PROBES #14

In the late nineteenth century two facts conspired to change the face of music: the collapse of common-practice tonality (which overturned the certainties underpinning the world of art music), and the invention of a revolutionary new form of memory, sound recording (which redefined and greatly empowered the world of popular music). A tidal wave of probes and experiments into new musical resources and new organisational practices ploughed through both disciplines, bringing parts of each onto shared terrain before rolling on to underpin a new aesthetics able to follow sound and its manipulations beyond the narrow confines of ‘music’. This series tries analytically to trace and explain these developments, and to show how, and why, both musical and post-musical genres take the forms they do. In PROBES #14 we take a detour to show how a collision of folk mechanisms, social upheaval, sound recording and electrification underpinned the growth of a new polyglot musical language, and a new aesthetic constituency.

01. Transcript. Studio version

Im Chris Cutler, this is probes, number fourteen. As we saw in our last programme, although the renewal of interest in folk music paralleled almost exactly the revival of early music – both movements emerging at around the same time and both being informed by the same sense of impending loss – the two eventually wound up in very different places. In this long footnote, I want to unpack the second folk revival a little further – and consider it from an alternative perspective.

[Footsteps]

By the end of the nineteenth century, a rampant and corrosive urbanism had seriously breached the protective impenetrability of centuries of apparently innocent rural culture – to the degree that a concerned body of troubled musicologists and composers, all of them died-in-the-wool urbanists, set out to collect whatever relics they could from the countryside before they vanished completely.

[Skuduciai Ensemble, Juzintai, Lithuania, title unknown (excerpt), 1909 (cylinder)]¹

What distinguished this initiative from those that went before it, was the invention of the phonograph. The phonograph meant that it was now possible to take an accurate and incontrovertible transcription of any performance. So it’s particularly interesting, from our point of view, that most collectors didn’t actually see it that way. In fact this is a textbook case of conceptual inertia. In musicological circles, paper remained the definitive medium of conversation. In the past, collectors had made field trips, winkled out singers who could remember the old songs and then made their transcriptions in standard notation, correcting – as they went along – whatever seemed to them to be obvious mistakes or examples of musical incompetence – which usually in fact turned out to be beats that had been intentionally missed or added; natural harmonic tunings used in place of equal temperament – or some other deviation from the expected norm consciously made in the interests of expression or emotion. But, with the phonograph, collectors could record the songs and thereby defer the work of transcription. That’s how they saw it, at least. They continued to score and correct as before, but now at their leisure, using the recordings to interrupt the flow of time. Job done, the recordings could then be, discarded, destroying precisely what the collectors were so anxious to preserve. Their problem was: they weren’t yet living in the age of recording; they couldn’t think recording because, for them writing was still the imprimatur of truth; writing had been percolated through the mind, recordings were just mechanical copies. Of course, later collectors would come to understand the positive power of the new technology...
and analyse what was actually going on rather than what they thought ought to have been going on. But that was still to come; in the late nineteenth century, composers especially were still thinking about rhythms and melodies, not sounds – and they were looking for new subjects and materials with which to invigorate their own compositional practice so, for them, folk music was not so much a way of being, as a source of material. And this was the late nineteenth century, a time of nascent nationalism and the belief that some kind of renewal could be achieved by re-connecting with the unspoiled vitality of peasant culture and with musical forms that had their roots in history, landscape and the ceremonies of life. In Britain one could cite Percy Grainger or Ralph Vaughan Williams, or a variety of first generation immigrants like Frederick Delius or Gustav Holst – all of whom collected folk songs, and all of whom invested heavily in the idea of Britishness. At the same time in Hungary, Bartók and Kodály were collecting thousands of folk songs, which they used to inspire and populate their own work... And I could continue from country to country in the same vein – although it took a European, Antonín Dvořák to kick the process off in America with his ‘New World Symphony’ – a work that drew on both American Indian and Afro-American sources.\(^2\)

But this is not our topic. Our topic is what this research sets in train.

In America, musicologically speaking, folk studies took much the same course as they did in Europe – but their outcomes were very different, because America didn’t have an identifiable folk culture; it had dozens of different folk cultures – mostly imported – and they were continuously and creatively miscegenating or – as one might say – americanising. These were living cultures, and the new and the old were all tangled up together. Folklorists tried to segregate what they thought was authentic from what they thought was profane. Some collected what generations of immigrants had preserved...

[Dock Boggs, ‘Pretty Polly’ (excerpt), 1927]

Some, what remained of native American musical culture...

[‘Eagle Song of the Hopi Indians of Arizona’ (excerpt), 1906 (cylinder)]

And some whatever they thought was authentic in the wild proliferation of music with its roots in Africa...

[Blind Mamie Forehand, ‘Honey in the Rock’ (excerpt), 1927]

Since the twenties, commercial record companies had been at it too, criss-crossing the country in search of homegrown talent with which to feed their race records and hillbilly catalogues. As far as they were concerned, this was contemporary music, and they could make money out of it. Like the folklorists, the labels worked hard to keep the styles and races apart, and to create tidy genealogies but, on the ground, things weren’t that simple – and what came to be known as country music, hillbilly music, old time music, cowboy music, blues, cajun, folk and tin pan ally hits all got stirred in the same pot were sung by the same people, and circulated on records consumed in combinations dictated less by race than by geography or taste. When asked where a song had come from, or how they came to be playing the way they did, just about everyone in those days said ‘Well, I learned that off of a record...’\(^3\)

It should be no surprise, then, that the harbinger of the mainstream resurgence of folk music in the fifties – Harry Smith’s now legendary six LP collection, Anthology of American Folk Music – drew exclusively on such commercial sources. Painstakingly assembled from his personal library of forgotten 78s, the anthology was to all intents and purposes no more than a gallimaufry of – taken alphabetically – ballads, banjo music, blues, cajun, choirs, cowboy songs, country music, fiddle tunes, gospel, jug bands, old-time and popular musics, some novelty records, sermons, shape-note music, spirituals and string bands – all of them meticulously organized and sequenced under three umbrella categories: Ballads, Social Music and Songs.

[Clarence Ashley, ‘The Coo Coo Bird’ (excerpt), 1929]

Smith was an eccentric, an occultist, a visual artist and a celebrated
Blind Mamie Forehand, experimental film-maker, and he sequenced his tracks with the express intention of recalibrating his listener's minds: 'I felt social changes would result,' he said. And they did. The anthology was immensely influential – perhaps because it was timely, perhaps because in it Smith reified what, until then, had been no more than an intuition; by absorbing a lifetime of ephemera, he managed to distil from it a simple, digestible narrative of interconnectedness, immanence, persistence, nationhood and a celebration of the creativity of unassuming talent.

[Willie Eason, ‘Franklin D. Roosevelt, a Poor Man's Friend’ (excerpts), 1945]

So, when the second folk revival came around in the fifties, ideas about folk music were changing fast. Unlike the second phase of the early music revival which had busied itself with ever-increasing accuracy and authenticity, folk musicians were reorienting themselves away from preservation and toward reinvention – to the degree that, by the sixties, nobody could keep up with the ricochets.

We didn't have any melting pot in Britain, or any black diaspora, or the kind of deep-rooted racism that lurked behind the American folk revival, but we did have a rich folk tradition – much of which we shared with America. And we also had a generation of musically disposed – and musically dispossessed – teenagers who were voraciously listening to all the music they could find that might satisfy their need for something a little more tangible and a little more rooted than manufactured pop. The skiffle craze was a foothill, a first step toward integration into an accessible tradition that was not mediated by writing or conservatory skills. And behind this – and seemingly connected to it through its grass-roots authenticity – came electric blues and jazz, brought into the country on gramophone records by servicemen and enthusiasts, for whom it was unequivocally a living culture. So the British accepted immediately, not only the early southern blues beloved of Smith and the American folk revivalists, but also the contemporary electric blues of Chicago, Detroit, Memphis and St. Louis, which the American folk community rejected as unacceptably inauthentic.

The catalyst, for British youth – of all unlikely things – was a local post-war fascination with New Orleans and dixieland jazz – a way for us, perhaps, to return to roots we never had. More concretely, it came by way of the jazz trumpeter Ken Colyer, though he never got the credit, because it was he who set up the first skiffle group as an integral part of a trad jazz band he was running in the early fifties with the trombonist Chris Barber. In its origin, skiffle had been a makeshift black American party music, popular in the twenties and thirties, but now long forgotten by everyone except the most dedicated collectors. What made it important in fifties Britain was not so much its content as the fact that it could be realised with extremely reduced means. Colyer's group broke up quite early, in fact before skiffle made any impact, but it proved critical not only as a spark, but because two of its members, Alexis Korner and Lonnie Donegan went on in their very different ways to play a critical role in the long term morphogenesis of British popular music. Lonnie Donegan, because it was his recording of 'Rock Island Line' that became the immediate and proximate catalyst for Britain's skiffle pandemic – which itself, arguably, was the protean egg from which not only the source material, but also most of the leading actors, both in the folk and the rock communities of the sixties, eventually emerged. Here it is:

[Lonnie Donegan, ‘Rock Island Line’ (excerpt), 1955]

Alexis Korner was also in Colyer's group...

[Korner went on to become the godfather of the first generation of British blues and R&B bands who, in the space of a few years, completely transformed the complexion of UK pop – which, as we know, then ricocheted back to America where it helped to fuel a eureka-rush reappraisal of folk, electric blues and rock – out of which, in turn, the foundational language of rock as we now understand it emerged. As creation myths go, this one was a doozie.

Let's set the scene: here are the two top-selling records of 1955. In America, it was 'Cherry Pink and Apple Blossom White' by Pérez Prado, a Cuban bandleader living in Mexico.

[**Pérez Prado, ‘Cherry Pink and Apple Blossom White’ (excerpt), 1955**]

And in the UK, it was ‘Give Me Your Word’ by the American radio announcer and country musician Tennessee Ernie Ford.

[**Tennessee Ernie Ford, ‘Give Me Your Word’ (excerpt), 1955**]

So far, so extremely anodyne.

For an involuntarily urbanized generation of British teenagers, trying to negotiate the privations and promises that characterised growing up in the chaos after the Second World War, this quasi-rootless mish-mash of musical hangovers and loose ends that passed for popular culture, had very little to say that might express or address their teenage hopes and fears. With one brain they were experiencing, reconstruction, full employment and universal welfare, and with the other, big brother, looming insecurity and the terrors of potential nuclear annihilation. On these matters, pop remained as silent as it seemed inaccessible – because music was still understood then as a specialty of remote professionals, or of people born with a natural talent. For British teenagers in these years, music was something you bought, not something you made. It was skiffle that changed that.

Let’s look at those 1955 charts again, in more detail this time and across the entire year. Nearly all of it is froth: middle-of-the-road pop, dance music, show music and leftover crooners from the forties. There’s just a handful of exceptions in the entire year: ‘Maybelline’, Chuck Berry’s first recording for Chess; ‘Rock around the Clock’, an incendiary release by a middle-aged comb-over star, Bill Hayley; ‘Tutti Frutti’ by the seriously transgressive Little Richard and – on our side of the pond – Lonnie Donegan’s ‘Rock Island Line’, a song originally recorded for inclusion on a trad jazz LP, until someone at Decca decided to punt it as a single. To everybody’s shock it sold over 400,000 copies and kickstarted a four-year explosion of unprecedented grass roots music-making. The song itself – whose author is still unknown – was first collected by folklorist John Lomax on a field trip to Arkansas in 1934. Three years later, a Lomax protégée, Huddie Ledbetter, recorded his own arrangement of it – and it’s this that Donegan copied. Bandleader Chris Barber played the bass on the record, singer Beryl Bryden scraped the washboard and Lonnie Donegan strummed the guitar and sang. And that was it: a handful of chords, a bass made from a tea chest, broom-handle and string, and your mum’s old zinc washboard. No conservatory; no years of training, just instant music. And anybody could do it – that was the message that everybody understood. Here’s Ken Colyer’s band playing ‘Midnight Special’ the year before ‘Rock Island Line’ came out. It’s another Huddie Ledbetter version of an anonymous folksong about trains.

[**The Ken Colyer Skiffle Group, ‘Midnight Special’ (excerpt), 1954 (with Alexis Korner)**]

Skiffle’s alumni went on to transform popular music: The Shadows, The Beatles, The Rolling Stones, The Who, Led Zeppelin – they all started out in skiffle groups. And while Lonnie Donegan continued to draw his repertoire from the same sources as Anthology of American Folk Music, most of the skiffle hits of the fifties were in fact newly coined.

Skiffle was the key not to a rather specialised repertoire revival but to a root and branch restoration of informal, social, low-tech and essentially collective music-making – and in a form, what’s more, that positively empowered untrained amateurs. More than that, intuitive, pre-literate cultural values seemed suddenly to have acquired serious traction, since they seemed miraculously pre-adapted to the new and primarily aural ecospheres of electrification and sound recording.

So while the old guard struggled or at least tried to soldier on, the new, know-nothing, generation was busy intuiting the rules from the game itself.

[**Footsteps**]

[**The Chas McDevitt Skiffle Group feat. Nancy Whiskey, ‘Freight Train’ (excerpt) 1957, Johnny Duncan and His Bluegrass Boys, ‘Last Train to San Fernando’ (excerpt), 1957, Bob Cort Skiffle Group, ‘Six Five Special’ (excerpt), 1957**]
The generative fork in the path was between electric and acoustic sensibilities. Out of the first came guitar instrumentals, blues bands and the many flavours of rock; and out of the second the peculiarly hybrid British folk movement of the sixties. But, at root, there wasn’t any great distance between groups like The Shadows or The Beatles or The Rolling Stones, and the new generation of folk singers – they were all just pursuing different aspects of the same creative project. In any case, reintegration was just a few years down the road.

But that story I will leave for another occasion, for now I just want to concentrate on the role the folk revival played, since it is so often treated as something marginal rather than something central. Here’s the Scottish guitarist Bert Jansch singing ‘Blackwaterside’. This is a traditional song of unknown provenance that he recorded in 1966. And I probably need to say – all these years on – that this guitar technique, back then, was considered more or less miraculous.

Although many people contributed to the unique form of the second British folk revival, it was in Bert Jansch, in my opinion, that the critical threads finally came together as high art; and he was certainly a model for many who followed. By the early sixties, Jansch had perfected his polyphonic picking style – a combination of classical guitar technique, country picking and the post ragtime fingerings of the great twenties blues players. At the same time his vocal style fell into patterns similar to those of the recluse Anne Briggs – from whom he learned the song we just heard – a woman generally credited with changing the way many singers, especially other women, approached singing in this field.

Less visible but equally influential was another remarkably innovative guitarist, Davey Graham. Baroque music – an influence decidedly absent in the American folk revival – was present from the outset in the British, firstly through the pioneering guitarist Davey Graham, and then through Bert Jansch’s perennial collaborator, John Renbourn. Graham was important. A synthesist rather than a folklorist, he took up classical guitar at the age of twelve and, by his late teens had absorbed the blues, Indian, Celtic and middle-eastern music, modern jazz and various east European folk repertoires. Although he was never a household name, his technique and his eclecticism inspired a whole generation of guitarists – Jansch included. And through his contribution to the 1964 LP Folk Roots, New Routes – a collaborative project with Shirley Collins, that tireless innovator and diehard traditionalist – he was profoundly influential in securing acceptance for the guitar in the context of traditional English folk. This may sound strange, but Folk Roots was initially greeted with deep suspicion by the traditional community because, although the guitar was indigenous to the American folk tradition, it was quite alien to the British. And it was Graham’s picking solutions that helped establish an acceptable approach.

The shared origins of the rock and folk tribes, combined with a mutual interest in the evolution of the guitar, led to continual exchanges between the two as rock songwriters explored traditional songs and folksingers wrote original songs, employing the same musical language as their pop contemporaries. Here, for instance – is Fairport Convention’s additive rhythm arrangement of a sixteenth century Scottish border ballad. This is from 1969.

And here’s Bert Jansch again, this time with one of his own songs recorded in 1967.
My argument is that this is not a folk song, it’s a sixties song – I’m sure you can hear all the connections for yourselves. I think this is where the skiffle generation had been heading all along: toward a musical language – that had roots – and that they could call their own. It was always going to be a jackdaw language, and that didn’t matter. It was theirs. Jansch was as happy to sling an electric guitar round his neck as Led Zeppelin were to release their own, I have to say blatantly plagiarised, version of Jansch’s version of Anne Briggs’ version of Mary Doran’s version of the traditional ballad ‘Blackwaterside’.  

Here they are. This is how the folk process works: Anne Briggs learns it from an archive recording by the Irish traveler, Mary Doran adapts it a little and credits its source, she teaches it to Bert Jansch, who adapts it and credits Briggs; they both call it ‘Blackwaterside’ and, when they record it, register it as an arrangement of a traditional song. Jimmy Page learns Bert Jansch’s version from Al Stewart, doesn’t adapt it, leaves out the singing, changes its name and claims authorship.


It’s obvious that Page has just learned the guitar part Jansch evolved for ‘Blackwaterside’ and is presenting it as a self-standing piece. He makes no meaningful addition or contribution – in fact he plays it more clumsily than Jansch, even though he doesn’t have to sing at the same time. While the melody is in the public domain, as you could hear from the montage, the guitar part is a hundred per cent Jansch’s invention. The fact that Page breaks the chain and claims authorship tells us two things: first, that the brief interregnum of a grass-root collectivist folk-spirit is over and second, that the markets are firmly back in charge.

Lacking a geographical root, it was in the virtual neighbourhood of sound recording that this emerging group of folk artists – by which I mean musicians who learned by contagion and imitation rather than through formal training – had grown up – immersed in an unprecedented quantity and variety of the world’s music. By the mid nineteen-sixties, three quarters of a century’s worth of sound recordings had accumulated to form a vast – and potentially universally accessible – reservoir of material, from which anyone could draw – and to which anyone, simply by recording, could contribute. I want to suggest that we approach the sum of all recorded sounds as a kind of objectified folk memory – a standing pool of individual contributions that embody recollections that are no longer circumscribed – as subjective memories are – by proximity or immediate experience, but are attached to no one, belong nowhere and remain permanently and universally accessible.

Obvious this is a medium that offers less to disciplines mediated by writing than to those mediated by listening, imitation and appropriation.

That’s why then, I think. And that’s why them: this was the first generation to understand the totality of recordings as a bulletin board, a marketplace, an archive, a university, a neighbourhood and a meeting place – and then to set out consciously to probe its possibilities.
6 Donegan’s was not the first recording of this song in the fifties. In Britain four years earlier, George Melly had cut a very different version, and a year before that in the United States Odetta and Lawrence Mohr had recorded the Ledbetter’s version that Donegan followed. This wasn’t the first skiffle record nor was it the best, but it was a massive hit and sparked a runaway response. It was even a hit in America. Donegan was paid a session fee for his eventually million plus sales, and remained bitter about it for the rest of his life.

7 In 1961, he formed Blues Incorporated with the legendary harmonica player, Cyril Davies, through which passed – formally – Jack Bruce, Charlie Watts, Dick Heckstall-Smith, Ginger Baker, Long John Baldry, Graham Bond and Danny Thompson, as well as – casually – Keith Richards, Brian Jones, Mick Jagger, John Mayall, Rod Stewart, and Jimmy Page.

8 The celebrated appearance of an electrified Bob Dylan at the Newport jazz festival – and the less celebrated but equally contentious appearance the day before of the Paul Butterfield Blues Band – was in 1965. The British had been at this for a couple of years by then and it was the so-called British Invasion that recontextualised blues and R&B amongst American musicians.

9 Charts links.

www.everyhit.com/chart.html
www.worldcharts.co.uk

10 It certainly gave birth to a new generation of largely self-taught musicians who discovered music-making as a quasi-improvisational technique based not on the values and aesthetics of the status quo – that’s classical music, composer-driven popular music, show tunes or jazz-tinged big band dance tunes – so much as informal folk-based forms, like bluegrass, country rockabilly, blues and R&B, with a hint of early jazz.

11 You’ll have noticed that all five skiffle songs in this programme are railway themed, many were; perhaps it’s that rhythm…

12 Briggs and Jansch performed regularly together in 1965 and for a while both lived in a house with John Renbourn. During this time they collaborated on new songs and worked on new accompaniments for old ones. According to Briggs ‘Everybody up to that point was accompanying traditional songs in a very (...) three-chord way. (...) It was why I always sang unaccompanied (...) but seeing Bert’s freedom from chords, I suddenly realised – this chord stuff, you don’t need it.’

13 His open tuning system is a staple of both folk and rock guitarists to this day.

14 Jimmy Page claimed copyrights on many traditional songs; he is famous for it. It’s a fundamentally dishonest practice.

15 And Fairport Convention, the epitome of British folk rock bands at the time, wrote as many of its own songs as it made arrangements of traditional songs. That’s them playing ancient airs with the early music revivalist Philip Pickett, and Richard Thompson, their guitarist, now writes evenhandedly across the range of rock, folk, rockabilly, cajun, blues and rhythm and blues.

16 These are recording dates. Briggs taught the song to Jansch as an acapella song, the way she learned it, and recorded it herself only later, adding a guitar accompaniment, but not Bert’s. I thought it would still be better to use Briggs’ version to demonstrate the way the song evolved, rather than, say, Isla Cameron’s 1962 recording, which is very similar to Briggs’ and from the same source.

02. Notes

On length and edits.

The purpose of these programmes is to give some practical impression of the probes we discuss. This necessitates for the most part extracting short stretches of music from longer wholes, which, of course, compromises the integrity and disrupts the context inherent in the original works. I have also, on occasion, edited different sections of a longer work together, better to illustrate the points under discussion. So the examples played in the programmes should not be confused with the works themselves. Wherever the word (excerpt) appears after a title in the programme transcript, this indicates that what follows is an illustration, not a composition as it was conceived or intended. If something catches your ear, please do go back to the source.

Notification

If you want to be notified when a new probe goes up, please mail rermegacorp@dial.pipex.com with subject: Probe Me.

03. Related links

The Full English Collectors Introduction

Lonnie Donegan
www.lonniedoneganinc.com/

Harry Smith Archives
www.harrysmitharchives.com/
04. Acknowledgments

Carve their names with pride: thanks to David Petts, William Sharp, Chris Wangro, Charles Vrtacek and Bob Drake.

05. Copyright note

2015. This text is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs 3.0 Unported License.

Ràdio Web MACBA is a non-profit research and transmission project. Every effort has been made to trace copyright holders; any errors or omissions are inadvertent, and will be corrected whenever it's possible upon notification in writing to the publisher.