



# *Christian Harmony* Singing in Alabama: Its Adaptation and Survival

Harry Eskew

THE SOUTH CAROLINA singing school teacher and tunesmith William Walker (1809–1875) compiled four collections in shape notation, the better known of which are *Southern Harmony* (1835) and *Christian Harmony* (1867). Both of these tunebooks remain in use. *Southern Harmony* survives in the annual “Big Singing” at Benton, Kentucky, held each fourth Sunday in May. The year 1983 marked the centenary of this famous singing. *Christian Harmony* survives in sections of North Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama. The state with the largest number of singings and the only one with a state Christian Harmony singing convention is Alabama.

This paper focuses on the historical development of Christian Harmony singing in Alabama, and on the adaptation of Christian Harmony singing to changing conditions in the last quarter of the twentieth century.

## BASIC DESCRIPTION

In contrast to *Southern Harmony* and B. F. White and E. J. King’s *The Sacred Harp* (1844), Walker’s *Christian Harmony* was published in seven-shape notation. Because the seven shapes of Jesse B. Aikin were protected by a patent, Walker published *Christian Harmony* with three additional shapes of his own devising. Along with this necessary change

came his inclusion of a greater number of tunes of the Lowell Mason school and tunes from Europe. However, numerous early American folk hymns and fusing tunes were retained in *Christian Harmony*. The first edition, published for Walker at Philadelphia by E. W. Miller in 1867, contained 16 pages of musical rudiments and 473 pieces of music. In 1873 a revised second edition, the last publication edited by Walker, was issued by Miller’s Bible and Publishing House of Philadelphia. Walker added the following sentence to the preface of this second edition: “We have added the most beautiful and desirable of modern tunes, thus bringing this work up to the present and latest date, July 1, 1873.”

A comparison of these editions shows that all 473 pieces of the first edition were retained and 59 pieces added—making a total of 532 pieces of music. The 59 pieces added to the revised edition include several gospel-type northern Sunday school songs, such as Lowell Mason’s “Work for the Night is Coming,” William G. Fisher’s “I Love to Tell the Story,” and William Howard Doane’s setting of Fanny Crosby’s “Pass Me Not, O Gentle Savior.” This revised edition was reprinted by the Edward W. Miller Company of Philadelphia in 1901. In 1933 this firm was still selling *Christian Harmony* for \$1.50, to people in and around Walker’s hometown of Spartanburg.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> George Pullen Jackson, *White Spirituals in the Southern Up-lands*, reprint of original 1933 edition (Hatboro, Pennsylvania: Folklore Associates, 1964), 336.



## GEOGRAPHICAL RANGE

The use of *Christian Harmony* spread to much of the rural South in the late nineteenth century. In 1875 W. E. White, writing in *Musical Million*, reported that

Here in the mountain region of North Carolina with the exception of the primary school books . . . the sales of *Christian Harmony* are more than quadruple that of any other book of the kind. Indeed, the demand for the book is so great that merchants, who do not deal in books, keep it in stock to supply the demand. Music teachers have difficulty in many of the mountain counties in getting singing schools to use any other book.<sup>2</sup>

*Christian Harmony* also spread to the midwestern sections of the South. Both *Southern* and *Christian Harmony* were popular around Kentucktown (or Kentucky Town), Texas, shortly after the Civil War. *Christian Harmony* was one of the favorite books of the Central Arkansas Vocal Musical Convention at Toledo, Cleveln County, Arkansas, in August of 1886.<sup>3</sup> In 1892 the "State Convention" of Louisiana, meeting in Ruston, used *Christian Harmony*.<sup>4</sup> In 1930 J. H. Hall reported that Christian Harmony singings had met annually in southern Missouri for 41 years.<sup>5</sup> In 1967 Jean Geil described some of the last of these Christian Harmony singings in the Ozarks.<sup>6</sup> A few Christian Harmony singings have survived to the present day in northern Georgia and in Newton County, Mississippi. Two Georgia singings and two Mississippi singings were announced for 1987.<sup>7</sup> In Mississippi, Christian Harmony singing has continued so tenacious that the *Christian Harmony*, along with *The Sacred Harp*, "have been designated as the official books of the Mississippi Sacred Harp Singing Convention."<sup>8</sup>

In Alabama, the Warrior River Vocal Singing Convention used *Christian Harmony* as early as 1891. This organization held its 17th annual session

<sup>2</sup> *Musical Million*, vi (1875), 71. Quoted in Jackson, 334.

<sup>3</sup> *Musical Million*, xvii (1886), 42, 158 (Jackson, 335).

<sup>4</sup> *Musical Million*, xxii (1892), 12.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Wilma Jean Geil, "Christian Harmony Singing of the Ozarks" (unpublished M.M. thesis, University of Illinois, 1967).

<sup>7</sup> *1986 Minutes of the Alabama State Christian Harmony Singing Convention* (ed. Cecile D. Cox, 504 37th St., Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35405), 12-13.

<sup>8</sup> *Minutes of the Thirty-Eighth Annual Session of the Mississippi Sacred Harp Singing Convention* (August 27 and 28, 1966), 12.

on August 9, 10, and 11 of 1901 (which would place its first convention in the year 1885). The present-day Warrior River Christian Harmony Convention began in 1891. A typescript copy of its minutes for July 31 and August 1 and 2 of 1891 has the title "Proceedings of the First Convention of the Second District of the Warrior River Vocal Singing Convention Held with Oak Grove Singing Society." During this 1891 convention *Christian Harmony* was adopted as its official textbook. In 1987 the 86th annual session of the Warrior River Christian Harmony Convention was held on Saturday, August 8 (at Little Vine Primitive Baptist Church near Empire, Alabama).

The earliest extant minutes of the Alabama State Christian Harmony Musical Association (now called a Singing Convention) are dated August 15, 16, and 17, 1930.<sup>9</sup> The state convention, which met at the Court House in Tuscaloosa, was the 11th such annual gathering, making 1920 its first year. Also included with the printed state convention minutes of 1930 are those of eight Alabama area conventions held in that year (Four Mile Creek, Tallapoosa, Bibb County, Hale County, Tuscaloosa County, Jefferson County, Mount Olive, and County Line). The minutes for Bibb County list among the Executive Committee members John Deason, a 25-year-old singer who was to play a significant role in the Christian Harmony singing movement.

## THE 1958 REVISION

As early as 1930, Alabama Christian Harmony singers mooted a revision of their tunebook. The minutes of the 1930 Alabama State Christian Harmony Musical Association list a seven-person "Board of Directors of Birmingham Christian Harmony Publishing Company" and a nine-person "Committee to Select Music for the Christian Harmony Song Book." These committees are again listed in the extant minutes for both 1934 and 1935. The 1936 minutes are missing, and the 1937 minutes no longer list the board of directors or the music selection committee. In all probability the Great Depression of the 1930's kept this revision project

<sup>9</sup> Copies of extant minutes of Alabama Christian Harmony singing conventions are in the Martin Music Library of the New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary.





from coming to fruition. The revision of *Christian Harmony* awaited the warmer economic climate of the 1950's. The 1958 edition bears the names of two men as the revisers: John Deason and O. A. Parris.

#### O. A. PARRIS

Oren Adolphes Parris, born December 26, 1898, near Warrior in Jefferson County, Alabama,<sup>10</sup> was one of the five children of Oscar Hayden and Ada Ovelia Morris Parris. He was reared a Missionary Baptist (his home congregation being the Liberty Baptist Church of Helicon). In the same community and same school was brought up another famous Alabama shape-note composer, Otis L. McCoy (*b* 1897), who in 1987 at the age of 90 lived in Addison, Alabama.<sup>11</sup> Parris attended the Vaughan School of Music, Lawrenceburg, Tennessee. His teachers included James D. Vaughan, S. M. Denson, C. A. Brock, J. D. Wall, V. O. Stamps, W. W. Combs, W. B. Walbert and Adger M. Pace. In 1919, Parris married Mae Lewis; they had two sons and two daughters.<sup>12</sup>

Like many other shape-note musicians, Parris grew up singing the older Sacred Harp and Christian Harmony music along with the newer southern shape-note gospel music, commonly referred to as "new book" repertory (publishers released new paperback songbooks for singing conventions once or twice a year). In 1932 Parris established the Parris Music Company at Arley, Alabama, which he operated until 1945. By 1937 he had composed more than 300 gospel songs. In the 1930's Parris also helped prepare the Denson revision of *The Sacred Harp*, serving on the music committee for *The Original Sacred Harp* of 1936. Although Parris seems to have favored fusing tunes (three of his own fusing tunes

were published in the 1936 edition and two more were added in the 1969 edition) he also composed songs in both the Sacred Harp tradition and in the new book style. Hugh McGraw recalls O. A. Parris's stating that although he loved Sacred Harp music he made his living from new book songs. Three of Parris's convention songbooks date from the 1930's: *Music Waves* and *Golden Cross*, both published in 1937, and *Saints Delight*, published in 1939.<sup>13</sup> (The title "Saints Delight" is also the name of a familiar revival spiritual found in *The Sacred Harp*.)

A representative tune composed by O. A. Parris is "The Heavenly Throng" (CH-43), which was recorded in 1974 by a group of singers directed by John Deason in *Christian Harmony Album No. 1*. The tenor melody is hexatonic and all voice parts exhibit a typical melodic vitality.

From 1947 to 1962 Parris managed the southeastern office of the Stamps Quartet Music Company. In 1963 he organized the Convention Music Company and was president until his death, April 13, 1966.

#### JOHN DEASON

John Henry Deason—seven years younger than O. A. Parris—was born December 30, 1905, at Brent, Bibb County, Alabama. The eldest of nine children, he was the son of Wiley Ezra Deason and Mary Souvella Elam Deason, who were Primitive Baptists. Wiley Deason lined out the hymns for their congregation from Benjamin Lloyd's *Primitive Hymns* (1841).<sup>14</sup> At an early age John began singing and directing songs. He attended singing schools taught by Elder J. D. McElroy (a Primitive Baptist minister) and by Barney Thompson. These schools were held at Little Hope Primitive Baptist Church and at Pleasant Hill Cumberland Presbyterian Church, both in Bibb County. While still in his teens, John began teaching singing schools. According to his sister Clara Deason Smith, John at age fifteen would

<sup>10</sup>O. A. Parris" in *Gospel Song Writers Biography*, compiled by Mrs. J. R. (Ma) Baxter and Violet Polk (Dallas, Texas: Stamps-Baxter Music & Printing Co., 1971), 17-18; Otis J. Knippers, *Who's Who among Southern Singers and Composers* (Lawrenceburg, Tennessee: James D. Vaughan Music Publisher, 1937), 108. I am also indebted to Ronald B. Parris of Maryville, Tennessee, a grandson of O. A. Parris, for additional biographical details.

<sup>11</sup>Telephone conversation with Otis L. McCoy, Addison, Alabama, March 30, 1987.

<sup>12</sup>They are Elvin B. Parris, Chickasaw, Alabama; Heflin Parris, Winona, Texas; Edith Parris Ivey, Jasper, Alabama; and Aurelio Parris Larsen, Auburn, Alabama.

<sup>13</sup>O. A. Parris, *Music Waves* (Arley, Alabama: Parris Music Co., 1937); *Golden Cross* (Joseph, Alabama: Parris Music Co., 1937); and *Saints Delight* (Jasper, Alabama: Parris Music Co., 1937). These songbooks, which once belonged to Ruth Denson Edwards, are in the Sacred Harp Museum, Carrollton, Georgia.

<sup>14</sup>See William Donahue Tennyson, "A Study of Benjamin Lloyd's *The Primitive Hymns*" (unpublished M.C.M. thesis, New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 1973), 19.

## THE HEAVENLY THROG.

43

O.P.F.A.M.S.

ISAAC WATTS

1. Wrapped in the silence of the night, Lay all the eastern world, When bursting glorious heav'nly light, The wondrous scene unfolded.  
 2. His steady counsels change the face of each de-clin-ing year, He bids the sun cut short his race And win'try days ap-pear.

1. Wrapped in the silence of the night, Lay all the eastern world, When bursting glorious heav'nly light, The wondrous scene unfolded.  
 2. His steady counsels change the face of each de-clin-ing year, He bids the sun cut short his race And win'try days ap-pear.

Hark! how they sing, they sing and shout, And glory leads the song, Good-will and peace are heard thru-out, The glorious heav'nly throg.  
 On us His pro-vid-ence has shone With gentle smil-ing rays, Oh may our lips and lives make known, His goodness and His praise.

Hark! how they sing, And glory leads the song, Good-will are heard The glorious heav'nly throg.  
 On us His grace, With gentle smil-ing rays, Oh may our lives His goodness and His praise.

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 543 West Lake Dr., Bessemer, AL 35020.

gather several friends at home to sing and learn singing.<sup>15</sup>

It was at a singing school at Pleasant Hill Church taught by Elder McElroy that John Deason met his bride-to-be, Ressie Kornegay (married December 23, 1922). Although Deason was brought up in a Primitive Baptist Church, he joined his wife's church, being baptized at Old Pleasant Hill Cumberland Presbyterian Church near Centreville, Alabama, in 1925. In 1927 he was elected an elder of this Presbyterian congregation. The Deasons had one child, Henry Martin Deason (1925-1971).

John Deason taught his first Christian Harmony singing school (at Elam School near Brent, Alabama) in 1923. He continued to teach singing schools each summer at churches and schools in his

area. One of the largest singing schools taught by him was at the Tuscaloosa County Court House in 1924. A few years later, after deciding to learn more about song writing, he attended the Vaughan School of Music in Lawrenceburg, Tennessee.

Upon moving to Birmingham in 1934 Deason met people who used the paperback songbooks of Showalter, Vaughan, and Stamps-Baxter. He thereupon formed his own quartet, which traveled throughout Alabama singing at church services and all-day singings, and giving concerts at schools and churches on Friday and Saturday evenings. This quartet used primarily the "new book" collections published by the Vaughan Music Company of Lawrenceburg and the Stamps-Baxter Music Company of Dallas, Texas.

From 1936 through 1939 Deason lived in Centreville, Alabama. During these years his quartet of singers from Bibb County began a regular Sunday morning program on radio station WJRD in Tuscaloosa. This quartet also sang for Missionary Baptist minister J. T. Swan's program on station WACT

<sup>15</sup> Manuscript of Clara Deason Smith and Ruth Wyers given to Harry Eskew at Tuscaloosa, Alabama, February, 1987. The Deason children (listed in order of birth) are Clara Deason Smith, J. C. Deason, Elvin Deason Morris, Bryan Deason (died 1971), Cecile Deason Cox, Ola Deason Meadows, Mary Deason Thompson, and Carl Elam Deason.



in Tuscaloosa. After Deason moved in 1941 to Flomaton in south Alabama, Swan used recordings of Christian Harmony singing directed by John Deason on his program.<sup>16</sup>

While singing was John Deason's first love, his lifetime vocation was life insurance. From 1937 until his retirement in 1971 Deason worked for Liberty National Insurance Company. Over the years his insurance business took him to such Alabama cities as Flomaton, Fort Payne, Leeds, Calera, Jackson, Mobile, and Albertville. Deason served as agent-manager in most of these cities and received awards from Liberty National for his outstanding work as a salesperson and agent-manager for the company (including election to their Torch Club). When Deason was asked to give a devotional talk for the Torch Club, he began by asking the group to sing "Amazing Grace." The tradition of singing "Amazing Grace" at Torch Club meetings of Liberty National has continued to the present as one way of paying tribute to John Deason.

After having been lengthily active in Christian Harmony singings, John Deason in the 1950's became increasingly sought for leadership posts (he was elected president of the state convention in 1954 and 1955). In 1954 appeared a blue paperback volume in a taller-than-wide format entitled *Christian Harmony Book One*. Its subtitle reads "A partial revision of the original Christian Harmony published by William Walker nearly 100 years ago, together with a number of new songs in the old-style harmony." This revision lacks a musical rudiments section, but contains 138 pieces of music, all in Aikin's seven-shape notation as adopted by O. A. Parris, whose name alone appears as compiler. Many twentieth-century shape-note composers are represented. The name of O. A. Parris appears with 21 pieces but that of William Walker with a mere 13 selections. Reportedly, *Christian Harmony Book One* enjoyed little popularity—mainly because it forwent the accustomed appearance of a tunebook.

Four years later, in 1958, the full revision of *Christian Harmony* was published in traditional wider-than-tall tunebook format, with both Parris and Deason listed as revisers. The actual editing was

done by Parris; Deason underwrote the publication costs.

#### BASIC CHANGES

The 1958 full revision of *Christian Harmony* represents a marked departure from Walker's compilation. Changes in the Deason and Parris edition include the following:

I There are no musical rudiments. Several Christian Harmony singers maintain that the rudiments section should have been included, if only to continue the time-honored pedagogic function of shape-note tunebooks.

II The revisers shifted to the widely accepted seven-shape notation of Jesse B. Aikin, thus bringing *Christian Harmony* into conformity with more recent singing convention songbooks. Significantly, Walker himself—according to William Hauser—had at first sought to use Aikin's shapes for *Christian Harmony*. However, he was denied permission to do so.<sup>17</sup> The 1958 revision thus belatedly fulfills Walker's wishes, so far as Aikin's system of seven-shape notation is concerned.

III The 1958 revision is a somewhat smaller book, containing only 458 selections of music as opposed to the 532 of Walker's 1873 edition. The revisers removed 179 songs which they found to be seldom if ever used. Of the 458 selections in the new book, 348 (76%) were carried over from the 1873 edition.

IV One-hundred-nine (24%) pieces were added in the 1958 edition—among them four songs from the 1854 edition of *Southern Harmony* that Walker did not carry over into his *Christian Harmony*.<sup>18</sup> The leading contributor of the new songs was Parris, with 28 selections bearing his name. Of these 28, he wrote words and music to 10, music alone to 12, words alone to four, and the added alto part to two. In comparison with Parris, the contributions of other twentieth-century composers were proportionally small: seven songs each bear the names of J. D.

<sup>17</sup> William Hauser, *Musical Million*, vii (1876), 55. (Quoted in Jackson, *White Spirituals*, 332.)

<sup>18</sup> James Scholten, "William Walker's *Christian Harmony* in Alabama: A Study of the Tunebook and its Traditions" (typescript paper presented to the Music History Special Interest Group Session of the Society for Research in Music Education, National Convention, Music Educators National Conference, Miami Beach, Florida, April 11, 1980).

<sup>16</sup> Much of this biographical information is from "John Deason" (unpublished typescript), compiled from family records by Cecile Deason Cox, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, 1987. Mrs. Cox, a sister of John Deason, is current secretary-treasurer of the Alabama State Christian Harmony Singing Convention.



Wall and John Deason; four, John T. Hocutt; and three each that of G. S. Doss, John Dunagan, J. Elmer Kitchens, and W. Bennie Rigdon.

In addition to the contributions of composers living at the time that *Christian Harmony* was revised, the new edition drew upon both shape-note tunebooks and paperback convention songbooks. The publication supplying the largest number of pieces added to *Christian Harmony* was the "Supplement" to the 1911 fourth edition of J. L. White's *Sacred Harp*, an edition that had been used for several decades in northern Alabama and northern Mississippi.<sup>19</sup> Seven songs from the 1911 "Supplement" were added to the *Christian Harmony* in 1958.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup>Buell E. Cobb, Jr., *The Sacred Harp: A Tradition and Its Music* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1978), 108-110.

<sup>20</sup>These seven pieces and their page numbers in *Christian Harmony* are: ALONE (261), BABYLON IS FALLEN (165), DON'T GRIEVE YOUR MOTHER (284), GOSPEL WAVES (82), LADY, TOUCH THY HARP AGAIN (82), MOTHER TELL ME OF THE ANGELS (274), and NOT MADE WITH HANDS (109).

Three songs added in 1958 had been previously published in Anthony J. Showalter's *Class, Choir and Congregation* (1888), a songbook that had been used monthly for singings at the Tuscaloosa (Alabama) County Courthouse from the mid-1930's to at least 1940.<sup>21</sup> Two pieces in the 1938 revision were taken from Aldine S. Kieffer's *The Temple Star* (1878).<sup>22</sup>

An example of one of the more popular added songs (in what George Pullen Jackson called the "gospel-hymn tinged" style<sup>23</sup>) is the anonymous

<sup>21</sup>Published by the A. J. Showalter Co., Dalton, Georgia, and the Showalter-Patton Co., Dallas, Texas. Joel F. Reed, "Anthony J. Showalter (1858-1924): Southern Educator, Publisher, Composer" (unpublished Ed. D. dissertation, New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 1975), 132. The three songs added from this songbook are ONE BY ONE (189), THAT BEAUTIFUL LAND (178), and THE SINLESS SUMMERLAND (180). (I am indebted to Mr. Rupert Yarbrough of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, for assistance in identifying this source.)

<sup>22</sup>Published by Ruebush, Kieffer & Co., Singers Glen, Virginia. These two selections are TWILIGHT IS FALLING (248) and WATCHMAN (255).

<sup>23</sup>Jackson, *White Spirituals*, 345.

### NOT MADE WITH HANDS.

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109

Christ went a build - ing to prepare, Not made with hands. And 'twill be decked with jewels rare, Not made with hands.  
I Put on the ar - mor of our God. And take the path our Captain trod.

I With shield of faith de - fy the foe, Not made with hands. Un - til you hear the trumpet blow, Not made with hands.  
I That cit - y's built of precious stones. Within we'll gather round the throne.

I know, I know I have an - oth - er building, I know, I know Not made with hands.

I know, I know I have an - oth - er building I know, I know, Not made with hands.

I know, I know I know, I know





song "Not Made with Hands." Although the tenor melody is hexatonic (omitting the leading tone), the harmony and echo voices are clearly in the style of gospel hymnody.

#### IMPACT OF THE 1958 REVISION

The 1958 revision reflected the song choices of Alabama shape-note singers, and as a result its acceptance has largely been limited to central and north central Alabama along with Newton County, Mississippi, and northern Georgia. Most Christian Harmony singers in North Carolina still use earlier editions (a reprint of the 1873 edition) rather than the 1958 revision. (I still recall the words of the late Earle W. Justice of Rutherfordton, North Carolina, a grandson of William Walker. I visited him in 1959 just after the new revision had come out. He would have nothing to do with the revision, calling it "a travesty on *Christian Harmony*.")

Although comprehensive statistics are not available, it appears that since the introduction of the 1958 revision the number of Christian Harmony singings in Alabama has remained about constant. However, Alabama Christian Harmony singing suffered a heavy blow when John Deason died in 1975. Since his death no one of comparable leadership ability has arisen. Although younger singers are being drawn to Sacred Harp singing, relatively few children and youth appear to be involved in Christian Harmony singing. True, grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities enabled Christian Harmony singing schools to be held in Alabama in 1980, 1981, and 1982, several of them taught by Arthur L. Deason of Centreville, a cousin of John Deason. But the singing schools do not seem to have sparked noticeably increased attendance at Christian Harmony singings.

*Christian Harmony* is now published (1987) by W. Bennie Rigdon, 543 West Lake Drive, Bessemer, AL 35020. He reports three reprints of the 1958 revision:

1973—1029 copies  
1977—1000 copies  
1981—1100 copies.<sup>24</sup>

He adds that some 100 copies a year are being sold. Unless a new leader of John Deason's stature arises, the prospects for further growth of Christian Harmony singing seem dim.

Just as Walker's *Southern Harmony* survives in Benton's Big Singing in western Kentucky because of family support, so also *Christian Harmony* and *The Sacred Harp* have been published in new twentieth-century editions through the efforts of families. The Denson family's efforts were crucial to the 1936 Deason revision called *The Original Sacred Harp*. So also the Denson family's support—especially that of John Deason—was a key factor in the publication of the 1958 revision of *Christian Harmony*. It should also be noted that in those areas where Sacred Harp singers attend Christian Harmony singings (and vice versa), the cross-overs seemingly experience little difficulty in switching from one shape notation system to another. (Perhaps the threat of urbanization has served to unite these shape-note singers.)

Walker's tastes in song obviously evolved through the various editions of *Southern Harmony* and *Christian Harmony*. So also evolving tastes of Alabama Christian Harmony singers have now resulted in their embracing late nineteenth- and twentieth-century shape-note gospel song. Indeed, there is more of the gospel song idiom in the 1958 revision of *Christian Harmony* than in any other shape-note tunebook in current use. *Christian Harmony* has thus been adapted to the changed musical environment of mid-twentieth century Alabama shape-note singers—an adaptation that may possibly enable this singing tradition to survive through the remainder of the twentieth century.

<sup>24</sup>W. Bennie Rigdon, Letter to Harry Eskew, February 18, 1987.