Work Songs

The majority of Huddie Ledbetter's work songs can be traced to his period as a convict in Texas, serving time in prison farms, where group manual labour was used extensively. Only two pieces of this type recorded for the Lomaxes are not directly associated with this period of incarceration. Each appear to date from his youth in Louisiana, as they seem to have been learned from one or other of his two uncles, who lived in proximity.

Both tunes have themes associated with farming. *Bring Me A Lil' Water Silvy* was composed by Huddie's Uncle Bob who originally addressed a personal holler to his wife (named Silvy) to bring him water as he worked in the fields in the hot sun. Later he developed this into verses he would sing to his mules while ploughing. Leadbelly himself embellished the stanzas as he began to perform it for white audiences in 1935. As with some of his other work songs, this piece could also be adapted for use as a reel.

The second chant associated with farming is *Whoa Goddamn*, which Huddie learned as a boy from an uncle who earned his living by driving oxen. This piece has various other titles, principally *Whoa Back Buck*, *Ox Drivin' Blues*, and *Ox Driving Man*. Using the cries of the driver, the lyrics portray his work routine. There are, however, other references in Leadbelly's verses, such as the mention of Cunningham. This is either J. B. Cunningham, the Texas Prisons transfer agent, c. 1910 or, perhaps, A. J. Cunningham who leased convicts from the Texas prisons for work on his plantations in the 1870s. The songster also seems to incorporate lines from a bawdy reel called *Partyo Partyo* (described in

Lomax field notes at the Library of Congress as a generic name for salacious and 'unprintable' party songs).

Another lyric which has definite associations with the Texas Prison system but apparently obtained initially from his uncle Terrell, who used it while chopping cotton, is *Looky, Looky Yonder Where De Sun Done Gone*. During Leadbelly's time in the prison farms, however, the verses were adapted to accompany buck jumping (covering the grass and weeds on the cotton rows with dirt instead of chopping up each sprout). The words seem to be related to *Old Aunt Dinah*, a song recorded by Bruce Jackson in the Texas prison farms during the 1960s — take, for example, the version by Jesse 'G. I. Jazz' Hendricks and group in the cassette issued by Curlew (1002).

Variants of several other songs recorded by Leadbelly were collected by Jackson in the Texas prison farms during the 1960s. They are the ballad *John Henry* (an axe song, used while logging); the blues *Shorty George* (a group song, for working on cotton and sugar cane plantations); the hollers *Go Down Old Hannah* (another cotton and cane group work song), and *In Dem Long Hot Summer Days* (a flatweeding song, accompanying hoeing); also *Midnight Special* (a cotton and cane group work song).

In addition, Jackson obtained three other Texas prison work songs that Leadbelly had recorded in 1935. These are *The Grey Goose*, *Ol' Rattler*, and *Pick A Bale O' Cotton*. The latter, the Lomaxes note, possibly originated as a reel. One of Jackson's recordings of this piece, again performed by Jesse 'G. I. Jazz' Hendricks and group, was released in another Curlew cassette (1003). Jackson classifies it as a cotton and cane group work song.

In *American Ballads And Folk Songs* the compilers printed a version of *The Grey Goose* obtained from Texas convict James 'Iron Head' Baker, which they also described as a 'reel'. This was not the case with *Ol' Rattler*, however, which they attributed to the 'Southern Chain Gangs'. Their 1933 version had been obtained from another Texas prison farm inmate, Mose 'Clear Rock' Platt. In the same book, they printed Platt's *Pick A Bale O' Cotton* as a 'reel'.

These cross-classifications serve to demonstrate how such repertoire moved from function to function as the need arose, and explain in part the movement of stanzas between different kinds of black folk song and, indeed, songs of more formal composition.

Similar observations have been made concerning Leadbelly's personal work song *Julie Ann Johnson* and they apply also to *Billy In The Lowlands* (an axe song) that was the singer's second preference in this category. The different versions Leadbelly recorded of *Julie Ann Johnson* (remembering his 1933 rendition is only printed in *American Ballads And Folk Songs*) demonstrates his variation in performance, and the evolution of this tune. This is the case also with a number of other titles where the Lomaxes obtained several performances of the same song.

While *Elnora* was recorded only once, Ledbetter's version of this Texas prison work song provides yet another example of this process. Classified as an axe song, that could be used also for flatweeding, the songster's rendition is neither.

On his release from Angola, and visiting the Lomax household at Austin, Texas, for the first time Huddie discovered that the name of their cook was Elnora. Using the name of this prison work song, therefore, he proceeded to reconstruct the song in a way designed to flatter the Lomax family and their cook.

Excluding *John Henry*, sung by Leadbelly only as a ballad, all the work songs identified were recorded in the period 1933-1935, and can be said to represent his primary repertoire of this kind of music.

In 1937 he performed two more work songs for the Library of Congress: the first, *Rock Island Line*, as has been noted, was learned while he was engaged as a driver for John A. Lomax at the Cumins State Farm, Gould, Arkansas, in 1934. This was an axe song as was *I Ain't Gonna Ring Dem Yellow Women's Do' Bells*", which the singer announces was used for crosscutting. It is not clear when this tune appeared in his repertoire.

My Little John Henry, recorded in 1938, is in effect a monologue on prison singing, and was released as such by Elektra. Why it was given the initial name is unclear. In addition to his descriptive passages Leadbelly performs two songs but neither seem to bear any relation to the piece the Lomaxes print in *American Ballads And Folk Songs* obtained from James 'Iron Head' Baker in 1933 which carried the title *My Lil' John Henry*.

Ham An' Eggs, recorded by Leadbelly in 1940, seems to be a later addition to his repertoire, in that he mentions the Georgia chain gang in his lyrics. He describes it as a song for hammering rocks on the rock pile.

The 12 'Document' Long Playing Records and subsequent CD releases

When this survey was published in 1991, the digital Compact Disc had not superseded the microgroove Long Playing record. The set of 12 Document LPs of Leadbelly's Library of Congress recordings, thereby, represented a unique accessible collection of virtually all the titles made by the singer for that august institution. The subsequent release of most of the same items on Compact Disc, however, does

not have the integrity of the original Document microgroove presentation. The majority of the recordings are scattered between CD releases on Rounder Records and Document Records, and there are omissions. To assist in understanding digital availability, a table has been added following an enhanced bibliography, the original list of LPs consulted, and a new inventory of CD equivalents and some supplementary items. In addition, a further table has been included delineating the singers associated first commercial recordings for the American Record Corporation.

While more could be written regarding Leadbelly's repertoire, his variation between performances and the way in which he presented his songs, enough has been stated to place them in a regional and historical context. It is hoped, also, that some indication has been conveyed of his relationship to the Lomaxes, their idea of 'folk songs,' and the place of his Library of Congress repertoire in the wider considerations of the commercial music business. It remains, however, to make a few comments on the presentation of the Document LPs and discographical considerations that arise from these records.

As is usual with Document, the albums were presented as being complete and in chronological sequence. On both accounts this was not the case with certain of the selections. There were some omissions and the sequence is not always chronological in the light of most recent scholarship (as defined by the third and fourth editions of *Blues And Gospel Records*). In this respect, the dates in that discography were obtained from Library of Congress file cards and they represent the closest approximation to a chronology of Leadbelly's recordings for the Library that can be obtained without, perhaps, reference to the papers of John A. Lomax at the University of Texas, or in Alan Lomax's collection. It must be remembered that the numerical sequence of Library of Congress discs bears scant relation to chronology.

Thus AFS 1-10 and 84 are Texas-Mexican music obtained by the Lomaxes in April 1934. AFS 11-43, 79-83, 85, 92-113 are recordings of Cajun, Creole and similar music collected by the Lomaxes in Louisiana during June-July 1934.

A batch of Leadbelly's 1935 recordings, made in February and March 1935 in Wilton, Connecticut, is represented by AFS 44-54: while AFS 55-60 were recorded by the white singer Alec Moore in Austin, Texas in November 1934, with songs performed at the same location and time by the Gant Family — AFS 61-71 A, and 72. AFS 71 B 1-4 are Jesse Wadley recordings made at the Bellwood Prison Camp, Atlanta, Georgia, in December 1934. This list is probably not entirely accurate, but enough has been stated to show the random nature of the numerical sequence.

Excluding the misplacement of dates for 1935 (based in *Blues And Gospel Records* on the assignment of a month or specific date on each file card), the biggest error in the Document LP sequence was a batch of Leadbelly's 1934 recordings at Angola assigned to 1935. This was inexcusable in that it included the original of Leadbelly's pardon song to Governor O. K. Allen. The sequence is AFS 124-126, all made on 1 July 1934, based on information in *Negro Folk Songs As Sung By Lead Belly*, and an audition of the original disc of AFS 125 A by the author, which contains an announcement to this effect. The file cards for all of these Angola recordings (AFS 121-126) read July 1934.

There are some omissions that result from the unreliable documentation of the singer's recordings in Arkansas, while he was acting as driver for John A. Lomax in 1934. The unattributed a capella version of *Whoa Back Buck* on AFS 240 A 2 is almost certainly by Leadbetter, performing to assist John A. Lomax in testing a faulty recording machine — as an exasperated Lomax complains (A 3). Band four on the same side of this disc is a rendition of the songster's *Julie Ann Johnson* and the fifth features a white man singing *Lover In The Lone Green Valley*, both accompanied by Leadbelly's guitar. AFS 240 A 2 and A 5 are not included in the Document LPs, nor is *Sweet Babe* by Leroy Allen, also with Huddie playing guitar (AFS 246 B 1). Conversely, while the catalogue card for the second band on this disc is labelled 'spoiled' it contains a performance of the songster's *You Cain' Loose A-Me Cholly*, and a third band on the same disc is a further version of his popular *Irene*. Neither item appears in the Library's *Checklist* but both are issued in Document LP 601 (but not on CD). The suggestion that the 'unknown convict' who performs *Runaway Negro* (AFS 244 B 2) 'an intriguing slide guitar piece ... with spoken-chanted lines [by a] solo voice' is also a Ledbetter contribution is highly unlikely. In the light of the title and an audition of the disc, the singer is probably white, and although the guitar accompaniment is akin to the local style, such as that played by Oscar Woods for a number of contemporary recordings by Jimmie Davis, it does not match Huddie's application of this technique.

Mention of additional uncatalogued performances (released on LP by Document) has been made in the discussion on repertoire. Leadbelly's 1942 recordings (for Charles Todd and Robert Sonkin) of *Dear Mr. President*, *President Roosevelt*, and *Mr. Hitler* (AFS 6407 A-B) are also not incorporated in the Document albums [*but have been issued on CD by Agram and Rounder*].

Ledbetter's 1934 recording of the ballad *Boll Weevil* (AFS 273 A 1) is not from the original disc but from an abstraction issued by the Library of Congress in their series of Long Playing records devoted to "Lectures On American Folk Music" by John A. Lomax: 'The Ballad Hunter'. Excerpts from seven versions of songs about the Boll Weevil are in the album AFS L 51 with overdubbing of John A. Lomax's voice. This incursion can be heard in Leadbelly's 1934 *Boll Weevil* issued in Document DLP

601 [and DOCD 5591]. It must be noted also that many of the songster's 1937 recordings in Document DLP 608, [DOCD 5594 and Rounder CD 1045 and 1098] are not at the correct pitch, aurally they are running slow.

Such criticisms, however, do not detract from the importance of the release of the 12 albums: DLP 601 – DLP 612. While the sound quality is not always pristine (usual with Library of Congress field recordings from this period) the music is of a very high standard. There is Leadbelly's magnificent voice (the equal of Son House's), together with the variety of his repertoire and presentation, solo vocals and vocals to differing styles of guitar accompaniment.

In 1991, prospective purchasers were advised that most of Leadbelly's 1933-34 Library of Congress recordings were in Document DLP 601, the remaining 1934 recordings in DLP 603. [In the CDs, these sides are divided between DOCD 5579, DOCD 5591, and Rounder CD 1044, 1097, 1821, 1831, 1863, 1866.]

DLP 601 – DLP 608 all contained 1935 recordings and these eight long-playing records comprised the cream of his early repertoire. [CD releases of the same sides are split between DOCD 5591 DOCD 5592 DOCD 5593 DOCD 5594, plus Rounder CD 1044, 1045, 1097, 1098, and 1099.]

DLP 608 also covered the songster's complete 1937 recordings, and two performances from 1938. [The 1937 sides are represented in DOCD 5594 plus Rounder CD 1045 and 1098.] DLP 609 has his other 1938 recordings, while DLP 610-612 included the 1940 monologues and other individual songs. [On CD the 1938 recordings are in DOCD 5594 and DOCD 5595, plus Rounder CD 1045, 1098, 1831 and 1863. The 1940 monologues (with occasional omission) are in DOCD 5595 and Rounder CD 1045, 1046 and 1099.]

DLP 612 also had two very fine performances Ledbetter recorded with Sonny Terry and Brownie McGhee in 1942, plus four items he made for Sam Eskin, probably later in the 1940s, the exact date has not yet been traced. [DOCD 5595 and Rounder CD 1866 contain the 1942 sides.]

As I indicated, it was an invidious task even to begin to recommend which LP or LPs might be best to obtain for those with a partial interest in Leadbelly's music, or limited resources. This is true equally for the CD compilations from these same recordings. The singer's 1934-1935 repertoire contains many fine blues performances (for those primarily interested in this aspect of his music). Using this summary as a record review, I stated in 1991 that in the final analysis, it is likely that those who 'take a whiff' by buying one or two albums will catch the 'cocaine habit' and end up by being addicted to purchasing more. In essence, the recommendation must be, for each of these records to 'take a whiff on me'. The same advice remains for the CD era.

Acknowledgements

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Arhoolie	F 1001	<i>Mance Lipscomb: Texas Sharecropper and Songster</i>
	F 1026	<i>Mance Lipscomb</i> , Vol. 3: Texas Songster in a Live Performance
	F 1033	<i>Mance Lipscomb</i> , Vol. 4
Bear Family	BFX 15125	<i>Jimmie Davis: Rockin' Blues</i>
	BFX 15285	<i>Jimmie Davis: Barnyard Stomp</i>
Biograph	BLP 12013	<i>Early Leadbelly 1935-1940 - Leadbelly</i>
CBS	64103	<i>Leadbelly</i>
Capitol	T 1821	<i>Leadbelly: Huddie Ledbetter's Best... His Guitar - His Voice - His Piano</i>
Curlew (cassettes)	1002	<i>Texas Prison Songs</i> , Vol. 1
	1003	<i>Texas Prison Songs</i> , Vol. 2
Document	DLP 517	<i>Oscar "Buddy" Woods (1930-1938): Complete Recordings in Chronological Order</i>
	DLP 601-612	<i>Leadbelly: Complete Library of Congress Recordings in Chronological Order on 12 LPs</i>
Elektra	EKL 301/2	<i>Leadbelly: The Library of Congress Recordings</i>
Flyright-Matchbox	SDM 264	<i>Two White Horses Standin' In Line: 1939 field recordings from Texas</i>
	SDM 265	<i>Jack O' Diamonds: 1934 field recordings from Texas</i>
Flyright	FLY LP 280	<i>Jerry's Saloon Blues: 1940 field recordings from Louisiana</i>
Folkways	FP 24 / FW 02024	<i>Lead Belly's Legacy</i> , Vol. 3: Early Recordings
Herwin	H 208	<i>Henry Thomas 'Ragtime Texas': Complete Recorded Works - 1927-1929 in chronological order</i>
JEMF	LP 109	<i>Minstrels & Tunessmiths</i> , The Commercial Roots of Early Country Music Illustrated with Early Recordings from 1902-1923
Milestone	MLP 2007	<i>Blind Lemon Jefferson: Volume 2</i>
Reprise	RS 6404	<i>Trouble In Mind - Mance Lipscomb</i>
Rounder	0238	<i>Altamont: Black String Band Music from the Library of Congress - Various Artists</i>
	2013	<i>Wake Up Dead Man: Black Convict Worksongs from Texas Prisons</i>

Xtra	XTRAD 1017	<i>The Leadbelly Set</i> – Leadbelly [incorporates Folkways FP 24 / FW 02024]
Yazoo	L 1069	Blind Lemon Jefferson: <i>King of the Country Blues</i>

Compact Discs

Agram Blues	ABCD 2017	<i>Roosevelt's Blues: African-American Blues And Gospel Songs On FDR</i>
Arhoolie	CD 306	<i>Texas Songster: Mance Lipscomb</i>
	CD 398	<i>You Got To Reap What You Sow: Mance Lipscomb, Texas Songster, Volume 2</i>
BGO	BGOC403	Leadbelly: <i>His Guitar – His Voice – His Piano</i> [Capitol recordings]
Columbia	CK 30035	Leadbelly
	CK 46776	Leadbelly: <i>King of the Twelve-String Guitar</i>
Document	DOCD 5143	" <i>Texas Slide Guitars</i> " – Oscar Woods & Black Ace (1929-1938)
	DOCD 5231	<i>Texas Field Recordings: The Complete Recorded Works of Pete Harris, Smith Casey and others (1934-1939)</i>
	DOCD 5579	<i>Field Recordings – Vol. 5: Louisiana & Texas, Bahamas (1933-40)</i>
	DOCD 5591	<i>Leadbelly – The Remaining ARC & Library of Congress Recordings – Vol. 1 (1934-35)</i>
	DOCD 5592	<i>Leadbelly – The Remaining Library of Congress Recordings – Vol. 2 (1935)</i>
	DOCD 5593	<i>Leadbelly – The Remaining Library of Congress Recordings – Vol. 3 (1935)</i>
	DOCD 5594	<i>Leadbelly – The Remaining Library of Congress Recordings – Vol. 4 (1935-38)</i>
	DOCD 5595	<i>Leadbelly – The Remaining Library of Congress Recordings – Vol. 5 (1938-42)</i>
Rhino	RHM2 7829	<i>Trouble In Mind</i> – Mance Lipscomb: American Folk Song Traditionalist [Reprise recordings]
Rounder	CD 0238	<i>Altamont: Black String Band Music from the Library of Congress – Various Artists</i>
	CD 1044	Lead Belly – <i>Midnight Special</i> – The Library of Congress Recordings: Recorded by Alan Lomax
	CD 1045	Lead Belly – <i>Gwine Dig A Hole To Put The Devil In</i> – The Library of Congress Recordings: Recorded by Alan Lomax
	CD 1046	Lead Belly – <i>Let It Shine On Me</i> – The Library of Congress Recordings: Recorded by Alan Lomax
	CD 1097	Lead Belly – <i>The Titanic</i> – The Library of Congress Recordings: Recorded by Alan Lomax
	CD 1098	Lead Belly – <i>Nobody Knows The Trouble I've Seen</i> – The Library of Congress Recordings: Recorded by Alan Lomax
	CD 1099	Lead Belly – <i>Go Down Old Hannah</i> – The Library of Congress Recordings: Recorded by Alan Lomax
	CD 1151	Lead Belly: <i>Bridging Lead Belly</i>
	CD 1821	<i>Black Texicans: Balladeers and Songsters of the Texas Frontier</i> – Deep River of Song: The Alan Lomax Collection
	CD 1830	<i>Louisiana: Catch That Train and Testify</i> – Deep River of Song: The Alan Lomax Collection
	CD 1863	<i>Alan Lomax: Popular Songbook</i> – The Alan Lomax Collection
	CD 1866	<i>Alan Lomax: Blues Songbook</i> – The Alan Lomax Collection
	CD 1888	<i>Jelly Roll Morton: The Complete Library of Congress Recordings by Alan Lomax (8 CD boxed set)</i>
	CD 2013	<i>Wake Up Dead Man: Black Convict Worksongs from Texas Prisons</i>
Travelin' Man	TM CD 09	<i>I Can Eagle Rock: Jook joint blues from Alabama and Louisiana</i> — LIBRARY OF CONGRESS RECORDINGS 1940-1941
Yazoo	1080/1 (CD)	<i>Texas Worried Blues: Henry Thomas, Complete Recorded Works 1927-1929</i>
	2057 (CD)	<i>Best of Blind Lemon Jefferson</i>

Table of **Leadbelly** recordings for the **Library of Congress** with **CD** and **LP** releases examined

LOCATION	DATE	TITLE	ACCESSION	CD	DOC LP
Angola, Louisiana	16-20 July 1933	<i>Western Cowboy, The</i>	0119 B 1	DOCD 5579 02 a	LP 601 A 1 a
Angola, Louisiana	16-20 July 1933	<i>Honey Take A Whiff On Me</i>	0119 B 2	DOCD 5579 02 b	LP 601 A 1 b
Angola, Louisiana	16-20 July 1933	<i>Angola Blues</i>	0119 B 4	DOCD 5579 02 c	LP 601 A 1 c
Angola, Louisiana	16-20 July 1933	<i>Angola Blues</i>	0119 B 5	DOCD 5579 02 d	LP 601 A 1 d
Angola, Louisiana	16-20 July 1933	<i>Frankie And Albert</i>	0119 B 6	DOCD 5579 02 e	LP 601 A 1 e
Angola, Louisiana	16-20 July 1933	<i>Irene</i>	0120 A 1	DOCD 5579 03 a	LP 601 A 2 a
Angola, Louisiana	16-20 July 1933	<i>Take A Whiff On Me</i>	0120 A 2	DOCD 5579 03 b	LP 601 A 2 b
Angola, Louisiana	16-20 July 1933	<i>You Can't Lose Me Cholly</i>	0120 A 3	DOCD 5579 03 c	LP 601 A 2 c
Angola, Louisiana	16-20 July 1933	<i>Irene</i>	0120 A 6	DOCD 5579 03 d	LP 601 A 2 d
Angola, Louisiana	16-20 July 1933	<i>Irene</i>	0120 A 7	DOCD 5579 03 e	LP 601 A 2 e
Angola, Louisiana	16-20 July 1933	<i>Ella Speed</i>	0120 B 5	DOCD 5579 03 f	LP 601 A 2 f
Angola, Louisiana	prob. 1 July 1934	<i>Mister Tom Hughes' Town</i>	0121 A	DOCD 5579 04 / R 1097 02	LP 601 A 3
Angola, Louisiana	prob. 1 July 1934	<i>I Got Up In The Morning, Had To Get Up So Soon</i>	0122 A 2	DOCD 5579 05	LP 601 A 4
Angola, Louisiana	prob. 1 July 1934	<i>Western Cowboy</i>	0122 B	DOCD 5579 06 / R 1821 04	LP 601 A 5
Angola, Louisiana	prob. 1 July 1934	<i>Blind Lemon Blues</i>	0123 A	DOCD 5579 07 / R 1866 D2 12	LP 601 A 6
Angola, Louisiana	prob. 1 July 1934	<i>Matchbox Blues</i> ("Hawaiian Blues") [Blind Lemon Blues]	0123 B	DOCD 5579 08 / R 1044 03 / R 1097 01	LP 601 A 7
Angola, Louisiana	prob. 1 July 1934	<i>Midnight Special</i>	0124 A 1	R 1044 04	LP 603 A 5
Angola, Louisiana	prob. 1 July 1934	<i>Irene</i>	0124 A 2	DOCD 5591 01 / R 1831 17 / 1863 22	LP 603 A 6
Angola, Louisiana	prob. 1 July 1934	<i>Irene</i>	0124 B 1	DOCD 5591 02 / R 1831 17 / 1863 22	LP 603 A 7
Angola, Louisiana	prob. 1 July 1934	<i>Governor O. K. Allen</i>	0124 B 2	R 1044 05	LP 603 A 8
Angola, Louisiana	prob. 1 July 1934	<i>Frankie And Albert</i>	0125 A	R 1044 06	LP 603 B 1
Angola, Louisiana	prob. 1 July 1934	<i>Ella Speed</i>	0125 B	R 1044 07	LP 603 B 2
Angola, Louisiana	prob. 1 July 1934	<i>Julie Ann Johnson</i>	0126 A 1	DOCD 5591 03	LP 603 B 3

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revised with factual corrections, annotations and additions, with details regarding relevant ancillary CDs, and tables identifying germane CD and LP releases of Leadbelly's recordings for the Library of Congress; and those for the American Record Corporation in 1935

Angola, Louisiana	prob. 1 July 1934	<i>You Can't Lose-A-Me Cholly</i>	0126 A 2	DOCD 5591 04	LP 603 B 4
Angola, Louisiana	prob. 1 July 1934	<i>Take A Whiff On Me</i>	0126 A 3	DOCD 5591 05	LP 603 B 5
Angola, Louisiana	prob. 1 July 1934	<i>I'm Sorry Mama</i>	0126 B	R 1044 11	LP 603 B 6
Little Rock, Arkansas	27 September 1934	<i>Mister Tom Hughes' Town</i>	0236 B 3	DOCD 5591 06	LP 601 B 1
Little Rock, Arkansas	27 September 1934	<i>Julie Ann Johnson</i>	0239 A 3	DOCD 5591 07	LP 601 B 2 a
Pine Bluff, Arkansas	c. 29 September 1934	<i>Whoa Back Buck</i> [a capella]	0240 A 2		
Pine Bluff, Arkansas	c. 29 September 1934	<i>Lover In The Long Green Valley</i> [unknown white convict v. with probably Leadbelly g]	0240 A 5		
Pine Bluff, Arkansas	c. 29 September 1934	<i>Julie Ann Johnson</i>	0240 A 4	DOCD 5591 08	LP 601 B 2 b
Tucker, Arkansas	c. 1 October 1934	<i>Sweet Babe</i> [Leroy Allen v. with probably Leadbelly g]	0246 B 1		
Tucker, Arkansas	c. 1 October 1934	<i>You Can't Loose-A-Me-Cholly</i>	0246 B 2		LP 601 B 3
Tucker, Arkansas	c. 1 October 1934	<i>Irene</i>	0246 B 3		LP 601 B 4
Gould, Arkansas	c. 5 October 1934	<i>Julie Ann Johnson</i>	0242 B 3	DOCD 5591 09	LP 601 B 2 c
Shreveport, Louisiana	c. 5 October 1934	<i>Boll Weevil</i>	0273 A 1	DOCD 5591 10: extract AFS L 51	LP 601 B 8: extract
Atlanta, Georgia	12 December 1934	<i>Shreveport Jail, The</i>	0250 B 1	R 1097 03	LP 601 B 5
Atlanta, Georgia	12 December 1934	<i>Julie Ann Johnson</i>	0250 B 2	DOCD 5591 11	LP 601 B 6
Atlanta, Georgia	12 December 1934	<i>Dance Calls</i> [caller Sloan Wright]	0252 A 1	DOCD 5591 12	LP 601 B 7
Wilton, Connecticut	20 January 1935	<i>Henry Ford Blues</i>	0143 B	R 1097 05	LP 605 B 10
Wilton, Connecticut	20 January 1935	<i>Don't You Love Me No More</i>	0143 A	R 1097 04	LP 605 B 9
Wilton, Connecticut	21 January 1935	<i>Irene</i>	0044 B 1	R 1044 02	LP 601 B 10
Wilton, Connecticut	21 January 1935	<i>Julie Ann Johnson</i>	0044 B 2	R 1097 06	LP 601 B 11
Wilton, Connecticut	21 January 1935	<i>Irene</i>	0044 A	R 1044 01	LP 601 B 9
Wilton, Connecticut	1 February 1935	<i>Take A Whiff On Me</i>	0045 A	R 1044 12	LP 601 B 12
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Salty Dog</i>	0045 B	DOCD 5591 13	LP 602 A 1
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Angola Blues</i> [So Doggone Soon]	0051 A	R 1097 07	LP 602 B 4
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Roberta</i>	0051 B	R 1044 14	LP 602 B 5
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Careless Love</i>	0052 A	R 1044 15	LP 602 B 6
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>C.C. Rider</i>	0052 B	R 1045 01	LP 602 B 7
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Governor Pat Neff</i> [Sweet Mary]	0053 A	R 1045 02	LP 603 A 1
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Thirty Days In The Workhouse</i>	0053 B	DOCD 5591 14	LP 603 A 2
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Ella Speed</i>	0054 A	DOCD 5591 15	LP 603 A 3
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Ella Speed</i>	0054 B	DOCD 5592 01	LP 603 A 4
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Frankie And Albert</i>	0127 A	DOCD 5592 02	LP 603 B 7
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Frankie And Albert</i>	0127 B	DOCD 5592 03	LP 603 B 8
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Which Way Do The Red River Run?</i>	0128 A	R 1044 08	LP 604 A 1
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Got Up In The Mornin' So Doggone Soon</i>	0128 B	R 1044 09	LP 604 A 2
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>You Don't Know My Mind</i>	0129 A	R 1044 10	LP 604 A 3
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Becky Dean</i> [sic]	0129 B	R 1045 03	LP 604 A 4
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Fort Worth And Dallas Blues</i>	0130 A	R 1097 08	LP 604 A 5
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Got A Gal In Town With Her Mouth Chock Full Of Gold</i>	0130 B	DOCD 5592 04	LP 604 A 6
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Mary Don't You Weep</i>	0131 A	R 1097 09	LP 604 A 7
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Mary Don't You Weep</i>	0131 B 1	DOCD 5592 05	LP 604 A 8
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Way Over In The Promised Land</i>	0131 B 2	DOCD 5592 06	LP 604 B 1
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Death Letter Blues</i>	0132 A	DOCD 5592 07	LP 604 B 2
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Midnight Special</i>	0133 A	DOCD 5592 08	LP 604 B 3
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Shreveport Jail, The</i>	0133 B	DOCD 5592 09	LP 604 B 4
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Easy Mr. Tom</i>	0134 A	R 1097 10	LP 604 B 5
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>I Ain't Bothered A Bit</i>	0134 B	R 1097 11	LP 604 B 6
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Boll Weevil</i>	0135 A	R 1097 12	LP 604 B 7
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Western Cowboy</i>	0135 B	DOCD 5592 10	LP 604 B 8
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Titanic, The</i>	0136 A	R 1097 13	LP 605 A 1
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Po' Howard</i>	0139 B	DOCD 5592 17	LP 605 A 10
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Blind Lemon Blues</i>	0136 B	DOCD 5592 11	LP 605 A 2
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Mr. Tom Hughes' Town</i>	0137 A	DOCD 5592 12	LP 605 A 3
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Mr. Tom Hughes' Town</i>	0137 B 1	DOCD 5592 13	LP 605 A 4
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>You Cain' Lose -A-Me Cholly</i>	0137 B 2	DOCD 5592 14	LP 605 A 5
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Medicine Man, The</i>	0138 A	R 1045 04	LP 605 A 6
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Red Cross Sto'</i>	0138 B	R 1097 14	LP 605 A 7
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Green Corn</i>	0139 A 1	DOCD 5592 15	LP 605 A 8
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Maid Freed From The Gallows, The</i>	0139 A 2	DOCD 5592 16	LP 605 A 9
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Alberta Blues</i>	0140 A	R 1045 05	LP 605 B 1
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Fo' Day Worry Blues</i>	0140 B	R 1097 15	LP 605 B 2
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Hesitation Blues</i>	0141 A 1	R 1097 16	LP 605 B 3
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Take Me Back</i>	0141 A 2	R 1097 17	LP 605 B 4
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Matchbox Blues</i>	0141 B	DOCD 5592 18	LP 605 B 5
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Tight Like That</i>	0142 A	R 1097 18	LP 605 B 6
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Gwine Dig A Hole To Put The Devil In</i>	0142 B 1	DOCD 5592 19	LP 605 B 7
Wilton, Connecticut	February 1935	<i>Old Man Settin' In The Corner Dyin'</i>	0142 B 2	DOCD 5592 20	LP 605 B 8
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>Governor O. K. Allen</i>	0046 A	DOCD 5593 01	LP 602 A 2
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>De Kalb Blues</i>	0047 A	R 1044 13	LP 602 A 3
Wilton, Connecticut	1 March 1935	<i>Blues I Got Make A New-Born Baby Cry</i>	0047 B	DOCD 5592 21	LP 602 A 4
Wilton, Connecticut	1 March 1935	<i>Ho Day</i>	0048 A 1	R 1098 01	LP 602 A 5
Wilton, Connecticut	1 March 1935	<i>One Dollar Bill Baby</i>	0048 A 2	R 1098 02	LP 602 A 6
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>Ain' Goin' Down To De Well No More</i>	0048 B	R 1098 03	LP 602 A 7
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>Ha-Ha This-A-Way</i>	0049 A	DOCD 5593 02	LP 602 A 8
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>Alabama Bound</i>	0049 B	DOCD 5593 03	LP 602 B 1
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>In Dem Long Hot Summer Days</i>	0050 A	DOCD 5593 04	LP 602 B 2

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Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>Go Down, Old Hannah</i>	0050 B	R 1099 12	LP 602 B 3
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>I'm All Out And Down</i>	0144 A	DOCD 5593 05	LP 606 A 1
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>De Kalb Blues</i>	0144 B	DOCD 5593 06	LP 606 A 2
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>Ha-Ha This-A-Way</i>	0145 A	DOCD 5593 07	LP 606 A 3
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>Dear Old Daddy</i> [interpreting Jimmy Rogers]	0145 B 1	DOCD 5593 08 a	LP 606 A 4 a
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>Dear Old Daddy</i> [interpreting Jimmy Rogers]	0145 B 2	DOCD 5593 08 b	LP 606 A 4 b
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>Dear Old Daddy</i> [interpreting Jimmy Rogers]	0145 B 3	DOCD 5593 08 c	LP 606 A 4 c
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>Dear Old Daddy</i> [interpreting Jimmy Rogers]	0145 B 4	DOCD 5593 08 d	LP 606 A 4 d
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>I'm Gonna Hold It In Her While She's Young And Tender</i>	0146 A	DOCD 5593 09	LP 606 A 5
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>What's You Goin' Do With Your Long Tall Daddy?</i>	0146 B	DOCD 5593 10	LP 606 A 6
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>Dick Licker's Holler</i>	0147 A	DOCD 5593 11	LP 606 A 7
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>Billy In The Lowlands</i>	0147 B (a)	DOCD 5593 12a	LP 606 B 1 a
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>Here Rattler Here</i>	0147 B (b)	DOCD 5593 12b	LP 606 B 1 b
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>Frankie And Albert</i>	0148 A	DOCD 5593 13	LP 606 B 2
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>Frankie And Albert</i>	0148 B	DOCD 5593 14	LP 606 B 3
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>Send Down Your Hand</i>	0149 A	DOCD 5593 15	LP 606 B 4
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>Shorty George</i>	0149 B	DOCD 5593 16	LP 606 B 5
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>Shorty George</i>	0150 A	R 1098 04	LP 606 B 6
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>Pick A Bale O' Cotton</i>	0150 B 1	DOCD 5593 17	LP 606 B 7
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>Elnora</i>	0150 B 2	DOCD 5593 18	LP 607 A 1
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>Ha-Ha This-A-Way</i>	0151 A	R 1098 05	LP 607 A 2
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>Send Down Your Hand</i>	0151 B	DOCD 5594 01	LP 607 A 3
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>Death Letter Blues</i>	0152 A	DOCD 5594 02	LP 607 A 4
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>Death Letter Blues</i> [fragments]	0152 B	DOCD 5594 03	LP 607 A 5
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>Where De Sun Done Gone</i>	0153 A	R 1098 06	LP 607 A 6
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>Bring Me A Li' Water Silvy</i>	0153 B	R 1098 07	LP 607 A 7
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>Dick Licker's Holler</i>	0154 A	DOCD 5594 04	LP 607 B 1
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>Whoa Back Buck</i> [2 parts]	0154 B	DOCD 5594 05	LP 607 B 2
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>Billy In The Low Ground</i>	0155 A	DOCD 5594 06	LP 607 B 3
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>The Grey Goose</i>	0155 B	DOCD 5594 07	LP 607 B 4
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>Old Rattler</i> [Ol' Rattler / Heah, Rattler, Here]	0156 A	R 1045 06	LP 607 B 5
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>I'm All Out And Down</i>	0156 B	DOCD 5594 08	LP 607 B 6
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>Frankie And Albert</i>	0157 A	DOCD 5594 09	LP 607 B 7
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>I Walked Her And I Talked Her</i>	0157 B 1	DOCD 5594 10	LP 608 A 1
Wilton, Connecticut	March 1935	<i>Billy The Weaver</i>	0157 B 2	R 1098 11	LP 608 A 2
Washington, D.C.	22 June 1937	<i>Monkey Men</i> [Blues]	0995 A	R 1098 08	LP 608 A 10
Washington, D.C.	22 June 1937	<i>I Ain't Gonna Ring Dem Yallow Women's Do'Bells</i>	0995 B 1	R 1098 09	LP 608 A 11
Washington, D.C.	22 June 1937	<i>Rock Island Line</i>	0995 B 2	R 1098 10	LP 608 A 12
Washington, D.C.	22 June 1937	<i>All Out And Down</i>	0995 B 3	DOCD 5594 16	LP 608 A 13
Washington, D.C.	22 June 1937	<i>Hello Central</i>	0996 A 1	DOCD 5594 17	LP 608 A 14
Washington, D.C.	22 June 1937	<i>Gwine Dig A Hole</i>	0993 A 1	DOCD 5594 11	LP 608 A 3
Washington, D.C.	22 June 1937	<i>Polly-Polly-Wee</i>	0993 A 2	DOCD 5594 12	LP 608 A 4
Washington, D.C.	22 June 1937	<i>Jawbone Walk</i>	0993 A 3	DOCD 5594 13	LP 608 A 5
Washington, D.C.	22 June 1937	<i>If It Wasn't For Dicky</i>	0993 B	R 1045 07	LP 608 A 6
Washington, D.C.	22 June 1937	<i>Last Night In The Evening</i>	0994 A	DOCD 5594 14	LP 608 A 7
Washington, D.C.	22 June 1937	<i>Somethin', Somethin' Keeps-A-Worrin' Me</i> [sic]	0994 B (a)	DOCD 5594 15	LP 608 A 8
Washington, D.C.	22 June 1937	untitled song about the Spanish-American War	0994 B (b)		LP 608 A 9
Washington, D.C.	22 June 1937	<i>Raccoon Up The 'Simmon Tree</i>	0996 A 2	DOCD 5594 18	LP 608 B 1
Washington, D.C.	22 June 1937	<i>Ain' Goin' Drink No Mo'</i>	0996 B	R 1098 12	LP 608 B 2
Washington, D.C.	22 June 1937	<i>New York City</i>	0997 A	R 1098 13	LP 608 B 3
Washington, D.C.	22 June 1937	<i>Queen Mary</i>	0997 B	R 1045 08	LP 608 B 4
Washington, D.C.	22 June 1937	<i>Turn Yo' Radio On</i>	0998 A 1	R 1045 09	LP 608 B 5
Washington, D.C.	22 June 1937	<i>Julie Ann Johnson</i>	0998 A 2	DOCD 5594 19	LP 608 B 6
Washington, D.C.	22 June 1937	<i>The Hindenberg Disaster Part 1</i>	0998 B 1	R 1098 14	LP 608 B 7 a
Washington, D.C.	22 June 1937	<i>The Hindenberg Disaster Part 2</i>	0998 B 2	R 1098 15	LP 608 B 7 b
Pineville, Kentucky	January 1938	<i>He's Just The Same Today</i> [w. Sarah Garland]	2020 A	DOCD 5594 20	LP 608 B 8
Pineville, Kentucky	January 1938	<i>Git On Board</i>	2021 B	R 1098 16	LP 608 B 9
Pineville, Kentucky	January 1938	<i>Rock Of Ages</i> [w. Jim & Sarah Garland]	2023 A	DOCD 5594 21	LP 609 A 1
New York City, New York	26 November 1938	<i>Mama, Did You Bring Me Any Silver?</i> [Gallis Pole]	2501 A	R 1045 10 / 1831 18 / 1863 18	LP 609 A 2
New York City, New York	26 November 1938	<i>Leaving On The Morning Train Blues</i>	2501 B	DOCD 5594 22	LP 609 A 3
New York City, New York	26 November 1938	<i>Scottsboro Boys</i>	2502 A 1	DOCD 5595 01	LP 609 A 4
New York City, New York	26 November 1938	<i>Outshine The Sun</i>	2502 A 2	R 1098 17	LP 609 A 5
New York City, New York	26 November 1938	<i>Noted Rider Blues</i>	2502 B 1	DOCD 5595 02	LP 609 B 1
New York City, New York	26 November 1938	<i>The Bourgeois Blues</i>	2502 B 2	R 1045 11	LP 609 B 2
New York City, New York	26 November 1938	<i>Nobody Knows The Trouble I've Seen</i>	2503 A 1	R 1098 18	LP 609 B 3
New York City, New York	26 November 1938	<i>Little John Henry</i> (Monologue: Prison Singing)	2503 A 2	R 1098 19	LP 609 B 4
New York City, New York	26 November 1938	<i>John Henry</i>	2503 B	DOCD 5595 03	LP 609 B 5
New York City, New York	26 November 1938	<i>John Henry</i>	2504 A	DOCD 5595 04	LP 609 B 6

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New York City, New York	26 November 1938	<i>Eva</i>	2504 B	DOCD 5595 05	LP 609 B 7
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Monologue On T. B.</i>	4469 A (a)	DOCD 5595 06 [pt.] / R 1099 [pt.]	LP 610
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Monologue On Square Dances [or] Sooky Jumps</i>	4469 B (a)	R 1046 01 a [pt.] / R 1099 04 [pt.]	LP 610
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Monologue On The Blues</i>	4470 A (a)	R 1099 05 [pt.]	LP 610
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Monologue: Joining The Church / Monologue On The Mourners Bench [4470 B – 4472 A 3]</i>	4470 B (a)	R 1046 02 [pt.]	LP 610
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Last Night In The Evening</i>	4469 A 1	DOCD 5595 06	LP 610 A 1 a
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>T. B. Blues</i>	4469 A 2	R 1099 01	LP 610 A 1 b
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>How Long?</i>	4469 A 3	R 1099 02	LP 610 A 1 c
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>When The Train Comes Along</i>	4469 A 4	R 1099 03	LP 610 A 1 d
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Po' Howard</i>	4469 B 1	R 1045 12 / R 1046 01 b / R 1099 04 a	LP 610 A 2 a
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Dance Calls (includes One Dollar Bill, Baby)</i>	4469 B 2	R 1045 13 / R 1046 01 c / R 1099 04 b	LP 610 A 2 b
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Gwine Dig A Hole To Put The Devil In</i>	4469 B 3	R 1045 14 / R 1046 01 d	LP 610 A 2 c
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Tight Like That</i>	4469 B 4	R 1099 04 d	LP 610 A 2 d
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Green Corn</i>	4469 B 5	R 1045 15 / R 1046 01 e / R 1099 04 e	LP 610 A 2 e
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Sail On, Little Girl</i>	4470 A 1	R 1097 19	LP 610 B 1 a
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Red Cross Sto'</i>	4470 A 2	R 1099 05 a	LP 610 B 1 b
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>You Must Have That Religion Hallelujah</i>	4470 B 1	R 1046 02	LP 610 B 2 a
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Backslider, Fare You Well</i>	4470 B 2	R 1046 03	LP 610 B 2 b
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Amazing Grace</i>	4470 B 3	R 1099 06	LP 610 B 2 c
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Must I Be Carried To The Sky On Flowered Beds Of Ease?</i>	4470 B 4	R 1046 04	LP 610 B 2 d
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Amazing Grace</i>	4470 B 5		LP 610 B 2 e
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Down In The Valley To Pray</i>	4470 B 6	R 1046 05	LP 610 B 2 f
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Meeting At The Building</i>	4471 A 1	DOCD 5595 07	LP 611 A 1 a
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>When That Train Comes Along</i>	4471 A 2	DOCD 5595 08	LP 611 A 1 b
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>The Blood Done Sign My Name</i>	4471 A 3	DOCD 5595 09	LP 611 A 1 c
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Witness For My Lord</i>	4471 A 4	DOCD 5595 10	LP 611 A 1 d 1
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Soldier In The Army Of My Lord</i>	4471 A 4 (a)	DOCD 5595 11	LP 611 A 1 d 2
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Outshine The Sun</i>	4471 A 5	DOCD 5595 12	LP 611 A 1 e
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Let It Shine On Me</i>	4471 B 01	R 1046 06	LP 611 A 2 a
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Way Over In The Promised Land</i>	4471 B 02	DOCD 5595 13	LP 611 A 2 b
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Oh, Something On My Mind</i>	4471 B 03	R 1099 13	LP 611 A 2 c
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>How Long?</i>	4471 B 04	R 1099 14	LP 611 A 2 d 1
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Tall Angel At The Bar</i>	4471 B 04 (a)		LP 611 A 2 d 2
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Swing Low, Sweet Chariot</i>	4471 B 05	R 1099 15	LP 611 A 2 e
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Ain't Goin' Study War No More</i>	4471 B 06	R 1099 16	LP 611 A 2 f
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Join The Band</i>	4471 B 07	R 1099 17	LP 611 A 2 g
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Old Time Religion</i>	4471 B 08	R 1099 07	LP 611 A 2 h
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Stand Your Test In Judgement</i>	4471 B 09	R 1099 08	LP 611 A 2 i
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Must I Be Carried To The Sky On Flowered Beds Of Ease?</i>	4471 B 10	DOCD 5595 14	LP 611 A 2 j
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Run, Sinners</i>	4472 A 1	R 1046 07	LP 611 B 1 a
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Ride On</i>	4472 A 2	R 1046 08	LP 611 B 1 b
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Prayer</i>	4472 A 3	R 1099 18	LP 611 B 1 c
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Christmas [monologue]</i>	4472 A 4	R 1099 09	LP 611 B 1 d
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>John Henry</i>	4472 A 5	R 1099 10	LP 611 B 1 e
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>John Hardy</i>	4472 B 1	R 1099 11	LP 611 B 2
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Howard Hughes</i>	4472 B 2	R 1046 09	LP 611 B 3
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Bottle Up And Go</i>	4472 B 3	DOCD 5595 15	LP 611 B 4
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Leaving Blues</i>	4473 A 1	R 1046 11	LP 612 A 1
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>The Roosevelt Song</i>	4473 A 2	R 1046 12	LP 612 A 2
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>The Scottsboro Boys</i>	4473 A 3	R 1046 13	LP 612 A 3
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Don't You Love Me No More?</i>	4473 A 4	DOCD 5595 16	LP 612 A 4
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>No Good ["Noted"] Rider [Noted Rider Blues]</i>	4473 B 1	R 1046 14	LP 612 A 5
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>The Gallows Song</i>	4473 B 2	DOCD 5595 17	LP 612 A 6
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>So Doggone Soon [Blues About New York]</i>	4473 B 3	R 1046 15	LP 612 A 7
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Ham And Eggs</i>	4473 B 4	DOCD 5595 18	LP 612 B 1
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Bottle Up And Go [fragment]</i>	4473 B 5	DOCD 5595 19	LP 612 B 2
Washington, D.C.	23 August 1940	<i>Cowboy Song [When I Was A Cowboy]</i>	4472 B 4	R 1046 10	LP 612 B 5
New York City, New York	20 January 1942	<i>Dear Mr President</i>	6407 A 1	ABCD 2017 14a	
New York City, New York	20 January 1942	<i>President Roosevelt</i>	6407 A 2	ABCD 2017 14b	
New York City, New York	20 January 1942	<i>Dear Mr. President</i>	6407 B 1	LC	
New York City, New York	20 January 1942	<i>Mr. Hitler</i>	6407 B 2	R 1046 16	
Washington, D.C.	11 May 1942	<i>How Long [w Brownie McGhee and Sonny Terry]</i>	6502 A 3	DOCD 5595 20 / R 1866 D2 21	LP 612 B 3
Washington, D.C.	11 May 1942	<i>T. B. Blues [w Brownie McGhee and Sonny Terry]</i>	6502 B 1	DOCD 5595 21	LP 612 B 4

Table of **Leadbelly's 1935 recordings for the American Record Corporation**

					LOCATION: New York City, New York
DATE	TITLE	MATRIX	78-rpm	CD / LP	
23 January 1935	<i>Roberta</i> Part 1	16683-1		Co CK 30035 01 / CK 46776 05	
23 January 1935	<i>Roberta</i> Part 2	16684-1		Co CK 30035 0 2 / CK 46776 06	
23 January 1935	<i>Packin' Trunk Blues</i> [<i>Packin' Trunk</i>]	16685-1	Ba 33359, Me M 13326, Or 8438, Pe 0314, Ro 5438	Co CK 30035 0 3 / CK 46776 01	
23 January 1935	<i>C.C. Rider</i>	16686-		Co CK 30035 04; DOCD 5591 16	
23 January 1935	<i>Becky Deem, She Was A Gamblin' Girl</i>	16687-1	ARC 6-04-55	Co CK 46776 02	
23 January 1935	<i>Honey, I'm All Out And Down</i>	16688-2	Ba 33359, Me M 13326, Or 8438, Pe 0314, Ro 5438, Pm 9003	Co CK 46776 03	
23 January 1935	<i>Four Day Worry Blues</i>	16689-2	Ba 33360, Me M 13327, Or 8439, Pe 0315, Ro 5439	Co CK 46776 04	
23 January 1935	<i>You Can't Lose Me Charlie</i>	16690-	Ba 33359, Me M 13326, Or 8438, Pe 0314, Ro 5438, Pm 9003	Co CK 30035 05; DOCD 5591 17	
23 January 1935	<i>New Black Snake Moan</i>	16691-2	Ba 33360, Me M 13327, Or 8439, Pe 0315, Ro 5439, Pm 9003	Co CK 30035 06; DOCD 5591 18	
23 January 1935	<i>Alberta</i>	16692-		Co CK 30035 07; DOCD 5591 19	
24 January 1935	<i>Baby, Don't You Love Me No More?</i>	16693-		Co CK 30035 08; DOCD 5591 20	
24 January 1935	<i>Ox Drivin' Blues</i>	16694-		Co CK 46776 12	
24 January 1935	<i>Death Letter Blues</i> Part 1	16695-1		Co CK 30035 09; DOCD 5591 21	
24 January 1935	<i>Death Letter Blues</i> Part 1	16695-2		Co CK 46776 07	
24 January 1935	<i>Death Letter Blues</i> Part 2	16696-1		Co CK 30035 10; DOCD 5591 22	
24 January 1935	<i>Death Letter Blues</i> Part 2	16696-2		Co CK 46776 08	
24 January 1935	<i>Kansas City Papa</i>	16697-1		Co CK 30035 11; DOCD 5591 23	
24 January 1935	<i>Kansas City Papa</i>	16697-2		Co CK 46776 09	
24 January 1935	<i>Mary Don't You Weep</i>	16698-	ARC unissued		
24 January 1935	<i>Fat Mouth Mama</i>	16699-	ARC unissued		
24 January 1935	<i>Red River Blues</i>	16704-		Co CK 30035 12; DOCD 5591 24	
24 January 1935	<i>Fort Worth And Dallas Blues</i>	16705-[2?]		Fw FP 24 (LP)	
24 January 1935	<i>Fort Worth And Dallas Blues</i>	16705-2		Co CK 46776 10	
24 January 1935	<i>You Don't Know My Mind</i>	16706-2		Co CK 46776 11	
24 January 1935	<i>Shreveport Jail</i>	16707-	ARC unissued		
24 January 1935	<i>Angola Blues</i>	16708-	ARC unissued		
25 January 1935	<i>Julie Ann Johnson</i>	16755-	ARC unissued		
25 January 1935	<i>Baby Take A Whiff On Me</i>	16756-	ARC unissued		
25 January 1935	<i>Gonna Dig A Hole — Put The Devi In</i>	16757-	ARC unissued		
25 January 1935	<i>Old Chisolm Trail</i>	16758-	ARC unissued		
25 January 1935	<i>Dem Blues I Got Baby (Make A New Born Baby Cry)</i>	16759-	ARC unissued		
25 January 1935	<i>Pick A Bale A Cotton</i>	16760-	ARC unissued		
25 January 1935	<i>Leadbelly's Pardon Song To Governor Pat</i>	16761-	ARC unissued		
25 January 1935	<i>Leadbelly's Pardon Song To O. K. Allen</i>	16762-	ARC unissued		
5 February 1935	<i>Daddy I'm Coming Back To You</i>	16806-1		Co CK 46776 13	
5 February 1935	<i>Daddy I'm Coming Back To You</i>	16806-3		Bio BLP 12013 (LP); DOCD 5226 01	
5 February 1935	<i>My Friend Blind Lemon</i> [<i>Blind Lemon</i>]	16807-		Co CK 30035 13; DOCD 5591 25	
5 February 1935	<i>Mr. Tom Hughes' Town</i>	16808-		Co CK 30035 14; DOCD 5591 26	
5 February 1935	<i>I Got A Mother In The Promised Land</i>	16809-	ARC unissued		
5 February 1935	<i>Irene</i> Part 1	16810-	ARC unissued		
5 February 1935	<i>Irene</i> Part 2	16811-	ARC unissued		
5 February 1935	<i>Man, I'm In Trouble</i>	16812-	ARC unissued		
5 February 1935	<i>Texas Penitentiary</i>	16813-	ARC unissued		
5 February 1935	<i>Shorty George</i>	16814-1		Co CK 46776 14	
5 February 1935	<i>Shorty George</i>	16814-2		Bio BLP 12013 (LP); DOCD 5226 02	
5 February 1935	<i>Matchbox Blues</i>	16815-		Co CK 30035 15; DOCD 5591 27	
25 March 1935	<i>Yellow Jacket</i>	17179-1		Co CK 46776 15	
25 March 1935	<i>T. B. Woman Blues</i>	17180-1		Co CK 46776 16	
25 March 1935	<i>Pig Meat Papa</i>	17181-1	ARC 6-04-55	DOC LP 544	
25 March 1935	<i>Pig Meat Papa</i>	17181-2		Co CK 46776 17	
25 March 1935	<i>Bull Cow</i>	17182-		Co CK 30035 16; DOCD 5591 28	
25 March 1935	<i>My Baby Quit Me</i>	17183-1		Co CK 46776 18; DOCD 5276 19	