REGIONALISM IN SELECTED MUSICAL WORKS
OF CHARLES FAULKNER BRYAN (1911-1955)

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Doctor of Musical Arts

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Charles Thomas Priest
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REGIONALISM IN SELECTED MUSICAL WORKS OF

CHARLES FAULKNER BRYAN (1911-1955)

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Date April 29, 2008
To Lenore,

my wife and best friend,

to Katy,

who has been very patient with her daddy for the last few years,

and to

Momma,

without whose support this would not have been possible
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF EXAMPLES</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREFACE</td>
<td>xii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thesis</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Background</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Sources</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Literature</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodology</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Importance of the Study</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. BIOGRAPHICAL SYNOPSIS</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Years</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nashville Conservatory</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennessee Polytechnic Institute</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peabody College</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Service</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guggenheim Fellowship</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuing Education</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Return to Peabody</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Springs School</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. MCMINNVILLE AND WARREN COUNTY ........................................... 46

Geography                                                              | 46   |
Early History through the Eighteenth Century                           | 47   |
Ethnic Patterns of Settlement                                           | 49   |
Religious Background                                                    | 51   |
Warren County and McMinnville                                           | 55   |

4. REBEL ACADEMY ........................................................................... 60

Synopsis of the Work                                                    | 60   |
Historical Setting                                                      | 66   |
Geographical Setting                                                    | 67   |
Performance History                                                      | 68   |
Regional Elements                                                       | 68   |
Summary                                                                | 84   |

5. WHITE SPIRITUAL SYMPHONY ................................................................ 85

Synopsis of the Work                                                    | 86   |
Historical Setting                                                      | 107  |
Geographical Setting                                                    | 108  |
Performance History                                                      | 109  |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Regional Elements</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td></td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. THE BELL WITCH</td>
<td></td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Synopsis of the Work</td>
<td></td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical Setting</td>
<td></td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geographical Setting</td>
<td></td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performance History</td>
<td></td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional Elements</td>
<td></td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td></td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. CUMBERLAND INTERLUDE: 1790</td>
<td></td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Synopsis of the Work</td>
<td></td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performance History</td>
<td></td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical Setting</td>
<td></td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geographical Setting</td>
<td></td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional Elements</td>
<td></td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td></td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. SINGIN' BILLY</td>
<td></td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geographical Setting</td>
<td></td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis of the Work</td>
<td></td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performance History</td>
<td></td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical Setting</td>
<td></td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional Elements</td>
<td></td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>190</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS</td>
<td>193</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>207</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Form of <em>White Spiritual Symphony</em>, first movement</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Form of <em>White Spiritual Symphony</em>, second movement</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Form of <em>White Spiritual Symphony</em>, third movement</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Major Sections and Tonalities in Bryan’s <em>The Bell Witch</em></td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Dramatic scheme of <em>Singin’ Billy</em></td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF EXAMPLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chapter 4</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Bryan, <em>Rebel Academy</em>, “Spiritual,” mm. 4-21, Charity’s solo</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Macarthy, “Bonnie Blue Flag”, mm. 8-32, vocal solo</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vocal score</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Bryan, <em>Rebel Academy</em>, “Reel,” mm. 1-12, piano score</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Bryan, <em>Rebel Academy</em>, “Waltz,” mm. 9-24, piano score</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chapter 5</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Bryan, <em>White Spiritual Symphony</em>, mm. 1-4, flute</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Bryan, “Symphony I”, mm. 1-6, sketch</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Bryan, <em>White Spiritual Symphony</em>, first movement, mm. 41-49, oboe</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Bryan, <em>White Spiritual Symphony</em>, first movement, mm. 49-57, trumpet and strings</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Bryan, <em>White Spiritual Symphony</em>, first movement, mm. 57-61, violin and cello</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Bryan, <em>White Spiritual Symphony</em>, mm. 179-181, clarinet</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English horn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Example</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Bryan, <em>White Spiritual Symphony</em>, second movement, mm. 82-86, bassoon</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Bryan, <em>White Spiritual Symphony</em>, third movement, mm. 104-120, bassoon</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Walker, NEW BRITAIN from <em>Southern Harmony</em>, mm. 1-14, tenor</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Bryan, <em>White Spiritual Symphony</em>, first movement, mm. 143-148, harp</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chapter 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Bryan, <em>The Bell Witch</em>, mm. 44-48, piano and voice</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Bryan, <em>The Bell Witch</em>, mm. 398-405, piano</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Bryan, <em>The Bell Witch</em>, mm. 446-453, soprano</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Bryan, <em>The Bell Witch</em>, mm. 550-559, baritone solo</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Bryan, <em>The Bell Witch</em>, mm. 611-627, chorus</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Bryan, <em>The Bell Witch</em>, mm. 231-233, piano score</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Bryan, <em>The Bell Witch</em>, mm. 550-559, baritone solo</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chapter 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Example</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Bryan, <em>Cumberland Interlude: 1790</em>, mm. 7-15, Jane’s solo</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Bryan, <em>Cumberland Interlude: 1790</em>, mm. 107-109, Jane’s solo</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Chapter 8**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Bryan, <em>Singin’ Billy</em>, “Hawthorne Tree,” mm. 3-7, piano and vocal score</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Bryan, <em>Singin’ Billy</em>, FRENCH BROAD, mm. 2-10, Singin’ Billy’s solo</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Bryan, <em>Singin’ Billy</em>, “Sandy Land,” mm. 10-14, chorus</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PREFACE

As a child growing up in Tennessee’s Upper Cumberland, I was surrounded by music of all kinds, like church hymns, country music on the radio, and gospel music at my grandmother’s house. I heard the folk songs my mother sang and the bluegrass music at places like Smithville and Beersheba Springs. But the name of Charles Faulkner Bryan stood apart. To me, he represented the idea that there was a musical world outside my hometown.

The people that have meant the most to me over the course of my career at Southern Seminary are my wife, my daughter, and my mother. Each has contributed in her own way and wholeheartedly supported this endeavor. Without them, I would never have made it this far.

Numerous people have lent their time and talents to helping me complete this dissertation. The members of my dissertation committee, Esther Crookshank, Douglas Smith, and David Gregory, have put up with my obsession over a relatively obscure composer. Mancil Johnson, archivist at the library of Tennessee Technological University, has provided innumerable resources from Bryan’s archived papers. Carolyn Livingston’s biography of Bryan has been a solid foundation from which to continue studies of Bryan’s music. She has also answered my numerous emails regarding details about Bryan and his music. I am also

xii
thankful to Charlie Bryan, the late composer’s son, who has always been willing to share what he knows about his father’s music.

Charles Priest

Louisville, Kentucky

April 2008
Introduction

Ralph Vaughan Williams, writing about the role of English composers in society, stated that “Art, like charity, should begin at home. If it is to be of any value it must grow out of the life of himself, the community in which he lives, and the nation to which he belongs.”\(^1\) Vaughan Williams was writing in response to the perception that good music could not come from English composers and must instead be imported from foreign sources. He recognized that musical material from a composer’s own background was worthy of study and use. An American composer of the middle South, Charles Faulkner Bryan (1911-1955), recognized this same value for the music of his own culture and region. Bryan was a Tennessee musician, educator, folklorist, and composer who “... taught his students that the folk music of their native Appalachia was as worthy of study and performance as any other music.”\(^2\)

Bryan’s work is significant for his use of folk melodies and cultural elements of the rural American South in music for the concert hall. His output of roughly two

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hundred compositions reflects a love for the sacred music and folk traditions of his rural Tennessee upbringing. Bryan composed 102 choral works, 74 songs, mostly straightforward strophic settings of southern folk songs, thirty piano and instrumental works, and five stage works. He also published several song collections intended for classroom use.

In Bryan’s introduction to White Spiritual Symphony (1939) he made the claim, “Up to the writing of this work no symphonic composition based on the white spiritual themes of this section has been written.” Bryan valued the melodies of these spirituals and other folk songs and was intentional in his use of them as melodic material. He explained the values and motives behind his compositional philosophy in 1941 in a letter to the conductor Eugene Goossens about the upcoming premiere of White Spiritual Symphony.

I appreciate very much your interest in the rich heritage of folk music we have here in the South. I believe we are at the crossroads concerning this music, since modernization in our remote rural sections is causing people to discard daily many of the rare tunes which can never be regained. It is my sincere purpose to utilize some of these themes in the modern orchestral idioms so that the general public will know that our American themes are as fine as any in the world.

In this letter Bryan gave two reasons for organizing his compositional output around southern folksong and folk hymnody. First, he was interested in preserving a rapidly disappearing cultural repertory through its incorporation into large-scale art music forms.

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3Charles Faulkner Bryan, White Spiritual Symphony (M.A. thesis, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1940), vi.

4Charles F. Bryan, Nashville, to Eugene Goossens, Cincinnati, 26 August 1941, original in the archives of Tennessee Technological University, Cookeville.
His second goal was the dissemination of this material to a broader public with the intent of increasing appreciation of these indigenous traditions.

**Thesis**

The purpose of this study was to identify the musical regionalism of Charles Faulkner Bryan as expressed in five of his major works and to codify and interpret the musical, textual, and dramatic elements by which Bryan's style reflects the composer's rural southern background. The compositions analyzed were the operas *Rebel Academy* (1939) and *Singin' Billy* (1952), *White Spiritual Symphony* (1939), plus the cantatas *Cumberland Interlude: 1790* (1947) and *The Bell Witch* (1946). This dissertation documents the connections between Bryan's music and specific regional locations, historical settings, and cultural traditions associated with the composer's rural, southern upbringing. The discussion focuses on textual, musical, and dramatic elements by which Bryan solidified the link between his music and his regional and cultural background. The goal of the study is to expand the reader's understanding of the role of region and culture in Bryan's music and to provide a resource for making informed decisions about performance practice in his works.

**Background**

The works studied in this dissertation are part of what Barbara A. Zuck calls "compositional Americanism," which is "the musical use of native elements," as opposed to a "conceptual Americanism" which is an Americanist stance on behalf of musical activities in the United States.\(^5\) Bryan's musical career spans the era described by Zuck as

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the zenith of musical Americanism (1929-1945). His conservatory studies and initial work as an educator and composer occurred in the 1930s, which Virgil Thomson called the “definitive decade” in American music. Borrowing from Zuck’s definition, Bryan’s works will be examined as an expression of compositional regionalism. Bryan’s “native elements” were not randomly selected from throughout North America, but rather were drawn from his own experiences in a specific geographical region.

Assumptions

As stated above, this study assumes first that Bryan was aware of his own cultural heritage within the larger matrix of American society, and that he saw value in preserving the musical traditions of that legacy. “Symphony I,” Bryan’s earliest extant musical work, was written shortly before his sixteenth birthday and is based on white spiritual tunes, demonstrating a lively interest in this repertory even before he began formal training in composition. Throughout his adult life he collected folk songs and traditional instruments, made recordings of folksingers, and studied styles of folk music. He published several collections of folk songs aimed at strengthening the place of folk music in the classroom. Bryan also served as president of the Tennessee Folklore Society from 1948 to 1950.

1980), 8.

6Ibid., ix.

7Livingston, Charles Faulkner Bryan, 87. This work became the basis for his White Spiritual Symphony.

8Ibid., 198.
The second assumption upon which this study is based is that aspects of Bryan's cultural heritage are clearly identifiable in the selected works, as revealed through examination of the available scores, libretti, and relevant primary sources. The large-scale works being examined provide an opportunity to explore Bryan's cultural background more deeply as revealed in his music. Going beyond writing simple strophic settings of folk tunes, Bryan had opportunity in these works to expand musical ideas and dramatic elements that more fully explored southern cultural settings. Notations in his scores indicate that the music is to be performed in a style consistent with folk music of the rural American South. The folk tunes Bryan used retain their melodic identity in the larger framework of his compositions, reflecting his belief that every note of these melodies was crucial. Instead of serving as only a resource for melodic, motivic, and intervallic material, the tunes themselves are the centerpieces of the works in which they appear. Dramatic elements, including plotlines and characters, were drawn from southern folklore and history and often reflect specific locations around his native region.

**Delimitations**

The most complete listing of Bryan's works is “Musical Works of Charles Faulkner Bryan: A Chronological Listing,” which is Appendix A of Carolyn Livingston’s biography of Bryan. Bryan’s five dramatic works are *Kingdom of Sorrow* (1934), *Rebel Academy* (1939), *Strangers in this World* (1951), *Singin’ Billy* (1952), and *Florida Aflame* (1953). His cantatas include *Glory to God* (n.d.), *The Bell Witch* (1946),

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9 Ibid., 103.

10 Ibid., 267-73.
Cumberland Interlude: 1790 (1947) and Christmas Story Cantata (1931). All of his extant stage works were considered in this study with the exception of Florida Aflame and Strangers in this World. Three additional works examined were White Spiritual Symphony, Cumberland Interlude: 1790, and The Bell Witch. These last three works are distinctive among his unstaged works in that each composition is tied to a specific geographical or historical setting. Of the 211 known choral works, songs, instrumental works, and stage works by Bryan, many include settings of pre-existing folk tunes. His treatment of folk songs and hymn tunes in the works is widely varied. He created simple strophic arrangements of folksongs and hymns and also composed new music in the style of folksong. Examples of these categories were addressed only in the context of the five works under discussion.

Definitions

According to Bruno Nettl, one of the earliest definitions of "culture" was that of Edward B. Tylor.\footnote{Bruno Nettl, The Study of Ethnomusicology: Twenty-nine Issues and Concepts (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983), 132.} Tylor uses "culture" synonymously with "civilization," which he defines as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."\footnote{Edward B. Tylor, Primitive Culture, 3rd ed. (New York: Henry Holt, 1889), 1.} The Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy defines culture as "the way of life of a people, including their attitudes, values, beliefs, arts, sciences, modes of perception, and habits of thought and activity."\footnote{Simon Blackburn, ed., "Culture," in The Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 90.} This description is not so much qualitative, in that one might
consider music part of "high culture," but rather quantitative, wherein music, as one of the arts, is part of the "way of life of a people." The Oxford English Dictionary gives a similar definition: "the civilization, customs, artistic achievements, etc., of a people, especially at a certain stage of its development or history."\(^{14}\) Perhaps the simplest description is that of the Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy: "Culture comprises those aspects of human activity which are socially rather than genetically transmitted."\(^{15}\)

Another important term in this dissertation is "regionalism." This term, according to The Oxford Companion to American Literature, "emphasizes a special geographical setting and concentrates upon the history, manners, and folkways of the area as these help to shape the lives or behavior of the characters."\(^{16}\) This definition contrasts regionalism with "local color" in that regionalism "lays less stress upon quaint oddities of dialect, mannerisms, and costume and more on basic philosophical or sociological distinctions."\(^{17}\) The Oxford English Dictionary defines regionalism as a "tendency to, or practice of, regional systems or methods."\(^{18}\) The same work identifies "local color" as "the representation in vivid detail of the characteristic features of a particular period or country (e.g., manners, dress, scenery, etc.) in order to produce an impression of

\(^{14}\)The Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd ed., s.v. "culture."


\(^{17}\)Ibid.

\(^{18}\)The Oxford English Dictionary 2nd ed., s.v. "regionalism."
Although it can be argued that Bryan was primarily an exponent of regionalism in his music, local color remained an element of his expression.

"Folk music," and by inclusion folk tunes, has often been an ambiguous term. The term Volkslied ("folksong") was first used by Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803), a German philosopher of the eighteenth century. Herder’s description included the concept of a communal origin for folksong, as opposed to a work by an individual composer. Bruno Nettl also suggests that folk and traditional music is commonly understood and performed by large segments of a society and preserved by oral tradition. Nettl is the author of the following definition of "folk music" in The New Harvard Dictionary of Music:

Music in oral tradition, often in relatively simple style, primarily of rural provenance, normally performed by nonprofessionals, used and understood by broad segments of a population and especially by the lower socioeconomic classes, characteristic of a nation, society, or ethnic group, and claimed by one of these as its own.

Bryan defined folk music in slightly different ways at various times, as in his lecture to the Tennessee Council of Teachers in 1939, "An English Classroom Approach to Native Folk Music." In discussing the role of folk music in the classroom, Bryan used the following definition: "Folk music is the spontaneous expression of a community, a

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19Ibid.


race of people, or a nation, reflecting the emotions, customs, and disposition of that people. An unpublished paper written by Bryan in 1946 expanded on this idea.

[Folk music is] the musical expression of a group of people bound together by race, or location, or common tasks. It is an expression of their emotions and has an appeal to each member of the group. It may either come about by the work of one individual of the group or by several individuals of the group but, in either event, it must be an expression of the entire group and must be incorporated by the group.

The key component for Bryan was the sense that the music was communally understood.

The body of music that Bryan studied and arranged does not specifically meet all criteria of every definition of folksong given above. While most of the tunes he used were of communal origin and were widely known and accepted by the culture in which he found them, the changing times affected the means of transmission. Bryan began composing at a time when researchers were making field recordings and publishing collections of transcribed folksong. Although these songs were taken from oral tradition, where text and tune might change over time, their presence on the printed page insured a static record of their existence at the time of collection.

A narrower category of folksong is the “white spiritual,” which encompasses folk hymns, religious ballads, and camp meeting spirituals sung by rural whites of the United States through approximately the mid-nineteenth century. Some of these texts were sacred lyrics sung to a pre-existing folk tune or lengthy ballads extolling Christian virtues. Camp-meeting hymnody arose out of the early nineteenth-century revivalism of

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23 Speech before the Tennessee Council of Teachers (1939), quoted in Livingston, Charles Faulkner Bryan, 80.

24 Livingston, Charles Faulkner Bryan, 198.

the Second Great Awakening that swept the early frontier of the United States. These songs are noted for their simplicity, musical and textual repetition, and easy refrains and tag lines.\(^{26}\) Hymnologist Henry Wilder Foote suggests that this genre of hymnody is a survival of "old ballad versification inherited from England."\(^{27}\) The term "white spiritual" was popularized in 1933 by George Pullen Jackson's *White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands*.\(^{28}\) Jackson's book focuses on the shape-note method of singing commonly found in the southeastern states in the nineteenth century.

**Primary Sources**

Collections of Bryan's correspondence, scores, and other personal papers are housed in three main locations. The most significant is the collection at Tennessee Technological University in Cookeville, Tennessee, which was named Tennessee Polytechnic Institute at the time Bryan taught there. This collection of scores, correspondence and other materials was donated over a period of time culminating in 1981 by Edith Hillis Bryan, the composer's widow. That school then allowed the papers of the collection to be microfilmed by East Tennessee State University's Archives of Appalachia in Johnson City. The originals were returned to Tennessee Technological University while the Archives of Appalachia retained microfilms, copies of which are...

\(^{26}\)Ibid., 190.


also housed in the Tennessee State Library and Archives in Nashville. Two later significant contributions were made to the Cookeville collection after 1981. Shortly before her death, Edith Bryan donated a large collection of materials to Tennessee Technological University, including letters, miscellaneous papers, lesson plans, and the composer’s antique hymnal collection. Charles Faulkner Bryan, Jr. and Betty Lynn Bryan Haslam, Bryan’s children, made another addition after they sold the family home following their mother’s death in 1995. Tennessee Technological University also has a portion of the composer’s folk-instrument collection on permanent display in the Bryan Fine Arts Center. Vanderbilt University in Nashville maintains a collection of Bryan’s personal papers consisting mostly of correspondence relating to Singin’ Billy.

Secondary Literature

The most recent and complete biography of Bryan is Carolyn Livingston’s Charles Faulkner Bryan: His Life and Music, published in 2003, which was derived from her earlier dissertation. This comprehensive, well-documented volume includes both chronological and annotated listings of all known musical works of Bryan.

Livingston’s published biography of Bryan was preceded by two significant academic biographies of the composer. Livingston’s dissertation from the University of Florida, “Charles Faulkner Bryan: A Biography,” was part of her Ph.D. work. The only biography that preceded Livingston’s was a 1965 master’s thesis by Carl Darlington

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29 A complete finding aid for the collection in the Archives of Appalachia is available on-line at http://www.etsu.edu/cass/Archives.

30 Mancil Johnson, e-mail correspondence with the author, 29 May 2007.


**Methodology**

Scores of the selected works were collected for study from original manuscripts in the Bryan collection and published sources. The composer’s upbringing and cultural heritage were examined within the context of the history and culture of the Upper Cumberland region of Tennessee. The scores were then examined for textual, musical, and dramatic elements that reflect Bryan’s personal regionalism. The scores were also analyzed to see how Bryan incorporated these elements into his compositional technique and dramaturgy. This study codifies these elements and demonstrates their significance in light of Bryan’s rural southern heritage.

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This study begins with a summary of Bryan’s life, with special emphasis on the cultural and regional setting in which he lived. The history and cultural life of Tennessee is considered with particular attention to the Upper Cumberland region of the state. Subsequent chapters focus on the selected works, proceeding chronologically. Each chapter gives a synopsis of the work, as well as how and why Bryan wrote it. Each work is examined for influences arising from Bryan’s region and culture and the expression of cultural ideals and traditions. Particular emphasis has been placed on the use of folk melodies in his compositional process. Musical analyses with examples are included.

American composers since the nineteenth century have been drawn to indigenous American musical traditions for inspiration, especially Native American and African American idioms. The Wa-Wan Press, founded by Arthur Farwell in 1901, published works by American composers and works based on American folksong.¹³ Sixteenth-century minstrelsy had mimicked styles of music associated with the southern plantation. Other composers drew elements from regions such as the Caribbean and South America. Aaron Copland (1900-1990) used Mexican melodies for El salón México.¹⁶ New Orleans native Louis Moreau Gottschalk (1829-1869) not only drew inspiration from culturally complex New Orleans, but also created settings based on extensive travels throughout the Americas.¹⁷

Other American composers have specifically created works based on hymn tunes: Henry Cowell’s (1897-1965) eighteen Hymns and Fuguing Tunes, Aaron

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¹⁷Ibid., 332.
Copland’s *Emblems*, and Roy Harris’s (1898-1971) *Third Symphony* are but three examples. One of the most influential of the American composers who used hymn tunes was Charles Ives (1874-1954), whose New England upbringing is reflected in many of his compositions. This survey of Bryan parallels selected studies of Charles Ives and other composers such as Roy Harris, Louis Moureau Gottschalk and William Grant Still.38

**Importance of the Study**

Bryan has been relatively unknown since his death in 1955. Much of his music was either self-published, or never published at all, which hampered distribution of his works and name recognition for Bryan. His few published works sold well during his lifetime, enough that he was able to take his wife on a trip to Europe. But, while he garnered critical acclaim for his work as a composer, performer, and educator, Bryan has been poorly represented in scholarly study. This study makes four distinct contributions to scholarly work in American musical regionalism.

First, this dissertation examines the role of regionalism in Bryan’s works by identifying regional sources and traditions used by the composer. More specifically, this work documents Bryan’s role in gathering the folk songs of his native region and bringing them into cultivated musical forms as his contribution to the Americanist movement of the early twentieth century.

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Second, this study compiles the sources from which Bryan drew his musical and dramatic elements. These sources are identified as part of the specific traditions and culture of the Upper Cumberland region of Tennessee.

Third, the pervasive nature of Bryan’s use of folk materials influences the performance practice of his works. Knowledge of the historical and cultural settings in which Bryan found his musical and dramatic elements allows the performer to understand more completely the composer’s intentions and create an authentic performance. Thematic elements drawn from regional folklore are examined for the ways in which Bryan incorporated them into his musical and dramatic style. This dissertation suggests the motivating factors behind Bryan’s compositional style. Those wishing to direct Bryan’s stage works will gain insight into the visual images the composer might have had when he created works such as Rebel Academy and Singin’ Billy.

Finally, this dissertation promotes the continuing performance of Bryan’s music, especially as such performances would further his goal of preserving the songs of the Upper Cumberland in the face of changes resulting from the cultural modernization of rural areas. It is suggested that Bryan should be included in scholarly literature on American music. Furthermore, any comprehensive discussion of Bryan must take into account his compositional regionalism.
CHAPTER 2

BIOGRAPHICAL SYNOPSIS

As previously cited, substantial biographies of Bryan have already been written by King and Livingston. King's master's thesis relied heavily on interviews with people that knew Bryan personally. Many of these recollections, made almost ten years after his death, are included in an appendix of the thesis and dwell on Bryan's qualities as a person, educator, and musician. Livingston's dissertation and book are more comprehensive, following Bryan's life through primary source documents, with particular focus on Bryan as an educator and composer. Shorter biographical entries on Bryan have been found in The Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture,¹ Charles Eugene Claghorn's Biographical Dictionary of American Music,² and occasional newspaper clippings.

Early Years

Charles Faulkner Bryan was born 26 July 1911 in McMinnville, Tennessee, a community approximately 70 miles southeast of Nashville. He grew up in and around


Falconhurst, the family home on the banks of Charles Creek. Bryan was one of five
children born to Alla May Faulkner Bryan (1883-1956) and Clarence Justus Bryan (1883-
1970). His mother was a grand-niece of Asa I. Faulkner (1802-1886), operator of
Tennessee Woolen Mills on Charles Creek and one of the early manufacturers of Warren
County.

The family into which Bryan was born was one of the more affluent
households in the community. Falconhurst sat on a small rise overlooking the creek and
the nearby textile mill which employed about 150 people. Bryan’s father, Clarence, had
worked in a supervisory capacity at the mill and married into the Faulkner family. Both
of Bryan’s parents taught Sunday school and his father served as Sunday school
superintendent at First Baptist Church in McMinnville. Interviewees for King’s thesis
stated that the Bryan home was known as a “Christian home ... filled with Godliness and
patriotism.”

The Bryan family moved to Nashville around 1921 after the mill business
experienced a financial reverse. Charles’s father later considered moving the family to

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3 N 35° 42’ 57.8” W 85° 46’ 03.0’ At the corner of Quebec Road and Horton Road. Significant
locations will be identified using the Global Positioning System in addition to street addresses when
possible.

4 Carl Darlington King, “Charles Faulkner Bryan: Tennessee Educator and Musician” (M.S.

5 Walter Womack, McMinnville at a Milestone (McMinnville, TN: Standard Publishing

6 Carolyn Livingston, Charles Faulkner Bryan: His Life and Music (Knoxville: University of


8 Ibid., 9.
Virginia, but instead settled temporarily in Watertown, Tennessee, returning the family to McMinnville in 1923.

**Education**

Charles attended public schools while residing in McMinnville, completing eighth grade at McMinnville Grammar School in 1926 and entering McMinnville High School that fall. He seems to have been a natural leader as he was elected class president every year for the next four years and served as assistant editor of the school paper. Though not active in school sports, he did participate in school plays and debating teams. He graduated from McMinnville High School in 1930.

Bryan’s budding musical career was encouraged when he made it to the state finals of the Atwater Kent Competition, held in Nashville. This was the third annual competition sponsored by the Atwater Kent Foundation for the Discovery and Encouragement of American Singers. Atwater Kent (1873-1949) was an inventor, businessman, and philanthropist from Burlington, Vermont, who sponsored the Atwater Kent Hour on NBC and instituted the National Radio Auditions as a way of discovering

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9Ibid., 19.


11Ibid., 14.

new talents in the United States. This foundation began in 1927 as a way of discovering talented young singers.

Bryan’s leadership was recognized outside of school when he was elected McMinnville’s “mayor for the week” through the local Rotary club’s “Boy’s Week” program in 1926. Bryan also seems to have been a confident public speaker, winning first place in the “Know Warren County” speech competition in 1928. Bryan and a team from his school won a national debate contest sponsored by the National University Extension Association. He graduated from McMinnville High School in 1930 and was ranked sixth in his class.

**Early Musical Experiences**

Early music influences for Bryan included family and neighbors. His mother, Alla May, played piano at First Baptist Church in McMinnville. Another influential family member was his aunt, Niel Faulkner Parker, who played piano and sang for him and to whom Bryan later dedicated his choral setting of “See Me Cross the Water.”

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17 Ibid., 11.

18 Ibid., 5.

19 Ibid., 12.
neighbor, Mrs. Azariah Kimbrough, owned a record player on which Bryan and others were allowed to listen to music.\textsuperscript{20}

One relic from this era of Bryan's life is a homemade musical instrument. Bryan had caught a large turtle near his home and fashioned it into a guitar-like instrument by cleaning the turtle shell out and incorporating an old coffee can as part of the resonating chamber. The addition of a neck with tuning pegs and strings made what he called his "turtle-uke."\textsuperscript{21} This instrument is now part of the collection of Bryan's musical instruments on display at Tennessee Technological University.

Although he initially expressed interest in the violin, Bryan's formal musical training began with piano lessons from Mamie Worley, a graduate of the Cincinnati Conservatory of Music. There seems to be some discrepancy between Livingston and King on the beginning date of his studies. When King interviewed Worley in 1964 she stated that Bryan was "about ten or eleven when he started studying piano."\textsuperscript{22} If Bryan started his piano lessons at age ten, this would have been 1921 or 1922. However, the Bryan family was living in Nashville and Watertown at this time. Unless Bryan returned to McMinnville for his piano lessons, it seems most likely that his piano study actually commenced after the family's return to McMinnville in 1923. Livingston states that Bryan studied with Worley throughout Junior High and High School.\textsuperscript{23} His first documented piano recital was in 1925.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{20} Ibid.; See also King, "Charles Faulkner Bryan," 5.
\item \textsuperscript{21} King, "Charles Faulkner Bryan," 7.
\item \textsuperscript{22} Ibid., 17.
\item \textsuperscript{23} Livingston, Charles Faulkner Bryan, 9.
\end{itemize}
Bryan's first paying music job was leading revival services with a Dr. Huff in Sharp Springs, Tennessee. Bryan had an aunt in the town and it was at her encouragement that Bryan was asked to lead the music. The church afterwards took up a collection to pay him, which Bryan unsuccessfully tried to turn down.24

Never one to stay strictly with sacred music, Bryan organized a small dance band during his senior year of high school. This would set a pattern for his later involvement in a broad range of both sacred and secular music activities throughout his life.

Bryan had already started composing by the time he was in high school. A sketch titled “Symphony I” dates from 1927, the year he was in ninth grade. The only orchestral music he had heard was on recordings until the age of seventeen when he heard his first live orchestral performance.25 More about this work and its relationship to White Spiritual Symphony will be discussed in chapter 5.

Nashville Conservatory

In 1930 a pastor from Nashville named Dr. Aldridge heard Bryan sing during a church service in McMinnville.26 He was apparently impressed enough with Bryan’s singing that he approached Bryan’s parents to suggest that Charles come to Nashville and audition for Gaetano Salvatore De Luca (1882-1936), founder and president of the Nashville Conservatory of Music.

25Ibid., 73.
26Ibid., 30.
The audition was successful and Bryan was accepted into the conservatory, beginning his studies in 1930. He studied theory, and possibly composition, with James Browne Martin, piano with Edward Loessel, and voice with John Lewis. His professor in music education was I. Milton Crook, while Erich Sorantin served as his instructor in both conducting and orchestration.27

Bryan paid his expenses while in Nashville by working numerous small jobs and borrowing from friends and family. Although this was the depression era, he was able to earn money by singing as a soloist and in church choirs, leading music for revivals, and teaching private lessons. Bryan also taught part-time at Calvert Elementary School where he directed the orchestra. After restructuring of the school, this group separated itself from the institution but remained under Bryan’s direction and became known as the Nashville Junior Concert Orchestra.28 Bryan’s abilities also earned him a job singing for radio station WSM’s “Rise and Shine” morning program and working as staff arranger for the station.29

Despite his family’s affluence, Bryan was reliant upon family and friends for travel between McMinnville and Nashville. He sometimes rode with Grand Ole Opry star David “Uncle Dave” Macon (1870-1952), who was a native of Warren County and resided in nearby Rutherford County. Macon was one of the first stars of the Opry, playing banjo and singing in a style grounded in nineteenth-century minstrelsy and

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27 Livingston, Charles Faulkner Bryan, 17.
28 Ibid., 21.
29 Ibid., 22.
vaudeville styles. Macon advised Bryan against formal study of music, as he himself had achieved considerable fame as a showman without the benefit of such training.  

Bryan earned a certificate in piano from the conservatory in 1932 followed by certificates in voice and public school music in 1933. He graduated with a Bachelor of Music in 1934. His senior thesis was an operetta for children, “The Kingdom of Sorrow, or the Princess Who Would Not Smile.” Bryan spent the summer of 1935 studying piano with Rudolph Ganz (1877-1972), president of the Chicago Music College.

Bryan had several opportunities to use his skills upon graduation. He was hired as an assistant to Erich Sorantin for an orchestral event the summer of 1934 and directed instrumental studies at the Alline Fentress studios in Nashville. Fentress also directed the music at Castle Heights Military Academy in nearby Lebanon, Tennessee, and was likely the connection that led to Bryan’s becoming the orchestra director of that school in 1934.

**Tennessee Polytechnic Institute**

In 1935, Bryan was invited to become the head of the music division of Tennessee Polytechnic Institute in Cookeville, Tennessee, about eighty miles east of Nashville. This school, now known as Tennessee Technological University, was a four-year, coeducational state college. Although the school did not have an undergraduate

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30Ibid., 23.


music degree available during the years he taught there (1935-1939), Livingston’s list of Bryan’s activities suggests an active music program.

During Bryan’s first year at TPI he taught introduction to music, a course that included notation, theory, sight singing, dictation, scales, intervals, and triads; music methods for the primary grades; music for the intermediate grades; music in high school; history of music; and music appreciation. In addition to these courses, he directed the men’s glee club, women’s glee club, orchestra, and band. He organized a sextet that concertized frequently in neighboring communities and directed the Tech Troubadours, a college dance band that still exists.34

The school catalog for 1938-1939 listed Bryan as the only instructor for all six of the offered courses.35 In addition to his teaching load, Bryan had time to earn a Bachelor of Science in English from Tennessee Polytechnic in 1939.36

Bryan married Edith Inez Hillis (1911-1995), a McMinnville native he had known since first grade, on 21 December 1936. After a honeymoon travelling around the South, the Bryans settled in Cookeville where they entertained students in their home and appear to have been very popular. The students nicknamed Charles “Fessor,” and Edith was known as “Sophie.”37

Bryan’s students staged musical dramas each year starting in 1939. They performed two Gilbert and Sullivan works: H.M.S. Pinafore and The Mikado as well as Chimes of Normandy by Robert Planquette (1848-1903). The work for 1939, Bryan’s final year on the faculty of Tennessee Polytechnic, was one of his own works, Rebel Academy.

34ibid., 31-32.
36Livingston, Charles Faulkner Bryan, 33; and King, “Charles Faulkner Bryan,” 51.
Tennessee Polytechnic was the last of Tennessee’s state universities to undergo racial integration, not beginning that process until 1964. Despite his position at a segregated school, Bryan was apparently willing to risk professional and social censure to teach an African-American singer named J. Robert Bradley. The Bryans had heard Bradley singing during a gospel concert in McMinnville in 1938. After hearing him sing, Bryan invited Bradley to study voice privately at his office in Cookeville. Despite the potential for adverse effects on his life and career, Bryan’s work with Bradley drew much positive attention, with people often lingering outside the office to listen to Bradley sing. Quintin Smith, president of the college, once surprised Bryan by walking in on one of Bradley’s lessons, but there were never any negative consequences for Bryan. Smith apparently approved and reportedly gave Bradley money out of his own pocket. Edith Bryan described the situation in an interview in 1984 with Carolyn Livingston.

At night Charles would take him over to the school and give him voice lessons. He’d slip him from his office and close the door. And so one night, for some reason, he went out . . . and when he opened the door and walked out, the hall was lined up with students just sitting on the floor outside listening.

And one night, Charles was there in his office giving him a lesson, and the door opened, and in walked the president, Dr. Q. M. Smith, just walked right in, and Charles, you know, of course, stopped, and here he was with a black man in his office now, teaching, and he didn’t know what Dr. Smith was going to say. And when he walked in, Charles just said, “I’m helping this young man; he needs some help.” And Dr. Smith said, “I want to hear him sing.” And Robert sang one of his spirituals. And when he got through, Dr. Smith . . . had tears in his eyes, and he got

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40 Ibid., 35.
some money out of his pocket [to give to Bradley]. Somebody had told him about it, you know, what Charles was doing, and so he never objected.41

Bradley went on to become an internationally-known singer of both gospel and opera and served as director of music for the Sunday School Publishing Board of the National Baptist Convention.42

Tennessee Folklore Society

The Tennessee Folklore Society was formed in 1934 at the campus in Cookeville after John Lomax suggested to J. A. Richard that some areas of Tennessee “were the richest in folklore of any portion of the United States.”43 Bryan’s association with the society allowed him to have contact with other folklore scholars across the state and heightened his interest in folksong as compositional material. Three of those individuals would have significant impacts on Bryan’s career and compositional style.

In 1935, George Pullen Jackson (1874-1953), a pioneer scholar of southern and white Appalachian folk hymnody, spoke at the society’s annual meeting in Cookeville. Jackson had been professor of German at Peabody College in Nashville since 1918 but maintained a scholarly study of what he termed “white spirituals.”44 Because of their similar interests, Bryan developed a collaborative relationship over the years with

44Jackson published several influential studies on this topic, the first being White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933).
Jackson, referring to him as "Pappy." In their correspondence, Bryan and Jackson also referred to each other as "pardner." Bryan and Jackson joined forces to publish *American Folk Music for High School and Other Choral Groups* (C. C. Birchard, 1947), a collection of twenty-five songs intended for educational use. Bryan was primarily responsible for the musical settings. A letter from Jackson to Bryan, discussing particulars of the publishing contract, suggests that they worked in an equal partnership and split royalties evenly. The title page describes the book as being "collected and edited by" Jackson and "arranged by Bryan." Reflecting Bryan's belief in the importance of the tune itself, a reviewer noted, "He has kept the 'feeling' of monody by means of two techniques: liberal use of unison, and the de-emphasis of the piano accompaniment."

Lucien L. McDowell (1885-1943) and his wife, Flora Lassiter McDowell (1883-1968), were also members of the Tennessee Folklore Society. They were from a geographically isolated cove along the Caney Fork River near Walling, Tennessee, and had recognized that the traditions they had always known were in danger of disappearing forever without being preserved.

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45 King, "Charles Faulkner Bryan," 56.


The McDowells produced three collections of folklore and song from their region of Tennessee. In 1936, at the encouragement of other members of the Tennessee Folklore Society, Lucien published *Songs of the Old Campground*. This collection reflected his childhood memories of the camp meeting hymnody that occurred at the current location of Mount Pisgah Methodist Church near Walling. More on this work and its influence on *White Spiritual Symphony* are found in chapter 5 of this dissertation. *Folk Dances of Tennessee* (1938) was collected and edited by Flora McDowell, consisting of traditional dances and their accompanying songs collected in the same area. Their final collection was *Memory Melodies* (1947).

**Peabody College**

Bryan resigned his position at Tennessee Polytechnic in March 1939 after being offered a teaching fellowship at Peabody College in Nashville for the 1939-1940 school year.\(^{50}\) While working on his master's degree at Peabody, he also taught during several summer music programs sponsored by the school. Bryan's popularity in Cookeville is suggested by the fact that several of his students, including J. Robert Bradley moved to Nashville to continue studying with him.\(^{51}\)

Bryan completed his master’s degree in music education in 1940, his thesis being the score for *White Spiritual Symphony*. This was the first time a major musical work had been submitted as a master’s thesis at that institution.\(^{52}\) Peabody provided a

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\(^{50}\)Charles F. Bryan, Cookeville, to J. M. Smith, Cookeville, 21 March 1939, Charles Faulkner Bryan Papers, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

\(^{51}\)Livingston, *Charles Faulkner Bryan*, 40.

\(^{52}\)King, "Charles Faulkner Bryan," 53.
favorable environment for Bryan's developing interest in folk music. At least one course on folk music was taught as evidenced by a receipt for Bryan's 1939 tuition listing one of his courses as "Folk Music," taught by E. J. Gatwood. Peabody professors Charles Pendleton and Susan Riley worked with Peabody graduate students in the 1930s to produce collections of folk music from around middle Tennessee. This favorable support from faculty members and Bryan's own love of folk music fostered his developing compositional use of folk tunes and styles.

**Government Service**

The years of the Great Depression (1929-1932) spurred a move in subsequent years by the United States government to improve the economic situation of American workers. Efforts were made to provide employment for the numerous workers in a variety of fields including the arts. The Federal Music Project was established in July 1935 under the direction of Nikolai Sokoloff as part of the Works Progress Administration. This project was organized to give work to unemployed musicians, employing over fifteen thousand by 1936. One branch of the project, the Composer's Forum Laboratory, promoted music of rising young American composers by promoting concerts of their

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works and public speaking opportunities for them. The Federal Music Project was reorganized in 1939 on the state level.

**Tennessee Music Project**

The Tennessee Music Project, begun in January 1940, established local concert bands in communities across the state and hosted a week-long training session at which George Pullen Jackson lectured on American folk music. Bryan received the offer to direct the Tennessee Music Project of the Works Progress Administration in 1940 while still a student at Peabody. He took the position, resigning his teaching fellowship at Peabody after only one quarter. Bryan also wrote for and edited the first issue of *Music in Tennessee*, a journal for communicating with employees of the music project. He also appears to have assisted in music events in other states as well.

The Tennessee Music Project came to a close and Bryan was promoted to section chief of the Public Activities Program for the entire state in March 1941. He appears to have advanced rapidly through the administrative ranks as signified by a letter dated 14 June 1941, which he signed as “Charles F. Bryan, State Supervisor.” The Public Activities Section was abolished in early 1942 and Bryan was assigned as the head

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58 Ibid., 48. According to Livingston, this journal was published at least three times, starting in October 1940.

59 Ralph Bennett, to Charles Faulkner Bryan, 23 May 1941, Charles Faulkner Bryan Papers, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

60 Livingston, *Charles Faulkner Bryan*, 51.

of the Cultural and Educational Projects, which included music, art, writing, and adult education.\footnote{Charles Faulkner Bryan to Nell Barfield, 21 March 1942, Charles Faulkner Bryan Papers, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.}

**Civilian Defense**

By August 1942, Bryan took a position as senior mobilization consultant for the Office of Civilian Defense, a job which required him to live and work in Atlanta.\footnote{Livingston, *Charles Faulkner Bryan*, 53.} Bryan’s activities with Civilian Defense included coordinating civilian war efforts such as bond sales, salvage, and blood donations.\footnote{Ibid.} By 1944 the Office of Civilian Defense had begun closing some of its regional offices and Bryan’s employment was terminated 24 July 1944.\footnote{T. A. McNamara, to Charles Faulkner Bryan, 24 June 1944, Charles Faulkner Bryan Papers, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.} Bryan then moved back to Tennessee to serve as Assistant State Coordinator of the Tennessee State Defense Council until 30 June 1945.

Bryan remained active in both music and local church ministry while employed by the government. He served on the staff of two churches in Nashville: Belmont Heights Baptist Church and First Baptist Church. Bryan only left these ministry positions when his government service required it, leaving First Baptist Church to become Regional Director of the War Services Division of the Works Progress Administration in Atlanta.\footnote{D. Neil Darnell, “Choir Notes” 4:25 (11 July 1955).} Bryan expressed a hope to return one day to that same church, which he apparently did after his return to Nashville to take over Tennessee’s

\footnotetext[62]{Charles Faulkner Bryan to Nell Barfield, 21 March 1942, Charles Faulkner Bryan Papers, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.}
\footnotetext[63]{Livingston, *Charles Faulkner Bryan*, 53.}
\footnotetext[64]{Ibid.}
\footnotetext[65]{T. A. McNamara, to Charles Faulkner Bryan, 24 June 1944, Charles Faulkner Bryan Papers, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.}
\footnotetext[66]{D. Neil Darnell, “Choir Notes” 4:25 (11 July 1955).}
Civil Defense. He once again had to resign as Director of Music at Belmont Heights Baptist Church in 1945, this time in order to start his Guggenheim Fellowship. 67

**Guggenheim Fellowship**

Bryan continued to compose throughout his years in government service, keeping staff paper handy near his desk and composing whenever he had the opportunity. 68 Solace Mitchell, his supervisor in Atlanta, became aware of Bryan's compositions and encouraged him to apply for a Guggenheim Fellowship so he could spend more time composing after the war was over. 69 Bryan was also helped by another coworker in Atlanta, Charles H. Murchison, who wrote a letter of recommendation to Harry F. Guggenheim. 70 Guggenheim agreed to arrange an introduction to Henry Allen Moe, Secretary General of the foundation. 71 Mitchell also helped Bryan contact Mary P. London in New York who knew several members of the Guggenheim Foundation as well as the conductor Dmitri Mitropoulos. 72

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68 King, “Charles Faulkner Bryan,” 64.

69 The Guggenheim Fellowship was established by a gift in 1925 from Senator and Mrs. Simon Guggenheim in memory of their son, John Guggenheim. The stated intent of the Guggenheims was to “promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding, and the appreciation of beauty, by aiding without distinction on account of race, color or creed, scholars, scientists and artists of either sex in the prosecution of their labors. John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, *Directory of Fellows: 1925-1974* (New York: John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, 1975), front matter.


Bryan’s application process for the Guggenheim included requesting references from Charles Seeger, Irving W. Wolfe, George Pullen Jackson, and Eugene Goossens. He submitted his application in September 1943 with some of his representative musical works, the largest of these being his *White Spiritual Symphony*. He also submitted three choral works (“Charlottown,” “Everybody’s Welcome,” and “The Promised Land”), three solo songs (“Goin’ Over Jordan,” “I Have a Mother in the Heavens,” and “Froggie Went a-courtin’”), and a piano work (“Hoedown”).  

At the suggestion of the foundation’s Secretary General, Henry Allen Moe, Bryan visited Randall Thompson, a previous Guggenheim winner, for critique and suggestions, for which the foundation reimbursed Bryan.  

Bryan contacted the foundation in February 1944 to inform them that he was to be reclassified by his draft board, with likely induction into military service by June.  

Bryan was informed in March 1944 that he had not been selected for a Guggenheim Fellowship.

Moe encouraged Bryan to reapply for the next year, stating that he had almost been awarded a fellowship and was looked upon favorably by the committee. Bryan reapplied later in 1944, expanding his references to include Violet Johnson and Anne Grace O’Callaghan, as well as the previously mentioned Charles Seeger, Doak Campbell, and Irving W. Wolfe.

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73 Ibid., 114.

74 Ibid., 115.

75 Ibid.


In early 1945 the Foundation requested new works that were not based on folk music, for which Bryan revised his setting of Edna St. Vincent Millay’s “Ballad of the Harp Weaver.” He submitted it in mid-February, and was informed 5 April 1945 that he had been awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship. Four days later, in a letter to Doak Campbell, president of the Florida State College for Women, Bryan expressed surprise at the award as he “had not applied this year.”

Although military service had always loomed as a possibility for Bryan, he was finally rejected in September 1944, freeing him up to pursue composition. Bryan had been considering further study in composition for some time and felt that he needed more training before he could make good use of the fellowship award. He thus asked the foundation to delay the award for one year. The official record of the Guggenheim Foundation lists Bryan’s award year as 1945.

According to Livingston, Bryan’s stated intent for the use of the $2500 Guggenheim award was to rent a secluded cabin where he could spend intensive time composing an opera based on American folk themes. Bryan’s correspondence indicates

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78 Ibid.


80 Charles Faulkner Bryan, to Doak S. Campbell, 10 April 1945, Charles Faulkner Bryan Papers, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

81 Livingston, Charles Faulkner Bryan, 118.


83 Livingston, Charles Faulkner Bryan, 117.
that he was living in McMinnville during the year following his receipt of the Guggenheim.

**Continuing Education**

Bryan had considered furthering his studies in composition as early as 1942. He wrote Darius Milhaud (1892-1974) at Mills College in Oakland, California about the possibility of taking classes in composition. 84 Bryan never pursued this route, perhaps because of his work with Civilian Defense.

Bryan’s meeting with Dmitri Mitropoulos, arranged by Solace Mitchell, included a review of some of Bryan’s scores, many of which included folk influences. Mitropoulos did not respond favorably to Bryan’s works, describing his music as “immature, out of date, and elemental.” 85 Despite the criticism, Mitropoulos encouraged Bryan to study more and suggested he contact prominent German émigré Paul Hindemith, who was then teaching at Yale.

After learning of his rejection for a Guggenheim Fellowship in March 1944, Bryan wrote to Paul Hindemith the following May, seeking the possibility of studying advanced composition with him at Yale. 86 Correspondence with Bruce Simonds, Dean of the School of Music at Yale, indicates that Bryan considered pursuing a master’s degree in music, since many of the courses he wanted to take were already part of that

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84 Charles Faulkner Bryan, to Darius Milhaud, 14 July 1942, Charles Faulkner Bryan Papers, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.


86 Charles Faulkner Bryan, to Paul Hindemith, 8 May 1944, Charles Faulkner Bryan Papers, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.
Bryan had been considering studies at what he called a “name school” for the purposes of increasing his future employability.88

Hindemith studied at the Hoch Conservatory and played violin in the Frankfurt Opera Orchestra before being called into service during World War One, during which time played in military bands.89 He returned to his musical career after the war, playing the viola and composing. He was invited to teach composition at the Berlin Musikhochschule in 1927.90 Much of his output was banned in 1933 as “cultural Bolshevism” and, by 1936, a ban was placed on performances of any of his works.91 He emigrated to Switzerland in 1938 and moved on to the United States in 1940. He started out at Yale University as a visiting professor, but was promoted to the rank of full professor in the fall of 1941.92

Bryan only studied at Yale for the 1945-1946 academic year, but he seems to have had an active schedule. He had initially entered Yale as a special-status student, which allowed him the freedom to select his courses. He studied music history, German, composition, theory, theory pedagogy, and voice.93 Bryan also maintained an active role

87 Charles Faulkner Bryan, to Bruce Simonds, 11 July 1944, Charles Faulkner Bryan Papers, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.
90 Ibid., 527.
91 Ibid., 529.
93 Livingston, Charles Faulkner Bryan, 126-27.
as a singer and teacher of singing. He sang in several choral groups and also taught voice, with several of his students being referred to him by Hindemith. Although he spent the first semester away from Edith and their daughter, Bryan was able to bring them to Yale after the Christmas break. At one point, Bryan considered earning another master’s degree while at Yale, but decided against it when he realized that it would take at least another year of studies. Bryan apparently had never informed Hindemith of the Guggenheim Fellowship, finally telling him in March of the spring semester.

Return to Peabody

A teaching career in academe first became a possibility for Bryan when in 1944 he was contacted by Burnet C. Tuthill of Memphis College of Music. Tuthill stated that his interest in Bryan came about as the result of a conversation with Henry Moe of the Guggenheim Foundation. Although Bryan was not notified of being awarded the Guggenheim until the following spring, it appears that he made enough of an impression on Moe that he tried to get Bryan a job. Bryan was usually diligent at responding to correspondence, but there is no record of his response to Tuthill. However, Bryan was then in the process of applying to Yale and was probably not inclined to take a teaching position.

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94Ibid., 130.
95Ibid., 127.
96Ibid., 128.
Because of the prestige of the Guggenheim award and the premier of *The Bell Witch* at Carnegie Hall, Bryan was sought after to serve on the music faculty at several other institutions. In 1946, the middle of Bryan's Guggenheim year, he was contacted by Ellis A. Fuller, president of The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, about becoming a part of what Fuller described as the seminary's "baby School of Church Music." Further correspondence indicates he was also recruited for employment by Ouachita College (Arkadelphia, Arkansas) and Ward-Belmont College (Nashville). The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, also considered Bryan for the position as head of the Department of Fine Arts. Bryan ultimately accepted an offer to return to Peabody in Nashville at the rank of Assistant Professor, directing choral activities and teaching music theory.

Bryan's other professional activities included service as vice president of the Tennessee Folklore Society in 1947, with election as president of the organization from 1948 through 1950. He also participated in the development of folksong-based curriculum through both the Southern Music Educators Conference, and the Music Educators National Conference.

Bryan was increasingly recognized during his career as an authority in American folk music. In 1952, he was asked to be part of an open forum, sponsored by Vanderbilt University, on the topic of the emerging country music genre. Participants

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99 Ellis A. Fuller, to Charles Faulkner Bryan, 1 August 1946, Charles Faulkner Bryan Papers, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.


included country music singer Eddy Arnold and other professionals in the Nashville music business. The discussion considered the relationship between country music and the folksong from which it sprang. Bryan labeled country music as “pseudo-folk” music.\textsuperscript{101} In addition to his role within the Southern Music Educators Conference, he also served as an advisor to the National Conference of American Folklore for Youth.\textsuperscript{102}

While Bryan was teaching and composing, he continued to seek out, arrange, and publish new folk material. In 1950, Bryan and George W. Boswell recorded “Uncle Dave” Macon at his home in Kitrell, Tennessee. Macon was by that point one of the most famous Opry stars. His playing and singing styles, although rooted in traditional music, were geared towards performance on the stage and radio. This appears to be the only time he had ever been approached as an authentic source of folklore. For this reason, his session with Bryan and Boswell included a large number of traditional songs.\textsuperscript{103}

A large part of Bryan’s folksong collection did not come about through such research trips. He corresponded with and studied the collections of other folklorists while looking for new materials. His pursuit in collecting and promoting folksong was a complementary activity to his time with the Tennessee Music Project and Civilian Defense.

Bryan published numerous articles on folk music, starting with the WPA publication \textit{Music in Tennessee}, which was first published in October 1940. Bryan and George W. Boswell (1919-1995) together published \textit{Tennessee Folk Songs} (1950). The

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{101}Ibid., 187.
\item \textsuperscript{102}Ibid., 200.
\item \textsuperscript{103}Dave Macon, \textit{Uncle Dave at Home}, Spring Fed Records SFR-CD-101.
\end{itemize}
latter was a pamphlet containing only six songs, published by the Tennessee State Department of Education and intended for use in public schools. Each song is identified by the original informant, sometimes including cursory notes for the song. Since Boswell is identified in the introduction as Professor of English at Austin Peay State College, it seems that the division of labor was similar to that of Bryan’s and Jackson’s earlier collaboration, Bryan being responsible for the musical portions. Bryan and Boswell later collaborated on “The Use of American Folk Music in the Schools,” an article in _The Tennessee Musician_.

Bryan also developed a reputation as a performer and interpreter of folksong. He had performed with choral ensembles, such as George Pullen Jackson’s “Old Harp Singers” and the Peabody Madrigalians. But it was his love of the dulcimer and folksong that brought him real recognition as a performer. Livingston chronicles a performing career based on inscriptions inside the lid of one of his dulcimer cases. Bryan performed extensively around the United States starting in 1949, often performing for local music organizations, colleges, and occasional television broadcasts. His performance schedule seems to have tapered off after he moved to Indian Springs School in Alabama. This is not surprising, given his deteriorating health and increasing work as a composer.

Health problems began to plague Bryan in the late 1940s. He was having eye problems and some fainting episodes that led doctors to consider sinus and brain

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105 Livingston, _Charles Faulkner Bryan_, 181.
problems as possible causes. In a letter to Bryan in 1953, Donald Davidson wrote, “I’m most distressed to hear your old Enemy has put you in the hospital again,” indicating the ongoing nature of his health problems.

**Indian Springs School**

While Charles and Edith Bryan liked being in Nashville, the work schedule and Charles’s increasing health problems caused them to look for other job opportunities. Bryan received a letter in 1952 from Louis E. Armstrong, president of the Alabama Educational Foundation, offering him a position as a faculty member at the Indian Springs School in Helena, Alabama, of which Armstrong served as director. Several things made this an attractive offer to the Bryans. The financial offer was significantly larger than what Bryan had been earning at Peabody. The Bryan family would be provided on-campus housing and be able to take their meals in the school’s dining facilities. Probably the most tempting aspect was Bryan’s proposed work load. He would only be responsible for teaching three hours each day, with the rest of his time available for composing.

Bryan’s position at Indian Springs was much different from that at Peabody University. He was now teaching at the secondary level, with much of his classroom time being spent on a general music course. The initial student body was small, with fifty-two

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106 Donald Davidson, to Charles Faulkner Bryan, 16 April 1953, Charles Faulkner Bryan Papers, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.


students led by fifteen faculty members. Bryan’s class was required for each student, and he also formed a glee club which sang in area churches and went on an annual spring tour.

Although he was working outside the world of higher education, Bryan’s prominence allowed him to continue to compose, often writing commissioned works. In addition to composing new works, he revised earlier works and engaged in other personal composition projects.

**Florida Aflame**

John Caldwell, a performer with Brainerd Cheney’s play *Strangers in This World*, which had premiered at Vanderbilt University in February 1952, met with others who were interested in putting on an outdoor drama. The story of the play was to be that of the warfare between Federal troops and the Seminole Indians of Florida. Bryan was commissioned to provide the music, which was completed in 1952 and recorded for playback during the outdoor performances in Lake Wales, Florida. Bryan consulted linguists and included various percussion instruments in an attempt to create an authentic rendition of the music of Seminole people. The work premiered in July 1953.

**Birmingham Suite**

Helena, Alabama, the home of Indian Springs School, was only a few miles from the city of Birmingham. This enabled Bryan to interact with professional musicians in the area, eventually becoming a member of the board of directors of an opera and

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concert series in the city. Bryan came to know Arthur Lipkin through these activities. Lipkin was director of the Birmingham Symphony, which commissioned a work from him in 1953.

The three-movement work for Lipkin was to be programmatic, in some way reflective of the city of Birmingham. Bryan had some general ideas about what the movement would depict. "Probably the first movement will be like a march with the boldness of the modern city in it. The second movement will contain a miner's lament. It will be more like a folksong." The work received its premier on 11 February 1953, a performance which Bryan was unable to attend due to illness. A complete score for this work has yet to be found.

**Bryan's Trip to Europe**

Bryan had for some time wanted to take his wife on a trip to Europe and to do further research into the lap dulcimer's origins. The Bryans left New York for Europe on 28 May 1954, arriving on 5 June in London. Their tour took them through England, where they renewed their acquaintance with J. Robert Bradley, and on to Scotland. They moved on to Holland and towards the southern part of the continent, arriving in Venice in late June. After touring around southern Italy, Charles and Edith arrived in Paris on 10 July. They departed Paris five days later, arriving in Nashville on 23 July. Despite

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110 Ibid., 105.
112 Ibid.
113 This itinerary is drawn from King, "Charles Faulkner Bryan," 107-12, which is in turn based on King's interviews with Edith Bryan and Charles Faulkner Bryan's own diary of the trip.
Bryan's hopes to solve the enigma of the dulcimer's origins, he was unable to come to any definite conclusions. However, he did find similarities between the lap dulcimer and instruments in Holland.\textsuperscript{114} Bryan and his wife visited numerous museums and collections of musical instruments throughout Europe, but were unable to find a definitive ancestor of the dulcimer. Despite the lack of clear conclusions, Bryan published a description of his search in the hopes that other folklorists might have some valuable input. In an article from 1954 about the Appalachian dulcimer, Bryan stated that the greatest limitation in his research method was "the span of time needed and the hazards of illness, death or other interruptions of work before others find out what progress has been made."\textsuperscript{115}

Death

One of Bryan's hopes for the move from Peabody to Indian Springs was that his health would improve. Despite this move, he continued to suffer from excruciating headaches. He seems to have been somewhat reserved about discussing the particulars of his condition, even with family.\textsuperscript{116} Family members described his last few years as being times when he endured tremendous pain and underwent often painful medical treatments.\textsuperscript{117}

The entire family took a vacation to the Smoky Mountains in Tennessee at the start of the summer of 1955, stopping in McMinnville so Edith could visit with her

\textsuperscript{114}Charles Faulkner Bryan, to J. H. van der Meer, 26 August 1954, Charles Faulkner Bryan Papers, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.


\textsuperscript{116}King, "Charles Faulkner Bryan," 114.

\textsuperscript{117}Livingston, \textit{Charles Faulkner Bryan}, 235.
family. Charles took advantage of this time to visit colleagues in Nashville, as *Singin' Billy* was to be performed that summer by the Peabody Summer Opera. He returned to McMinnville on 6 July as the family made preparations to return to Indian Springs the following morning.

It was apparently the Bryans' practice to take turns driving on long trips. This time, as Edith was driving, Charles became drowsy and fell asleep, as did the children. Charles woke up suddenly and said "honey," the last word he would ever speak.\textsuperscript{118} Since this occurred near Pinson, Alabama, north of Birmingham, Bryan was taken to the University of Birmingham Hospital. Emergency room physicians stated the cause of death as a heart attack, but no autopsy was ever performed.\textsuperscript{119} Bryan was buried in Mount View Cemetery in McMinnville.

\textsuperscript{118}King, "Charles Faulkner Bryan," 116. From King's interview with Edith Bryan.

\textsuperscript{119}Livingston, *Charles Faulkner Bryan*, 238.
CHAPTER 3
MCMINNVILLE AND WARREN COUNTY

Charles Faulkner Bryan drew heavily from the folklore and history of the American South, especially his native state of Tennessee. In order to understand his music, one must understand the region which influenced his style. This chapter will discuss the geography, history, and culture of Tennessee, with specific attention given to the area of McMinnville, Bryan's hometown.

Geography

Tennessee is a southern state bordered on the north by Kentucky, the east by North Carolina, the west by Arkansas, and the south by Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi. Its geography is generally divided into three regions: East Tennessee, Middle Tennessee, and West Tennessee. East Tennessee is the most mountainous, while West Tennessee is a fertile plain along the Mississippi River. Middle Tennessee has the most varied topography, as it includes the western edge of the Cumberland Plateau, portions of the Highland Rim, and the Central Basin. The state is oriented on an east-west axis, stretching from the Appalachian Mountains in the east to the Mississippi River in the west. Although it does not have great variance in latitude, it encompasses a great variety of elevation. The highest peak in Tennessee, Clingman's Dome, rises to 6,643 feet above sea level. As one travels west across the state, one descends from the Appalachian Mountains into the Tennessee River valley. Beyond this river lies the Cumberland
Plateau, the Sequatchie River valley, and finally the Highland Rim. The Highland Rim encircles the Central Basin so that a traveler heading west would descend from the rim into the central basin, then ascend the other side of the rim toward the west. The westernmost region of the state is the flat stretch of terrain along the eastern bank of the Mississippi River.

The state is drained by three major rivers. The Tennessee River flows past Knoxville and Chattanooga, two of the state’s four largest cities. The river is a major source of hydroelectric power and drains the portion of the state east of the Cumberland Plateau, along with sections of West and Middle Tennessee. The Cumberland River drains the upper portion of Middle Tennessee. Nashville, founded on the site of a former French trading post at French Lick Creek, is the Cumberland River’s largest city and the capital of the state.\(^1\) Both the Tennessee and the Cumberland Rivers empty into the Ohio River near Paducah, Kentucky. Tennessee’s western border is primarily marked by the course of the Mississippi River which has allowed Tennessee industry and agriculture to have access to the world market via the shipping port of New Orleans.

**Early History through the Eighteenth Century**

Tennessee is named for Tanasi, a Cherokee town south of present-day Knoxville.\(^2\) A British proclamation in 1763 prohibited white settlement west of the

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\(^2\) Ibid., 326.
mountains. But this proclamation was largely ignored, as settlement of Tennessee began in 1769 when William Bean built a cabin on Watauga Creek.4

Tennessee was centrally located between settlements controlled by the major European powers represented in the North American colonies. British settlers entered from Eastern seaports and spread throughout the Carolinas and down the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. The French occupied the Mississippi River valley, controlling the vital port of New Orleans. Spain at one time claimed everything south of Newfoundland as part of "Florida."5

Except for a few adventurous explorers and traders, European settlement had been mostly limited to the Eastern seaboard because of the seemingly impassible mountains and the strong Indian presence to the west. The few European traders that had made their way to the Tennessee country had either come through the southern mountains to the Cherokee settlements in lower East Tennessee or to the Chickasaw settlements along the Mississippi.

Despite their geographical separation, settlers along the Watauga River desired a government and formed the Watauga Association in 1772.6 The Wataugans petitioned for, and were accepted as, Washington County in the state of North Carolina in 1777.7

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3Ibid., 327.
North Carolina did not keep those lands, but instead ceded them to the Federal government in 1789 upon ratification of the United States Constitution. The federal government designated this new region as “Territory of the United States, south of the Ohio River,” also called the Southwest Territory.  

**Ethnic Patterns of Settlement**

Once settlement of the region began in earnest, descendants of early colonists made their way through what is now Virginia towards the Cumberland Gap. Others made their way through the mountains to the Tennessee River where they continued to their destinations by river boat.

Many of these early European settlers could trace their heritage to Wales, Ireland, Scotland, and England. Their immediate ancestors had settled along the eastern seaboard, while their descendants pushed westward into the wilderness. The general flow of immigration across the continent was dictated by the availability and accessibility of land, via roads, trails, or rivers. While a large part of the white settlers of Tennessee were of Anglo-Celtic stock, others were of French and German extraction.

Most of these early settlers came from colonies on the Eastern seaboard, instead of directly from Europe. However there were several ethnic enclaves in the region. The Welsh, coming from mountainous regions of western Great Britain, found themselves in similar terrain, this time along the Cumberland Plateau. They are identified

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8*Tennessee Blue Book*, 332.

with settlements such as Soddy and Sale Creek.\textsuperscript{10} Scottish influence in Warren County is suggested by a mountain known as Ben Lomand, named for a mountain northeast of Glasgow, Scotland. The Irish were prominent in the founding and development of towns such as McEwen and Erin. Lucien McDowell, writing in 1937 in \textit{Songs of the Old Campground}, identifies the Irish and English heritage of many of his ancestors buried at the “Old Campground.”\textsuperscript{11} The community of Rugby was founded by Thomas Hughes as a colony for wealthy sons of English upper class.\textsuperscript{12}

The Germans and Swiss also maintain a lingering ethnic presence in Tennessee.\textsuperscript{13} Groups from these backgrounds settled in Grundy County at Gruetli-Laager and elsewhere, bringing with them their language and architectural styles. Other communities with similar ethnic backgrounds are Belvidere, Wartburg, and Allardt. Most of these settlements were agricultural and remain so today. Despite the continued existence of these communities, little remains of their parent culture, such as ethnic music.

While there were certainly ethnically identifiable settlements after the initial influx of white settlers, these groups seem to have been absorbed into the larger European-based culture that had developed. Writing about ethnically identifiable architectural patterns in Tennessee, James B. Jones states:

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\textsuperscript{12}Jones, “Ethnically Identifiable Colonies and Settlements in Tennessee,” 18.
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\textsuperscript{13}Ibid., 11.
\end{quote}
Thus, while there is the presence of ethnic settlement in Tennessee’s past, it is a mere casual rivulet in the greater raging torrent of historical development. . . . The mythical melting pot functioned well in Tennessee, and its resulting cultural amalgamation makes the probability of the survival of any ethnic forms of architecture unlikely at best.\textsuperscript{14}

Although Jones was speaking specifically about architecture, the cultural amalgamation he speaks of applies to music as well.

While there was certainly an African influence in Tennessee, the role of slavery varied with the topography of the land, and thus African culture varied also. In mountainous eastern Tennessee, farming existed mainly on the subsistence level, providing just the necessities for a family to live with a little extra for local trade. There was neither enough tillable land nor the ready access to distant markets needed for large-scale farming. The more open terrain in middle and western Tennessee had more arable soil suitable for commercial agriculture and was thus more closely tied to the plantation economy of the Deep South. The topography affected agricultural techniques which determined the predominance of slavery and ultimately regional loyalties at the time of the Civil War (1861-1865). The McMinnville area did not support large scale plantations, but some families in McMinnville had household slaves.\textsuperscript{15}

**Religious Background**

The early European settlers brought their own religious preferences with them, but three denominations in particular claim the largest share of these early immigrants. The Scots-Irish, one of the larger groups making up the people of Tennessee, brought

\textsuperscript{14}Ibid., 24.

Presbyterianism with them. Presbyterians flourished in the new settlements, with twenty-seven churches being found in the state by 1796. Baptists also entered the territory, initially settling north of the Cumberland River, but later spreading south. The first Baptist association was formed along the Holston River in 1786. Methodists were the third denomination to begin settling the area.

William McLoughlin suggests that the Second Great Awakening, of which camp meetings were a key component, arose out of a nation no longer united in common religious belief. The harsh conditions of frontier life mitigated against the development of extensive denominational structures along the frontier. The distance between the Tennessee region and the churches of the east coast meant that frontier believers were more in control of their own practices. But this freedom also allowed liberty to an unsavory element. Contemporary accounts were not very flattering. Isaac Weld, describing residents of the region in 1799, stated that, “in general they are men of morose and savage disposition, and the very outcasts of society.” Lorenzo Dow, a Methodist, described the region as “a sink of iniquity, a Black Pit of irreligion.” These same people

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so decried by writers of the era would go on to host one of the greatest movements of faith in the history of North America.

Revival began in earnest along the frontier around 1800. The initial events in the revivals of the Second Great Awakening were led by Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists. Preaching was directed towards exhorting the sinner to repentance and the believer to obedience. Although this wave of revivalism peaked about 1805, the camp meetings that were the core of the experience continued.\(^{22}\)

A camp meeting was an event at which many people joined in a common religious experience. Since the distances between farms and settlements in the region were so great, most people camped in the area for the duration, thus giving the event its name. William McLaughlin, in his essay *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform*, states, “Religion was both a form of social gathering (to see old friends, exchange news, and share experiences) and a way of finding relief from the anxieties of a hard and strenuous life.”\(^{23}\) These camp meetings might last for several weeks and were sometimes held annually at established campgrounds complete with a central meeting house.\(^{24}\)

Some of these revivals occurred near Port Royal, in Middle Tennessee at the end of the eighteenth century. Barton Stone (1772-1844), a Presbyterian, attended a camp meeting in nearby Logan County, Kentucky, and reported on the occurrences there.

On arriving I found the multitude assembled on the edge of a prairie, where they continued encamped many successive days and nights, during all which time worship was being conducted in some parts of the encampment. The scene to me was passing strange. It baffles description. Many, very many, fell down as men slain

\(^{22}\)Ibid., 27.


in battle, and continued for hours together in a comparatively breathless and
motionless state, sometimes, for a few moments, reviving and exhibiting symptoms
of life by a deep groan or a piercing shriek, or by a prayer for mercy most fervently
uttered. After lying thus for hours they obtained deliverance. The gloomy cloud that
had covered their faces seemed gradually and visibly to disappear, and hope in
smiles to brighten into joy. They would then arise shouting deliverance, and address
the surrounding multitude in language truly eloquent and impressive. With
astonishment did I hear women and children declaring the wonderful works of God
and the glorious mysteries of the gospel. Their appeals were solemn, heart-rending,
bold and free. Under such addresses many others would fall down in the same state
from which the speakers had just been delivered.25

This pattern would hold true for revivals throughout the American frontier, as people
gathered for worship and fellowship.

The type of singing that developed at these grand spectacles had to be
something which all people, literate or not, could participate in, which gave rise to the
camp meeting spiritual.26 Although these camp meetings eventually died out, some of the
spirituals are retained in modern American hymnody.

It is this nineteenth-century revivalism that is at the heart of much of the
religious practice of the Upper Cumberland and Tennessee. Peter Cartwright, a Methodist
preacher present at many of these camp meetings, states that this revival broke out
“especially through the Cumberland country, which was so called from the Cumberland
River.”27 Walter Womack, a Warren County historian and author of McMinnville at a
Milestone, states that all the early churches of Warren County were founded during the
time of the “Great Revival.”28 Womack devotes an entire chapter in his book to the early

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26See chap. 1 for a definition of the camp meeting spiritual.


28Womack, McMinnville at a Milestone, 199.
churches of the county and identifies four denominations as being present in the area prior to the Civil War: Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, and "Christians." Hale suggests a similar denominational composition of the area, stating that Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, and Cumberland Presbyterians were the only denominations present in the early days of Warren County.

**Warren County and McMinnville**

There are few published works on the history of McMinnville and Warren County. William T. Hale's *Early History of Warren County* (1930) is a small volume giving a general history of the area. Monty Wanamaker and Chris Keathely together published *Images of America: Warren County*, a pictorial history of the county. The largest volume, and the only one with any great detail, is *McMinnville at a Milestone: 1810-1960* by Walter Womack. Eugene Wiseman's *The Warren County Story* was published in 1995.

Warren County is located along the Highland Rim in Middle Tennessee, with the county seat of McMinnville situated approximately 70 miles southeast of Nashville. It was originally a part of neighboring White County, until its formation by the General Assembly of Tennessee in 1807. It was named for Revolutionary War soldier Joseph

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29 Ibid., 197.


33 Ibid., 28.
Warren (1741-1775). The county is drained by the Barren Fork and Caney Fork rivers, which join with the Collins River at Rock Island, Tennessee.

Although the southeastern edge of the county lies atop the Cumberland Plateau, the bulk of the county lies at the foot of the mountain and consists of gently rolling terrain. Long an agricultural area, many farms continue to exist throughout the area.

McMinnville is centrally located in the county along the Barren Fork River. It was authorized by the Tennessee General Assembly in 1809, with land being purchased for the town the following year. It was established on a hill overlooking the river and close to a nearby spring. The town grew and had a population of around 700 people by 1833.

Early McMinnville was often billed as a resort, with small hotels in the area that took advantage of the natural springs of water and fresh mountain air. The location ensured remoteness compared to other settlements along the Cumberland River. There were roads in the area, along with Indian trails from an earlier time, and access to rivers, although these were not really navigable. The first railroad to McMinnville did not appear until 1855.

The volume and speed of rivers in the area facilitated the early development of industry, mostly mills for corn, cotton, or wool. The burgeoning textile industry began as

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34 *Tennessee Blue Book*, 479.
36 Ibid., 45.
37 Ibid., 80.
early as 1812, when a cotton mill was built on Hickory Creek. The mill of Asa Faulkner, an ancestor of Charles Faulkner Bryan, was built north of McMinnville on Charles Creek in 1846.

The coming of the Civil War brought turmoil to McMinnville, as it did the rest of the country. The county court and area schools closed their doors, not reopening until after the war. Confederate forces initially held a hill just north of town, now known as Rebel Hill. Federal troops occupied the town for a short while in the autumn of 1862, and once again from April of 1863 until the end of the war. The Federal camp was located along the base of Rebel Hill. McMinnville once again began to grow after peace came to the region in 1865. Court and other government functions were renewed. Schools reopened and most citizens returned to the farming.

The Tennessee Valley Authority, a federal agency, was established in 1933 to develop hydroelectric dams throughout the valley of the Tennessee River. There were benefits to such progress. Electricity was made abundantly available and the river was made more navigable, with dams creating lakes that eliminated dangerous shoals and other hazards. Communities no longer had to worry about flooding. This progress, however, changed the landscape and culture of the Tennessee region forever. As industry and commerce developed, people began moving away from predominantly rural lifestyles, sometimes moving to cities where more work was available. The large lakes

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38 Hale, Early History of Warren County, 32.
39 Ibid., 38.
40 Federal Writer's Project, Tennessee, 61.
created by the dams took up whole valleys, sometimes causing entire communities to have to be relocated.

Still other changes altered the cultural landscape of the region. Whereas women of the Upper Cumberland had previously worked on the farm, raised children, and kept a home, they now sought a more public role. A constitutional amendment granting women the right to vote was passed in 1920. Women now had a voice in politics and, as the non-farm economy grew, they had more opportunities to make their own income. Education was also changing. Prior to the 1920s, most schools in the region only offered eight grades of education. Since boys were usually needed to work on the farm, it was the girls who attended classes. Because of this, when four-year high schools appeared in the 1920s, most of the students were female.

It was this erosion of traditional society and culture that caused Bryan and others to rush to preserve the folksong of the region. In describing his motivations behind composing *White Spiritual Symphony*, Bryan wrote to Eugene Goossens, “I am vitally interested in seeing a phase of our southern folk music put into concertized form and given a hearing before it disappears.” He restated this same fear in a later letter to Goossens: “I believe we are at the crossroads concerning this music, since modernization

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41 Keith, *Country People in the New South*, 189-90.

42 Ibid., 190.

43 Charles Faulkner Bryan to Eugene Goossens, Cincinnati, 14 June 1941, Charles Faulkner Bryan Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.
in our remote rural sections is causing people to discard daily many of the rare tunes which can never be regained.44

44 Charles Faulkner Bryan, Nashville, to Eugene Goossens, Cincinnati, 26 August 1941, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.
Rebel Academy (1939) is an “operetta in two acts” written by Edith and Charles Bryan for performance by the students at Tennessee Polytechnic Institute. The title page of the copy found in the Bryan collection lists “book by Edith Hillis Bryan” and “lyrics by Charles F. Bryan.” According to Livingston, the story itself originated with Edith, and was the only time Edith and Charles worked together on a large-scale production.¹

Bryan directed an operetta or other similar work each year while at Tennessee Polytechnic Institute, even though the school had no music majors. Although he composed music specifically for the use of his students, he also directed major works by other composers, including Gilbert and Sullivan’s HMS Pinafore and The Mikado, as well as Robert Planquette’s Chimes of Normandy.²

Synopsis of the Work

The work’s two acts are set in the main hall of a southern girls’ academy at the beginning of the American Civil War. The cast consists of nine named characters, in addition to a chorus of school girls and Federal soldiers. The Singing Master, the object

¹ Carolyn Livingston, Charles Faulkner Bryan: His Life and Works (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003), 32, 95.

² Ibid., 32.
of several schoolgirl romantic infatuations, is a forgetful, somewhat timid professor of
music for the school whose timidity is balanced by the domineering nature of Miss
Hornbeck, the matron of the school. Three of the school girls are named and have
speaking roles: Christine Carroll, Betty Graham, and Martha Martin. Charity, a slave, is
listed as the academy servant. The military roles are those of Captain Stroud, a Federal
army officer, Richard, a Rebel Soldier, and Andy Hawkins, a Yankee soldier. The
remaining Federal Soldiers and school girls make up the chorus and carry out the
background action.

The first act begins with the girls circled around the Singing Master as he
directs a singing class. Although Rebel Academy takes place during the era when shape-
note singing might likely be found in such a setting, the singing class sings only the
syllable “la” throughout the opening number. The Singing Master stammers as he
describes the music in rather nonsensical terms, while trying to avoid the romantic
overtures of the girls in the class. When he calls the roll, the girls notice that one of their
group, Betty Graham, is missing.

When Betty finally slips into the back of the class, the girls become excited
when they find out that she has met a handsome man. Betty’s response is “I’m Counting
the Hours,” a solo and recitative for lyric soprano, with the chorus of girls singing a
refrain. Betty recounts in this song how she was studying under an elm tree when she
spotted a man whom she is certain is her true love. As the girls press Betty for more
details, they find out that the young man is a Confederate soldier. Acknowledging the
social impropriety of Betty being alone with a man, the girls express concern over what
the matron, Miss Hornbeck, might say.
When Miss Hornbeck finally appears, she rushes the girls off to prepare for supper, chastising them for their disorderly behavior. Miss Hornbeck then sings a solo, "Training Ladies," to which the Singing Master listens in adoration. After the solo, Miss Hornbeck and the Singing Master, whom we find out is named Horace, have a conversation rife with romantic overtones. Horace follows up with the "Singing Master Solo."

After the Matron and the Singing Master exit, Charity, the servant at the school, enters the room to dust while singing a spiritual. As Charity is complaining about the sloppiness of the girls at the school, she hears a knock at the door. Upon opening the door, she is alarmed to find Richard, a Rebel soldier. Charity is concerned that the war might be coming toward the school, only to find out that Richard is there to see "Miss Christine." As Charity exits to find Christine, Richard is left alone on stage and sings a solo lamenting the turmoil of his life as a soldier.

Christine rushes in after Richard's solo, questioning him as to what brings him to the school. Richard, expressing anxiety to be on his way, asks for food which Christine offers to get from the kitchen. As Christine starts for the kitchen, the noise of approaching soldiers signals the arrival of Federal troops, forcing Richard to hide in a closet as Christine exits the stage.

The noise attracts the attention of the Matron and the chorus of girls who enter the room. When Miss Hornbeck sees the soldiers, she sends the girls upstairs to their rooms with strict instructions to keep the shutters closed. Betty, however, brags "I'm not afraid of any Yankee that lives." She then grabs a flag from the wall and waves it out the window while singing "Bonny Blue Flag."
The soldiers apparently see Betty’s flag-waving and call a halt, which is not what Betty has expected. Captain Stroud then demands an explanation from Miss Hornbeck for the impudence of the ladies of the school. Stroud notices that Betty is holding something behind her back, which turns out to be the flag that she had been waving.

Although not indicated in the dialog, Bryan’s score includes a duet between Martha and Captain Stroud in which Martha pleads for the soldiers to leave. The Captain relents from punishing Betty or the rest of the students, but states that he and his men will camp that night at the school. Miss Hornbeck sends the girls upstairs to lock their doors as the soldiers exit to make camp.

As the girls climb the steps to their rooms, Captain Stroud notices Christine sneaking in with a basket and heading towards the closet. She has been getting food for the hiding Rebel soldier and is unaware of the presence of Yankee soldiers. When questioned about the food in the basket, Christine stammers hesitantly that it is for “poor people.” Captain Stroud pressures Christine to allow him to escort her on her errand. But, having never met a Yankee before, and concerned at the impropriety of the Captain accompanying her, Christine tries to leave. Captain Stroud then suggests that he is having a hard time expressing his feelings, after which he and Christine sing a romantic duet titled “Let Me Tell You Miss.” After the song, backstage noise startles Christine, who leaves at once, while the Captain expresses a desire to see her again.

The Yankee soldiers enter the room singing “We Are the Yanks,” a boastful march written for three-part chorus. Captain Stroud begins to make plans for the next day’s march while singing “Council of War.” Andy, inspired by the presence of the girls
of the school, suggests that a diversion from the arduous day might be in order and the men decide that a dance with the ladies might be a good way to pass the evening.

Captain Stroud demands that Miss Hornbeck bring the girls downstairs, to which she objects, only to be overruled by the Captain. As the girls enter the room, the soldiers are moving furniture in preparation for the celebration. The Captain tells the concerned Matron that they could put aside their differences for the evening and have a dance. When Miss Hornbeck continues to object, Stroud forces her cooperation by threatening to raze the school. The girls agree to the dance and Captain Stroud replies, “Then let’s forget our differences. There is no North and South tonight.” The soldiers close out the first act by singing “There is no North and South tonight.”

This song segues directly into “Counting the Hours” and the beginning of the second act. The girls descend the staircase from their living quarters and enter singing “All in our best” while the soldiers await them in the parlor below. After Captain Stroud’s welcome and more stammering by the Singing Master, the dancers join in a reel and waltz.

Remembering his earlier encounter with Christine, the Captain finds her on the arm of a young lieutenant. The captain takes advantage of his superior rank and sends the lieutenant out to care for the horses, freeing up Christine to dance with him.

Later that evening, as the dance continues, Betty is seen looking for a lost handkerchief, when she bumps into the young man she had seen beneath the elm tree and who is now hiding in the closet. Christine enters the room while Betty is giving some cookies to the hungry Confederate soldier and Betty begins to feel jealous when she realizes that Richard is somewhat familiar with Christine. The two girls hear approaching
footsteps. Richard tries to leave, but both girls hide him in the closet just as Captain Stroud enters the room.

Captain Stroud questions Christine about the cookies she has in her hand, to which Christine replies that she has brought them for “a poor kitty.” The captain offers to help her look for the supposed animal, and Christine’s situation is compounded when other Yankee soldiers enter the room who also begin calling for this “poor kitty.” Everyone joins in the “Kitty Song.”

Once the soldiers realize that no cat is to be found, they begin dancing again. During the ensuing festivities, a dancing soldier jars open the closet door where the Confederate soldier has been hiding. Captain Stroud announces to Christine, “So this is the kitty you wished to feed your cookies to.” As explanations are made, Christine tries to explain the man’s presence. When Betty states her frustration that the young soldier might be in love with Christine, Christine tries to speak up before being cut off by the captain who countermands his earlier statement, saying, “There is a North and South tonight.”

Captain Stroud places Richard under arrest and makes plans for an immediate trial. Charity enters and, when pressed by the Captain, recounts Richard’s arrival. Betty makes her case that Richard was only toying with her affections. Captain Stroud continues to question everyone associated with the school, but no one seems to know anything about the Confederate soldier’s presence, leading the captain to the conclusion that Richard must be a spy. Christine finally demands attention, saying “You have kept me quiet long enough. I will talk.” She follows this statement with the aria “I will forget you.”
Christine goes on to explain that Richard is in fact her brother and had only stopped to look for food when the Yankee soldiers arrived. Richard seems to recognize the captain from a skirmish the previous week. He then goes on to explain that he was only at the school to see his sister and get some food, since he had not eaten for a whole day. The captain apologizes to Christine while Betty, seeing that Richard is in fact not tied romantically to Christine, moves closer to him to rekindle the relationship.

Captain Stroud, considering Richard's future, recalls his earlier pronouncement that there was no North or South that night. He makes the decision to give Richard a fast horse and allow him to ride to his home, which is only fifty miles away from the school. As Christine and the captain embrace, she declares that he is "the nicest Yankee I ever knew." Betty and Richard appear as a couple, as do the matron and singing master.

After the finale, Richard and Betty make plans to renew their relationship sometime in the future. Although the libretto identifies where the finale is to be sung, it includes no lyrics and no music is found in the score from the Bryan collection.3

Historical Setting

The historical setting identified in the score is the "beginning of the Civil War," which would have been sometime between the attack on Fort Sumter on 12 April 1861 and the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia at Appomattox in 1865.4 This war, fought between the northern and southern states, caused death and destruction across the South. While some major battles were fought in the North, the majority of the

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3It would be a reasonable fit to reprise the finale from the first act, "There is no North or South tonight."

destruction occurred in the states that had seceded from the Union and formed the Confederate States of America.

_Rebel Academy_ is set in the main hall of a southern girls’ academy, a common academic institution at the time. As stated in chapter three, schools in the Upper Cumberland region of Tennessee only went through eighth grade. Boys were usually needed to work on the farm and were not likely to be sent away for an education. Girls could more easily attend school without having a direct impact on the bulk of the farm responsibilities.

**Geographical Setting**

A newspaper clipping found in Bryan’s scrapbook states that _Rebel Academy_ was based on actual events that happened in North Carolina, but does not document specific dates or locations. The events depicted in _Rebel Academy_ are not the kind that would likely be reported in official military records or communications. Charles Lee Raper, writing in 1898, identified fifteen North Carolina schools in operation during the war that accepted only girls. The author has spoken with Bryan’s son, Charles Faulkner Bryan, Jr., former president of the Virginia Historical Society, who stated that he has no recollection of any such event being mentioned by his father. There are no other indications of anything beyond a southern location for the story.

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Performance History

The Bryans worked on Rebel Academy for over a year, beginning around Christmas of 1937. The work received its only performance in the gymnasium of Tennessee Polytechnic Institute on Friday, 5 May 1939, to an estimated audience of 1,500 people. Newspaper clippings from Bryan’s collection suggest that many attendees either stood or sat in windows to watch the show. The many favorable reviews spoke highly of the music, comedic acting, and set design. One of Bryan’s stated goals when he first applied for the Guggenheim Fellowship was to revise Rebel Academy for publication, something he never did.7

Donald Whitaker, a senior engineering student at the school, was responsible for set design and construction, having worked in this same capacity at previous performances with Bryan. All preparatory work was done in a shop on the campus before the set was built on the stage inside the gymnasium. The set was constructed to resemble the interior of a typical girl’s school of the early days of the country.

Regional Elements

Regionalism and history are intertwined throughout Bryan’s music. In fact, four of the selected works in this dissertation are set in historical locations and events. With the exception of Cumberland Interlude: 1790, all the selected works are set in the nineteenth-century American South. The Civil War remains a pivotal event in the region’s culture and was part of Bryan’s community history.

7Livingston, Charles Faulkner Bryan, 131.
The Civil War was not only a historical event and defining moment for all Americans, it remains especially prominent in the cultural memory of Southerners. People in the South travel over roads the troops used and pass battlefields on a daily basis. Monuments, Confederate cemeteries, and Confederate battle flags comprise a common part of the landscape. In many cases, the large homes associated with the antebellum era are no longer found, having been destroyed by armies of both sides.

McMinnville never played host to any major battles of the war, with only minor skirmishes in the area. However the city did change hands seven times during the war, with the destruction of railroads and mills by both armies. Occupying troops often went on raids to find food. Well into the twentieth century it was still possible to find musket balls and other Civil War relics on the grounds of First Baptist Church, McMinnville. Despite the lack of any major battlefields, there are subtle reminders of the war. Just north of downtown McMinnville are Rebel Hill and Yankee Street. A monument to the men of the Sixteenth Tennessee Infantry regiment, locally raised, sits at the corner of the courthouse.

Cumberland Female Academy

While a newspaper clipping from Bryan’s scrapbook suggests the story of Rebel Academy was based on events in North Carolina, no other documentation of such an event has been found, and Bryan left no notes on the subject. This allows the possibility that Edith Bryan was drawing from oral history when she wrote the libretto.

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But it is also likely that the Bryans found a setting for the story in the Cumberland Female Academy, located behind their church in McMinnville.

Bryan and his parents had been members at First Baptist Church, located on the corner of Spring and Donnell Streets in McMinnville.\(^9\) Cumberland Female Academy, an institution dating to the 1850s, was located on an adjacent property along Lively Circle.\(^10\) The center of the building was at the end of College Street, north of the courthouse.

The school was originally intended to be a seminary for the United Baptist Churches in Tennessee, but the plans were donated to the synod of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church when the denomination chose to build the seminary elsewhere.\(^11\) The school was founded in 1850 and closed its doors around 1900. Unlike the school in Rebel Academy, the Cumberland Female Academy did not operate during the war. Its president, D. M. Donnell, served as a lieutenant colonel in the Sixteenth Tennessee infantry regiment. Federal troops used the building as a hospital, leaving the property badly damaged.\(^12\)

In 1889, Southern Standard, a local newspaper, described the building: “The building consists of a large three-story central building 118 feet long and fifty feet wide, with right and left wings 75x40 feet, and each two stories high and all of brick. The entire

\(^9\)N 35° 41' 2.5" W 85° 46' 17.2"

\(^10\)N 35° 41' 4.3" W 85° 46' 22"

\(^11\)Womack, McMinnville at a Milestone, 214.

\(^12\)Ibid., 235, 238.
length of the structure is over 200 feet."\textsuperscript{13} The main building was the original structure built in 1851, while the wings would not have existed during the war, only being added in the 1880s.\textsuperscript{14} After serving as Alfred Holbrook Normal University (1900-1904), the campus became the location of the Southern School of Photography until 1929.\textsuperscript{15} A fire in 1928 burned down all but the east wing. Bryan and his family had returned to McMinnville four years earlier, so he would have been aware of this large structure behind the church. The remaining structure served as a nursing home for a number of decades before finally being torn down.

Music was considered an important part of the education of young ladies in nineteenth-century America. The academic fee schedule of the Lucy Cobb Institute in Athens, Georgia, illustrates this fact. The fees for one ten-month term amounted to $688 per student, of which $235 was slated for music education expenses including the use of piano, harp, and guitar, as well as instruction on each instrument.\textsuperscript{16}

Even some of the characters in Rebel Academy are historically authentic to the period and setting of a female academy. One of the central characters is the matron, a supervisory role that was considered very important in a school with female students. The matron of the Greensboro Female College in North Carolina, for example, was paid a

\textsuperscript{13}Ibid., 236. Quoting the Southern Standard, 13 July 1889.

\textsuperscript{14}Ibid., 237.

\textsuperscript{15}Ibid., 238-39.

salary of $1000, equal to that of the president.\textsuperscript{17} Although all the students of such schools were female, some members of the faculty were likely to be male.

**Slavery and Its Heritage**

Although Tennessee was a part of the Confederacy, the nature of slavery varied within the state. Since the presence of slaves varied with the terrain and type of farming, so did the attitudes of Tennesseans towards the practice. Plantation-based slavery relied on large numbers of field hands to maintain a profitable level of agricultural production. Some slaves worked as house servants, and were at times considered a higher class than a common field hand. In areas like McMinnville, which lacked the massive plantation economy of the Deep South, slaves were still likely to be kept as domestic servants. The character of “Charity” is one of these slaves, serving as the housekeeper and cook for the girls of *Rebel Academy*.

Charity is portrayed as a domestic servant who is frustrated by the general sloppiness of the girls at the school. When the Confederate soldier Richard appears at the door and startles Charity, her response is that a girls’ school is no place for a man. She reluctantly overlooks the impropriety for the sake of Christine. Later, when Richard is discovered by the Yankees, Charity does not flee to the Federal troops for protection and emancipation and only grudgingly tells what she knows of Richard’s presence.

Although liberation from slavery was part of the overall mission of Federal troops, they were not always welcomed by slaves. The Yankees sometimes treated slaves as servants, forcing them to cook for them. Some slaves even fought against marauding

\textsuperscript{17}Raper, *The Church and Private Schools of North Carolina*, 205.
Federal troops. Womack described such an instance in *McMinnville at a Milestone*.

In one instance a colored ‘mammy’, helping to care for the women and children of a family while the husband was away fighting in the Confederate army, emptied a wash kettle of boiling water through the cracks in the kitchen floor onto a Yankee forager who had chased the last . . . rooster under the floor in an attempt to ‘liberate’ it.  

Womack does not state his source for this story. It may have been passed on through oral tradition.

The form and melodic style of Charity’s solo are authentic to the black spiritual. A search of *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Black Music* and other anthologies of spirituals did not reveal known versions of this. “Spiritual” appears to be an original work by Bryan. Livingston states that “the folk style of the piece suggests Bryan’s consistent ability to capture the essence of the folksong in an original work.” There are no references in Bryan’s archives regarding possible sources for this text or tune. However, *Rebel Academy* was written shortly after Bryan began his long association with J. Robert Bradley. Since Bradley was known for his singing of spirituals, he very likely influenced Bryan’s understanding of the style.

This feigned authenticity is an example of Bryan’s ability to create original works in the musical style of folksong. Charity’s solo is unlike any other song in *Rebel Academy*. The melody, shown in example 1, is a pentatonic melody in E-flat. Bryan introduces melodic tension in the first measure by the use of an upper-neighbor tone, moving away from the dominant and returning immediately. There is mild syncopation in

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the melody at the words “You can depend on me.” Another authentic aspect of Bryan’s spiritual is the placement of the refrain before the verse.20

Example 21

Bryan, Rebel Academy “Spiritual,” mm. 4-21, Charity’s solo

Another historical and cultural aspect of Bryan’s work is the use of so called dialect. In both Bell Witch Cantata and Cumberland Interlude: 1790, Bryan makes use of a southern mountain dialect coming from his own region. This mountain dialect is not present in Rebel Academy, however, quite likely because this work depicted young girls in an educational setting where such dialect would not have been as likely.


21Bryan and Bryan, Rebel Academy “Spiritual,” 20.
The use of dialect was common in musical portrayals of African-Americans of this era and Bryan's depiction of the character of Charity is a product of these times. Charity mutters to herself in this dialect after singing her solo.

Look dar. De done lef that music laying on de chairs. Dem little rascals always doin' sompin. But I hates to see em lebe here. Eber day dey send fur one od dey sweet misses to come home and hep while de men air away fightin' dat ole war. This was a common affectation of the perceived dialect of rural slaves.

Livingston's biography includes several photographs from Bryan's life, including one of the cast members from the premiere of Rebel Academy. The entire cast is pictured, including Charity, who is obviously being portrayed in blackface. Bryan's approach to African-American culture and music was also a product of the era in which he lived. Like George Pullen Jackson, Bryan believed that the so-called "black spiritual" was actually derived from the "white spiritual," although Bryan was quick to point out the wonderful contributions of the African-American community.

Music of the Civil War Era

Confederate General Robert E. Lee once stated, "I don't believe we can have an army without music." Music was a thriving industry during the Civil War and

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22Ibid., 12.


23John Lipscomb, "Cincinnati Symphony to Play Nashville Musician's Score," newspaper clipping [no citation given], Charles Faulkner Bryan Collection, reel no. 7, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

became a source of identity for soldiers and civilians on both sides of the conflict, as well as a means for communicating political convictions.

**“Bonnie Blue Flag.”** The scene in which Betty sings “Hoorah for the Bonny Blue Flag” is the motivation for the Yankee soldiers to focus their attention on the school. While this number by Bryan is similar to a Civil War era song in topic and title, the two works are otherwise unrelated.

The original “Bonnie Blue Flag” was written in 1861 by Harry Macarthy, a British actor then travelling through the United States, who wrote it in response to having witnessed the act of secession passed by the state of Mississippi. In a moment of literal “flag waving,” a member of the crowd who had just witnessed the state’s withdrawal from the Union ran forward waving a flag consisting of a single white star on a blue field. Macarthy felt inspired to write some poetic lines about the moment which he later set to the tune of “The Irish Jaunting Car.” Example 2 is the original melody as published during the Civil War.

Bryan’s version, shown in example 3, bears little resemblance to Macarthy’s song. It is scored for three parts with obbligato soprano. While Macarthy’s melody is written for the solo voice, Bryan’s melody, due to dramatic context, is scored for three voices. Whereas Macarthy’s melody is very lyrical, Bryan’s score seems to place more importance on harmony and rhythm than melody.

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26Macarthy used the spelling “bonnie,” whereas Bryan spelled the same word “bonny.”

27This particular flag had served before as the symbol of rebellion, representing those who fought against Spanish domination of West Florida in 1810 and captured the provincial seat of government in Baton Rouge. Abel, *Singing the New Nation*, 58.
Example 2

Harry Macarthy, “Bonnie Blue Flag,” mm. 8-32, vocal solo

Example 3

Bryan, Rebel Academy "Hoorah for the Bonny Blue Flag," mm. 1-16, vocal score

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29Bryan and Bryan, Rebel Academy, 26. Lyrics are spelled as they appear in the score.
Bryan, Rebel Academy “Hoorah for the Bonny Blue Flag,” mm. 1-16,
vocal score (continued)
Bryan, *Rebel Academy* “Hoorah for the Bonny Blue Flag,” mm. 1-16, vocal score (continued)

**Dance music.** Dancing and dance music was a common fixture of the nineteenth century. Nonetheless, it was not without controversy. The Nashville Female Academy regularly taught dancing as a recreational activity and to keep girls from dancing in a less
controlled environment out in the city. The Reverend C. D. Elliott was publicly
condemned in a broadside allowing such activities, against which he defended himself
and the institution vigorously.

The first dance indicated by Bryan is a reel. The reel is a simple dance that was
at one time "the most common dance genre in the English- and Gaelic-speaking world." This dance, believed to have originated in Scotland, includes a "travelling figure" in
which all the dancers move around the dance floor in a prescribed pattern. The actual
music of the reel is identified as "a rapid but smooth-flowing eighth-note movement in
alla breve time, half-note = 120." Bryan's score, shown in example 4, specifies only a
"fiddlin' tempo" but is in the duple pattern of a reel.

A notation at the bottom of Bryan's score indicates "old fashioned square
dance sets." Square dancing, as defined in the International Encyclopedia of Dance, is a
traditional type of social dancing in which couples dance and form specific patterns as
identified by a "caller." While square-dancing came out of the latter nineteenth century,
the visual image of a square dance is not unlike that of a reel being danced during the
Civil War era.

James P. Boyce Centennial Library, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky.

31 Ibid.


34 Ibid., 72.

35 LeeEllen Friedland, "Square Dancing," in International Encyclopedia of Dance (New York:
The waltz is the second of the dances in Rebel Academy. A waltz is a dance for couples in triple time, and was the most popular dance of the nineteenth century.\(^{37}\) It had its earliest origins in continental Europe, where, according to Curt Sachs, it was

\(^{36}\)Bryan and Bryan, Rebel Academy, 51.

sometimes seen as licentious because of the physical contact between the two dancers.\textsuperscript{38}

Bryan’s waltz is shown in example 5.

Example 5\textsuperscript{39}

Bryan, \textit{Rebel Academy} “Waltz,” mm. 9-24, piano score


\textsuperscript{39}Bryan and Bryan, \textit{Rebel Academy}, 53.
Summary

Bryan used Rebel Academy as a vehicle with which to identify historical and traditions of the Upper Cumberland region. Bryan built the story around the history of the Civil War, southern educational traditions, and period dances. He portrayed a Civil War-era slave and intentionally composed a spiritual in the African-American tradition. Bryan also truthfully portrayed the educational system of the female academies of the nineteenth century, including subjects taught and characteristics of the faculty. He incorporated two common dances of the Civil War era, writing original music in a style appropriate to each dance. He also referenced a historical flag of the Confederacy in “Hoorah for the Bonny Blue Flag.”

The single reference to a North Carolina location for the events of Rebel Academy is unsupported by any other records, either from the life of Bryan or from Civil War history. Confederate General J. E. B. Stuart did host a dance at a female academy, but not under the circumstances portrayed in Bryan’s work. A North Carolina location now seems spurious. Instead it appears likely that Bryan based his understanding of the setting of Rebel Academy on the Cumberland Female Academy in McMinnville, Tennessee. This school was located beside his family’s church, with portions of the structure remaining throughout Bryan’s life. Bryan certainly had knowledge of the Cumberland Female Academy, as evidenced by the paper he wrote the next year while a student at Peabody.

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41 Charles Faulkner Bryan, “The Cumberland Female College of McMinnville, Tennessee, 1940” TMs, n.d., Charles Faulkner Bryan Collection, archives, Angelo and Jennette Volpe Library and Media Center, Tennessee Technological University, Cookeville.
CHAPTER 5
WHITE SPIRITUAL SYMPHONY

Bryan presented White Spiritual Symphony in 1940 as his thesis for the Master of Arts degree from the George Peabody College for Teachers. This was the first largescale musical composition ever to have been submitted as a thesis at Peabody.\(^1\) Bryan also claimed in a letter he wrote to conductor Eugene Goossens the following year that this was the first symphonic work to use actual melodic material from white spirituals.\(^2\)

Bryan’s two-fold purpose for the work is best described in his own abstract for the final copy of the thesis.

The purpose of this thesis is to show that the white spiritual offers suitable thematic material for the composition of the highest orchestral form, the symphony, and to call the attention of the music public to this newly discovered folk music.

This symphony consists of three movements. The first, *Allegro ma non troppo*, is based on two folk hymns, “Promised Land” and “Come Ye Sinners,” The second movement has as the principal theme “Goin’ Over Jordan,” while the last division of the work is based on “I Believe in Being Ready.”
The thematic material found in this composition was used much as it was heard by the composer in the Upper Cumberland section of Tennessee, and as it appears in L. L. McDowell’s Book *Songs of the Old Campground*.

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\(^1\)Carl Darlington King, “Charles Faulkner Bryan: Tennessee Educator and Musician” (M.S. thesis, University of Tennessee [Knoxville], 1965), 53.

\(^2\)Charles Faulkner Bryan to Eugene Goossens, 26 May 1941, Charles Faulkner Bryan Papers, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.
This composition shows that the white spiritual affords a new and fertile field from which the composer can draw, and because of its modal character, the material develops fluently and naturally.³

While there is no evidence of a performance of the original thesis, the second movement premiered in February 1942 with the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra under Eugene Goossens. Bryan and Goossens corresponded extensively prior to this performance, discussing the relative merits of each movement and needed improvements.

**Synopsis of the Work**

*White Spiritual Symphony* is a three-movement work for orchestra with a playing time of just over eighteen minutes. Although Bryan only cited five tunes as being incorporated into this work, six white-spiritual tunes that were known to Bryan and found in *Songs of the Old Campground* can be identified in the symphony’s thematic material.⁴ These tunes were:

1. “Going over Jordan” (same tune as POOR WAYFARING STRANGER)
2. “Amazing Grace” (NEW BRITAIN)
3. “I have a mother in the Promised Land”
4. “I will arise and go to Jesus” (RESTORATION)
5. “I believe in being ready”
6. “I belong to that band” (also known as JESTER)

While the overall three-movement plan of the symphony follows the fast-slow-fast tempo scheme of the pre-Classic symphony, Bryan: “The form of the composition is free, and the harmonic structure modal. The nature of the themes requires this treatment.”⁵ His reference to the modal harmonic structure is not explained, but he does

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⁴ Ibid., vii.

⁵ Ibid.
identify the modal nature of the melodies themselves. According to Bryan, the Ionian, or major, mode was only used in sacred music when the tune had secular origins, while sacred tunes tended to be in the minor modes.\(^6\) He identifies four common modes used in folk tunes of Tennessee: Aeolian, Phrygian, Dorian, and Mixolydian.

Bryan revised his orchestration as he corresponded with Goossens and made suggested changes. The version which was ultimately performed in Cincinnati called for three flutes, oboe, English horn, three clarinets, two bassoons, four horns, two trumpets, three trombones, percussion, harp, and strings.\(^7\)

First Movement – *Allegro ma non troppo*

Despite Bryan’s statement that the composition is free-form, the first movement reflects influence of the sonata-allegro form. There are two initial, contrasting themes, which are in closely related keys. There is a modulatory middle section before a return to the original key and the first theme. Absent is a formal move from tonic to dominant and back to tonic. Table 1 identifies the major sections and tonalities of the first movement.

While the thematic pattern of sonata form is present, Bryan’s numerous repetitions of themes do not match traditional expectations of the form. The exposition, beginning after forty-one measures of introduction, opens with the first theme, “I have a mother in the Promised Land.” While the initial statement of the theme is in A, the three subsequent repetitions are in G, for a total of four statements of the theme. Measures

\(^6\)Ibid., v.

\(^7\)Charles Faulkner Bryan, Nashville, to Eugene Goossens, Cincinnati, 1 November 1941, Charles Faulkner Bryan Papers, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.
Table 1. Form of *White Spiritual Symphony*, first movement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Introduction</th>
<th>First theme (&quot;I have a mother in the Promised Land&quot;) – A</th>
<th>Repetition of first theme – G</th>
<th>Repetition of first theme – G</th>
<th>Repetition of first theme – G</th>
<th>Transitional passage (based on introductory material) – G-D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mm. 1-41</td>
<td>mm. 42-49</td>
<td>mm. 49-57</td>
<td>mm. 57-65</td>
<td>mm. 65-73</td>
<td>mm. 74-89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mm. 90-97</td>
<td>mm. 98-105</td>
<td>mm. 106-115</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Quasi-Development

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Developmental theme</th>
<th>Repetition of developmental theme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mm. 116-165 – modulating</td>
<td>mm. 166-188 – modulating</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Recapitulation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Allegro con brio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Return of first theme – A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mm. 189-200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

74-89 reprise the material from the introduction for a transitional passage, moving from G to D.

The second theme, “I will arise and go to Jesus,” appears in D minor in mm. 90-97, which provides the second key area of the exposition. This second theme is repeated, this time in A minor, in mm. 98-105, before returning to D minor for the final statement in mm. 106-114.
The recapitulation begins when “I have a mother in the Promised Land” returns, in A, in mm. 189-200. The movement closes with a repetition of this theme in mm. 201-210.

Measure 116 introduces a new theme, a two-measure melodic fragment that bears no relation to either of the previous themes. This is a quasi-developmental passage, as the theme is not altered in any way, but rather moves quickly through several key areas.

Two spirituals, “I have a mother in the Promised Land” and “I will arise and go to Jesus,” are used as thematic material in this movement, in addition to original melodies by Bryan. The exposition opens with forty-one measures of introductory material, the theme of which (see example 1) is drawn from Bryan’s earlier Symphony I. This introductory theme only has a range of a perfect fifth and is based on a pentatonic scale, much like a folk tune. Fragments of “I will arise and go to Jesus” appear.

Example 1

Bryan, *White Spiritual Symphony*, first movement, mm. 1-4, flute

[Musical notation image]

Symphony I, shown in example 2, only exists as a sketch in Bryan’s papers, but very clearly served as a forerunner of the first movement of *White Spiritual Symphony*. Bryan’s sketch for Symphony I is dated 1927, when Bryan was only fifteen.

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The first white spiritual tune, “I have a mother in the Promised Land,” appears in mm. 42-49 in A. This is the first theme of the exposition section. The melody, shown in example 3, is accompanied by an open-fifth drone in the cello and double bass.

The melody of “I have a mother in the Promised Land” is restated in mm. 49-57, played by a B-flat trumpet and accompanied by pizzicato strings. The first appearance of the tune was in A, which Bryan now lowers to G. In a departure from the static

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Example 3

Bryan, *White Spiritual Symphony*, first movement, mm. 41-49, oboe

harmonic background of mm. 41-49, the harmonies of mm. 50-57, as shown in example 4, are reminiscent of Debussyan planing.

The next appearance of “I have a mother in the Promised Land” begins on the final beat of m. 57 in the first violins. This time the harmony is supported by a tonic drone in the double bass while the cellos provide a pentatonic countermelody, as shown in example 5.

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10Bryan, *White Spiritual Symphony*, first movement, 10-12.
Example 4

Bryan, *White Spiritual Symphony*, first movement, mm. 49-57, trumpet and strings

\[\text{Ibid., 12-14.}\]
Example 5

Bryan, *White Spiritual Symphony*, first movement, mm. 57-61, violin I and cello

The “Promised Land” melody is next passed to the flute and clarinet in mm. 65-73. Bryan’s approaches to the accompaniment in the previous two statements are combined here as the countermelody is heard in the first violins while the bassoon, horns, and double-bass engage in planing.

Measures 74-89 are a transitional section, comprised mostly of reiterations of the introductory theme. The first hint of another tune is found in mm. 86-87 where the first two measures of RESTORATION (“I will arise and go to Jesus”) appear in the oboe in E-flat minor.

The previous sections of this movement are marked off by short rests, but only a ritard leads the transition into the lento section at m. 90. The melody of RESTORATION, shown in example 6, is doubled by the trumpet and once again accompanied by harmonic planing in the strings.

RESTORATION is presented again in mm. 98-105, this time in the first violins. The basses once again sustain a drone A while the cellos harmonize with melodic material centered around E. The countermelody in example 7, which was hinted at in the

---

12Ibid., 14-15.
Example 6\textsuperscript{13}

Bryan, *White Spiritual Symphony*, first movement, mm. 90-97, flute

\begin{music}
\begin{musicnote}[d]{c4- f3- e3- d3- d3- c3-}
\end{musicnote}
\end{music}

\begin{music}
\begin{musicnote}[d]{c4- f3- e3- d3- d3- c3-}
\end{musicnote}
\end{music}

trombone part at m. 11, is found in the first horn part in this same passage. This same
countermelody continues alongside RESTORATION in mm. 106-113, accompanied by a
rhythmic ostinato in the horns and basses.

Example 7\textsuperscript{14}

Bryan, *White Spiritual Symphony*, first movement, mm. 98-101, horn

\begin{music}
\begin{musicnote}[d]{c4- f3- e3- d3- d3- c3-}
\end{musicnote}
\end{music}
\begin{music}
\begin{musicnote}[d]{c4- f3- e3- d3- d3- c3-}
\end{musicnote}
\end{music}

Measures 115-165 constitute the developmental section in which the above
countermelody is central. This developmental passage is repeated in mm. 166-188. The
texture is initially very sparse, with flute and clarinet being accompanied by a muted horn
playing a pedal tone. Although this melody originally appears in G major (see example
8), the countermelody, starting in m. 117, is now in Mixolydian mode on F. The

\textsuperscript{13}Ibid., 20-22.

\textsuperscript{14}Ibid., 22.
development theme continues in m. 120, but a whole-step lower in E-flat. The pitch center drops to D-flat at m. 126 as the same material continues.

Example 8\textsuperscript{15}

Bryan, \textit{White Spiritual Symphony}, first movement, mm. 179-181, clarinet

Strings take over the development theme in m. 134, now at the pitch-center of A, gradually building to a climax at m. 140. The development theme is continued in the violins and the extreme upper register of the flute. Harmonic planing in the accompaniment is found in the brasses, lower woodwinds, and lower strings. A solo trumpet takes over the development theme at m. 143, accompanied by augmented chords in first inversion arpeggios.

The development theme returns to the strings in m. 149, in A Dorian with sparse arpeggiation in the background, while a piccolo joins with the violins in m. 158. The texture reduces to a flute on the developmental theme at m. 162 with static harmonies in the other woodwinds. This section seems to come to a conclusion with a diminuendo and ritard, culminating in a fermata at m. 165. But, following two measures of a pedal tone for a horn \textit{con sordino}, the developmental theme begins again, this time with the flute and clarinet.

After a hint at new melodic material in m. 177-178, the developmental theme shown in example 8 continues with the clarinet playing in the Mixolydian mode, based

\textsuperscript{15}Ibid., 40.
on an E-flat. This material is passed between the clarinet, trumpet and cello before drawing to close at m. 188.

The material that appeared in mm. 177-178 returns at m. 189, marked Allegro con brio. This section stays in A major as the same material continues in ostinato fashion. A rhythmic intensity is added with a continuous use of dotted rhythms beginning in m. 194, leading to a large fortissimo chord in m. 200. The movement closes with a complete statement of the melody from “I have a mother in the Promised Land.”

**Second Movement – Moderato-lento**

The second movement used in this study is the original, as found in Bryan’s master’s thesis, and as such does not included any changes he made based on his correspondence with Goossens. The Bryan-Goossens score is not in any of the Bryan archival collections and has yet to be found. Like the first movement, this movement also exhibits characteristics of sonata form (see table 2).

The exposition is typical for sonata form, with two contrasting themes in closely related keys. The middle section is developmental, occasionally using fragments of the first two themes. Bryan’s recapitulation is unusual for the simultaneous occurrence of both themes in mm. 143-160. After a transitional passage, the first theme returns in the original key to close out the movement.

After the twelve measures of *moderato* introduction, the tempo change to *Lento* marks the first appearance of a spiritual tune in this movement. The melody, shown in example 9, is identified by Bryan as “Goin’ over Jordan” and is also known as
Table 2. *White Spiritual Symphony*, second movement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Introduction</th>
<th>Moderate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mm. 1-12 – B-flat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exposition</th>
<th>Lento</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mm. 13-33 - Repetition of first theme – E minor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mm. 33-57  - Development of first theme – modulatory</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mm. 57-82  - Introduction of second theme (“Amazing Grace”) – G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mm. 82-94  - Repetition of second theme – G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94-109     - Repetition of second theme – G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Development</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Development based on first theme – mm. 126-142 – modulatory</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recapitulation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simultaneous statements of first two themes – G/G minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mm. 143-160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mm. 161-166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mm. 166-185</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example 9\(^{16}\)

Bryan, *White Spiritual Symphony*, second movement, mm. 13-29, English horn

\(^{16}\)Bryan, *White Spiritual Symphony*, second movement, 2-5.
“I am a poor wayfaring stranger.” It is written for English horn and is heard over the top of divisi strings marked \textit{con sordino}.

The “Goin’ over Jordan” melody is repeated by the violins in mm. 33-49. The refrain of the melody repeats in mm. 49-57, before beginning a developmental section in which material is derived from the “Goin’ Over Jordan” melody. This development continues through m. 80, after which the texture thins out to violins playing in sustained G octaves, preparing for the key of the next tune.

Measure 82 begins a preparatory passage for the next section as NEW BRITAIN sounds in the bassoon. Bryan’s statement of the tune, shown in example 10, is usually associated with John Newton’s text, “Amazing Grace.” However it does not stay within the diatonic key established at the beginning of the melody. Portions of “Goin’ Over Jordan” appear in this section.

\begin{example}
\textbf{Example 10\textsuperscript{18}}

\begin{quote}
Bryan, \textit{White Spiritual Symphony}, second movement, mm. 82-86, bassoon
\end{quote}

\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{example10}

\textit{PP}

The shifting tonality of the preparatory passage suggests that Bryan might treat the full NEW BRITAIN melody in a similar fashion. Instead, Bryan varies the rhythmic

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{17}Since this is a folk tune, there are numerous variations of the tune. However, the version Bryan found in McDowell’s book is very similar to the one found in George Pullen Jackson’s \textit{Spiritual Folk-Songs of Early America} (Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1975), 70.

\textsuperscript{18}Bryan, \textit{White Spiritual Symphony}, second movement, 16-17.
and melodic nature of the tune in mm. 94-108. Here he again draws attention to the tune itself by using a very sparse texture. The first violins, marked con sordino, are accompanied by a G pedal tone in the basses and alternating G-augmented and F-augmented arpeggios for the harp. The unusual rhythmic pattern, as seen in example 11, with the notated portamento and short melismas effectively writes into the score an imitation of rural southern singing style in which similar ornaments are improvised.\textsuperscript{19}

Example 11\textsuperscript{20}

Bryan, \textit{White Spiritual Symphony}, second movement, mm. 94-108, violin

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{example11.png}
\end{figure}


\textsuperscript{20}Bryan, \textit{White Spiritual Symphony}, second movement, 18-21. The half-note triplets in the second full measure are as found in Bryan’s manuscript score. Bryan probably intended to use a quarter-note triplet.
The first violins continue with NEW BRITAIN, beginning in m. 109, but in a rhythm closer to that of the original tune. Although the rhythm is closer to that of the traditional tune, the harmonies of the accompaniment are more reflective of twentieth-century practices. Whereas the traditional harmonies for NEW BRITAIN are predominantly major diatonic triads, Bryan's harmonies are a series of ninth chords that do not reflect the expected harmonies from the melody.

Measures 126-142 begin a developmental section, based on motives from "Goin' Over Jordan." Whenever Bryan uses the full melody of a spiritual, the texture is typically sparse, so as to feature the melody. In this and other transitional and developmental passages in this work, the texture generally becomes more contrapuntal with greater rhythmic activity, thinning out when Bryan introduces the next melody.

Measure 143 marks the simultaneous return of "Amazing Grace" and "Goin' Over Jordan." While each melody is relatively unornamented, the combination of the major key in the strings and the minor key in the oboe produces an interesting aural effect.

Measures 161-166 form a transitional passage, preparing for the return of "Goin' Over Jordan" in m. 166. Although previous statements of a spiritual tune have been in a very sparse texture, this statement is for full strings and most of the winds. The melody is still brought out by doubling between the violins, violas, and cellos. Harmonies are in parallel fifths. The movement ends at m. 185.
Third Movement
*Allegro ma non troppo-moderato*

The third movement is *allegro ma non troppo-moderato* and, like previous movements, gives no specific metronomic indications. The form, shown in table 3, is freer than the first two movements. A large-scale bipartite structure is created by the two different tempos. But, within each of these large sections, a secondary bipartite structure is also apparent. Two of the themes are spirituals: “I believe in being ready” and “I Belong to That Band.” A third theme is an original to Bryan, but is written in the spiritual style.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3. White Spiritual Symphony, third movement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Allegro ma non troppo</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction – D minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First theme (“I believe in being ready”) – D minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repetition of first theme – E minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development of first theme – E minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second theme (original to Bryan) – E minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mm. 1-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47-56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57-104</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Moderato</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Third theme (“I Belong to That Band”) – F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repetition of third theme – E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development of third theme – modulatory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transition and preparation for return of first theme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Return of first theme – D minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coda – ends in A minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mm. 104-120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mm. 121-137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mm. 138-156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mm. 157-170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mm. 171-178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mm. 179-200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The form of this movement is the most unusual of *White Spiritual Symphony*. The first theme occurs three times. The first statement is in D minor and the other two are in E minor, an unusual key relationship. Bryan continues in E minor for the second theme, one of his originals. After the *moderato*, “I Belong to That Band” enters in F as
the third theme. This theme is repeated in E. A developmental passage treats this third theme in a modulatory fashion before transitioning back to D minor for the return of the first theme. Measures 179-200 form a coda, which closes out the movement in A minor.

The first sixteen measures serve as an introduction based on the first two measures of “I believe in being ready.” Measures 1-7 occur over a D pedal-tone in the basses, ascending a major third to F-sharp in m. 8, to A-sharp at m. 12, and a diminished third to C in m. 14.

The introduction’s second section begins at m. 16 as the basses begin an ostinato on the first four notes of an A minor scale. The bass part is marked “martelé point” and pianissimo. This continues through more iterations of the earlier two-measure fragment of the spiritual “I believe in being ready,” followed by two measures of the solo bass ostinato. This ostinato accompanies oboe and clarinets on an ascending natural minor scale (A minor). The introductory passage ends with the basses once again soloing on the ostinato in m. 30.

Measure 30 marks the return of the same fragment of “I believe in being ready,” this time in the flutes. The basses continue their ostinato while the oboe and clarinets return with their scalar accompaniment as before. After two measures of chromatic harmonies in the horns and trumpet, the complete melody finally appears in the violins at m. 40 (see example 12). The theme is now repeated, this time beginning with the trombone before being passed to the trumpet and flute. The horns take up the theme at m. 51 and close out the theme, joined by clarinets, in mm. 53-54, where they area also joined by flute and trumpet playing the original two-measure statement, as heard at the beginning of the movement, is layered over mm. 53-54, sounding from the flute and
trumpet. The final two measures of the theme are played by the strings in rhythmic augmentation in mm. 55-56, ending with a grand pause.

Example 12

Bryan, *White Spiritual Symphony*, third movement, mm. 40-47, violin

The next section of this movement begins in mm. 57 at the meter change from 4/4 to 5/4. After a two-measure introductory passage, a new theme in E minor appears in the flute (see example 13), a lyrical melody that lies within the range of a perfect fifth. This melody is not found in *Songs of the Old Campground*. Bryan's thesis introduction lists five tunes as themes for *White Spiritual Symphony*. "I believe in being ready" is the fifth of those tunes, the first four being found in the first two movements of the work.

There is no mention of another tune. It appears that the material in example 13 is original to Bryan. The same theme is repeated in a slightly altered form, beginning

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with the oboe in mm. 63-64, and returning to the flutes in mm. 65-68. The theme then passes down to the cellos in mm. 68-73.

Example 13

Bryan, *White Spiritual Symphony*, third movement, mm. 59-63, flute

The first violins, marked *con sordino* and scored *divisi*, enter into a version of the incipit of the melody, harmonized in parallel thirds and centered on A-flat. This entrance functions as a false entrance, as those violins return to a unison statement of the secondary theme in mm. 75-79.

Measure 81 is similar in texture to m. 75 and sounds like the beginning of a repeat of mm. 75-79. But the melody ends on the dominant at m. 84, not the tonic, as might be expected from previous thematic statements. The bassoon finally plays a complete statement of the theme in E minor in mm. 84-89.

Measure 92 begins what seems most like a developmental section based on the secondary theme of this movement. The opening two measures of this secondary theme become the basis for the development, with concentration on the rhythmic aspects and general melodic outline. There is no clearly tonal repetition of the theme in this section. Instead each statement proceeds to another non-diatonic location. But, in the middle of all this, the first two measures of “I believe in being ready” return in the trombone in mm.

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22Ibid., 14-15.
The incipit of the secondary theme is played by the horns in mm. 101-103 and overlaps with the incipit of the first theme in the trumpet (muted) in mm. 103-104.

The *moderato* section is in cut-time. The texture is gradually reduced in mm. 100-104 in preparation for the entrance of a new white spiritual quotation. Here, however, beginning on the final beat of m. 104, Bryan introduces a tune he did not mention in his introduction, "I Belong to That Band" (see example 14). It is found in *Songs of the Old Campground* and Jackson’s *Spiritual Folk-Songs of Early America*.23

Example 1424

Bryan, *White Spiritual Symphony*, third movement, mm. 104-120, bassoon

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This particular melody sounds over an open fifth drone between the second violins and the violas and is clearly intended to sound folk-like. While there are no repeat signs, Bryan identified mm. 111-112 as “1st” and mm. 113 and following as “2nd.”

The melody is taken up in m. 121 by the first violins in the new key of E. They are accompanied by a counter-melody in the flutes and violas and a droned open fifth in the cello and bass. A first ending is indicated in mm. 128-129, while the last two beats of the first violins in m. 129 suggest a return to m. 122. The B section of the theme is completed by the flute and first violin in mm. 131-137. The same B section is repeated by these voices in D Major in mm. 138-145. Measure 145 continues the developmental passage with material based on the incipit of the previous theme. Like before in this movement, the incipit is essentially the first two measures of the theme in question.

Measure 157 returns to 5/4 and the earlier A minor bass ostinato from mm. 16-46 begins again in m. 159. Rising harmonies in the horns and trumpet increase the sense of tension, leading to the reprise of “I believe in being ready” in the first violins at m. 171. Bryan is freer in his treatment of the melody here, repeating some passages before moving on to the end of the theme in m. 178.

The texture becomes more transparent again at m. 187 as the flute takes the theme’s incipit in rhythmic augmentation. This is repeated by flute, trumpets, and violins in mm. 191-192. After a two-measure transition, the final statement of the end of the theme begins with a fermata at m. 195. The final statement occurs first in the flute, oboe, and violins, but is repeated once again by the horns.

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25 This is a device used by composers from Beethoven (in the opening of his pastoral symphony) through Bartok.
Historical Setting

Although *White Spiritual Symphony* was submitted as his master’s thesis in 1940, Bryan’s work with the same melodic material goes back to at least 1927 when he created a sketch titled “Symphony I.” Livingston states that Bryan never did further work with his sketch. However, a comparison of the score reveals that Bryan reused the opening portions of the Symphony I sketches in the first movement of *White Spiritual Symphony*.

Bryan sketched out Symphony I before his initial exposure to Lucien McDowell and *Songs of the Old Campground*. Therefore, the music found in these sketches is a product of Bryan’s own background and not simply material gleaned from published sources. One of the most significant portions of this sketch is that of NEW BRITAIN. Examination of Bryan’s treatment of this tune in the second movement reveals some unusual ornamentations of the basic melody. Bryan’s writing in this particular passage illustrated a manner of singing of the southern Appalachians. A closer look at the sketch of NEW BRITAIN, reveals that the melody at times includes numerous passing tones and neighboring tones, a technique identified by Charles K. Wolfe as “snaking.” This rendering of NEW BRITAIN is frequently interrupted by short “catch-breath” rests and glissandos. Bryan’s original manuscript is shown in example 15. One of the most striking features is what Wolfe calls “feathering,” a sudden melodic stop, often

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26 Charles Faulkner Bryan, “Symphony I.”


on an upward melodic interval. Both of these techniques are intended to reflect the actual ornamentations as sung by people in the Upper Cumberland in the early 1900s.

Example 15

Bryan, "Symphony I," excerpt from sketch

Geographical Setting

White Spiritual Symphony is not only a product of Bryan’s childhood, but also a product of his association with Lucien L. McDowell and his Songs of the Old Campground. Bryan mentions McDowell in the introduction, but expands on his impact in the introductory matter.

For the initial inspiration that prompted the writing of this work for a thesis the composer is indebted to Mr. L. L. McDowell, of Smithville, Tennessee, whose Songs of the Old Campground revived in the memory of the composer of this work several of the old tunes he had heard sung by the older people near his birthplace, McMinnville, Tennessee. Is was from Mr. McDowell that he also heard accounts of the old camp ground revival days long before the Civil War and learned that his great-grandmother had been an ardent member of these congregations.

29 Ibid.


The Old Campground to which McDowell referred is located near Walling, Tennessee, at the current location of Mount Pisgah Methodist Church.\textsuperscript{32} The location was sought using the directions found in McDowell's book and confirmed by matching the location to photographs found in the volume. It is a relatively square area, approximately 4.75 acres, situated between Gum Spring Mountain and Hickory Nut Mountain. Although the church and cemetery occupy much of the ground today, about one-third of the area is still open and level. McDowell provides a romanticized description of the camp meetings that were once held at the location.\textsuperscript{33} Part of his description suggests that lining out was present in the Upper Cumberland at the time.

Now he is taking from his pocket a little fat leather-bound hymn book and calling off the title of the song. He reads aloud slowly, in a loud and sing-song voice: "Hark, from the tombs a doleful sound; Mine ears attend the cry."

In a clear tone he now begins to sing the two lines he has just read, and immediately the congregation follow; men, women, and children singing in unison. The melody has a mournful tone and a low and simple rhythm. The voices are loud but not harsh; the deep tones of the men blending with the higher-pitched voices of the women in a volume of sound that can be heard for miles in the still night air. The effect is indescribable; the plaintive air and solemn words charged with emotion.\textsuperscript{34}

McDowell had not been present at the camp meetings, but indicated he was working from firsthand accounts by local residents.

**Performance History**

There is no evidence of any performances of Bryan's master's thesis version of *White Spiritual Symphony* in his lifetime. A study of this original score reveals

\textsuperscript{32}N 35° 50' 54.5" W 85° 35' 34.7" At the intersection of Quebeck Road and Horton Road, west of Walling, Tennessee.

\textsuperscript{33}McDowell, *Songs of the Old Campground*, 15-16.

\textsuperscript{34}Ibid., 16.
transposition errors in several places that would surely be evident had such a reading taken place. If such problems were found in the second movement, Bryan likely would have made corrections based on his discussions with Goossens. Bryan continued to work on this symphony after his graduation, making it part of the package he submitted for his first application to the Guggenheim Foundation in 1943. Part of what he proposed was to add a scherzo-finale and possibly complete a new first movement to *White Spiritual Symphony*. If he completed these movements, no copy of the score has been found.

**Regional Elements**

Bryan’s regionalism in *White Spiritual Symphony* lies in his choices of melodic materials, the sources of those tunes, and how he treated the tunes in a symphonic context. Bryan’s choices of tunes are a product of his own background and his work with Lucien McDowell on *Songs of the Old Campground*. Bryan stated in the abstract for *White Spiritual Symphony* that, “The thematic material found in the composition was used much as it was heard by the composer in the Upper Cumberland section of Tennessee, and as it appears in L. L. McDowell’s book *Songs of the Old Campground*.“ A search of the Bryan collection in the archives of Tennessee Technological University, formerly Tennessee Polytechnic Institute, revealed a typewritten page of notes entitled “Notes on Songs.” Under the entry for “Goin’ Over Jordan,” Bryan described his family connection to the Old Campground location.

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36Ibid., 131.

The melody which I have used for this song was found in the hill country near my birthplace. It has been traced back to the old camp meeting days which were held around Pisgah Church Yard in White County, Tennessee. My great grandmother lived in sight of this church yard and as a child attended the meetings which were held there during the Great Revival Days long before the Civil War.\footnote{Charles Faulkner Bryan, “Notes on Songs,” TMs, n.d., box 31, folder 3, Charles Faulkner Bryan Collection, Angelo and Jennette Volpe Library and Media Center, Tennessee Technological University, Cookeville.}

Note that Bryan was specific in identifying a personal connection to the music at the Old Campground.

The tunes Bryan chose were all within the genre of the white spiritual. More specifically, they are camp-meeting type spirituals. The melodies are rhythmically simple, modal, and repetitive. Although Bryan was by this time a well-educated musician, and had examined these tunes in printed sources, his initial experience with these melodies was via oral tradition.

As mentioned in his abstract, the tunes of \textit{White Spiritual Symphony} were either as Bryan heard them growing up or as found in \textit{Songs of the Old Campground}.\footnote{Bryan, \textit{White Spiritual Symphony}, ii.}

The list of tunes was compared with McDowell’s book and three significant tune books of the era: \textit{Sacred Harp}, \textit{Southern Harmony}, and the \textit{Social Harp}. All of the tunes are found in McDowell’s book. \textit{NEW BRITAIN} is found in all three of the tune books, while \textit{WAYFARING STRANGER} (the same tune as “Going over Jordan”), is found in \textit{Sacred Harp}. The 1991 edition of \textit{Sacred Harp} ascribes this latter tune to Bever’s \textit{Christian Songster} of 1858.\footnote{Hugh McGraw \textit{et al}, \textit{The Sacred Harp}, rev. ed. (Bremen, GA: Sacred Harp Publishing Company, 1991), 457.}
Bryan’s orchestration makes prominent use of the original melodies, reflecting his value of the tunes themselves and that every note was important. Each folk melody is presented in its entirety at least once, stated prominently over a sparse orchestral accompaniment.

In some cases, Bryan’s orchestral writing reflects traditional singing styles associated with those melodies. The melody he identifies as “Amazing Grace” (NEW BRITAIN) is presented in several different forms, each of which reflects different renderings of the melody. The original melody first appeared in print in *Columbian Harmony, or Pilgrim’s Musical Companion*, edited by Benjamin Shaw and Charles H. Spilman (Cincinnati, 1829), but was not paired with John Newton’s text until William Walker’s *Southern Harmony* in 1835. The melody shown in example 16 is the original from *Southern Harmony*.

Example 16

Walker, NEW BRITAIN from *Southern Harmony*, mm. 1-14, tenor

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Some of Bryan’s harmonic choices, like ninth chords, were very progressive, compared to the simple nature of the folk melodies he was using. Such harmonies are evident in that augmented triads are common in the work, one example being the harp part in mm. 143-148 of the first movement as shown in example 17. This passage consists of eight consecutive augmented chords.

Example 17

Bryan, *White Spiritual Symphony*, first movement, mm. 143-148, harp

Some of Bryan’s harmonies might be the result of orchestration errors on his part. It is not known if he had instrumentalists play through individual parts to check for errors in transposition. However, Bryan was a talented pianist and would certainly have been able to play the chords he was writing.

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43Bryan, *White Spiritual Symphony*, first movement, 32.
Another aspect that possibly reflects traditional performance practice is the registral placement of some tunes. The entrance of “I Belong to That Band” in the third movement is at m. 105 in the bassoon. This low-voiced instrument presents the entire melody over droning strings before a high voice ever enters. This seems to reflect the hierarchy of voices in the lining out described by McDowell: “In a clear tone he now begins to sing the two lines he has just read, and immediately the congregation follows; men, women, and children singing in unison.”

Summary

Bryan’s White Spiritual Symphony clearly makes use of white spirituals from the Upper Cumberland region of Tennessee. One of his primary sources was Lucien L. McDowell’s Songs of the Old Campground, an anthology of songs used at camp meetings near Walling, Tennessee. Bryan’s own great-grandmother lived near that location and attended some of the meetings there. Bryan thus received these tunes from a single source, the nineteenth-century camp meeting, transmitted to him through both print and oral traditions, via two different routes McDowell’s book and Bryan’s own heritage.

The way in which Bryan used these tunes reflects his recognition of the compositional prospects afforded by the modal folk melodies. The tunes serve as his thematic material for each movement of the symphony. Each tune is presented at some point in its entirety and is usually reflective of the notation in Songs of the Old.

McDowell, Songs of the Old Campground, 16. “Lining out” was a method of congregational singing in which a leader would sing one or two lines of a stanza, which the congregation would then repeat. It was useful at camp meetings because of lower literacy levels and the lack of a commonly used hymnal.
Campground. Bryan’s developmental passages draw material from the tunes or are written in a similar style.

Bryan reflected traditional performance practices of the spirituals. His use of “I Belong to That Band” in the final movement reflects the hierarchy of voices in McDowell’s description of lining out at the campmeeting. He also incorporated common vocal ornaments of Appalachian folk singing into the instrumental language of his symphony.
CHAPTER 6
THE BELL WITCH

The post-war years marked Bryan's return to a full-time music career. His receipt of the Guggenheim Fellowship in 1945 provided him with a new level of national recognition. Bryan's studies with Hindemith also gave him an opportunity to reach beyond his earlier compositional style to include an expanded harmonic palette. Yet, with an increasingly cosmopolitan audience, Bryan continued his quest to incorporate regional folklore and traditional sounds of Appalachian folk music into his compositions. Bryan's greatest recognition probably came with his choral-orchestral work, The Bell Witch. He gave the work the subtitle: "secular cantata for mixed chorus with solos for altos and baritone."¹ Bryan had been working on a cantata by 1947, possibly started during his studies with Hindemith at Yale.²

Synopsis of the Work

The Bell Witch is an unstaged musical setting of a fictional narrative based on a southern tale of the supernatural. The earliest written account was in Goodspeed's History of Tennessee, which places the Bell Witch story about 1804 in Adams,

²Carolyn Livingston, Charles Faulkner Bryan: His Life and Music (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003), 131.
Tennessee. The story was later recounted in Martin V. Ingram’s *An Authenticated History of the Bell Witch of Tennessee* (1894). Descendants of John Bell also wrote on the subject. Richard Williams Bell, son of the John Bell named in the original story, wrote *Our Family Trouble*, which was first published as part of Ingram’s work. Charles Bailey Bell, John Bell’s great-grandson, wrote *The Bell Witch: A Mysterious Spirit*.

Bryan gave the following synopsis of the story in the introduction to his score.

Just about the time of the great Mississippi earthquake, (1802) there lived in North Carolina a prosperous family. John Bell, the head of the family, owned many acres of land from which his industry produced a good living for his wife and young daughter, Nancy.

This prosperity was enjoyed only for a short while, for suddenly crops began to fail, cattle began to die, and the carefree life of the Bell home was for the first time disturbed.

Everyone noticed a change in the manner of the usually kind John Bell. What ailed him was the memory of a dreaded curse; for, several years before, in a fit of anger, he had argued with his overseer and had killed him. Before dying, the overseer had cursed him, saying he would return to bring misery to the family. John Bell feared his sudden reverse of fortune was connected with the deadman’s curse.

His premonition was correct. Things grew steadily worse. The Bells sold one farm after another, each time moving to a poorer one farther in the mountains.

Bryan also summarized the storyline of the cantata.

The cantata is concerned with one tragic afternoon and night when the dreaded curse descends full force on the Bells. John Bell, so disturbed he can not plow, eat or sleep, turns to his cabin. There he argues with his daughter who wants to go to a party in a neighboring house. John Bell reluctantly permits her to go, but warns her to take care and not to “dance the night away . . . there’s trouble about.”

At the gay mountain party, the fiddles suddenly stop, for Nancy Bell has fainted “dead away.” She is borne gently home. Amid the fervent prayers of her grieved father and the hymning of the gathered neighbors she cries out: “It’s a-

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coming through the roof... it's a comin' to git me!"... But there is no saving from the dreaded curse.\(^7\)

*The Bell Witch* has properties of a ballad in that its lead character is a narrator whom Bryan calls the Ballad Singer. According to *The New Harvard Dictionary of Music* the ballad is “a strophic narrative song.”\(^8\) The article also states that the term “ballad” especially refers to a body of folksong passed on through Anglo-American culture, and that these songs often contain elements of the supernatural. Bryan’s introduction clearly identifies the narrative nature of *The Bell Witch*, which is at its heart a form of ballad.

Bryan’s choice of performing forces can be compared to those of early Greek theater. According to Ronald W. Vince, the chorus of early Greek tragedy functioned both as part of the drama and as a commentator. These choruses could also represent and interact with individual characters.\(^9\) The chorus of *The Bell Witch* narrates some of the action and takes on personal roles within the drama, like those of John Bell and his mule. The contralto’s role as balladeer serves to introduce John Bell and relate the story. Other solo roles include John Bell (baritone) and Nancy Bell (alto).

The cantata is not divided into separate numbers, but there are clear divisions in the music and storyline. Sections are clearly distinguished by tonality, tempo, and rhythmic characteristics. The harmonies change constantly, but each section can be identified with an initial tonal center. The whole work is centered on A, with quartal and quintal harmonies.

\(^7\)Ibid.


This was the first major work by Bryan after his studies with Hindemith and it reflects a distinctive change in harmonic style. Bryan’s earlier works had been more likely to use diatonic chords and tertian harmony with few key changes. The white spiritual and the dance scene continue Bryan’s earlier approach to harmony. But the rest of The Bell Witch was very different for several reasons. Chromatic harmonies abound, the result of a constantly shifting tonal center, and defy easy Roman numeral analysis. Bryan’s understanding of chord structures was expanded to include quartal and quintal harmonies.

This new approach to harmony is most likely a result of Bryan’s study with Hindemith. In his analysis of Hindemith’s works for organ, Donald P. Hustad stated that the composer’s organ music includes “all twelve chromatic tones within each key, yet retains the basic polarity of that key.” The Bell Witch follows a similar harmonic style. Each section can be identified by a tonal center that relates to the tonalities of other sections. But, within each part, the harmonies are very chromatic. Table 4 identifies the division of The Bell Witch with their respective tonalities. The overall pitch center of the work is A. When the story is being narrated, or when John and Nancy Bell are talking, the pitch center remains in A, or in another closely-related key. But, at the points of crisis, Nancy’s initial fainting and her final moments, the pitch center moves to the relative minor of F-sharp.

The first half takes place at the Bell home as Nancy is preparing to go to a dance. John Bell does not want Nancy to go out, fearing something bad is going to

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10 Donald Hustad, “The Organ Music of Paul Hindemith” (D.M. research project, Northwestern University, 1963), 10.
Table 4 - Major sections and tonalities in Bryan’s *The Bell Witch*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measures</th>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Tonality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION/AT HOME</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-39</td>
<td>Instrumental prelude</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-65</td>
<td>Ballad Singer’s introduction (“Gather round”)</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66-104</td>
<td>Chorus sets the scene (“The last frost had left the cove”)</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104-118</td>
<td>Instrumental interlude</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118-211</td>
<td>Chorus speaks to John Bell (“What ails you?”)</td>
<td>B-E-B-A-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>211-225</td>
<td>Instrumental interlude</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226-263</td>
<td>Ballad Singer voices John Bell’s thoughts (“There is trouble about”)</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>263-281</td>
<td>Instrumental interlude</td>
<td>B-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>281-289</td>
<td>John Bell speaks (“You can’t go, Nancy”)</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>290-308</td>
<td>Nancy responds (“Get out my way”)</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>308-320</td>
<td>John Bell gives in (“Forgive me child”)</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>320-327</td>
<td>Instrumental interlude</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>327-397</td>
<td>Nancy’s promise (“I’ll walk through the cool night air”)</td>
<td>D-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AT THE DANCE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>398-445</td>
<td>Dance music (instrumental)</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>446-512</td>
<td>Dance music (vocal)</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NANCY FALLS ILL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>513-519</td>
<td>Instrumental interlude, ending in climactic moment</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>520-548</td>
<td>The dance comes to a halt (“Nancy Bell’s done fainted”)</td>
<td>F-sharp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>549-611</td>
<td>John Bell’s prayer for Nancy</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>612-668</td>
<td>Chorus spiritual (“O Canaan, fair Canaan”)</td>
<td>D-E-D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>668-674</td>
<td>Nancy’s final moments and John’s final plea</td>
<td>F-sharp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>675-677</td>
<td>Final chorus (humming)</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>678-685</td>
<td>Instrumental coda (smorzando)</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

happen. The second half takes place at the dance, with the partygoers celebrating until Nancy falls ill. The work concludes with Nancy’s death. The orchestration includes flute,
The first 39 measures constitute a prelude for the work. A pedal A sounds for the first five measures, with quartal harmonies in the upper voices. These quartal harmonies are similar to the tuning of a mountain dulcimer and to some of the chords of shape-note hymn tunes, which often lack a third. Unlike Bryan's previous works, mixed meters abound and are likely an outgrowth of his studies with Hindemith, who also used quartal harmonies. The pedal A returns in m. 35, setting up a move to D at m. 40 and the beginning of the contralto solo. Measures 40-43 serve as an introduction for the entrance of the contralto solo in m. 45. The orchestration as shown in example 1 includes the notation, “Like a mountain dulcimer tuning up.”\(^{11}\)

Example 1\(^{12}\)

Bryan, *The Bell Witch*, mm. 40-43, strings

The accompaniment of the contralto solo, shown in example 2, includes the instruction “Like a dulcimer.” The term “mountain dulcimer” usually refers to the instrument also known as the “lap dulcimer.” The *New Grove Dictionary of Musical
Instruments identifies the “Appalachian dulcimer” as “a partly- or fully-fretted zither of the USA, derived from north-west European forms some time since the late eighteenth century in the Appalachian mountains.” This passage is written in a style that is more idiomatic to the hammer dulcimer than the lap dulcimer. The hammer dulcimer is a wooden instrument, often in the shape of a trapezoid, with each note doubled by two

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13Bryan, The Bell Witch, 3.

14Joan Rimmer, “Appalachian Dulcimer,” in The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1984), 1:66. This oblong instrument usually has three to four strings, for which multiple tunings are used. While no standard tuning exists for the instrument, one pair of adjacent strings is generally tuned in an open fifth to create a drone. The melody strings are often played by sliding the fingers of the left hand or a piece of wood up and down the string, producing a distinctive portamento. The strings can be either strummed or plucked.
strings. Instead of sliding along the strings of the lap dulcimer, the hammer dulcimer player strikes one course at a time with small hammers, making arpeggios very easy to play. Although both instruments are popular in Appalachian folk music, their timbres and playing techniques are very different. It seems most likely that Bryan had the lap dulcimer in mind for this passage, because that instrument is often plucked when used to accompany singing. The plucked accompaniment style allows for limited use of arpeggios. The lap dulcimer also seems a likely choice because the notes shown in the accompaniment produce open chords with no third. This is the type of chord produced by a lap dulcimer when the strings are plucked without being fretted.\(^{15}\)

The contralto functions as a Ballad Singer, serving as a narrator for the cantata, introducing John Bell and proceeding to relate the story. The Ballad Singer proclaims that John Bell’s family is under a curse from Satan himself, then implores the listeners to “Gather ‘round, draw nigh” as the tale begins.

The actual story of the cantata begins in m. 66 with the descriptive chorus for women’s voices. This chorus is rich in imagery of an early springtime in the mountains.

The last frost had left the cove.
New leaves pushed off the old oak leaves to spill them out o’er all the warming land like ‘lasses from a pan fresh made.
The laurel hurried out her shell-like blooms to brave the mountain air,
From far-off fields the shout of farmers as they drive their mules to plow came floating o’er the still spring air.
The bright sun rubbed his warm hands over each tobacco leaf, slightly curled from last week’s frost.
And then moved those warm hands ‘round the barn where the fresh laid corn was springing up from the rich dirt,
As if to pull each tender sprout up, up, up from the soil.

\(^{15}\)Bryan’s dulcimer collection, examined by the author, is housed in the Bryan Fine Arts Center at Tennessee Technological University and includes both hammer and lap dulcimers. The latter type is prevalent.
Measures 104-117 form an instrumental interlude before the SSA semi-chorus returns in m. 118.

The chorus then calls to John Bell, asking what is troubling him.

John Bell! O John Bell! What ails you John Bell?
Why do you stand leaning on the plow at the end of that corn row?
Why do you gaze far off over the mountain ridge far away,
To the place where the hawk is flying in the next county or over in Tennessee?
John Bell! O John Bell! What ails you John Bell?
Why do you tremble like a pore sinner at the mourner’s bench?
Why does your skinny black mule look back at you, as if to say:

At this point a bass soloist enters, voicing the thoughts of John Bell’s mule, and singing

“Mister Bell, git yo’re plowin’ done ‘fore that tiny cloud blows up big and full and
washes gullies in your weedy patch.” In contrast to the narration and commentary thus far, which has been from the perspective of outside observers, the mule is the first character to address Bell directly and also the first to speak in a mountain dialect.

A second section of choral commentary follows at m. 159, this time the first use of the SATB chorus, which describes Bell’s fearful, troubled behavior and his inability to work or even eat, and again questions John Bell as to what is happening.

What ails you? Why do you shake? Why do your hands tremble?
Why don’t you throw a handy clod at that crow just three rows over?
Did ever a Bell let a thieving crow suck up half his crop with him in sight?
John Bell, what ails you?

What do you turn away from the house where warm string beans busting with tobies
and hot corn bread fresh from the oven await you and a table centered with
dark wild honey pulled from a hollow beach [sic]? 16

Here the chorus assumes the voice of Bell himself and launches into boasting: “I can eat

16The foods mentioned are common rural staples. No reference to the word “tobies” could be found. But, given the context, it appears to be a colloquialism referring to the small beans inside the seed pod of a string bean.
victuals ‘til the table’s clean when I’ve been plowin’.” They continue, exhorting John Bell: “Hear that tollin’? Tie up your skinny mule and come home to dinner.”

In this chorus, Bryan establishes the location and time of year of the opening scene. The setting is on the Bell family’s farm somewhere in North Carolina. The references to young corn springing up from the ground, as well as a recent frost, suggest early spring. The time of day, as we learn in the sections immediately following, is approaching evening, as John Bell is headed home from the fields for dinner.

Measure 211 begins an instrumental interlude that lasts until m. 225. Measure 226 then begins another “dulcimer like” passage, shown in example 3 as the introduction to the Ballad Singer’s solo. As with the previous “dulcimer” passage, the arpeggiated style seems similar to a hammer dulcimer. But the lap dulcimer can be played in a finger-picking style that is common with Appalachian folksingers.

The Ballad Singer continues with the story: “For days pore John Bell wouldn’t sleep, wouldn’t eat: Jest sets gazin’ far off.” This statement is the first time the balladeer’s voice has slipped into a mountain dialect. This might be because the narrator solo continues by speaking as if it is John Bell himself.

I know they’s trouble about, I feel it when the sun sets behind old Baldy, when the shadows slip up from the corn-crib to the Hawthorne17 bush. They’s somethin’ amiss. I feel it deep inside, I hear it in the breath of the wind blowin’ up from the cove. There is trouble about.

After an instrumental interlude in mm. 264-281, the story line continues, implying that Nancy, John Bell’s daughter, wants to attend a nearby party. John Bell’s objections are sung by a baritone soloist starting in m. 281: “You can’t go, Nancy.

17The tree to which Bryan refers is usually spelled without the final “e.”
Example 3

Bryan, *The Bell Witch*, mm. 226-230, contralto and piano

You can’t go Nancy Bell, I tell you. You can’t go!” The part of Nancy is sung by another contralto soloist, but may be sung by the same soloist as the Ballad Singer if necessary, according to Bryan’s notation in the score. Since the Narrator/Ballad Singer and Nancy are two separate characters, this might be better if sung by different soloists.

Nancy responds to her father forcefully: “Get out my way, Pa! I’m a goin’ and forget this troubled place.” Nancy’s mood changes at m. 299 as she asks her father: “Pa, what ails you? You never afore hindered me a party. You never afore bade me sit at home when the fiddles are a playin’.”


\[19\] Ibid., 28.
John's response to Nancy is equally tender as he acquiesces to her request. He allows Nancy to go to the dance, but tells her to come home by daylight.

Forgive me child. I can't be myself with this misery. Go, my child, but take care, don't dance the night away. Come home afore it's day, they's trouble about.

Livingston discusses Bryan's use of "modal ambiguity" in both *The Bell Witch* and his earlier *Ballad of the Harp Weaver*, and notes that this "shifting of the tonal center" serves as a device for developing tension in the story. An example of this constant changing of tonal center is found in the instrumental interlude in mm. 320-327, shown in example 4. Notice that the gapped scale of the upper voice is altered chromatically as the passage progresses.

Nancy continues to reassure her father and describes her path to the party.

I'll walk through the cool night air. The path I choose this night will lead me far from trouble and care. Ol' Baldy will reach out to touch me, but I'm not afraid. My mountains are friendly, yes, mountains are friendly.

At m. 337, the tempo quickens and the mood is indicated as "dance-like."

Nancy continues as she describes what she anticipates for her evening out.

And when the fiddles tune up and the first set's called "choosey' pardners 'round the hall, choosey' pardners one and all." And when the first set's called, my feet will run to the yellow lantern light, to the place we're dancing half the night.

Then for home I'll go but I'll have company, yes sir, company. The mountains will reach right out to catch me, I know, but I'll now be afraid my John's with me.

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We’ll walk though the cool spring night, my John and me.
By the corner pine we’ll sit ’til the moon sets behind old Baldy
and the dead stillness comes before the roosters crow for dawn.

The change in tempo at m. 98 marks the beginning of the middle “scene” or
the dance scene of the cantata. The music, shown in example 5, suggests a traditional

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Bryan, The Bell Witch, 30.
rural dance melody by its narrow melodic range, tonic-dominant bass line, and duple meter.

Example 5\textsuperscript{22}

Bryan, *The Bell Witch*, mm. 398-405, piano score

The instrumental portion of the dance music extends through m. 445. The music shown in example 5 reappears as an instrumental vamp between more lyrical passages. These lyrical passages anticipate the rhythmic and melodic motives sung by the chorus.

Measure 446 begins the sung portions of the dance scene, as the sopranos sing "Turtle dove’s a callin’," shown in example 6. The choral singing associated with the dancing in *The Bell Witch* is reminiscent of the role of the caller in square dancing,

\textsuperscript{22}Ibid., 35.
singing occasional instructions to the dancer, such as “Swing that pretty little girl and circle back to me,” and “Choose yo’ man as fast as y’can and follow after me.”

Example 6

Bryan, The Bell Witch, mm. 446-453, soprano

The revelry comes to a sudden halt in m. 517 as the chorus sings an exclamation of shock on an ascending “Ah!” The chorus comes to a sudden halt in m. 518 as they crescendo to on the syllable “ah.” This quartal/quintal chord is based over a C-sharp, which prepares for the F-sharp tonal center as they sing the following lyrics.

Notice that the chorus echoes John Bell’s words of warning.

Nancy Bell’s done fainted dead away.
Bear her gently home, her feet will dance no more.
Hear her faintly moan they’s trouble at our door.

The center of tonality changes to F-sharp, the key center when Nancy first falls ill and when John makes his final plea for her life.

The chorus continues as the party comes to a sudden halt and the guests prepare to carry Nancy home to her father. As of yet, the revelers are unaware of the presence of a malevolent spirit.

\[\text{Ibid., 37.}\]
How still her ruby red lips, how sad to see,
How suddenly this place filled with misery.
Lay yo’ fiddle by, put up yo’ bees waxed bow.
A full moon’s in the sky to light us as we go.

John Bell’s solo (m. 550) indicates that he has now become aware of the cause of Nancy’s condition. The score does not indicate how John comes to be where Nancy is, or whether Nancy is still at the dance or resting at home. John prays to God that “that thing” would not take his daughter. A significant feature, as shown in example 7, is the “feathering” found in m. 555. Feathering, according to The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music is “a short glissando up to a glottal stop.”\(^{24}\) Ruth Crawford Seeger identified this device as a “quick upward flip.”\(^{25}\) This is a slight upward movement which uses the main melody note as a point of departure before fading away on an often random higher pitch. George Pullen Jackson identified this same ornament as a “flip or break in the male voice” that is “noticeable especially in closing cadences . . . in which the voice . . . flips up momentarily, on its transition from one long tone to another lower one, to a falsetto grace note.”\(^{26}\) Feathering is also found in White Spiritual Symphony.\(^{27}\)

John Bell’s prayer continues, this time in a more frantic manner. A sense of urgency is created by increased use of more sixteenth-note rhythms.

Lord, I heard it now a screechin’ thru the still night air.
I feel it reachin’ to steal my Nancy, fair.

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\(^{26}\)George Pullen Jackson, White Spiritual in the Southern Uplands (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933; reprint, New York: Dover, 1965), 211.

\(^{27}\)Charles Faulkner Bryan, White Spiritual Symphony (M.A. thesis, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1940), second movement, mm. 98, 101.
Example 7

Bryan, *The Bell Witch*, mm. 550-559, baritone solo

Lord, Lord above I never had no truck

Let the voice turn up-folks like

with you afore but now they's some-thin' at the door to take the one I love.

Lord! Lord! Don’t let that thing take my Nancy, fair.
Lord! Lordy, hear my cry.
Don’t turn yo’ back on John Bell, don’t cast my soul in Hell.
Please hope me out this once, hope me out, I pray.
My Nancy, Lord, has done no wrong, her soul is pure white.
Let me, who walked the paths of sin, be struck this night.
Lord, I’ll repent, I’ll join the band.
My soul is weighted down with field rocks bigger than any I’ve lifted off the land.
Save my Nancy.

Measure 612 begins “O Canaan, fair Canaan,” sung by the chorus after Nancy is struck down by the witch. This is an original hymn tune by Bryan, but it is written in the style of a white Appalachian folk hymn tune such as those of the *Sacred Harp* tradition. The melody is based on a gapped scale, eliminating the sixth scale degree, and is found in the tenor voice. The voice leading does not follow part writing rules of common-practice-period harmony. Another distinctive of the harmonic style is the

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28Ibid., 48-49.

29Ibid., 52.
omission of the third of the chord. Bryan indicates in the score that this is to be sung a cappella. Example 8 is the homophonic portions of the piece, prior to a later “fuguing” section.

Example 8

Bryan, The Bell Witch, mm. 611-627, chorus

30Bryan, The Bell Witch, 52-54.
Bryan, *The Bell Witch*, mm. 611-627, chorus (continued)

rest. Watch over this traveler on Jordan's dark shore and bear her safe over where death is no more.
The fuguing section is similar to the shape-note style, consisting of a contrapuntal texture and successive, canonic entrances. But Bryan incorporated his own style into the passage by continuing his movement through constantly shifting tonal centers.

The climax of the drama comes as the curse strikes and Nancy screams in terror: “Pa, hit’s a comin’ thru the roof, hit’s a comin’ to get me!” Her father can only respond with a final heartrending plea, “Lord, save my Nancy.” After three measures of a cappella humming by the chorus, the work closes as the orchestration gradually fades away to an open fifth between the basses and first violins playing a harmonic. Though never stated in the lyrics, this seems to indicate that Nancy has died.

**Historical Setting**

Bryan’s story of the Bell family begins, as mentioned in his summary, sometime after a series of earthquakes around 1802. There had been several earthquakes in western Tennessee along the New Madrid fault during the era. The greatest of these, in 1811, formed Reelfoot Lake. Other than this single reference in Bryan’s summary, there are no indications that the scene is anything other than a rural, nineteenth-century farm.

**Geographical Setting**

The only clue to Bryan’s intended geographical setting is his statement about the movements of the Bell family as they try to escape the family curse. The journey begins with John Bell in North Carolina around 1802. Their flight takes them “farther in the mountains” which implies a general westerly route. The actual Bell family farm is in Adams, Tennessee, north-northwest of Nashville. However, there are clues in the cantata
that suggest a location in the mountains of western North Carolina. When the semi-chorus questions John Bell about his troubles, the lyrics mention a soaring hawk, "flying in the next county or over in Tennessee." The proximity to the Tennessee border, along with multiple references to mountains, requires the location to be in the Appalachian regions of Kentucky, Virginia, North Carolina, or northern Alabama. Since Bryan's initial description of the legend states that the Bells once lived in North Carolina, and subsequent moves took them farther into the mountains, the region Bryan had in mind for the setting would be the Appalachian mountains of western North Carolina.

**Performance History**

*The Bell Witch,* 26 minutes long, premiered on 14 April 1947 at Carnegie Hall, with the Juilliard chorus and orchestra under the baton of Robert Shaw. The program was all twentieth-century choral works and included works by Hindemith and Honegger. Howard Taubman, of the *New York Times,* gave a mixed review.

Mr. Bryan's cantata, "The Bell Witch," had its premiere. Based on a North Carolina folk legend, it has a text that seeks to blend poetry with folksiness and that ends up by sounding affected. The music, scored for full orchestra, chorus and soloists, suffers from a familiar ailment. There are some nice touches here and there—an affecting viola solo, a bouncing chorus, a rich orchestral effect—but the whole thing strikes one as being too pretentious for its own good.

To convey the folk spirit with such a large apparatus, a composer needs the knowledge, taste and sophistication of an Aaron Copland. Mr. Bryan, who is still young at the game, may find his way in time.

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The cantata was also performed in Nashville in 1948 by the Nashville Symphony Orchestra and Choral Society under William Strickland.\textsuperscript{33}

Of the works considered in this dissertation, \textit{The Bell Witch} was the only one published during Bryan's lifetime. The copy of the score used for this study was published by J. Fischer (New York) in 1947. \textit{The Bell Witch} is currently out of print and, along with the rest of the J. Fischer catalog, is owned by Alfred Publishing.

\textbf{Regional Elements}

\textbf{Occult}

There are numerous elements of regionalism throughout \textit{The Bell Witch}, not the least of which is the subject matter itself. Jeanette Keith, discussing the interplay of belief systems in the Upper Cumberland, notes the use of certain divination practices in a region where adherence to the Bible is widely accepted.

Regional folklore attributed to the Bible occult qualities. For some, to tear a page from the Bible was to risk premature death. Anything written in the Bible had an especially serious meaning. A person with a decision to make might open the Bible and read a verse at random for guidance. Some people even conjured with the Bible: by suspending scissors from a Bible and counting rotations, young girls could, it was said, divine the name of their future husbands.\textsuperscript{34}

The story of the Bell Witch is itself a prominent part of Tennessee folklore. For some reason, Bryan did not use the name “Bell Witch” anywhere in the cantata, nor did he even use the Bell Witch as a character in the drama. This story has undergone many permutations over the years, but some things are known. There was a Bell family that

\textsuperscript{33}Livinston, \textit{Charles Faulkner Bryan}, 137.

lived in Adams, Tennessee, and they also owned land in North Carolina. It is with this family that the stories of strange events are first identified.

While it is not the purpose of this dissertation to validate any of the legends associated with the Bell Witch, it is important to understand its place in Tennessee history and folklore. One of the most well-known published accounts of the story was published by Richard Williams Bell (1811-1857), a son of the very John Bell mentioned in Bryan’s cantata. His work, *The Bell Witch, or Our Family Trouble*, was not published until after his death when it was released to Martin V. Ingram who was researching the subject. The work was reprinted by Mini-Histories in Nashville in 1985.

Richard Bell identifies some key components of the story. The daughter of John Bell was named Betsy, not Nancy as in the cantata. Bell also identifies his father John Bell and his wife as “steadfast in their religious faith, being members of the Baptist church, and set Christian examples before their children.” Richard Bell described strange sounds and lights, physical attacks from an unseen assailant, and objects being moved by unknown forces. He also suggests that his sister Betsy was the object of much of these manifestations.

Bryan appears to have done research to prepare the storyline for *The Bell Witch*. A typewritten manuscript in the Bryan archives indicates Bryan may have

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36Ibid., 5.
37Ibid., 10.
38Ibid., 19.
intended to set the story as a “folk opera in two acts.” On a page titled “The Bell Witch Legend” Bryan states, “I have studied the available material on the legend but have depended more upon the stories of the relatives of the Bell family. The Bells still speak of the spirit as a real person.”

The Bell Witch story has several different versions. Bryan apparently based his story on a Mississippi variant of the legend. Folklorist Arthur Palmer Hudson collected versions of this story and published it along with other bits of folklore in 1928. Hudson’s version has been repeated in B. A. Botkin’s *A Treasury of American Folklore* and *A Treasury of Southern Folklore*. Some minor elements of the story, differ from the Tennessee version. In Hudson’s version, the daughter’s name is Mary, not Betsy, but Hudson’s overall story is otherwise very close to Richard Bell’s version. The Bell family is relatively prosperous and lives in North Carolina in the early days of the nineteenth century. John Bell has an argument with his overseer, resulting in the man’s death. Shortly thereafter, crops began to fail and the Bell family’s fortunes turn for the worse, prompting them to move to Tennessee. According to Hudson’s narrative, the Bell Witch was the ghost of the slain overseer and was in love with Mary Bell. The witch’s torment of the family finally drives them to move on to a new farm in Panola County, Mississippi.

Some elements of Hudson’s version of the story appear in Bryan’s cantata. In one portion of the story, Mary is getting ready to go to a party when she is physically

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assaulted by the witch. Another element that Bryan seems to have worked into his story is
the screeching heard by John Bell ("Lord, I heard it now a screechin' thru the still night
air"). In the Mississippi version of the story, Mary takes ill and remains so for many
days. Her situation becomes more serious about the time a screech owl is heard outside
the house. According to southern folklorist Frank C. Brown, the screech owl is seen in
some folklore traditions as a harbinger of death. In North Carolina, Brown collected
thirteen different stories of screech owls and their relation to death. Each entry essentially
states that the sound of a screeching owl means that death is imminent for someone in the
household.

An interesting cultural parallel is found in the Celtic banshee tradition.
According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the word "banshee" is derived from the Irish
bean sidhe and refers to a "supernatural being supposed by the peasantry of Ireland and
the Scottish Highlands to wail under the windows of a house where one of the inmates is
about to die." Some families were believed to have their own personal banshee. It is
possible that the Scots-Irish settlers of the southern Appalachians incorporated this belief
with their new surroundings and identified the screeching of the owl as a sign of coming
death.

The Bell Witch seems to be widely known in southern American folklore.
After the premiere performance, some people wrote to Bryan to point out errors in his

42 Bryan, The Bell Witch, 49. See mm. 562-564.
30.
version of the legend, especially the fact that John Bell’s daughter was named Betsy, not Nancy. Bryan’s response was that the name Nancy was easier to sing.\textsuperscript{45}

**Musical elements**

Regional musical elements in *The Bell Witch* are evident in Bryan’s melodies, the music of the barn dance, folksong ornamentation, and the shape-note style spiritual. This was Bryan’s first major work after his year of study with Hindemith, and there is a marked difference between the styles of Bryan’s earlier works and those that came after his year at Yale. The harmonies Bryan used in *The Bell Witch* are chromatic. However, his melodies retain folk characteristics like gapped scales, as shown in example 9. The scale in the upper voice in mm. 320-322 is centered on A, but only contains the notes G-A-C-D-E.

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**Example 9\textsuperscript{46}**

Bryan, *The Bell Witch*, mm. 320-323, piano score

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\textsuperscript{45}Mary Beth Mills, “Bringing Folk Music to the Concert Hall: Composer Tells Bell Witch Story,” *The Peabody Post*, 9 October 1947.

\textsuperscript{46}Bryan, *The Bell Witch*, 30.
Even though most of the vocal parts do not use these gapped scales, the accompanying instrumental parts sometimes use more folk-like scales, as does the pentatonic melody shown in example 10.

Example 10

Bryan, *The Bell Witch*, mm. 231-233, piano score

The preparation for the dance scene begins at m. 337. The tempo picks up to 132 beats per minute for a thirteen-measure introduction. Nancy begins singing in m. 349 and refers to the fiddles as they begin to tune while the strings sound G-D-A-E, the notes for each string of a violin. Nancy parodies a square-dance caller when she sings “choose-y’ pardners ‘round the hall, choose-y’ pardners one and all.” The actual dance music begins at m. 398 when the strings begin a pizzicato figure in duple meter, the most common meter for such dances.

Although *The Bell Witch* is not intended to be staged, the accompaniment and lyrics clearly identify when the dance begins. The chorus sings such phrases as “Swing that girl, that pretty little girl and circle back to me” and “join hands and follow me.” The excitement of the dance ends suddenly at mm. 521-524 as the chorus exclaims that “Nancy Bell’s done fainted dead away.”

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Folksong ornamentation is indicated by Bryan for the baritone soloist in m. 555 (see example 11), where Bryan specifies: “Let the voice turn up – folklike.” This “turning up” is that Bryan specifies seems clearly to suggest the “feathering” described in Chapter 5, a feature of Appalachian traditional folksong often be heard at the end of a phrase.

Example 11

Bryan, *The Bell Witch*, mm. 550-559, baritone solo

Lord, Lord above I never had no truck

Let the voice turn up - folklike

with you afore but now they's somethin' at the door to take the one I love.

Mountain dialect

Out of the works selected for this study, *The Bell Witch* is the first to make use of a mountain dialect. Many of the settlers of the southern Appalachians came from north and west of Great Britain, where the English language was different than that spoken by natives of southern England who made up the bulk of early English colonists. When their descendants later settled in North America, they brought with them a dialect of English

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48Ibid., 48-49.
that had developed slightly apart from the previous colonists and represented an older
form of the language.\textsuperscript{49} The particular dialect of the southern Appalachians has been
labeled by linguists Thomas Pyles and John Algeo as “inland southern.”\textsuperscript{50} Some of this
language is preserved in \textit{The Bell Witch}.

Dropping the final \textit{g} on words with \textit{-ing} endings is not unique to mountain
speech. But Cratis Williams, specialist in mountain speech of Appalachia, points out that
the use of \textit{a} as a prefix before an \textit{-ing} word is common in Appalachia and derived from
Middle English.\textsuperscript{51} There are several examples of this in \textit{The Bell Witch}.

\begin{itemize}
\item mm. 296-298 “I’m \textit{a-goin’} and forget this troubled place.”
\item mm. 446-449 “Turtle dove’s \textit{a-callin’} from the willow tree”
\item mm. 668-671 “Pa, hit’s \textit{a-comin’} thru the roof, hit’s \textit{a-comin’} to get me.”
\end{itemize}

One of the key elements that many outsiders immediately recognize in
southern mountain dialect is the altered vowel sounds. Several instances of this are
carefully spelled out by Bryan in his lyrics.

\begin{itemize}
\item mm. 149-155 “\textit{git} (get) yore plowin’ done”
\item mm. 237-240 “\textit{Jest} (just) sets gazin’ far off”
\end{itemize}

Some words are not easily understood by people from outside the culture or
those whose education has caused them to alter their basic vocabulary. In John Bell’s
prayer of desperation (mm. 587-589, he asks God, “Please hope me out this once.”
Williams identifies “hope” as the “old fashioned preterit and past participle of help.”\textsuperscript{52} In

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{49}Cratis D. Williams, \textit{Southern Mountain Speech} (Berea: Berea College Press, 1992), 1.
\item \textsuperscript{50}Thomas Pyles and John Algeo, \textit{The Origins and Development of the English Language}, 3\textsuperscript{rd}
\item \textsuperscript{51}Williams, \textit{Southern Mountain Speech}, 3.
\item \textsuperscript{52}Ibid., 87.
two instances Bryan’s dialect uses “they’s” as a substitute for “there is” or “there are.” This usage is also identified by Williams.\textsuperscript{53}

\textbf{Cultural references}

Bryan’s cultural references reflect life on a farmstead in southern Appalachia. Accordingly, several of these are agricultural references. Tobacco and corn are mentioned as crops and John Bell plows with a mule. Common staples of rural diet are found when the chorus asks John Bell, “Why do you turn away from the house where warm string beans bursting with tobies and hot cornbread fresh from the oven await you, and a table centered with dark wild honey pulled from a hollow beach [sic].”\textsuperscript{54}

\textbf{Summary}

\textit{The Bell Witch} is significant for several reasons. It is a large-scale choral-orchestral work that preserves a widespread folk narrative of southern Appalachia. Culture of the region is preserved in the use of Appalachian dialect and references to home life on a rural mountain farm. Because this work premiered in the prestigious setting of Carnegie Hall, Appalachian culture was presented for the first time in mainstream American concert life. \textit{The Bell Witch} also portrays Bryan’s views on folklore and faith. Bryan’s works reveal a serious commitment to folksong, especially the white spiritual. However, this work also shows his awareness of southern folklore as it includes both sacred and profane elements, specifically Christianity and the occult. Bryan recognized both in his setting of the Bell Witch story.

\textsuperscript{53}Ibid., 114.

\textsuperscript{54}Bryan, \textit{The Bell Witch}, 19.
Bryan drew the Bell Witch legend from southern folklore. Although the Bell family that was the center of the story actually lived in Adams, Tennessee, Bryan used a variant of the same story found in Mississippi. He also pursued primary sources in his research, gathering portions of the story from living descendants of the Bell family. The Bell Witch was Bryan's first major publication after his wartime service. During his tenure with Civilian Defense, Bryan had the opportunity to travel throughout the southeastern states and would have had opportunities to gather folklore from various sources. Another possible source was Fairie Nolen, one of the first people Bryan hired to work with him in the Tennessee Music Project in the early forties, who was a native of Adams.55

Part of Bryan's regionalism in The Bell Witch is his use of cultural references to indicate a geographical placement of the story. He included references to a location near the border with Tennessee. He also included numerous references to an agricultural setting.

Regional folk dance styles figure prominently in The Bell Witch, Rebel Academy, and Singin' Billy. In each instance Bryan takes care to compose music that accurately reflects the style used for the associated dance.

Out of the works selected for this study, The Bell Witch is the first in which Bryan introduces lyrics or dialogue in a mountain dialect. His vocabulary, syntax, and grammar accurately reflect the manner of speech of the southern highlanders.

Regional musical styles in The Bell Witch are further reflected not in quotation of actual tunes, but in Bryan's melodic and stylistic vocabulary. Although Bryan’s

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55 Livingston, Charles Faulkner Bryan, 46.
harmonic choices are a product of his study with Hindemith, his melodic materials still
retain a folk-like quality, especially in their use of gapped scales. The most significant
element of musical regionalism is Bryan’s original composition in the style of a Sacred
Harp tune. There is a fuguing section which was a popular feature of these tunes, but
some elements, like key changes, are not authentic to the style. However, Bryan’s melody
and harmonies are authentic. The melody is in the tenor, as is thoroughly characteristic of
the oblong tune books of the era. The tune is modal and based on a gapped scale. The
harmonies often seem incomplete, lacking the third of the chord.
CHAPTER 7
CUMBERLAND INTERLUDE: 1790

*Cumberland Interlude: 1790* is a cantata for soprano and orchestra and is the shortest of the selected works. Two copies exist in the Bryan papers. One appears to be a sketch, as it has poorly spaced notes along with marked-out sections. The other version begins a half-step higher and its manuscript is much clearer than the previous version. It is this latter, fair-copy version that has been chosen for use in this chapter.

*Cumberland Interlude* was created in response to a commission from William Strickland for a concert at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D.C.\(^1\) Strickland had just begun the reorganization of the Nashville Symphony Orchestra, which had been silent during the war years.

**Synopsis of the Work**

*Cumberland Interlude* treats a hypothetical series of conversations between the main character, Jane, and her mother who is scheming to create a romantic relationship between Jane and Andrew Jackson (1767-1845). After a six-measure introduction Jane begins by describing the situation on the first morning:

> Early this morning when the first daylight quivers
> brought out the red quilt squares on my bed quivers,

Early this morning my ma,
She shook me, right pertly, \(^2\) she shook me, and this is what she said.

Whereas Jane’s singing is notated “tranquil” at the beginning, the mother’s speech, beginning at m. 28 and sung by Jane, is marked “Sternly, pompous.” Jane’s mother has told her:

Jane, Jane, Jane, get yo’ self up, dress yo’ best,
put on yo’ new sprigged dress
plat down yo’ hair, long down yo’ back,
pinch up yo’ cheek, pinch up yo’ cheeks a blushing red
like smooth persimmons after it’s first frosted.
Starch up your bonnet, sew long new ties on it to fasten ‘neath yo’ chin.
Get up Jane, do as I say.
An hour from now be well in sight when Andy Jackson rides our way.

The tranquil mood returns in m. 72 as the singer returns to Jane’s own thoughts.

I lay there possum-like pretending I didn’t hear her say:
“Jane go dress yo’ best
put on yo’ best poke bonnet
pinch y’ cheeks up ‘til they’re bright red.”
She left me then and climbed the loft steps down.
And before I could count six sunbeams through the chinks or look around
I heard the distant sound of horses feet and soon right past my window wide
came Andy Jackson stern and proud.

An instrumental interlude begins at m. 109, overlapping the last measure of the contralto solo. Bryan’s writing is very motivic in this passage, an excerpt being shown in example 1. Key material is the ascending fourth combined with a dotted rhythm and the eighth-sixteenth-sixteenth rhythm.

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\(^2\) Probably a dialect pronunciation of “pertly,” which according to the *Oxford English Dictionary* can mean “smartly, sharply, quickly.”
Example 1

Bryan, *Cumberland Interlude: 1790*, mm. 114-117, piano score

The instrumental interlude comes to a close at m. 126 as Jane’s mother asks,

“Did he smile your way?” Jane responds “No, not a one.” Her mother asks further, “Did he turn his head?” Jane, somewhat smitten, describes Andy Jackson’s appearance.

No, jest sat there looking straight ahead,
his black sh’boots a shining in the morning sun.
So noble, Ma I’ve never seen a man so stern and straight, so tall and strong,
So strong like a hik’ry bark thong,
His eyes steel blue with just a mit of sorrow.

Bryan interjects some short moments of recitative, serving to move the narration of the story forward: “And then ma said ‘go lay yo’ things away, we’ll try again

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4Andrew Jackson’s nickname was “Old Hickory.”
tomorrow.” It is now evident that Jane’s mother is encouraging her to be noticed by Andrew Jackson with the idea of developing a romantic relationship.

After an instrumental transition in mm. 157-185, a short drum-bass passage prepares for another recitative section. This section covers a short series of question-answer exchanges between Jane and her mother as to whether Andrew Jackson noticed Jane this time. “Ma” once again tells Jane to get up and get dressed the next morning but to “leave off yo’ starched poke bonnet so the sun can shine thru your cold black hair.” Jane then explains to her mother why she has not, and probably will never, gain Jackson’s attentions.

Ma, listen well, ’tis all in vain.
There’s no use for me to go out again, jest no use.
He’ll never turn his head my way
For ev’ryone from here to Nashville knows he’s done smiled at Rachel.

**Performance History**

*Cumberland Interlude: 1790* premiered at Dumbarton Oaks on 7 February 1947, with Nann Merriman (b. 1920) singing the role of “Jane.” Since this was a commission by the Nashville Symphony, any future performances would be the sole property of the Nashville organization. Neither Livingston nor King refers to any subsequent performances of *Cumberland Interlude*.

**Historical Setting**

The story, created by Bryan, is set during the lifetime of Andrew Jackson, one of Tennessee’s best known contributions to the political life of the United States. Jackson

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was born along the North Carolina-South Carolina border in 1767 and was practicing law in North Carolina by 1787. He apparently came to Tennessee shortly thereafter, as he was appointed public prosecutor for Tennessee in 1788. Jackson served in numerous government posts: member of the constitutional convention of Tennessee, congressional representative for Tennessee, Senator, and Justice in the state Supreme Court. Jackson’s rise to national fame came about as result of his leadership of the Tennessee militia, during which time he gained the moniker “Old Hickory.” Jackson’s success against the British at the Battle of New Orleans and in various battles against Indians made him a hero and catapulted him to national recognition. He was appointed governor of Florida in 1821 and was elected President of the United States in 1828.

Much like Bryan’s description in *Cumberland Interlude: 1790*, Jackson’s appearance was striking, as recorded in 1828 by Henry A. Wise, member of Congress, Governor of Virginia, and later a Confederate general.

His presence immediately struck us by its majestic, commanding mien. He was about six feet high, slender in form, long and straight in limb, a little rounded in the shoulders, but stood gracefully erect. His hair, not then white, but venerably gray, stood more erect than his person; not long, but evenly cut, and each particular hair stood forth for itself a radius from a high and full-orbed head, chiseled with every mark of massive strength; his brow was deep, but not heavy, and underneath its porch of the cranium were deep-set, clear, small, blue eyes, which scintillated a light of quick perception like lightning, and then there was no fierceness in them. His cheek-bones were strong, and his jaw was rather ‘lantern;’ the nose was straight, long and Grecian; the upper lip, the only heavy feature of his face, and his nasale muscle somewhat ghastly and ugly, but his mouth showed rocklike firmness, and his chin was as manly as that of Mars. His teeth were long, as if the alveolar process had been absorbed, and were loose, and gave an ugly ghastly expression to his nasal muscle. His chest was flat and broad.7

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7 Ibid., 322.
Jackson married Rachel Donelson Robards, one of the first white settlers of the Nashville area, in 1791.

**Geographical Setting**

There are no indications in the score to a specific geographical setting, other than Jane’s reference to Nashville near the end of the work. The story implies though that Jane’s home is in an area frequented by Jackson. Although Jackson was born along the border of North Carolina and South Carolina, he spent most of his adult life in Tennessee. Bryan’s papers include a draft of the composer’s program notes which are clearer about the location: “The locale for this composition, which was written for this concert, is the Nashville District, known as the Cumberland Settlement and progenitor of the state of Tennessee.”

**Regional Elements**

*Cumberland Interlude: 1790* provides a vignette of life in rural Tennessee during the early nineteenth century. The references in Bryan’s lyrics refer to social customs, patterns of speech, home life, and historical figures of the era.

Social customs used by Bryan include manners of dress and personal adornment, as well as traditional beliefs of romance and courtship. One article of Jane’s clothing mentioned in the lyrics is a “poke bonnet.” The poke bonnet first appeared in

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1804, so called because of the way the brim “poked” out in front of the wearer’s face. Jane’s mother also instructs her to pinch her cheeks, a technique that would cause the skin to redden slightly, which represented a woman’s modesty in early nineteenth-century America. Even Jane’s demure approach to Jackson is reflective of the more restrained approach women took towards courtship in the nineteenth century.

Bryan makes some use of rural dialect in *Cumberland Interlude*, though mostly incidentally. Some of his lyrics use dialect to force a poetic rhyme, as in rhyming “bed kivers” with “daylight quivers.” He also frequently uses the “yo” as a contraction of “your.” The word “just” is pronounced “jest” in mm. 131-133 (“no, jest sat there looking straight ahead”). Jane’s final statement (“he’s done smiled at Rachel”) reflects the use of the word “done” as a substitute for “did.” Such verb constructions are also part of mountain speech.

Home life of the era is reflected in Bryan’s descriptions of Jane’s home. Jane climbs down from the loft steps. A loft was a common way of creating extra space in early log cabins and might be used for storage or sleeping quarters. The sunlight coming through the chinks refers to the gaps between the logs of a cabin in which mud was pressed to seal the house. The “red quilt squares” seem to refer to patchwork quilting.

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Even though *Cumberland Interlude* is a fictional account, Andrew and Rachel Jackson were real. Bryan gives a fairly accurate description of Jackson’s physical appearance, similar to contemporary accounts of the man. Jane refers to Jackson as “sitting in the saddle like a general home from battle.” Besides being known as a politician and statesman, Andrew Jackson was revered for his leadership in battles like the Battle of New Orleans, Horseshoe Bend, and the campaign against the Seminoles in Florida.

Although the tonalities are reflective of Bryan’s expanding harmonic palette, folk elements are still present. Part of Bryan’s reason for using folk melodies was that they were modal, allowing the composer a wider choice of harmonies. This modality is reflected in Bryan’s own melodic materials by his use of a lowered leading-tone, as in example 2. Although the score for *Cumberland Interlude: 1790* uses no key signatures, the A-flat in the first measure of the following example is the pitch center, making the G-flat function as a lowered leading-tone.

Example 2

Bryan, *Cumberland Interlude: 1790*, mm. 7-15, Jane’s solo

\[\text{Early this morning when the first daylight quivers}\]

\[\text{brought out the red quilt squares on my bed quivers}\]

\[\text{Example 2}\]

Despite Bryan’s growing harmonic vocabulary, his melodic choices often reflected pentatonic scales. The pentatonic motive shown in example 3 appears in both vocal and instrumental lines throughout the work.

Example 3

Bryan, *Cumberland Interlude: 1790*, mm. 107-109, Jane’s solo

Summary

Bryan’s *Cumberland Interlude: 1790* does not directly use folk melodies, nor does it draw on any specific regional folklore in the storyline. Bryan instead created a fictional narrative based on real culture and history of Tennessee. The story’s believability is held together by the real-life persona of Andrew Jackson and set in the rural South.

Andrew Jackson figured prominently in the history not only of the United States but Tennessee as well. He was known as a leader of men in battle and in politics. Jackson served in the first constitutional convention for Tennessee, as a member of congress, and was elected to the superior court prior to beginning military service in 1801. Bryan’s description of Jackson accurately reflected contemporary accounts of Jackson.

\[14\] Ibid., 5.
Bryan’s compositional technique underwent a dramatic change during his studies with Hindemith. His post-Hindemith works show a composer with a larger arsenal of harmonies at his disposal. Before his time at Yale, Bryan’s harmonies were likely to be repetitive and diatonic. But after his year with Hindemith, Bryan’s harmonies became more complex and continuously developed over the course of a given work. Evidence of this is found in the quartal harmonies and melodic use of an ascending perfect fourth throughout *Cumberland Interlude*. However, despite Bryan’s newer and more cosmopolitan compositional style, his melodic style still retained some folk-like qualities. Modal melodies based on gapped scales remained an important trait of his style.
CHAPTER 8

SINGIN' BILLY

"Singin' Billy," subtitled "An Opera in Two Acts," is based on the life William Walker (1809-1875), singing school master and compiler of the influential tune book *Southern Harmony* (1835). The work was the fruit of collaboration between Bryan and Donald Davidson (1893-1968), colleague and fellow dulcimer aficionado. Davidson, an English professor at Vanderbilt University, created the libretto, although correspondence between him and Bryan suggests they collaborated on the finer details of the text. Although Bryan and Davidson retained performance and production rights of the work during their lifetimes, it was published in 1985 by The Foundation for American Education. It was published in two formats: The first containing only a historical introduction and libretto, (listing Davidson first as the author of the text), and the second a copy of a manuscript vocal-piano score listing Bryan first as the composer. The score only contains the music and dialogue that occurs with underscored music. The bulk of the dialogue is in the book, so both volumes are required to perform the work.

**Geographical Setting**

The story is set in the Oconee Town, South Carolina. Oconee Town was an early Cherokee town in the westernmost corner of South Carolina and the namesake of
modern Oconee County.¹ The lyrics of Singin' Billy mention several landmarks in the region: nearby Pickens County, the Tugaloo and Tyger Rivers, and the Low Country along the coast of South Carolina.

There are ten named characters in addition to a chorus made up of the young people of Oconee Town.² Callie Wilkins (known as “Miss Callie”) is a widow and considered the matriarch of the community. Romance is a key component of the storyline, as several of the characters develop relationships with each other. Jennie and John Alsop are newlyweds and sing as chorus members. Kinch Hardy, a “wild mountain boy,” functions as William Walker’s antagonist. Gussie Epps is Kinch’s sweetheart and “a little spitfire.” Hank MacGregor, Miss Callie’s nephew, is a young blacksmith known for his austere religious nature. Margaret Williams is identified as a charming young woman who has “a pretty way with the boys.” Hezekiah Golightly, known as “Uncle Kiah,” is a Revolutionary War veteran in his 70s, but still boyish in nature. William Walker, sometimes called “Singin’ Billy,” is presented as a singing school teacher and the author of Southern Harmony. Omer Dunavant is listed as “awkward, but an apt pupil” and sings with the chorus. Unnamed characters include fiddlers and a caller for the dance scene.


Analysis of the Work

_Singin’ Billy_ is set in Oconee Town, a fictitious community in Pickens County, South Carolina, situated near the mountains and the Keowee River valley. William Walker’s arrival in the town coincides with the preparations for a wedding, a festive event in the rural community. Kinch Hardy, leader of the “wild mountain boys” is Walker’s chief antagonist and competitor for the town’s attention. Kinch’s desire for revelry clashes with Walker’s goal of leading a singing school. The tension between Kinch Hardy and William Walker is the central manifestation of the conflict between sacred and secular that is underlies the entire work. Music is prominent in the cultural life of townspeople on both sides of this divide. Table 5 lists the acts, scenes, and individual numbers of _Singin’ Billy_.

Following the overture, based in part on the hymn tune WONDROUS LOVE, Scene One is set in Miss Callie’s front yard and porch on a spring morning in 1835. The scene opens with Miss Callie singing of romance in “The Hawthorn Tree” (example 1). The melody is in Dorian mode, like much of Bryan’s melodic writing in this opera. Two young newlyweds are seen sneaking across the stage during the first stanza, as if trying to escape unknown pursuers.

“The Hawthorn Tree” appears three times throughout _Singin’ Billy_: after the overture, near the beginning of the second act, and at the close of the finale. The song works as a set of bookends, framing the romantic element of the story. The romantic relationships found in the work create a side story to the battle between the sacred and secular.

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3Ibid., 2.
Table 5 – Dramatic scheme of *Singin’ Billy*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACT ONE</th>
<th>Scene One</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overture</td>
<td>Orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Hawthorn Tree</td>
<td>Miss Callie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shivaree</td>
<td>Kinch, Gussie, Miss Callie and Ensemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Quilt Song</td>
<td>Margaret, Miss Callie and Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Broad</td>
<td>Singin’ Billy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hammer Out Sin</td>
<td>Hank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Risin’ of the Moon</td>
<td>Gussie, with song and dance ensemble</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scene Two</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sandy Land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Come and Ferry Me Home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Life and Death of John Barleycorn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wondrous Love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finale</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACT TWO</th>
<th>Scene One</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prelude to Act Two</td>
<td>Orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jerusalem</td>
<td>Margaret and ensemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Hawthorn Tree</td>
<td>Margaret</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Hawthorn Tree (trio)</td>
<td>Margaret, Singin’ Billy and Hank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evening Shade</td>
<td>Hank and ensemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One More Hunt</td>
<td>Kinch and Boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Low Country</td>
<td>Singin’ Billy, Margaret and Hank</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scene Two</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Courtin’s Hardly Begun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If a Maiden Thinks to Marry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Promised Land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wondrous Love (Fugato)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reprise – Quilt Song</td>
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<tr>
<td>Finale</td>
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</tbody>
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Example 1

Bryan, Singin' Billy, "Hawthorn Tree," mm. 3-7, piano and vocal score

As I roamed out one fine spring day all for my pleasure a-walk-in', 'Twas
there beside a hawthorn tree I heard to lovers a-talk-in'.

As Ms. Callie finishes singing "Hawthorn Tree," her reflection is interrupted by the sounds of cow bells, gunfire, and whooping voices. The chorus enters while singing "The Shivaree Song" in G, and listing the activities they have planned for the newlywed couple.⁵

The preacher tied the knot, and the sexton rung the bell,
And the groom is saddling up to fetch his bride.
But before they ride together there is something to be done:
We have another horse for him to ride.
So come along, boys, [let's] shivaree, shivaree ride him on a rail.

An instrumental interlude takes over at rehearsal letter F and continues until letter J, a length of 40 measures. The girls of the community then explain their plans for the bride.

She's wedded with a ring and it is a pretty thing,
And the groom has bought a pillion⁶ for his bride.
But before she mounts behind him, and she puts her arms around him,

⁴Charles Faulkner Bryan and Donald Davidson, Singin' Billy [score] (n.p., 1952), 9-10.

⁵"Shivaree" is a corruption of the French "charivari." The charivari is "a noisy and violent ceremony involving improvised music performed with household utensils capable of making the maximum amount of noise." These later became "mock serenades performed beneath the windows of newly married couples," Denis Arnold, ed. The New Oxford Companion to Music (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 357.

⁶A "pillion" is a type of cushioned saddle.
We have another horse for her to ride. 
So come along, girls, let’s shivaree, shivaree ride her in a tub.

Miss Callie breaks up the hazing of the newlyweds, sending the boys and girls of the chorus on their way. After instructing Margaret to bring out a basket of quilts, Miss Callie inquires if the bride has any quilts of her own. Jenny replies that all she has is the coverlet, sewn in the Flower of Edinboro pattern. Miss Callie discusses the relative luckiness or unluckiness of various traditional quilt patterns and gives the young bride a completed quilt as she begins singing the “Quilt Song.”

Following the rambunctious “Shivaree Song,” the mood becomes more subdued with Margaret’s “Quilt Song,” a tranquil, lyrical melody in A minor. Margaret explains how a handmade quilt tells the story of her people.

What the sword said in battle, what the axe said to the tree, 
All our travel, all our wanderings sewed to keep in memory.

While the candle sputtered slowly I remember’d times of men
I remembered kings and heroes, deathless deeds of now and then. 
Red Culloden, grief of Sedgemoor, Washington and liberty, 
Mountain riders, mountain rifles sewed to keep in memory. 
From earth’s corners four winds blowing cross to make this sacred sign 
Set in round where sun is center, heav’n and earth by God’s design.

Sweetheart’s fancies, roadside flowers, love of plant and lift of tree, 
All we know that’s wise and lovely sewed to keep in memory.

The young women listen thoughtfully throughout the song, examining the quilts that Miss Callie is showing to Margaret.

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7Quilt patterns are often given specific names, like “Flower of Edinboro” or “Double Wedding Ring.”

8The Battle of Culloden (16 April 1746) was part of the Jacobite rebellion against the English crown.

9The Battle of Sedgemoor (6 July 1685) was fought in southwest England over control of the English throne.
After the girls have all left Miss Callie’s house, the silence is broken by the sound of a gunshot. Uncle Kiah enters, dressed as a backwoods hunter and carrying a freshly killed squirrel. It becomes quickly apparent that Kiah has in mind to marry Miss Callie, but she wants nothing to do with the idea. Callie ignores Kiah by going inside, leaving Kiah to doze off on the front porch.

The next number marks the first entrance of Singin’ Billy, who enters from backstage while singing FRENCH BROAD. The melody, shown in example 2, sounds over a pedal tone, and is in the same key as found in Southern Harmony.

Example 2\textsuperscript{10}

Bryan, Singin’ Billy, “French Broad,” mm. 2-10, Singin’ Billy solo

As William Walker nears the cabin, Kiah steps up to meet him, gun in hand. Kiah becomes jealous when Walker states that he is looking for the home of Miss Callie Wilkins. Determined to keep Callie for himself, Kiah offers to take Walker on a journey

\textsuperscript{10}Bryan and Davidson, Singin’ Billy, 44.
through some rough country towards the spot where he claims Callie’s house is really located.

Callie returns to the stage, mystified as to where Kiah has gone. Margaret and Hank return, carrying lanterns, to help set up for a dance in Callie’s yard. Despite Callie’s admonition to work and avoiding courting, Margaret pesters Hank with questions about romance and love. Hank is frustrated and responds sanctimoniously with an exhortation about sin and the need to prepare one’s soul for death.

“Hammer Out Sin,” the next number, is the most unusual piece in the entire work. Hank, who is fervently religious, tells Margaret the story of how he was converted after having a dream while resting from a bear hunt. Hank’s narrative is spoken over string tremolos and sustained pedal notes which serve as an underscore for the monologue. A short evangelistic exhortation concludes the work as the chorus sings, “Born to sin, unhappy man! . . . Seek salvation. Hammer out sin!”

Hank exits the stage, leaving Margaret bewildered. Kinch enters, carrying a jug of homemade whiskey. Margaret and Kinch argue briefly about whiskey, romance, and the fact that Callie has been expecting a stranger to drop by that day. Gussie enters and informs the two that Kiah was just seen with a stranger along a nearby creek. Kinch runs off to get his friends to go and see if this stranger is a Yankee, an abolitionist, or some other type not accepted by the community. In the conversation that follows, Gussie reveals that she only did this to keep Kinch away from Margaret, who exits and leaves Gussie crying. When Callie comes out and finds Gussie crying, she offers to help Gussie in her pursuit of romance by providing a love charm, to be used when the moon rises during the dance that night.
Gussie sings the next number, “The Rising of the Moon,” as she visualizes the coming dance. Various members of the cast enter as she sings, and gradually begin to dance. The initial portion of Gussie’s solo, shown in example 3, is another Dorian melody.

Example 3

Bryan, *Singin’ Billy*, “The Rising of the Moon,” mm. 1-12, Gussie’s solo

“The Rising of the Moon” alternates between Gussie’s reflective, pensive singing and dance-like passages. After Gussie’s initial solo, the chorus sings about choosing partners and preparing for the dance, followed by 47 measures of dance music from the orchestra. The alternation continues as Gussie begins singing again at rehearsal letter G, once again in the Dorian mode. This interesting alternation between D Dorian

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11Ibid., 52.
and the A-major dance sections continues. This reflects the fact that many of the folk songs Bryan studied were modal, while dance music was often in a major key.

The chorus returns at rehearsal letter I and sings dance instructions for 21 measures. After an initial admonition by the soloist to “Choose your partners, boys, and I will choose my beau,” the score indicates the next passage to be “almost monotone, like calling sets.” The dance continues for nine measures, calling the sets, “Old lady out and crow hop in, never ask where the crow has been. Swing your partner high in the shade, swing your partner and promenade.” The instrumental portion that follows opens with a fiddle “kickoff,” shown in example 4. A “kickoff,” common in traditional dance music, is a rhythmic and harmonic figure used to identify the key and tempo of the tune that follow. It is often played on the fiddle with multiple stops.

Example 4

Bryan, Singin’ Billy, “The Rising of the Moon,” mm. 120-121

The lyrics being sung by both Gussie and the chorus are replete with regional references, both to locations and to dance styles. The chorus sings “Away off on the Tugaloo,” referencing a river bordering Georgia and South Carolina. Gussie’s solo, beginning at rehearsal letter K, is a musical description of what might be called a barn

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12Ibid., 58.


14Bryan and Davidson, Singin’ Billy, 62.
dance. After admonishing everyone to choose their partners, Gussie states that “The world turns ‘round, the fiddle plays. Back to the center and go your ways.” Gussie then serves as the “caller,” identifying the dance steps for the group with such statements as “double shuck corn and cage the bird.” This marks the end of Scene One.

The curtain opens on the second scene as the dance is already underway. The set calls for the dancers to be directed by a caller and led by a group of fiddlers. Margaret and Kinch are dancing together while Gussie, much to her annoyance, is paired with the clumsy Omer.

“Sandy Land,” the opening chorus for Scene Two, begins with another fiddle kickoff and is identified as a “breakdown.” The chorus sings one of Bryan’s original tunes, an excerpt of which is shown in example 5, which demonstrates his use of pentatonic melodies. The fiddle “kickoff” rhythm is pervasive throughout this number.

Example 5

Bryan, Singin’ Billy, “Sandy Land,” mm. 10-14, chorus

15 “Breakdown” is defined in The New Harvard Dictionary of Music and Musicians as “an animated instrumental (especially fiddle) tune in duple meter, often to accompany dancing.”

16 Bryan and Davidson, Singin’ Billy, 74.
A short reprise of "Rising of the Moon" follows as the couples make their way to the refreshment table to the side of the stage. This clears the way for the dialogue to continue before the dancers get ready for another round. Just as the fiddlers begin to start another set, gunfire erupts off stage. Callie, who has been discussing the love charms with Gussie, sets her basket of charms down on the refreshment table as she rushes off to investigate the disturbance.

Kiah and some of his cohorts enter the scene holding Walker at gunpoint and carrying Walker’s saddlebags. Kinch explains that he caught the stranger sneaking around Bee Gum Hollow, “where all the horse-thieves and abolitionists commonly hide out.” Various people suggest other nefarious descriptions of the stranger before Walker is allowed to explain that he is in fact a singing school teacher. Callie then realizes that this is the man she has been waiting for all day.

As Walker continues explaining himself, several of Kinch’s boys pass around copies of Southern Harmony from Walker’s saddlebags. The crowd asks Walker to prove that he is indeed a singing school teacher by singing a song. As Walker is preparing, Kiah goes to get Walker some water, but mischievously dumps the rest of Callie’s love potions into the pitcher.

Walker then sings “Ferry Me Home,” one of the most beautiful melodies in Singin’ Billy. It begins as a solo for the title character as he sings of waiting for the ferry man to come and carry him across the river after a hard day’s work. At rehearsal letter C, Callie enters to sing about a hard day’s work at home in front of the spinning wheel. Singin’ Billy then responds as he sings about being alone and how singing makes him
feel better, especially when joined with others. This time Walker’s melody, shown in example 6, is accompanied by the melody FRENCH BROAD at m. 67.

Example 6\(^\text{17}\)

Bryan, *Singin’ Billy*, “Ferry Me Home,” mm. 66-74, vocal solo and violins

Singin’ Billy continues his solo as he sings “But better it is to sing together, two by two, three by three, voices twining each his part.” Although tunes from the

\(^{17}\)Ibid., 85.
shape-note tradition have already appeared in *Singin' Billy*, the first indication of the actual practice occurs in mm. 82-83, shown in example 7.

**Example 7**

Bryan, *Singin' Billy*, “Ferry Me Home,” mm. 81-84, Singin’ Billy’s solo

The shape-note syllables in m. 82 correspond correctly to the syllables for each scale degree in the shape-note system originally used by William Walker.

As in previous numbers, the lyrics of the song also identify real geographical locations (m. 104): “Way down yonder on Tyger River I heard a voice in the tall oak tree.” By this point in the song, the other characters have gathered around Walker to hear him narrate his experience of how he was, in his words, “called by God” to teach music: “The great voice spoke to me . . . O, William Walker, go forth.” The chorus intones an “Amen” as Walker embarks on the testimony of his calling: “I went forth no more to sing alone, but by God’s grace in sweetest song to join the human race.” Here the chorus begins singing FRENCH BROAD. This tune then becomes the vehicle for Walker’s solo as he sings, “And so I go from place to place, beseeching every tuneful heart to time its beat and bear its part as one in all, and all in one, no more to sing alone.” Fragments of the FRENCH BROAD tune also appear in the instrumental accompaniment lines in this song, as well as in Singin’ Billy’s solo line at rehearsal letter G (see example 8).

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18Ibid., 86.
Kinch is annoyed that he has been proven wrong about Walker. He complains that Walker’s music will cause him and his friends to have to give up some of the songs they already know. Kinch and his boys launch into sing one of their own songs, “The Life and Death of John Barleycorn,” which personifies the grains raised to produce liquor. “The Life and Death of John Barleycorn” is loosely based on the poem “John Barleycorn,” written in 1785 by the Scottish poet Robert Burns (1759-1796). Although

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19Ibid., 85.

the lyrics are clearly secular, Walker is surprised to find that the tune, shown in example 9, is that of the white spiritual WONDROUS LOVE.

Example 9

Bryan, Singin’ Billy, “The Life and Death of John Barleycorn,” mm. 2-22, Kinch’s solo

Walker remarks that Kinch’s tune is indeed a fine one, and that he actually has it in Southern Harmony, but set to sacred words and harmonized. Gussie, Callie, and Hank offer to join Walker as he begins to sing the next number “Wondrous Love.”

“Wondrous Love” begins with Singin’ Billy’s solo over open-fifth harmonization. There is little use of the middle chord tone throughout this tune setting except as part of a countermelody. The melody that Bryan presents is at first unadorned.

\[\text{Example 9}^{21}\]

\[\text{Bryan, Singin’ Billy, “The Life and Death of John Barleycorn,” mm. 2-22, Kinch’s solo}\]

\[\text{John Bar-ley-corn is dead, some folks say, some folks say, John Bar-ley-corn is dead for they laid him on his bed, and they've covered up his head, old and gray, old and gray, and the wind it blows so cold all the day.}\]

\[\text{Walker remarks that Kinch’s tune is indeed a fine one, and that he actually has it in Southern Harmony, but set to sacred words and harmonized. Gussie, Callie, and Hank offer to join Walker as he begins to sing the next number “Wondrous Love.”}\]

\[\text{“Wondrous Love” begins with Singin’ Billy’s solo over open-fifth harmonization. There is little use of the middle chord tone throughout this tune setting except as part of a countermelody. The melody that Bryan presents is at first unadorned.}\]

\[\text{\[\text{Ibid.}, 98.\]}\]
Callie joins Walker on the second stanza, followed by Margaret and Gussie, who sing the shape-note syllables, as shown in example 10.

Example 10

Bryan and Davidson, *Singin' Billy*, “Wondrous Love,” mm. 21-28, vocals and piano

After “Wondrous Love,” several people express a desire to keep singing and Walker announces that the singing school will be held in Miss Callie’s pasture beginning the next night. It is at this point that the battle between the sacred and the profane begins to be apparent. As more people begin to speak favorably of Walker, Kinch will hear no

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22Bryan and Davidson, *Singin' Billy*, 108-9. In this instance, Bryan did not use the correct syllables for the melody.
more of it and vociferously demands that the dance continue. As tempers flare, Kiah awakens from a drunken stupor and begins singing “Praise God, from whom all blessings flow,” presumably to OLD 100th, as he had mentioned this tune when first meeting Walker. Kinch is enraged and attacks Kiah in an attempt to silence him before Hank intervenes. Eventually the dance begins again, but not before the crowd is divided into one group that wants to dance and the other group that wants to learn Walker’s songs. What follows is a musical duel between the two factions.

The battle between the sacred and profane is fought out musically in “Finale – Act I.” A six-measure fiddle kickoff announces the breakdown tempo and the WONDROUS LOVE tune begins. Since this is at a dance tempo, the implication is that the fiddlers are playing “John Barleycorn.” At m. 21, a group of girls beginning singing the sacred lyrics of WONDROUS LOVE in rhythmic augmentation to that of the “John Barleycorn” tune. Kinch and his faction take over the second phrase of the sacred tune and return to “John Barleycorn” with the original note values.

The intensity of the musical battle increases as the girls return to their version of WONDROUS LOVE at m. 46, still in rhythmic augmentation to Kinch’s “John Barleycorn” which begins on the last beat of m. 46. Bryan’s writing, shown in example 11, is such that WONDROUS LOVE functions as its own countermelody. Both groups continue trying to out-sing the other through the end of the piece. Thus ends the first act.

The second act is set ten days after the previous encounter and the singing school is ensconced in a brush arbor in Miss Callie’s pasture. The curtain opens after a twelve-measure prelude. This segues directly into the first number, “Jerusalem,” the last
Example 11

Bryan, Singin’ Billy, “Act I Finale,” mm. 46-68, chorus

What **wondrous love is this!** Oh, my

John Barleycorn is great and he lives, and he lives, oh,

What **wondrous love is**

he’s our bread and meat

So never hesitate for to

drink his spirit straight and to praise old John the great, fill the bowl! Fill the

What **wondrous love is**

bowl! Oh, Barleycorn the Great fill the

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Ibid., 113. Bryan and Davidson’s score includes does not include lyrics for the lower part in mm. 52-54.
Bryan, *Singin' Billy*, “Act I Finale,” mm. 46-68, chorus (continued)

![Musical notation](image)

two measures of which feature a horn solo sounding the first two measures of FRENCH BROAD.

The first sung number is “Jerusalem.” The prelude establishes the opening pitch and the assembled singers begin singing the *Southern Harmony* tune JERUSALEM. The lyrics and melody are identical to what is found in the original *Southern Harmony*, but with the alto line used in the *Original Sacred Harp* (Denson Revision). Omer questions whether or not he should be singing this, since Walker’s book attributes the tune to “Baptist Harmony” and Omer is a Methodist. Walker replies that it merely identifies the original source of the tune and that the singing school is a place to put aside theological differences and join in singing in harmony. As the class is dismissed for a recess, several singers continue singing the chorus of JERUSALEM.

Margaret enters the scene and begins to sing “The Hawthorn Tree” as Walker is making notes for the next session. After the first verse, Walker asks Margaret to sing it

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again and prepares to transcribe the tune, but Margaret is more interested in his hearing
the romantic overtones of the lyrics. Margaret sings the song again as Singin’ Billy writes
down the melody. Afterwards they talk about Walker’s plans for the future, and Margaret
presses to find out if he has a sweetheart. After a few awkward moments, Walker
proceeds to sing “The Hawthorn Tree” as he has learned it from Margaret. Hank returns
to the scene and joins them in the latter half of the song.

Hank informs Walker that the community is gossiping about Walker, a result
of Kinch’s unkind remarks. Hank is reminded by Walker that he will be allowed to lead
EVENING SHADE during the next sessions. After Hank exits, Callie returns to talk to
Walker about some trouble that is brewing in the community. She says that some people
feel that Walker is not behaving properly with the young ladies, especially Margaret and
Gussie. Walker defends himself by saying that in each instance the young ladies were
simply helping him with work related to the singing school. The original letters of
recommendation were lost during Walker’s escapades with Kinch, and he is also waiting
for a very important letter from Spartanburg. During all of these conversations, Walker
and the others hear a hunting horn that is consistently drawing closer.

Walker calls the singing school back into session with the ringing of a bell.
Several of the boys are absent from the group. While he is quizzing the group on musical
terminology, Omer finally remembers that the postmaster had asked him to bring a letter
to Walker. Walker takes the letter and then asks Hank to take over and lead EVENING
SHADE, this time with a “new” section Walker had recently been working on.²⁶

²⁶Two portions of Bryan’s setting of EVENING SHADE are not part of the original Southern
Harmony setting (not counting the alto line, which was taken from the Sacred Harp setting. The third
stanza and fourth stanzas (both found at m. 16) include an additional part sung by Hank. There is a later
After announcing the tune and setting the pitch with a tuning fork, Hank begins leading the chorus of EVENING SHADE. Once the class finishes singing, Kinch and some of his cohorts appear out of the shadows. Kinch takes the center of attention and proclaims that he has proof that Walker is indeed a “yellow-bellied, psalm-singin’ woman-chaser.” Apparently Kinch goes to Spartanburg during the singing school, intending to find out more about William Walker. He shows a letter from a Spartanburg resident detailing the identity of a “William Walker.” Singin’ Billy identifies the man referred to in the letter as another William Walker, also from Spartanburg. Kinch is unsatisfied with Walker’s explanations and wants to fight. Walker agrees to settle the situation with a duel a few days hence, as long as he is allowed to choose the weapons.

In the meantime, Kinch and his cronies depart for a hunt. The music at this point, “One More Hunt” is written in two contrasting styles. A chromatic melody follows, alternating with a pentatonic melody shown in example 12.

Example 12

Bryan, Singin’ Billy, “One More Hunt,” mm. 2-9, Kinch’s solo

Other days I hunted free Carolina and Tennessee;

Dog at heel and gun in hand; Pinny wood and sandy land.

portion of the song (m. 31) that serves as a bridge, sung by Hank as a solo, before returning to the original EVENING SHADE.

27Bryan and Davidson, Singin’ Billy, 134.
After Kinch leaves, taking quite a few of the crowd with him, Singin' Billy remains behind to pack up his materials. As he pauses to sing “The Hawthorn Tree,” Margaret returns to talk with Walker. She expresses a desire to be a singing school teacher like Walker, but further conversation reveals she is also looking for a way out of her situation as an unmarried woman in a remote, rural area. She says that no one will ever come to take her “away to the Low Country.”

Walker begins singing the next number, “The Low Country.”28 This song, which begins with Walker singing in D minor, speaks of their forefathers and their fight for freedom from England (example 13).

Example 1329

Bryan, Singin’ Billy, “The Low Country,” mm. 3-13, Singin’ Billy’s solo

28 The term “low country” is a reference to the low-lying coastal areas of South Carolina.

29 Bryan and Davidson, Singin’ Billy, 140.
Margaret joins in the song after two verses by Singin’ Billy. She sings of the joys of mountain living, but that the living is far better in places like Charleston. Walker takes the next verse and continues singing of the history of their forbears, while Margaret follows with another verse that speaks of romance in the low-country. Hank makes his entrance after an eight-measure orchestral interlude and short introduction. Hank professes his love for Margaret, which Walker encourages, having seen the budding relationship between those two earlier in the story. Margaret insists that she wants to go to the Low Country; Hank answers that, although he loves her, he will be staying in the mountains of Oconee Town. Thus this song closes Scene One of the second act with growing tension and a love triangle between three characters whose dilemma revolves around the dichotomy between traditional mountain culture and city life.

The final scene takes place in Callie’s yard three days later, the time of the appointed duel between Kinch and Singin’ Billy. Callie is sewing as Kiah enters carrying Callie’s basket of love charms. They begin a duet, “The Courtin’s Hardly Begun.” The melody, shown in example 14, further illustrates the predominance of minor-mode melodies in Bryan’s music.

The song continues as a duet between Callie and Kiah. The tempo eventually moves into a dance tempo and the bass reiterates the rhythmic pattern of a fiddle kickoff.

As Callie and Kiah are conversing after their duet, Callie notices that some of her love potions are missing from the basket. Kiah apparently thinks the basket contains “medicine” and reveals that he had spiked the punch bowl at the dance with a dose of
Example 14

Bryan, Singin’ Billy, “The Courtin’s Hardly Begun,” mm. 7-13, Kiah’s solo

Callie’s love potions. Kiah suggests that this explains all the romance that has been happening in the community. He also confesses having stolen a packet from Walker on his arrival, the very packet containing the long-sought letters of introduction.

Kiah exits to tend to Callie’s garden as Gussie and a chorus of girls return, singing “If a Maiden Thinks to Marry.” They sing about the rights of the girls of Pickens County to participate in a bride’s wedding preparations. Margaret and Hank enter the scene during the singing and the girls take Margaret and begin to pantomime another Shivaree, while Hank beats a hasty retreat. Gussie goes on to say that she spoke with Kinch earlier and believes Kinch knows that he is in the wrong in the conflict with Walker.

The previous characters exit the stage as Hank and Margaret are seen walking down a winding path, singing Bryan’s version of PROMISED LAND; significantly, they are singing out of copies of Southern Harmony. The scoring is for only two voices,

\[\text{Ibid., 154.}\]
cappella. Margaret applauds Hank's singing and suggests that he could be a singing school teacher.

As Walker is finishing his preparations a crowd assembles in Callie's yard and sings JERUSALEM. Although the libretto indicates this song, it does not appear at this point in the score. It seems likely that the crowd just repeats the music as sung earlier in the act. They have come to see Walker off as he leaves for his next destination and have brought gifts, including some whiskey brought by Omer.

Kinch enters and suggests that Walker will need the whiskey to see him through the coming duel. The crowd forms a circle and calls for a fair fight. Since Walker is the one being challenged, he is allowed to select the weapons. He pulls out a tuning fork and begins to sing "Wondrous Love – Fugato." Walker begins singing the first stanza of WONDROUS LOVE and proceeds to repeat it, this time with the men of the cast. Kinch, Gussie, and several others begin singing "John Barleycorn" in an attempt to drown out Walker. The "John Barleycorn" melody is sung in similar fashion to the Finale from the first act. "John Barleycorn" is sung at the same time as the "Wondrous Love," but in rhythmic diminution. The sopranos and altos begin three measures later (m.23) singing "Wondrous Love" in a quasi-fugue. The battle continues, as before, with the sacred and profane songs battling for dominance. A notation in the score on the last statement of the hymn's title phrase (m. 28) indicates that "the lower voices win over the Barleycorn theme."\footnote{Ibid., 172.}

After the song duel, Callie speaks up to get some facts straight. She points out that Walker's papers have been found, including her letter inviting him to come and lead
a singing school. She also announces that Walker is engaged to Amy Golightly of Spartanburg. Kiah reveals that he is related to the Golightly family of Spartanburg. Walker asks Margaret to read the letter from his fiancé where the crowd can hear. Walker’s bride-to-be responds to Walker’s warm tales of his newfound friends and invites them all to attend the wedding. All interpersonal conflicts are suddenly resolved. A reprise of the “Quilt Song” plays underneath the spoken lines and segues into the finale, a reprise of “If a maiden thinks to marry.”

Performance History

The premier of Singin’ Billy was 23-28 April 1952 at Vanderbilt, with performers from both the Vanderbilt Theater and Peabody College’s music department.32 Turning down at least one publisher’s offer, Bryan and Davidson chose to publish Singin’ Billy privately, realizing that they would reap a greater percentage of the profits if they published it themselves.33 By this point Bryan’s fame had increased and news of this new work brought numerous requests from colleges around the nation. A large portion of Bryan’s correspondence from this era consists of letters regarding the hiring of scores and parts for performance.

Historical Setting

Singin’ Billy is set in the early nineteenth century, during the lifetime of William Walker (1809-1875). The libretto includes no references to dates that would

32Livingston, Charles Faulkner Bryan, 160.

identify the exact time to the listeners. References to Walker possibly being an
abolitionist suggest the setting as being prior to the Civil War. The storyline of Singin’
Billy presents a chronological problem when Walker is presented as being engaged to
Amy Golightly, but also having publishing Southern Harmony. Walker’s Southern
Harmony was first published in 1835, but he had already been married to Amy Golightly
since 1833. Despite Bryan and Davidson’s alteration of the sequence of events, the time
frame is the early 1830s.

Regional Elements

Bryan and Davidson worked together on Singin’ Billy with an equal division of
labor between the text and music. Correspondence between the two indicates that they
did converse over textual and musical issues, but that the music was essentially Bryan’s
while the libretto was essentially Davidson’s. Therefore, any regional elements on the
part of Bryan must be found in the musical score.

Bryan used five tunes from Southern Harmony in this work: EVENING
SHADE, FRENCH BROAD, JERUSALEM, PROMISED LAND, and WONDROUS
LOVE. Three of the tunes, EVENING SHADE, JERUSALEM, and FRENCH BROAD,
are ascribed to Walker in Southern Harmony. WONDROUS LOVE is simply listed as
being by “Christopher,” while PROMISED LAND is ascribed to “Miss M. Durham.”
This seems to demonstrate that Bryan was not only familiar with the actual notes of the
tunes, but also their regional background. His use of these tunes in Singin’ Billy covered a
wide range of settings and compositional approaches.

Bryan’s simplest approach presented Walker’s original arrangement (but with
the alto line added, sometimes taken from S. M. Denson’s 1911 revision of Sacred
Harp).34 This is the approach used with JERUSALEM at the beginning of Act Two. The score indicates the manner of performance should be “loud and robust throughout,” reflecting a common approach to performance of these tunes.

Second, Bryan slightly altered the original work to suit his own purposes while seeking to retain the style of the original. PROMISED LAND, as scored in Act Two, consists of only two lines of the original three-part setting. Hank sings the melody while Margaret sings the original treble line. In addition to the use of only two voices, Bryan preserved the text, rhythms, key and harmonies of the original with the exception of the third measure from the end. Walker’s original had the melody and treble parts singing a perfect fourth on the word “me” (m. 15). Bryan changed the last few notes so that the two voices would be a sixth apart.

Third, Bryan scored the melody with a newly composed accompaniment, as he did with FRENCH BROAD as sung by Singin’ Billy in the first act. Walker begins singing while offstage, as if approaching from a distance and is singing to pass the time. The tune, one of those originally by William Walker, is first presented as a solo over a tonic pedal tone in the original key of E minor. The texture of the orchestration gradually expands but retains harmonies characteristic of the shape-note style. Parallelism is common, as are canonic imitation and chords lacking a third.

Fourth, the tune WONDROUS LOVE serves as a unifying musical material throughout the entire opera. Fragments of the tune first appear in m. 11 of the Overture and recur throughout the opera. WONDROUS LOVE serves as the focal point of the

34Bryan’s hymnal collection, which includes a copy of Original Sacred Harp (box 63, folder 5), is catalogued as part of the Bryan collection at Tennessee Technological University.
entire opera’s central conflict—the struggle between the sacred and the profane. Though other tunes appear at times in the score, WONDROUS LOVE is the most prominent of the five.

“Wondrous Love – Fugato” appears in the second act, following the duet of Margaret and Hank singing PROMISED LAND. It begins with Singin’ Billy’s solo over sparse chords in the orchestra. The choir then takes over, beginning with the tenors and basses. The sopranos and altos enter three measures later, singing in canonic imitation. Kinch, Gussie, and a few others begin singing the “John Barleycorn” text to the same tune, but in rhythmic diminution. This produces a fugue-like texture, similar to that of “fuguing-tunes” of the shape-note tradition.

The body of music variously referred to as white spirituals, folk hymnody or shape-note, as sometimes referred to as “fasola,” in reference to the syllables associated with the various shapes. These syllables were used as a method for teaching musical literacy as well as the tunes of hymns and psalms. One of the most direct references made by Bryan is his use of these syllables in “Wondrous Love,” near the end of the first act. The first stanza of text is sung by Singin’ Billy, with Callie joining on the second stanza. Margaret and Gussie enter at m. 24 in canonic imitation, but singing the syllables “fa-fa-sol-la-mi-fa” as they take up the tune. The other members of the quartet take turns singing the syllables while the others continue with the text. All four characters conclude by singing in unison the text “for my soul, Christ laid aside His crown for my soul.”

Gapped scales, often those with five notes and known as pentatonic, are one of the most common characteristics of these tunes. Bryan used such scales in some of his own melodic writing as with the pentatonic scale in example 15 from “Ferry Me Home.”
Example 15\textsuperscript{35}

Bryan, \textit{Singin' Billy}, “Ferry Me Home,” mm. 104-113, baritone solo

\begin{musicstaff}
\begin{musicinput}
\melodicnotationinput{bryan-15}
\end{musicinput}
\end{musicstaff}

Way down yon-der on Ty-ger ri-ver I heard a voice in a

\begin{musicstaff}
\begin{musicinput}
\melodicnotationinput{bryan-15}
\end{musicinput}
\end{musicstaff}

white oak tree. I was a boy and a lone-some sing - er till that

\begin{musicstaff}
\begin{musicinput}
\melodicnotationinput{bryan-15}
\end{musicinput}
\end{musicstaff}

great voice spoke to me, till that great voice spoke, "Oh, Wil-liam Wal-ker, go forth!"

The foursquare rhythms of this tune seem to resemble what H. Wiley Hitchcock identifies as the “simple, sturdy rhythms” of Yankee tunesmith melodies.\textsuperscript{36} Such rhythms tend to focus on the beat, with little or no syncopation. Note this characteristic in example 16.

The influence of the modal nature of these tunes is evident in example 17, which Bryan set in a minor mode. Since the sixth scale degree is not used in this melody, it can be considered either Dorian or Aeolian.

\textsuperscript{35}Bryan and Davidson, \textit{Singin' Billy}, 87-88.

Example 16

Bryan, *Singin' Billy*, “The Low Country,” mm. 3-13, baritone solo

The harmonies of shape-note tunes were a product of the texture and compositional style. The melody was always found in the tenor part, with the bass underneath and the “treble” on top. The addition of an alto line was a later development.

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Example 17

Bryan, *Singin' Billy*, “The Hawthorn Tree,” mm. 4-7, alto solo

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37Bryan and Davidson, *Singin' Billy*, 140.

38Ibid., 117.
Though the melody was in the tenor part, the other parts were equally interesting to sing. This linear approach to composition resulted in parallel octaves and fifths, and vertical sonorities lacking a third. Quartal and quintal harmonies are also prevalent, as in the accompaniment and soprano and tenor lines in mm. 118-120. The sounds of this harmonic approach found their way into Bryan’s part writing and orchestration. Note the treble-clef harmonies of the accompaniment in example 18.

Summary

*Singin’ Billy* is the second of the selected works in which Bryan collaborated with a librettist. Bryan had selected the topic of William Walker after receiving a grant from the Carnegie Foundation Research Fund. According to Livingston, Bryan intended to research American folklore for possible subjects for an opera. Donald Davidson was a fellow folklore enthusiast and became primarily responsible for the lyrics and dialogue of *Singin’ Billy*, leaving Bryan to arrange the music of the opera. Although this was a collaborative effort, Bryan was responsible for both the subject matter and the musical component.

Bryan used five tunes drawn from *Southern Harmony* for the musical portions of *Singin’ Billy*. His manipulation of these tunes ranged from simple reproduction of the

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original to the more complex approach of letting the melodic material influence his orchestration and overall harmonic style.

Several storylines weave their way through Singin’ Billy. First, there is the battle between the sacred and the secular, between deeply held traditions and outside ideas. This conflict is most clearly represented in the battle for control between William Walker and Kinch. The shape-notes themselves do not seem to be the cause of

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Example 18

Bryan, Singin’ Billy, “The Rising of the Moon,” mm. 1-5, soprano and keyboard

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Ibid., 52.
contention, but rather that Walker is an outsider who might introduce new ideas, thus upsetting the status quo. This battle comes to a head at the duel scene as the sacred and secular versions of WONDROUS LOVE battle for supremacy. WONDROUS LOVE is also used as a unifying device throughout the work.

Another aspect of the narrative is the provincial lifestyle of Oconee Town and its effects on some of the residents. This element of the story is played out in the duet between Hank and Margaret, in which Margaret’s desire to go to the Low Country is countered by Hank’s desire to stay in the mountains. But this conflict between the town and influences from the outside world is at least partially resolved when Walker’s letter from his fiancée arrives and Kiah professes a kinship with Amy Golightly’s family. The overriding theme for William Walker’s ministry is that all people can put aside their differences and meet together to sing in harmony, the harmonizing being a metaphor for harmonious communal living. This sense of togetherness is finally achieved, not in the experience of the secular “John Barleycorn” song, but in the sacred hymn of praise, “What wondrous love is this, O my soul.”
CHAPTER 9
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The works of Charles Faulkner Bryan that were selected for this study embody regionalism in their music, lyrics, and subject matter. Bryan used the repertoire and styles of folk music as raw materials for arranging and compositional development, along with southern regional history and culture as thematic material. Folk music also influenced Bryan’s own melodic style.

Central to Bryan’s musical regionalism is his use of white spiritual tunes. Bryan began his musical career at a time when many art music composers were looking to Native American and African-American traditional styles as America’s true folk music. He was aware of and appreciated the black spiritual tradition and even incorporated that genre in Rebel Academy. However, Bryan realized that his own cultural background also had a strong folk tradition which was up to this time poorly represented in art music.

Most of the spirituals Bryan used were those he learned in his childhood or found in Lucien L. McDowell’s Songs of the Old Campground. Bryan’s great-grandmother was present at the camp-meetings to which McDowell referred in his book, so Bryan was exposed to the music of this location in both printed form and through oral tradition. An additional source that Bryan used was William Walker’s Southern Harmony, a significant collection of early American shape-note tunes. Ten spirituals can
be found in the selected works: WONDROUS LOVE, FRENCH BROAD, JERUSALEM, NEW BRITAIN, EVENING SHADE, “I have a mother in the Promised Land,” RESTORATION, “I believe in being ready,” “Going over Jordan,” and “I belong to that band.”

Bryan’s use of folksong was born both out of a love for the music itself and his conviction about the viability of that repertoire as a source of raw materials for composition. He did collect folk music from traditional singers, but he also recognized a danger in treating such collected songs as museum pieces. His thoughts on this subject are found in a typed manuscript in Bryan’s papers entitled “Concertized Folk Music.” In this paper, Bryan mentions Dvorak’s encouragement of American art music composers to use American folksong in concert works and to consider seriously the potential of folk music for such use. Bryan gave the following reason for bringing such music into the concert hall.

The folk song, as it is found, in its original setting is an interesting and fascinating piece of art, but it has little intellectual or emotional appeal until it has been elevated to a concert level. Folk music which is universally loved and esteemed is that music which has been concertized.²

Bryan’s statement should not be construed to mean that he did not see an inherent value in the folk song itself. His concern was that folk music is not likely to be heard outside its cultural setting until performers purposely carry it into the concert hall and present the music to an audience. Bryan gives the Fisk Jubilee Singers as an example,

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²Ibid., 3.
who brought the black spiritual to a wider range of audiences through their arrangements and performances of the spirituals.

Bryan was not unique in his desire to incorporate folksong into symphonic works. Haydn was only one of many composers whose symphonic writing was influenced by folk dances of Austria and Germany. In addition to Bryan, other American composers looked within their own borders for folk material that could be used symphonically, as in Roy Harris’s *Folksong Symphony* (1940).³

Bryan’s music can also be compared to that of African-American composer William Grant Still (1895-1978), who, like Bryan, also incorporated folk influences in symphonic writing. Both composers allowed traditional styles of folksong to influence their melodic style, but they differed in their use of actual folk tunes. Whereas Bryan used actual, authentic traditional melodies, Still chose not to use original folk tunes. Still’s *Afro-American Symphony* (1930) is rooted in the blues, but the melodic materials are largely original to the composer. He references this in a speech to the National Association of Negro Musicians in 1967: “When I was ready to launch this project I did not want to use a theme some folk singer had already created, but decided to create my own theme in the blues idiom.”⁵

There are further similarities between Still and Bryan. Both men were trying to create an authentic reflection of their own cultural backgrounds. They each used scales

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reflecting the folksong of the culture in question, Bryan using pentatonic and modal scales while Still used a blues scale. Traditional instrumentation was featured by each composer, but in different ways. *Afro-American Symphony* included a part in the score for banjo.  

Bryan did not write for traditional instruments in any of the selected works, but made use of tunings and harmonies characteristic of traditional music, and emulated idiomatic playing techniques of instruments like the lap dulcimer and fiddle.

When the *New York Times* review of *The Bell Witch* compared Bryan with Aaron Copland, the writer was treating both men as composers who were attempting to create an Americanist musical expression. But, the two were different in their cultural background, education, and musical goals. Copland was the urban composer, trained under Nadia Boulanger in France, who saw jazz melodies and rhythms as a way to create an American compositional style. Bryan was the rural composer, trained in the United States, who looked to Appalachian folk music as something to preserve and present in concertized forms.

Copland, like Bryan, used folk melodies, as he did with SIMPLE GIFTS in *Appalachian Spring*. The difference is that Bryan was a part of the culture in which he found the melodies. Bryan was also a preservationist, whereas as Copland used folk and popular styles, not tunes, to make music that was identifiably American.

Bryan was specific about the value of the white spiritual in manuscript entitled “The White Spiritual Comes to the Concert Hall.”  

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6Ibid., 13.

7Charles Faulkner Bryan, “The White Spiritual Comes to the Concert Hall,” TMs, n.d., box 31, folder 3, Charles Faulkner Bryan Collections, Angelo and Jeannette Volpe Library and Media Center, Tennessee Technological University, Cookeville.
reasons why the white spiritual has value as material for the compositional process. His first stated reason is the “wide range of emotional expression” found in the white spiritual.⁸ A variety of motions can be found in these tunes, although the expression of these feelings might not be recognizable to the uninitiated.

Bryan’s second reason for tapping the white spiritual as his source material is “the ease with which these themes can be developed.”⁹ Bryan suggests that many folk melodies engender the use of mostly tonic-subdominant-dominant chord progressions. He contrasts this with the white spirituals which “are in ancient modes and suggest no harmonies except that which the composer’s fancy creates for them.”¹⁰ Bryan also suggests that the ability of the spiritual tunes to be written fugally increases their usefulness.

The third reason Bryan gives for using white spirituals is their “innate simplicity and freedom from unessentials.”¹¹ He compares this with Appalachian fiddle tunes that might take on different embellishments each time a new person learns the tune, making it more difficult for the folksong collector to find the core melody. The ornamentations of the white spiritual were individualistic and, for the most part, never made it into print. The simplicity of these melodies makes them more memorable and easier to transmit via oral tradition.

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⁸Ibid., 2.
⁹Ibid., 3.
¹⁰Ibid.
¹¹Ibid., 4.
Bryan not only incorporated folksong into his works, he also understood the style enough to create music of his own that sounded similar. His longest such example in the selected works is "O Canaan, fair Canaan," the original spiritual found in *The Bell Witch*. This spiritual is written in the style of music from *Sacred Harp*, one of the most influential tune books of the nineteenth century. Although the language and musical style are similar to early shape-note tunes, the work is Bryan’s.

Bryan treated folk tunes in a variety of ways in his compositions, while still maintaining the identity of each tune. At times, he presented the original melody with few or no modifications. If the tune had been found in a printed source, such as *Southern Harmony*, he sometimes used the original harmonization. He also drew alto parts from the *Original Sacred Harp* (Denson Revision).\(^\text{12}\) Bryan would also use the original melody, but with a newly-composed accompaniment that explored alternative harmonizations. This reflected the harmonic freedom that he felt the modal nature of the tunes provided.

Bryan also sought to reflect authentic performance practices of the folksongs he used and transferred these vocal practices to orchestral instruments in his orchestration. When NEW BRITAIN is presented in the second movement of *White Spiritual Symphony*, the numerous passing tones and ornaments played by the violins directly imitate a folk style of singing. In his score for *The Bell Witch* Bryan calls for singing ornaments in a "mountain style." Bryan also maintained the speed and spirit of tunes (e.g., "I belong to that band") by seeking to maintain in his own versions the same

tempo and performance practice of a traditional rendition. Bryan was careful to retain the original tempi for spirituals and other songs he quoted. The one notable exception is Bryan’s use of rhythmic diminution for WONDROUS LOVE in Singin’ Billy. This, however, was done for dramatic reasons, not only to illustrate but heighten the dramatic conflict between the sacred and the secular elements in the story.

Perhaps the most pervasive influence of folksong is found in Bryan’s own original melodies. Bryan had heard and sung folk music while growing up in Tennessee, while at the same time listening to art music on a neighbor’s record player. Besides quoting actual tunes, Bryan also allowed the substance and style of folksong to influence his own melodic technique. In Singin’ Billy, where WONDROUS LOVE serves as the primary structural theme unifying the opera, the hymntune is fragmented and used as motivic material in numerous movements.

Many of Bryan’s early, pre-Hindemith, arrangements are marked by simplicity of harmony and settings of unaltered tunes. But, after spending a year studying with Hindemith at Yale, Bryan’s compositions began to become more harmonically complex, moving away from simple diatonic chords and embracing more unusual harmonies. His expanded harmonic language meant that the melodies they accompanied would have to be altered to suit the direction he was taking. However, even with this new approach, the folk influence is still profound.

\[[13] Bryan’s tempo for this tune in White Spiritual Symphony is 126 beats per minute, with the half note receiving the beat. A hand notation in the score from the Bryan papers states: “This is an old shouting song. ‘I Belong to That Band’ should be played with both reverence and humor which this register of the bassoon has.”\]
Bryan's melodic writing in the selected works reflects folk style in his use of gapped scales, modal melodies, and dance rhythms. Pentatonic melodies can be found, even if they are slightly altered to account for a new harmonic direction. While Bryan's music is often written in a major key, a substantial portion is modal. Dance rhythms, of the type associated with fiddling and folk dancing in rural Appalachia, and designated by terms such as "hoedown" and "breakdown," are found in Singin' Billy and The Bell Witch, as is the introductory fiddle figuration known as a "kickoff."

Not all of Bryan's influences came from the Upper Cumberland of Tennessee. His government service during World War II gave him the opportunity to travel across the South, experiencing folklore in different settings. Out of the five works selected for this study, two of them (Rebel Academy and White Spiritual Symphony) are directly tied to the area around McMinnville, Tennessee. The Cumberland Female Academy was directly behind First Baptist Church, McMinnville, where Bryan's family attended. As a boy growing up, he would have seen this building each time he went to church. The Old Campground was just beyond the Warren County line, near Walling, Tennessee, approximately eleven miles from McMinnville. Cumberland Interlude: 1790 is set in Tennessee, although no specific location is given. The Bell Witch is also a part of Tennessee folklore, although Bryan incorporated elements from a Mississippi variant of the story. Singin' Billy is set in the upland western portions of South Carolina, but represents music and culture common to all of southern, especially southeastern Appalachia.

Not only did Bryan's music come from regional musical repertoire and styles, and real locations, but Bryan also built his compositions around real, historic individuals.
Andrew and Rachel Jackson are the central figures in *Cumberland Interlude: 1790*. *The Bell Witch* mentions John Bell, who was a real farmer living near Adams, Tennessee, in the nineteenth century. *Singin' Billy* is based on the real-life persona of singing-school master and tunebook compiler William Walker.

Bryan's use of dialect could be seen simply as a touch of local color, used as a means of creating a sense of authenticity, were it not accompanied by other regional elements. Rather than using dialect just for the sake of authenticity, or to force a rhyme, Bryan was actually a part of the same culture reflected in his music. A close examination of many instances of dialect in the selected works reveals terminology, syntax, and pronunciation that are an authentic part of Appalachian dialect. Similarly, Bryan's scenes of home life might also be seen by the casual observer as just local color. But even the food, manners of dress, and daily activities reflect the reality of rural Appalachian life in the nineteenth century.

Bryan was a Southern Baptist composer, and an active church musician. However, he recognized that the occult and superstition were still a part of mountain culture. *The Bell Witch* never deals with whether or not such events really happened or if such an entity existed. It is simply presented as part of southern folklore, but the influence of Bryan's background in rural Appalachian Protestant religion is apparent in the spiritual he wrote for the work. It is also important to note that the witch is never heard or seen in Bryan's narrative.

Bryan produced many more compositions than those selected for this study. A significant number of these works are based on the same repertoire of folksong and white spirituals.
Bryan's musical regionalism can be compared to that of Louis Moreau Gottschalk. Both composers drew heavily from traditional music of a specific geographical area they heard during their early years. For Bryan that was Appalachian folksong as heard and sung in the early twentieth century. Gottschalk's musical influences originated a century earlier in culturally complex New Orleans. Primarily a concert pianist, Gottschalk published works for solo piano based not only on tunes of Creole background, but also of many countries through which he toured. While Bryan also gathered folk melodies as he travelled across the American South, he was still circulating among people who shared in his own language and, to a large extent, his own culture. Both men are also similar in that they sought to reflect accurately at least some elements of the folk music with which they were working. For example, in one of Gottschalk's best-known piano works, Le Banjo, he sought to imitate the playing styles of the banjo as he heard it.

Bryan can also be compared to fellow American composer Charles Ives, in that both men made extensive use of hymn tunes and other melodies they had heard while in their youth. But, whereas Bryan was seeking to preserve folk tunes and present them to a larger audience, Ives seemed more interested in using quoting these tunes to portray childhood memories (Third Symphony) or historical events and the spirit of the American revolution (Putnam's Camp). American scholar H. Wiley Hitchcock described Ives' borrowing of musical materials in the following way:

Such borrowings had nothing to do with nationalism, folklorism, or mere "local color"; they bespoke rather an acceptance of the validity, even divinity, of all

things under God that Ives had known, felt strongly, and believed to have vitality
and "substance."\textsuperscript{15}

Although Bryan might have valued some of the same musical traditions as Ives, their
motivations were different. Ives used the tunes of his childhood as compositional
materials to help him tell a story. Most of the tunes Ives used were in no immediate
danger of being lost. Bryan, however, approached the folk tunes he used as a
preservationist. There was a real danger that some of his melodies might be lost, had
Bryan not used them in his compositions.

Ives's spirituality, although rooted in reviver camp meetings, was largely
shaped by the transcendentalist philosophy of New England, in stark contrast to the
Appalachian form of Christianity to which Bryan was accustomed. Though both men
shared a rural background, Ives worked in the insurance business in New York City,
while Bryan sought to make his living in music full-time. Ives composed in his spare
time, placing his music aside after completion. Bryan led a career as a composer and
educator who sought performance opportunities for his works.

Several other leading American composers of Bryan's generation made
significant use of hymn tunes in major concert works, such as Copland's \textit{Emblems} (1964)
and Harris's \textit{Third Symphony} (1939). Henry Cowell (1897-1965), captivated by the
melodies of \textit{Southern Harmony}, wrote eighteen settings of \textit{Hymns and Fuguing Tunes}
between 1944 and 1964,\textsuperscript{16} but Cowell was born in California and did not grow up with
these tunes as part of his daily life. Bryan had submitted \textit{White Spiritual Symphony} as his

\textsuperscript{15}Ibid., 166.

master’s thesis in 1940, only four years before Cowell’s first *Hymn and Fuguing Tune*. Virgil Thomson’s *Symphony on a Hymn Tune*, begun in 1926, was based on the hymn tunes CHINA and FOUNDATION. According to Michael Meckna, Thomson’s use of hymn tunes, along with fragments of cowboy songs and dance hall melodies, “suggest the broad spectrum of American life.”

Other American composers sought to create an authentic “American” musical language by drawing on American Indian, African-American, and other ethnic musical traditions. Edward MacDowell made use of Native American melodies in his second orchestral suite. Arthur Farwell, founder of Wa-Wan Press, also made use of Native American melodies. Henry F. Gilbert’s *Dance in the Place Congo* (1918) made use of African-American themes. Richard Crawford notes that Amy Beach’s *Gaelic Symphony* (1896), based on Irish folk melodies, was “one of the first to use folk melodies to help create a distinctively American style.” Bryan was one of the first to represent the musical culture of white Appalachians in concert music.

Any future studies of Bryan must consider regionalism as a key component of his works. Bryan’s incidental music for Brainerd Cheney’s play *Strangers in this World*,

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based on a snake-handling church in East Tennessee, has only been found in sketches. If Bryan continued his regionalistic and culturally-aware approach to composition, then the score for the play is likely to reflect the styles and forms of that church’s worship practices. A complete score for Bryan’s *Birmingham Suite* has yet to be found. This work was intended to represent the people of Birmingham and would be another example of his musical regionalism.

Bryan and his music should also be incorporated into general studies of American music. He is unique in that he is the only Appalachian art music composer of the early twentieth century who reflected that heritage in works for chorus, concert hall and stage. Unlike Ives and Gottschalk, Bryan also created music for staged productions, which means that his musical regionalism is represented over a greater variety of genres than the two, more famous composers.

If performed today, the selected works would continue Bryan’s goal of presenting American folksong in the genres of opera and symphony. The scores of these works are accessible through the Bryan archives at Tennessee Technological University, although the instrumental parts are not complete. Performances would require finding the rest of the parts, and possibly editing and converting the manuscript scores into music print.

*White Spiritual Symphony* would be the greatest challenge to perform for several reasons. Bryan’s final score of the second movement, as performed by Goossens and the Cincinnati Orchestra, has yet to be recovered. Since Bryan created this version in conjunction with Goossens, it could be considered the authoritative version. It would also be valuable to examine the correspondence between Bryan and Goossens and see if the
same kinds of changes could be made to the first and third movements of the symphony. The original score has possible transposition errors that would have to be corrected for performance. The first performance of the first or third movements would be a world premiere.

According to American composer Aaron Copland, folk music "can be successfully handled only by a composer who is able to identify himself with it, and re-express in his own terms, the underlying connotation of the material." Charles Faulkner Bryan intimately knew the culture, musical repertory and styles, and history of Tennessee’s Upper Cumberland region, and was thus ideally suited to reflect that region in his enduring works that preserve his legacy and roots.

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**Audio Recordings**

ABSTRACT

REGIONALISM IN SELECTED MUSICAL WORKS
OF CHARLES FAULKNER BRYAN (1911-1955)

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The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2008
Chairperson: Dr. Esther R. Crookshank

The dissertation examines regionalism in selected musical works of Charles Faulkner Bryan (1911-1955). The composer’s upbringing and cultural heritage are examined within the context of the history and traditions of the Upper Cumberland region of Tennessee. The selected scores are examined for textual, musical, and dramatic elements that reflect Bryan’s regionalism. Each score is analyzed to see how Bryan incorporated these elements into his compositional technique and dramaturgy. This study codifies those elements and demonstrates their significance in light of Bryan’s rural southern heritage.

Chapter 1 surveys the existing literature and primary sources on Bryan. The methodology involves comparisons of Bryan’s life and music with other American composers like Charles Ives and Aaron Copland. Important sources used for this study were Bryan’s scores and personal correspondence from the Charles Faulkner Bryan Collection of the Tennessee State Library and Archives in Nashville and the library at Tennessee Technological University (Cookeville).

Chapter 2 is a biographical sketch of Bryan’s life, from his birth in McMinnville, Tennessee, through his career as a composer and music educator. Chapter 3 presents a summary
of Tennessee's history, with particular attention to the Upper Cumberland region where Bryan lived.

Chapter 4 examines Bryan's Rebel Academy (1939), an operetta Bryan composed for use with his students at Tennessee Polytechnic Institute in Cookeville. Chapter 5 examines White Spiritual Symphony (1940) and Bryan's sources from both print and oral traditions for the white spirituals used in this work. Chapter 6 examines The Bell Witch (1947), a secular cantata based on a southern legend of the supernatural. Chapter 7 examines Cumberland Interlude: 1790 (1947), a cantata centered on the character of Andrew Jackson. Chapter 8 examines Bryan's largest work, the two-act opera Singin' Billy (1952). It is based on a fictional episode in the life of nineteenth-century singing-school master William Walker, compiler of Southern Harmony. Chapter 9 summarizes the dissertation and draws conclusions on the role of regionalism in the selected musical works of Bryan.
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