some spell of freedom from everyday pressures and encumbrances. He notes that in pop 'transcendence marks not music's freedom from social forces but its patterning by them' (p. 144), which seems exactly right, but he seems so determined to hold on to the aesthetic specialness of music that we do not find out, or find out fully enough, how musical transcendence can be so patterned, how this is brought about and what it involves. It would perhaps have be valuable to see him develop his thoughts on why and how it is possible to listen to popular music historically for a sense of the texture and 'feel' of the social experience of its period, or of what it meant to be culturally caught up in the currents of that time, for there we can encounter similar analytical pitfalls and negotiating these may provide other ways into the troublesome relationships between artistic expression and social experience, musical allegiance and social identity, or whatever other variant of the defining couplets of the sociology of art and culture may be on the table at any one time. These are difficult issues. What is not in doubt is that 'patterns of music use provide a better map of social life than viewing or reading habits' (p. 205). The crunch question is how to understand those patterns, and there we are all involved in a collective endeavour to find the most pliable and subtle means of exploring them.

There is such a wealth of fruitful comment and discussion in these essays, and in a short review it is impossible to deal with more than the few examples I have raised. This is an important collection, and it should be widely read, or re-read. It is a shame that many type-setting or other errors which appeared in the original publications have not been corrected, that now irrelevant cross-references from these originals have not been removed, and that deictic indicators such as 'now' and 'recent' have not been amended to suit the time of republication. We may excuse the failure to reset each chapter in the same font style and size, but these other irritants in the reading are slipshod and represent a failure to honour in the book's production the undoubted merit of its contents. Such minor grumbles aside, it is only fitting to end by emphasising what a pleasure it has been to go through these essays once more, and in one or two cases for the first time. The experience has provided many reminders of what I learned from them when I initially encountered them, and thrown up other points which I had overlooked or not recognised for the significance they seem to have now. This is simply to say that these essays deserve to be re-read or, if you are coming to them afresh, to be read carefully for the first time. They merit such attention because, most of all, in their distinctive blend of critical journalism and academic scholarship, they show what it means to take popular music seriously, and that is important not only because nothing quite matters like music, but also because without making popular music an area of serious enquiry we run the risk of seeing a return of the facile derogation of it that prevailed for most of the past century.

Michael Pickering

Loughborough University, UK

***Segregating Sound: Inventing Folk and Pop Music in the Age of Jim Crow*. By Karl Hagstrom Miller. Durham and London: Duke University Press. 2010. 384 pp. ISBN 0822347002**

doi:10.1017/S0261143010000279

Miller's study of folk and pop music in the late 19th and early 20th centuries adopts an interesting route to arrive at its conclusions. He does not purely focus on the work of

folklorist collectors and record company workers in order to examine the divergent conceptions of folk and popular music held by these professionals. Instead these figures make appearances intermittently throughout the book, contributing to the more broadly sourced discussion of what constituted folk and pop music in this period.

Miller begins by recounting one example of an event which becomes very familiar throughout the book: a white northerner hearing early blues or 'hard luck tales' and being impressed with their seeming authenticity. This is contrasted with the popular songs also heard by the observer, which disappointed him with their populist, northern origins. Miller uses this beginning to introduce one of his central arguments: folk music and pop music in the south were not naturally discrete and separable, and these categories were largely the invention of workers in the entertainment and music industries, and academic folklorists. Miller incorporates surprisingly detailed analyses of numerous entertainment industry offshoots in his attempt to make this argument, and the argument is certainly a successful one.

Miller contends that theatre industry and music publishing staples in the late 19th century, such as sentimental stage ballads, blackface minstrelsy stereotypes and popular classical tunes, could become extremely popular in the south through touring theatre companies and an opened transport network. Thus, the popular songs in the south were often no different from those in the north, but northern conceptions of southern music and culture were generally distorted by romanticism and nostalgia. Miller identifies this curious combination of musical trends as being central to the conflation of folk and pop music. Northern audiences were interested in what they saw as authentic southern folk music, either by African-American or white performers, but this was based on the very stereotypes northern industry people had largely invented. Miller manages to negotiate these confusing entertainment industry stories with skill, allowing the reader to see how they illustrate his point about the interaction of folk and pop music.

Another central argument in Miller's study is the continued segregation of African-Americans throughout the developments in the entertainment industry. Miller asserts that these industries created a 'musical colour line' which severely restricted the performance opportunities of African-American artists, and enforced racial stereotypes in their depiction of African-American music and culture. However, he also notes that increased participation opportunities for African-Americans during the recording industry boom did allow circumscribed chances for musical expression and even social and political comment. In this way Miller also successfully avoids broad generalisations about race in his study, partly because they are not necessary to bolster his argument. He undermines various enduring assumptions about musical forms considered to be African-American. One of these is the notion that certain folk music forms arose from manual labour, and are naturally ancillary to work. Miller argues that in fact most musicians regarded their music as a means of escaping work altogether, and as an alternative to work. In this conception of music, Miller suggests that some types of song do not have a purely functional nature, i.e. the endurance of hard work, but have artistic traits because they enable the pursuit of a different career.

Miller regularly taps into popular musicology debates about authenticity in this study, and investigates similar territory to Richard Peterson in his seminal 1997 study *Creating Country Music: Fabricating Authenticity*. Both Miller and Peterson explore the necessity for performers to conform to a stereotype, and how a performer's success is often derived from how successfully they play the role assigned to them. Miller

diverges from Peterson in his use of this examination of authenticity, by employing authenticity as another vehicle for looking at segregation in the music industry. He explains how African-American performers were restricted to playing blues music, both to audiences and in recording sessions, because that was the music currently associated with authenticity in African-American musical culture.

Later in the book Miller looks at the familiar story of John Lomax and Leadbelly to further articulate this point. Leadbelly had a great interest in performing popular tunes to audiences, especially since many of these were his favourite songs, but Lomax encouraged him to perform only the songs which he equated with authenticity. Miller's central premise of segregation in the music industry often comes through strongest when studying examples like Leadbelly, which plainly indicate the degree of segregation imposed on African-American performers. What examples like these also demonstrate is the confusing conflation of pop and folk music which informs so many conceptions of music in this period. Miller argues that many people even in the 1930s still equated African-American musical authenticity with blackface minstrelsy and other musical styles invented by the theatre and music business at the turn of the century. These images of African-American culture were deeply linked with a fascination with primitivism, which Lomax continued to exploit in his promotion of Leadbelly. Again, Miller convincingly demonstrates that this segregation in music persisted in much the same way throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

As previously mentioned, one of the areas in which Miller's study diverges with particular success is the balanced study of music industry promoters, engineers, etc., theatre promoters and writers, music publishers and academic folklorists. Miller avoids the tendency to study folklore and the music business as separate areas of folk and pop music interest, and looks at them developing concomitantly. This is very much a component of his mandate to study the conflation of pop and folk music throughout the period. In doing this, Miller also shows how much popular conceptions of folk music have influenced folklore, despite the attempts of the latter to distance itself from populism.

In the conclusion, Miller quotes the musician Bill Broonzy's famous declaration 'All Songs is Folk Songs', apparently not with the intention of saying that all types of song qualify as authentic folk songs, but that all songs belong to the folk and are there to be used by them. He also concludes that Bill Broonzy was one of a number of African-American musicians who were, 'intent on maintaining unique aspects of their culture without being reduced to them' (p. 282). This conclusion reflects the number of performers throughout Miller's study who attempt to break out of the system of racial and regional stereotypes. Although the obvious emphasis was on African-American musical stereotyping, Miller shows that rural southern whites were also subject to stereotypes which limited to a lesser degree the music they played. Ultimately Miller's study succeeds because it questions many assumptions about folk and pop music, and about the commercial music business and the academic folklore world. Since that is Miller's mandate, and as he professes in his introduction,

> My tale diverges from the stock narratives of blues and country music ... standard approaches assume that the commodification of music is a problem that must be investigated, that music bought is somehow less true than music made. I take a different approach ... (pp. 6–7)

This book succeeds because it comprehensively addresses these 'standard approaches' and offers an alternate summary of folk and pop music.

Although the 1950s and 1960s era folk revival makes only a brief appearance near the end of the book, because it falls outside the main period Miller is discussing, it would have been useful to look at how these assumptions have changed since the 1930s. Material pertaining to Harry Smith and the *Anthology of American Folk Music* features in the bibliography, but is not mentioned in the main body of the book, and considering the conflation of folk and popular music, and commercial and academic elements in the *Anthology* it would have made an appropriate discussion point. Overall though, this book succeeds in its aim of demonstrating that,

> 'music could be an opiate and a weapon, a means to tell the truth and to lie, a testimony about the obstacles in one's path and a way to get over. Quite often, it was all of these at the same time.' (p. 18)

Rory Crutchfield

University of Glasgow, UK

Reference

Peterson, R. 1997. *Creating Country Music: Fabricating Authenticity* (Chicago, Chicago University Press)

***Long Lost Blues: Popular Blues in America, 1850–1920*. By Peter C. Muir. Urbana and Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2009. 280 pp. ISBN 978-0252076763**
doi:10.1017/S0261143010000280

Recent years have seen a minor explosion of published scholarship on blues music. In addition to the appearance of new editions of classics such as Francis Davis's *History of the Blues*, exciting new work by a number of scholars and critics has reinvigorated discourse around the blues in academic and journalistic circles alike. A survey of that literature demonstrates a variety of approaches. Taking just a few examples, the work of Elijah Wald and Ted Gioia centres on the role of individual performers in the definition and purveyance of the blues. Ulrich Adelt and Bill Minutaglio discuss locality and race representation in blues performance, and Paul Oliver explores the role of phonography in early blues.

Much of this work is consonant with arguments made by Marybeth Hamilton, Albert Murray and others who have advocated a model of blues scholarship divorced from romantic rhetoric of the blues as either the organic product of a handful of lionised individual performers or as an autochthonic tradition in need of curatorial protection. At first impression, Peter Muir's *Long Lost Blues* could be mistaken for such an approach. The title is resonant with common conceptions of folk blues as a vehicle for forgotten truths inaccessible by commercial transmission. However, in this case, as throughout the book, Muir speaks more specifically and demands to be read more literally. He clarifies his agenda:

> Popular blues is different from more familiar types of the blues, such as traditional Delta blues, or postwar Chicago blues, for two reasons. First, as blues was moved into the mainstream, it absorbed some of the features of popular music, thereby producing a style that contained a varying mixture of popular and folk elements. Second, folk blues at this time had not yet fully evolved and was consequently in a rather undefined state. The result of these two factors – the interaction of blues with popular music, and the malleable nature of its folk