# TRENDS IN GOSPEL MUSIC PUBLISHING: 1940 TO 1960

VERNON M. WHALEY

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
1992

To Mother —

Thank you for your faithful support love and encouragement.

Love,

Vernon

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

# TRENDS IN GOSPEL MUSIC PUBLISHING: 1940 TO 1960

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

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By

Vernon M. Whaley

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# TRENDS IN GOSPEL MUSIC PUBLISHING:

# 1940 TO 1960

A DISSERTATION

APPROVED FOR THE SCHOOL OF MUSIC

By

Roger Rideout, Major Professor

Steven Curtis

E. L. Lancaster

J. R. Morris, Jr.

Ken Stephenson

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TRENDS IN GOSPEL MUSIC PUBLISHING: 1940-1960

BY: VERNON M. WHALEY

MAJOR PROFESSOR: ROGER RIDEOUT, Ed. D.

The purpose of this study was to compile a historical survey of gospel music publishing from 1940 to 1960. Elements for investigation included the stated objectives, decisions, and marketing strategies employed by gospel music publishers to expand their markets from 1940 to 1960 and factors contributing to the growth in the gospel music publishing industry from 1940 to 1960.

The information for the study was collected through oral history methodology consisting of interviews with seven leaders in the industry including: Billy Ray Hearn, Chuck Fromm, Ralph Carmichael, John W. Peterson, Robert R. MacKenzie, Jessy Dixon, and Bill Gaither. Personal interviews with all seven participants were completed, recorded on audio tape, transcribed to print, and used as primary research materials.

Additional data were collected from publisher catalogs, interviews, magazine articles, actual music publications, reference books, and trade journals. This information served as secondary resource material and combined with interviews to provide documentation for a historical narrative.

Several conclusions relating to the developments of the gospel music publishing industry may be drawn from this study. First, the centuries-old tradition of dynamic individuals forging changes and developments in gospel music publishing remained an effective method for marketing music to the evangelical church from the 1940s to 1960s. These personalities were often thrust into the limelight through the introduction of one particular song.

Secondly, the complex history of gospel music publishing is based on the intertwining influences of evangelical theological tenets, charismatic performers within the evangelical culture, and modern business practices that capitalize on these two elements. Music publishers remained reactive in a field where change was prompted by events outside their direct influence. Publishers quickly hired the artists and contracted with others to produce and arrange music, but seldom did successful marketing occur as the result of research and development prior to the introduction of specific works or artists. This is due to the fact that, in many ways, the publishing industry is like the religious community it serves, seeking new markets only when sudden artist popularity or publishing tradition were clearly identified. The problem lies with the religious community's reluctant acceptance of the secular style as an avenue for religious expression. Historically that problem has been resolved by large social upheavals such as war, urbanization, industrialization, and religious crises such as denominational divisions and revivalist movements. When a secular style adapted to religious use accompanied one of these cataclysmic changes, the style could be more easily accepted.

Third, musical styles acceptable to the gospel evangelical community resembled the styles acceptable to the secular community. This is an interesting anomaly since it implies a muddying of the sacred/secular divisions that, heretofore, had defined musical acceptance by the evangelical community. Yet, no such conflict exists for the gospel artist for whom a style is merely a sound vehicle for gospel text. The particular musical style characteristics that bring emotional satisfaction due to their familiarity, popularity, or inherent musicality are made "sacred" by their adaptation to gospel text and are subsumed under the artist's religious and evangelical intents. The artist's compelling desire to write in a particular style is interpreted not to be the result of anything inherent in that style, but the "will of God" working through that style to reveal greater truth.

# TRENDS IN GOSPEL MUSIC PUBLISHING: 1940-1960

## CHAPTER I

## THE PROBLEM

### Introduction

After World War II (WWII) the gospel music industry experienced unparalleled growth. Five decades of blending old-time religion and modern technology produced a small army of highly skilled music business proprietors, music educators, music engravers, marketing technicians, entertainers, composers, arrangers, studio professionals, and publishers who created products with sacred and secular appeal. Since WWII the cross-over market has become so lucrative that secular publishers now purchase complete gospel music catalogs. Belwin-Mills acquired Good News Publications, and Rupert Murdock's Harper/Collins subsidiary purchased the Zondervan/Benson Gospel Publishing companies. Broadcasting giant Capitol Cities/ABC, Inc. owns WORD, Inc. Other publishers, such as Shawnee Press, have developed new departments devoted exclusively to creating and publishing gospel music (MacKenzie, Telephone Interview, January 20, 1991). Today's comprehensive gospel music publishing industry has long-term educational, financial, and marketing benefits and gospel music has emerged as source material for high school and college band and choral arrangements, jazz and show choir performances, children's musicals, and even "Musak."

Contemporary gospel music blends popular, country, folk, blue-grass, rhythm and blues, jazz, rock and roll, heavy metal, rap, and classical styles. A broad-based

constituency exists that no longer considers gospel music the exclusive expression of evangelical Christian culture. Ralph Carmichael's gospel songs, "Love Is Surrender" and "A Quiet Place," illustrate this phenomena. Carmichael composed these two songs for the evangelical church and included them in his songbook for youth, He's Everything to Me Plus 53. The pop singers, The Carpenters, changed the lyrics to refer to the love between a boy and girl, and released "Love Is Surrender" on their album, We've Only Just Begun, which sold two million copies (Carmichael, 1986, p. 141-142). Nearly 20 years later, Christian jazz artists, Take Six, rearranged the Carmichael song "A Quiet Place" and performed it at jazz festivals all over the world.

Michael W. Smith's gospel song, "Place in This World" (Reunion Records), reflects the growing trend among publishers to create contemporary Christian music specifically for a broader, secular market. By slanting their promotional and marketing appeals, Geffen Records presented Smith's song to retail outlets and radio stations and successfully promoted "Place in This World" into the Top 10 on The Billboard Top 100 Singles Chart during the summer of 1991. Smith also received the Gospel Music Association's *Dove Award* for "Best Song Of The Year" during the 1991 *Dove Awards Ceremony.*

## Rationale

Hymnologists have researched gospel song development during the 1860s-1890s and studied legendary gospel music personalities such as Ira Sankey, Homer Rodeheaver, and B. B. McKinney. Information is available on the history of African-American gospel music as well. Three important references that deal specifically with African-American gospel music include The New Grove Gospel, Blues, and Jazz (1986) by William Bolcom, Paul Oliver, and Max Harrison; The Gospel Sound (1985) by Anthony Heilbut; and The Music of Black Americans: A History (1983) by Eileen Southern (Southern,

1983). Yet, these sources draw few correlations between African-American and White gospel music styles or relate them to the publishing industry.

Historical documentation of gospel music publishing is limited. No research has been done on how gospel music styles, marketing concepts, educational interests, cultural preferences, and ecclesiastical demands interact and influence the publishing industry. Detailed accounting of the events, marketing strategies, and mechanisms that spurred the gospel music publishing industry is needed. Since the gospel music publishing industry has not given official attention to its own history, the time is right for a study that will allow gospel music composers, publishers, producers, and noted artists to tell their own stories as official historical record. Many of those who developed and nurtured the twentieth-century Gospel music industry are nearing retirement age. Opportunity for these men and women to tell their own stories firsthand is limited. The processes by which the industry grew and developed can best be documented while so many of the men and women who helped nurture it are still alive.

## Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to research and summarize important trends in gospel music publishing from 1940 to 1960 based on interviews with seven individuals who exercised unique influence in the industry during those years. The collected data form the basis for a chronological narrative of events affecting the gospel music publishing industry's growth and development.

Gospel music publications identified and produced by these individuals were discussed. Information found in articles, newspapers clippings, books, trade journals, and video and audio recording jackets helped augment and confirm their accounts. Specifically, the study was based on two large questions:

(1) What marketing strategies were employed by gospel music publishers to expand their markets from 1940 to 1960?

(2) What factors contributed to the growth of gospel music publishing from 1940 to 1960?

A study of the gospel music industry from 1940 to 1960 may help project the influence of gospel music during upcoming decades and provide an instrument so music educators, pastors, ministers of music, sociologists, and musicologists may determine further research areas. An oral history of the gospel music publishing industry may provide living documentation of factors contributing to the growth of the industry. This study may also provide helpful insights for designing future marketing and advertising programs. As publishers broaden and diversify their approaches to marketing, the unique influence of the popular gospel genres on society may become more apparent. This study should encourage further research in these topics.

## Participants

While hundreds of men and women have helped nurture and mature the gospel publishing industry since the late 1940s, the individuals in this study were selected on the basis of their significance as gospel music composers and/or producers, as artists and/or performers, as decision-makers within the gospel music publishing and/or recording world, and as persons aware of changing events within the industry and the evangelical Christian culture. Based on these criteria, seven individuals emerged as leaders during the years 1940 to 1960; four performer/composers and three publishers. All seven are qualified by expertise, maturity, insight, and experience to contribute to this oral history. Each helped shape gospel music into a commercial industry. Their oral histories provide the first authoritative and creditable primary resource material for the study of gospel music publishing from 1940 and 1960.

**JOHN W. PETERSON**, a Swedish-American born in Lindsborg, Kansas on November 1, 1921, is a composer of gospel songs, arranger, soloist, and member of the Gospel Music Hall of Fame. Following service in World War II, he attended Moody

Bible Institute and the American Conservatory of Music, both in Chicago. He later joined the staff of Singspiration, Inc. in Montrose, Pennsylvania. When Zondervan Publishing House acquired Singspiration in 1963, he became executive editor of the new company. Peterson is best known for the creation of the gospel cantata, a choral idiom closely resembling the baroque cantata but utilizing popular melodies and song forms of the post-World War II Broadway stage. By 1975, Peterson's cantatas had sold over 8.6 million copies (Peterson, Personal Interview, October 18, 1991).

**RALPH CARMICHAEL**, arranger, composer, conductor, publisher, and owner of Lexicon Music, Inc. and Light Records, was born in Quincy, Illinois on May 27, 1927 (Reynolds, 1976, p. 277). Classically trained as a violinist, Carmichael played in the San Jose Symphony before beginning his career as an arranger for Stan Kenton, Nat King Cole, Roger Williams, and others. He has composed many movie and television scores, arranged for renowned performers, and ghost written for well known pop arrangers including Nelson Riddle. He has composed more than 200 original songs and arranged music for hundreds of recordings, film scores, and choral and instrumental publications. Carmichael is best known for integrating pop idioms of the 50s and 60s into the gospel recording and publishing industries (MacKenzie, Personal Interview, October 3, 1991).

**JESSY DIXON** is an internationally renowned singer and recording artist, a publisher, composer, arranger, choral director, instrumentalist, and record producer from Chicago. He is best known for his successful solo and African-American gospel choir recordings. Born and reared in San Antonio, Texas, Dixon was a pianist with gospel singer-preacher, James Cleveland.

As record producer and performer, Dixon has received several Grammy nominations for his contributions to gospel music including the Grammy award winning album, He Ain't Heavy, He's My Brother. In the 1970s, he earned critical acclaim at the Newport Jazz Festival and in New York's Radio City Music Hall and worked with artist

Paul Simon as leader of the Jessy Dixon Singers. Ordained to the Gospel Ministry in 1982, Dixon has appeared on the "Oprah Winfrey Show," "Saturday Night Live," "The Billy Graham Special," and many other television productions in addition to hosting the nationally syndicated "Jessy Dixon Show" (Calloway, 1991, p. 5).

**WILLIAM J. GAITHER**, composer, concert and recording artist, publisher, and entrepreneur, has played a major role in developing gospel music publishing and performing. Born March 28, 1936, in Alexandria, Indiana, Gaither attended Anderson College (B.A.) and Ball State University (M.A.) (Reynolds, p. 314). Working with his wife Gloria, Gaither published a large body of literature that is now part of the worship hymnody of Christians around the world. Their 1971 copyright, "Because He Lives," for example, is included in The Baptist Hymnal (1975), Hymns for the Family of God (1976), and hundreds of other publications (MacKenzie, January 19, 1991).

**BILLY RAY HEARN**, a graduate of Baylor University, served Southern Baptist churches as minister of music before founding the Sparrow Corporation in 1976. During the 1970's, Hearn worked for WORD, Inc. and identified young gospel artists who utilized pop and rock- oriented music styles. He promoted the development of gospel youth musicals and, as much as any one else, Hearn is credited with championing contemporary Christian music in the gospel market place. Sparrow, with annual sales in excess of 30 million dollars (MacKenzie, Personal Interview, October 3, 1991), is a leading organization in developing gospel music recording artists, and gospel music print product.

**ROBERT R. MacKENZIE** is president and co-owner of Spectra, Inc., which includes Alexandria House, Inc., and Antara Music Group. MacKenzie attended Houghton College (B.A.) and Columbia University (M.A.). A trumpet player in the West Point Band, MacKenzie chaired the department of music at Shelton College and served as general manager of the Nashville Symphony. He left the symphony in 1966 to become Artist and Recording (A & R) Director for the John T. Benson Company,

Nashville, Tennessee (Joy MacKenzie, Telephone Interview, January 20, 1991). During his tenure at The Benson Company, MacKenzie helped develop the gospel music publishing industry into an eclectic force. For more than a decade, MacKenzie produced hundreds of gospel music recordings and books in all musical styles and genres.

**CHUCK FROMM** is president of Maranatha! Music, LaGunna Beach, California. He is a 1972 graduate of California State University at Fullerton. Through the release of a series of records and cassettes, Fromm introduced a new, personal concept of worship music to the evangelical Christian tradition (MacKenzie, Personal Interview, February 10, 1991). Fromm and his staff at Maranatha! developed a full line of children's books and recordings known as the *Psalty Series* which has been widely used by public and private grade school choirs.

## Procedures

The research method used in this study is called oral history because the information gathered is in the form of personal interviews. The interviews are not simply reported but rather form the basis for a narrative account of gospel music publishing between 1940 and 1960. Oral history is an acceptable method of collecting reliable research data, according to historian Eva M. McMahan (1989):

> Oral history is a conversation with a person whose life experience is regarded as memorable. This conversation, however, cannot be regarded as comparable to other documentary modes of inquiry. This is because the oral interview is a form of inquiry in which the evidence originates in the act of oral, face-to-face communication. The oral history interview is the joint intellectual product of a process wherein understanding is aided through speech and counterspeech. It is the intervention of the historian, qua interviewer, that serves as the impetus for the production of such historical data. The historian is the catalyst for as well as a participant in the creation of the historical record. (p. 5)

Oral history techniques have been used to chronicle events in economics, agriculture, the history of science, the history of religion, labor history, politics, military history, sociology, cultural history, and family history (Thompson, 1978, pp. 232-234). Precedent for using oral history exists in music research as well. A. L. Lloyd (1967)

employed oral history methodology to write Folk Song in England as did Brian Jackson and Dennis Marsden (1971) in their study of brass bands, The Working Class Community, and William J. Schafer (1977) in his study of Brass Bands and New Orleans Jazz. In 1979, George Shaw detailed concepts of improvisation through interviewing select professional jazz musicians.

The interview is the centerpiece of the oral history process and serves a means of gathering information that has direct bearing on the research objectives. The interview should reveal an informant's knowledge, values, preferences, and beliefs, and serve as the means whereby hypotheses may be identified and tested. There are four types of interviews used in oral history research: the structured interview, the non-structured interview, the non-direct interview, and the focused interview. The structured interview is identified as "closed-scenario questioning," in which the wording of questions is predetermined. The interviewer has little room for modification and looks for specific answers. The unstructured interview is identified as "open-ended." While the research purposes govern the selection of topics, the content, sequence, and wording of questions are left to the interviewer. This technique allows the interviewer to re-focus the discussion as the conversations dictate. In the non-directive interview the respondent has freedom to express subjective feelings as fully and spontaneously as desired. The interviewer does not guide or control the conversations but records the respondent's comments. The focused interview allows the interviewer more control by guiding the respondent's comments on topics that the interviewer has identified and analyzed prior to the meetings.

A modified structured approach to the interviewing process was used in this research. Participants were visited and interviewed personally. Prior to the interview, a set of questions was sent to each participant (See Appendix C). These questions were used during the interview and served as a guide to stimulate inquiry, evaluation, and dialogue. Once questions were presented, respondents were allowed to focus on events

and circumstances applicable to their individual situations. Data were then used to formulate a chronological narrative detailing the history of gospel music publishing from 1940 to 1960.

The interview data are evaluated only after the respondents have approved all interview transcripts. The evaluation process includes assessing the interview records for internal consistency, cross-checking the materials with other sources of information to note discrepancies between written and oral evidence, and constructing a narrative that correctly provides a contextual interpretation (Thompson, p. 211).

The seven individuals in this study were contacted by telephone. A letter confirming each individual's role in the research process was sent immediately following the telephone conversation (See Appendix A). Written confirmation was received from all parties involved (See Appendix B). A pre-interview telephone call was placed to determine the best time and date for the interview. With the exception of Jessy Dixon and William (Bill) Gaither, each person participated in two 90-minute interviews. Dixon and Gaither were each available for one session of approximately two hours and 20 minutes.

After personal interviews were completed, post-interview telephone conversations were held, when necessary, to clarify points. All interviews were recorded on audio tape, transcribed to print, and sent to each participant for evaluation. Corrections, interpretations, and additional information were acquired in the post-interview telephone inquiry.

## Limitations

This study is not a collection of interviews but a narrative account of publishing, marketing and buying trends in the gospel music industry from 1940 to 1960. Information from interviews was used as primary resource for the narrative. This summary overview allows gospel music composers, publishers, producers, and noted artists to tell their stories as an official historical record. This study is not a sociological

or cultural inquiry involving the impact of the gospel music industry on American society. It is a record of the gospel music publishing industry from 1940 to 1960 and is not meant to be all-inclusive, but to serve as a catalyst for further research.

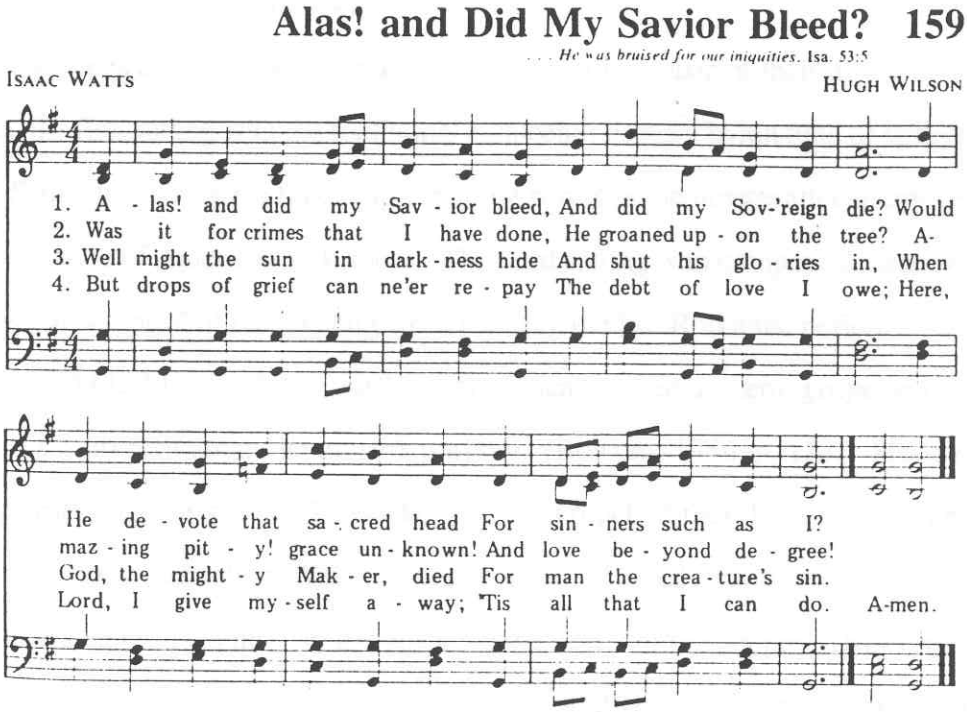
The gospel music publishing industry has been slow in developing marketing strategies. Most publishers in the business have traditionally been product-driven rather than market-driven. Objective information needed to determine marketing trends before 1980 is, at best, limited. Recent work by Innovative Resources, a commercial research organization in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, is based primarily on events and trends during the 1980s and 1990s. Their work will help establish a more consistent basis for evaluation of gospel music publishing, but it is not of value in this study.

## Definition of Terms

Gospel music is a relatively new phenomenon. Even though such composers as Stephen Foster were writing and publishing secular melodies for use with gospel texts as early as 1859 (Sallee, 1978, p. 51), music specifically used by the evangelical church was not labeled *gospel* until the 1870s.

Gospel music is identified by its texts which are personal reflections on man's need for and relationship to God. Gospel lyrics are set to simple, singable melodies in a variety of musical styles and are often intended for solo or ensemble performance. Harmonically, they seldom extend beyond the tonic, subdominant, and dominant chords and generally do not modulate. The overall form is stanza and chorus and the rhythm is often well defined by the lyrics.

The Isaac Watts text, "Alas and Did My Savior Bleed" is an example of the way older, more traditional, Western European hymns were adapted for use as textual material for gospel songs. Compare the use of this hymn in three different settings. (Watts' text is written in common meter and makes for easy application to different tune settings.) This famous text is commonly sung to the hymn tune MARTYRDOM by Hugh Wilson.




**Example 1:**
***Alas! and Did My Savior Bleed?*** **by Hugh Wilson**
**Public Domain**
**Taken from Hymns of Faith (1980), Compiled by Don Hustad.**

In the first setting the hymn is in strophic form with four stanzas (See Example 1, above).

Eighty-five years later, Ralph E. Hudson set the same text to a different tune and added a refrain that emphasized faith through a salvation experience. Ralph Hudson turned the hymn into a gospel song when he shifted the emphasis from the atonement of Christ to an expression of personal experience (See Example 2, page 13). The Isaac Watts text is also set to the tune, HE LOVES ME, composed by an unknown late

nineteenth century composer. This time the added refrain shifts the emphasis to the love of Christ (See Example 3, page 14).

The tunes used with Watts' text mirror the secular music of their day. For example, the first setting is in the traditional eighteenth century hymn tune or strophic style of Scottish and English folk songs. Setting two is in the nineteenth century verse and chorus style of American folk songs. The third setting is in compound meter with a repeat which is typical of the art song written during the late Romantic period.

Dwight L. Moody, the evangelist from Chicago, used the term *gospel music* "to express his sentiment about the music's purpose" (Bolcom, 1986, p. 188). Moody, and his songwriter/singer associate, Ira Sankey, devoted much of their lives to preaching and singing the gospel throughout Western Europe and the United States. Moody believed music should be used "to implant the gospel in the hearts of the people" (Bolcom, 1986, p. 189). The gospel song in its wide range of musical diversity continues to be the music of choice in evangelical and fundamentalist Christian denominations around the world.

*Evangelical tradition* is a term that refers to individuals, groups, churches, and denominational agencies that have common doctrinal tenets and emphases in ministry. They trace their history to eighteenth century revivalism and the preaching of Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield. Common to evangelical theology are the beliefs that salvation is by grace through faith; the Bible is infallible and is humanity's divine authority; outside of the redemptive work of Christ, people are depraved and destined for hell; the blood of Christ cleanses from all sin and restores fellowship between individuals and God; and Christ may return at any moment.

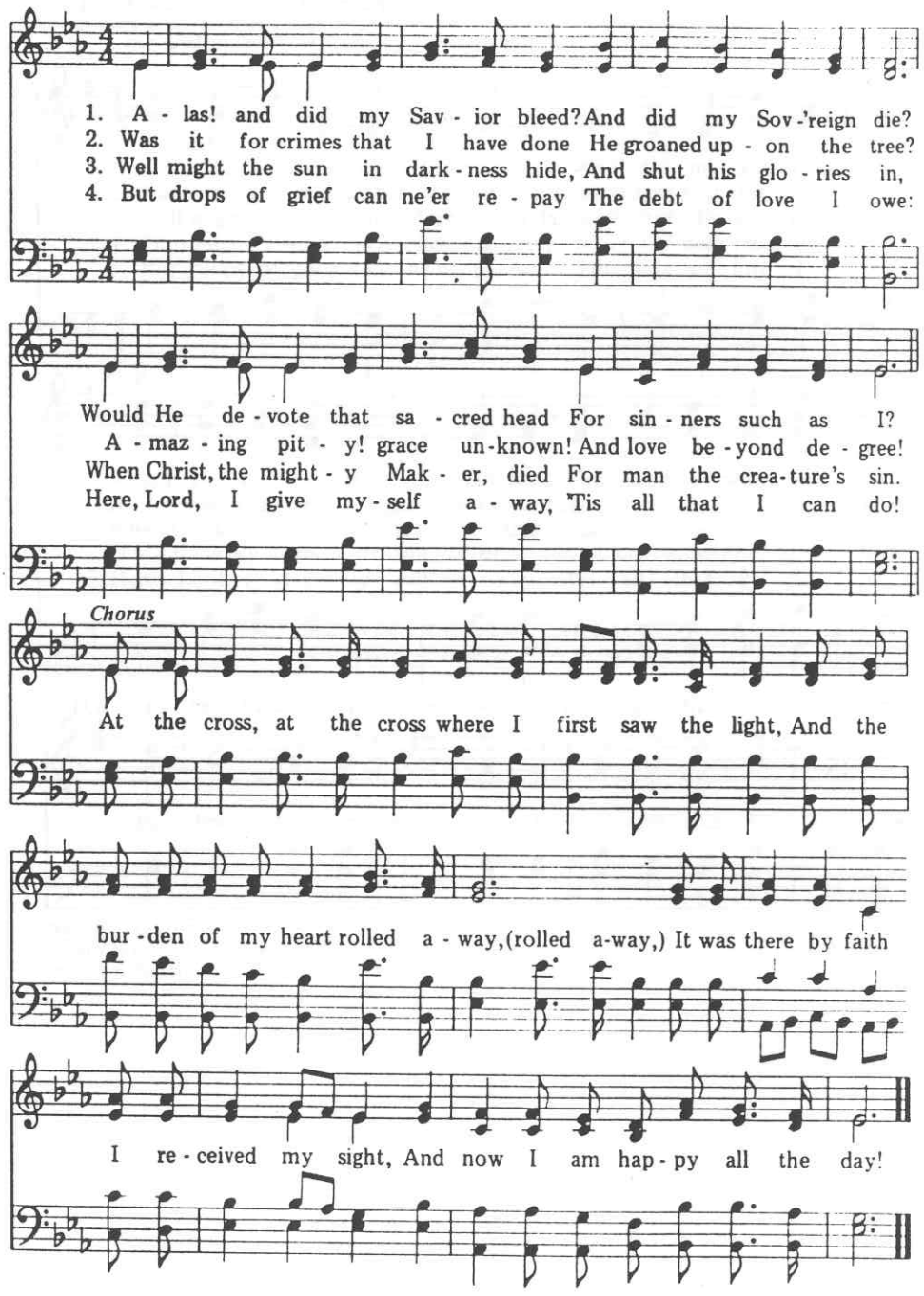
Common to evangelical practice is the belief that people have a responsibility to holy living and that all Christians are required to proclaim the gospel in the name of Christ. Evangelicals generally practice non-liturgical or free concepts of worship. Within this heterogeneous fellowship gospel music has blossomed as a means of communicating

## 153 At the Cross

*Surely He hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows.* Isa. 53:4

ISAAC WATTS
Refrain, RALPH E. HUDSON

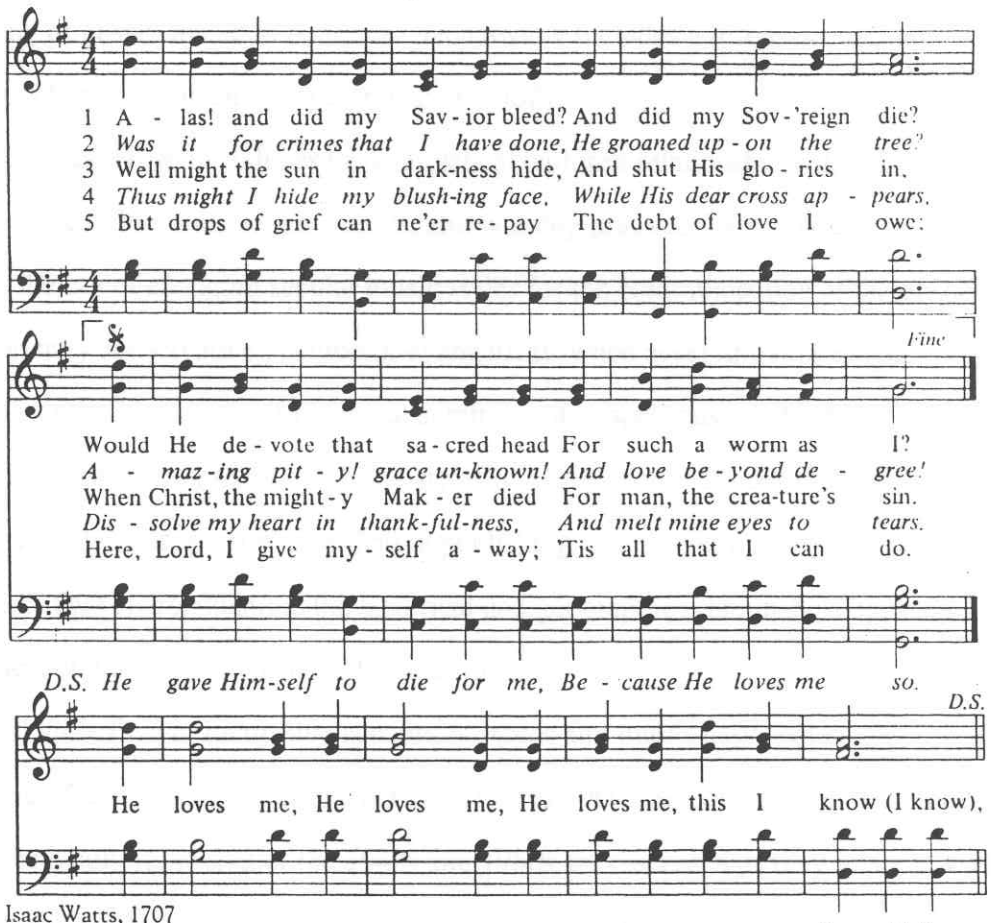
RALPH E. HUDSON




**Example 2:**
***At the Cross*** **by Ralph Hudson**
**Public Domain**
**Taken from Hymns of Faith (1980), Compiled by Don Hustad.**

# 94 HE LOVES ME

*For God so loved the world... Jn. 3:16*




Isaac Watts, 1707
Refrain Source Unknown
C.M. with Refrain

Source Unknown
HE LOVES ME

**Example 3:**
***He Loves Me* by Unknown Author**
**Public Domain**
**Taken from <u>REJOICE: The Free Will Baptist Hymn Book</u> (1988),**
**Compiled by Leroy Cutler and Others.**

a common belief in Christian faith and practice.

## Overview of the Dissertation

Chapter Two is a review of select sources that relate to the development and publishing of gospel music in America. This review includes a discussion of similar studies in church music and gospel music hymnody.

Chapter Three introduces the evangelical culture's relationship with gospel music and evangelical doctrines, tenets, trends, and worship practices. Comparisons are drawn between the use of changing secular music styles for the communication of the gospel and the historically conservative position of evangelicals when accepting new music.

Chapter Four is a brief historical summary of gospel music publishing from the early nineteenth century to 1940. Three styles of gospel music are defined and the strategic role dynamic personalities had in publishing and marketing gospel music is described. Two charts illustrate the historical and geographic relationships between evangelical culture and publishers of gospel music.

Chapter Five is a narrative account of issues and trends in gospel music publishing of traditional gospel music from 1940 to 1960. Select political, religious, musical, and cultural events of the 1940s and 1950s are discussed as they relate to various gospel music genres. The argument is supported by musical examples, quotes from personal interviews, and product analyses.

Chapter Six recounts the contributions of John W. Peterson and Ralph Carmichael to the gospel music publishing industry during the years in question.

Chapter Seven summarizes developments in African-American and Southern gospel quartet music from 1940-1960. Cultural relationships between styles are defined and the issues surrounding African-American gospel music for the secular market are discussed. The dissertation ends with interpretive comments and recommendations for

further study. Conclusions focus on marketing strategies employed by gospel music publishers from 1940 to 1960.

# CHAPTER II

## REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Research relating to the gospel music publishing industry has not been extensive. Historical, biographical, and anecdotal studies, together with philosophical examinations of church music methodology comprise the bulk of published and unpublished inquiry. Although the historical role of African-American gospel music in church and society has been researched, the relationship between gospel music publishing industries, education, and secular markets has not been the subject of any comprehensive investigation.

This chapter is a review of literature relating to gospel music publishing and recording. Investigation of similar studies in church music and gospel music hymnology, church music philosophy and methodology, and the music business and/or publishing industry help establish research credibility.

### Similar Studies in Church Music and Gospel Music Hymnody

During the past 100 years, various subjects related to church music and, in particular, gospel music have generated different levels of research. Most studies have focused on personalities historically significant to the development of gospel hymnody. A few studies have given attention to specific revival movements or socio-economic influences contributing to gospel music.

Four books provide a foundation from which a study in gospel music publishing can begin. In 1963, William Hooper wrote Church Music in Transition for the Southern Baptist owned Broadman Press. Hooper provides an overview of evangelical church music history and concepts for worship in one book. The book is significant because it

draws from historically important events and personalities to make immediate application to the music work of the Southern Baptist denomination.

William Reynolds published A Survey of Christian Hymnody in 1963. Reynolds joined Milburn Price to enlarge and update the work as The Joyful Sound: A Survey of Christian Hymnody in 1972. Primary emphases of this publication are placed on an overview of Western European and Early American hymnody. Limited attention is given to the practices of evangelicals in the mid-twentieth century. This book cites important details about American folk traditions including camp meetings, sacred harp singing, and the gospel song.

Glory, Hallelujah: The Story of the Camp Meeting Spirituals (1980) by Ellen Jane Lorenz is an important contribution to the study of American hymnody. Her work details origins and practices of camp meeting singing. The Lorenz document is augmented by a number of musical examples of songs made popular during camp meetings.

James Keene's A History of Music Education in the United States (1987) provides a good accounting of the relationship between the singing school movement and the early American church. Chapters on Lowell Mason and an emphasis on publishing during the mid-nineteenth century are important to developing a broad study of gospel music publishing.

Three relatively recent books on gospel music provide a foundation for a comprehensive investigation of gospel music publishing. The History of Gospel Music (1971) written by Jessy Burt and Duane Allen chronicles the historical developments that led to establishment of the Gospel Music Association in 1964. Primary focus is given to personalities and problems associated with the Southern gospel music movement prior to 1970.

Mrs. J. R. Baxter and Videt Polk wrote Gospel Song Writers Biographies (1971) for the Stamps-Baxter Music and Printing Company, Dallas, Texas. This book includes

brief biographical sketches of 102 composers and contributors to the publication of music most often used in Southern gospel singing conventions.

Don Cusic wrote The Sound of Light: A History of Gospel Music (1990) in which he traces the beginnings of gospel music through its biblical heritage and relates its historical developments to various personalities, companies, events, organizations, and trends. The lack of consistent and accurate documentation reduces the book's value as a tool for scholarly research.

Historical studies about gospel music are the subjects of several dissertations, theses, or other related research. Virginia Ann Cross (1985) wrote The Development of Sunday School Hymnody in The United States of America, 1816-1869 as part of her degree requirements at New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary. Her study shows how hymn book compilers were influenced by camp-meeting spirituals, secular folk and popular songs, singing schools and fuging tunes, and European operatic and art music. Cross illustrates how the *genteel style* of popular song was a significant model for many Sunday school songs.

New Song: The Sound of Spiritual Awakening: A Study of Music in Revival was written by Charles E. Fromm and presented to the Oxford Reading and Research Conference, Oxford, England, in July 1983. Fromm's work is a study of music in revival from the Great Awakening of 1740 through the 1970s Jesus Movement. His personal illustrations, interviews, and quotations from musicians and publishers involved in the Jesus Movement provide documentation of their contributions to and participation in the developments of the gospel music publishing.

Paul Baker (1979) wrote Why Should the Devil Have All the Good Music? as a treatise on the metamorphosis of the *Jesus Music* of the 1960s and 1970s. Chapter Two of this work includes a rather detailed account, complete with two effective charts, of various influences that contributed to today's gospel music styles. Pop Goes the Gospel (1983) is a British publication written by John Blanchard and published by Evangelical

Press. Blanchard traces the practices of gospel singing groups to their secular origins and details their genesis.

Three well documented records of African-American contributions to gospel music have been completed. The first, The New Grove: Gospel, Blues, and Jazz (1986) was written by William Bolcom, Max Harrison, and Paul Oliver. This book details the transition of African-American gospel music from its roots in traditional gospel by Ira Sankey to its metamorphosis as a folk art. The book includes a detailed account of the contributions to African-American gospel music by the quartet, jubilee singers, and famous personalities.

The second book of significance to African-American gospel music history was Anthony Heilbut's The Gospel Sound (1985). Heilbut divides his book into four parts: Building the Gospel Highway (African-American gospel prior to 1940), The Gospel Pioneers, The Holiness Church, and The Gospel Life (contribution through radio, individuals, and a variety of circumstances). This book also includes a thorough historical introduction, postscript, and discography of female solo personalities, male solo personalities, gospel groups, choirs, quartets, and anthologies.

The third book about African-American gospel music is Eileen Southern's 1983 publication, The Music of Black Americans: A History. This work provides a scholarly account of African-American music's contribution to American culture. Southern's book is most significant because the developments of African-American gospel are shown in broader context with other music of African-American origin.

Several other studies in African-American religious music are significant to the study of gospel music. Robert Allen researched the impact of Afro-American gospel choirs of New York City. His study, Singing in the Spirit: An Ethnography of Gospel Performance in New York City's African-American Church Community (1987), explores the production, performance, and evaluation of community-based gospel performance in New York City's Southern African-American church. Much of his research is based on

field research with non-commercial quartets and groups. He examines the learning process, the structure and organization of the gospel service, systems of aesthetics for African-American evangelicals, and the manner in which religious and artistic concerns are balanced to create a performance that is spiritually, culturally, and aesthetically pleasing. His conclusions are three-fold: (1) As ritual practice, gospel performance served as an extension of Sunday morning worship. (2) Gospel performances served as a symbolic vehicle for the maintenance of Southern rural identity, religion, and values in a northern urban environment. (3) Changing patterns of performance style in African-American sacred singing reflect the complex forces of migration, urbanization, acculturation, and cultural revitalization.

Moaning and Prayer: A Musical and Contextual Analysis of Chants to Accompany Prayer in Two Afro-American Baptist Churches in Southeast Alabama (1988) is a study by Willie R. Collins for the University of California, Los Angeles. He seeks to study the relationship of music in the moan and prayer event. Collins uses video and sound recordings, questionnaires, and surveys of urban and rural church congregations as a method for gathering data. Four reasons for the use of moans are documented: (1) to support the prayer-sayer in louder and longer prayers; (2) to elicit the Holy Spirit; (3) to convert sinners; and (4) to support the preacher.

Several studies on traditions that led to the publication of gospel music have proved beneficial. Lisa Carol Hardaway (1989) wrote The Sacred Harp Tradition in Texas in which she documents a previously overlooked practice in Texas culture. Her study shows the importance of such practice and how Sacred Harp music in Texas is being preserved for future generations.

One study on the history of gospel music publishing is The Life and Work of Donald Paul Hustad by Rhonda S. Rogers. This is a biographical study completed at The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in 1988. Rogers documents the contributions of Donald Hustad to evangelical church music as an arranger/composer, professor of

music, music editor, author, and philosopher of church music. She includes a comprehensive catalogue and discography of Hustad's literary and musical contributions.

Several studies focus on the contributions of past revival movements. James Downey's The Music of American Revivalism (1968) details practices, theologies, special events, and literature associated with some of the better known revivals in the early American Church. In The Music of the Billy Graham Crusades, 1947 - 1970: An Analysis and Evaluation (1971) George Stansbury concludes the musical practices of Billy Graham were "closely related" to the Moody-Sankey pattern established in the late nineteenth century.

Two important works give attention to the Billy Sunday revivals. In 1936, Homer Rodeheaver wrote Twenty Years with Billy Sunday as an attempt to "suggest a true picture" (p. ii) of the Billy Sunday personality and preserve a record of his revival work. Most important is his chapter on "Tabernacle Music" which details Rodeheaver's musical practices, personal acquaintances, and ministry philosophies. Rodeheaver, himself, became the subject of Thomas H. Porter's research at New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary. His Homer Alvan Rodeheaver (1880-1955): Evangelistic Musician and Publisher (1981) chronicles the songleader's life and details many of his contributions to evangelical music.

Other studies on the relationship between music and past revivals are Paul Kaatrud's Revivalism and the Popular Spiritual Song in Mid-nineteenth Century America 1830-1870 (1977), completed as part of a dissertation requirement at the University of Minnesota, and A Study of the Function of Music in the Major Religious Revivals in America since 1875 (1957), written by Marvin McKissick while at the University of Southern California.

Melvin R. Wilhoit wrote two papers on the study of gospel music hymnody. The first, A Guide to the Principal Authors and Composers of Gospel Song of the Nineteenth Century (1982), was written to fulfill research requirements for a doctoral degree at The

Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. The second, "Ira Sankey: Father of Gospel Music," is an article included in Rejoice: The Gospel Music Magazine (Spring, 1991), published by the Center for the Study of Southern Culture, University of Mississippi. The later outlines important details about the contributions Ira Sankey made to gospel music and further defines the differences between gospel music styles.

**Similar Studies in Church Music Philosophy and Methodology**

Several works provide insight into the philosophy and methodology of gospel music teachers, performers, and composers. In 1987, Alvin Emanuel Amos researched The Use of Keyboard Instruments in the Religious Services of Selected Black Baptist Churches in Central Piedmont North Carolina. His dissertation examines the keyboard styles and musical practices in the "Low" (African-American) Baptist churches in the Central Piedmont region of the state. (The term "low" refers to those churches operating on levels that were more "overtly emotional" than other Baptist churches.) His conclusions focus on the use of instruments, performance practices, keyboard training, and job responsibilities of music directors in the Baptist churches in question.

Cynthia Dawn Steeves' The Origin of Gospel Piano: People, Events, and Circumstances That Contributed to the Development of the Style; and Documentation of Graduate Piano Recitals (1987) examines the events that brought about the development of piano style indigenous to the evangelical church. Steeves includes observations about the need for more percussive instruments, the influence of world-wide revival meetings, the nineteenth-century gospel songs, and the popularity of the piano at the turn of the century. Particular attention is given to the contributions of Ira Sankey, Charles M. Alexander, and Robert Harness.

In 1990, Richard Edward Cantwell prepared The Relationship Between Numerical Growth and Selected Theological Concepts as Reflected in the Texts of the Music Used in the General Conferences of the Methodist Church and the Church of the Nazarene

Between 1784 and 1985: A Statistical Study. He bases his study on the premise that a relationship exists between numerical growth and selected theological concepts. The textual content of songs used by each group's quadrennial conferences are "the statistical variable identified as a factor in the growth and decline of denominational membership statistics." Cantwell's findings are inconclusive and indicate the need for further study.

The Message in the Music: A Content Analysis of Contemporary Christian and Southern Gospel Song Lyric (1987) written by Gary Richard Drum compares the theological base generally associated with country gospel to that of contemporary Christian music. He found country gospel song lyrics to be orthodox, leaning toward Calvinistic theologies, and contemporary Christian music generally devoid of doctrinal content in any direction.

Joanne Weiss produced a study in 1988 as part of the degree requirements at Ball State University titled The Relationship Between the "Great Awakening" and the Tradition From Psalmody to Hymnody in the New England Colonies. The work examines the relationship between the first major religious revival in the New England colonies and the change from psalmody to hymnody in the mid-eighteenth century through the integration of theology and church music. Weiss endeavors to place the psalmody/hymnody issue within the context of the changing theological milieu of the day. She concludes that the Great Awakening was the single most important factor in the change from psalmody to hymnody in the New England colonies.

Over the years, a number of research studies examined the philosophical and aesthetic foundations for evangelical music ministry. One landmark publication is Donald Hustad's Jubilate!: Church Music in the Evangelical Tradition (1981). This work is the result of a 20-year teaching experience at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. It provides correlation between the purpose of church music and demands of the evangelical culture. He presents an argument to support the role of evangelical music in worship and

addresses the need for evangelicals to focus on worship as an expression of a personal encounter with God.

Two research projects dealt with evangelical music and aesthetics. The first, by Brian Holm (1986), focuses on the relationship between aesthetics and evangelical worship. His research, The Musical Aesthetic Theories of Leonard B. Meyer Applied to Principles of Music in Evangelical-Christian Corporate Worship, investigates the purpose and presentation of music in evangelical churches.

The second was completed by Lonnie McCalister. His Developing Aesthetic Standards for Choral Music in the Evangelical Church (1988) documents the struggle between evangelicals who felt the need for a completely utilitarian approach to church music and those who supported the use of art music in worship. McCalister concluded that a survey of biblical mandates in the areas of worship, evangelism, and education illustrates the need for church music of high artistic caliber.

In 1988, David Howard did a research project on the worship practices of the Quakers. A Profile of the Current State of Music Used in Worship in the Churches of the Northwest Yearly Meeting of Friends (Quaker) includes interviews, budget analysis, and a brief summary of the history of the movement.

Thomas Poole researched the theological demands on a church music program in 1988. Titled, Towards an Integration of Music and Theology: Suggestions for the Construction of a Theological Definition of Music, Poole defined music by theorists and composers. He presents four ways of defining music theologically and suggests the use of a model definition called "The Ultimate Realities Model."

## Similar Studies in Music Business and/or Publishing

Several contributions to the study of evangelical hymnody by composers and publishers of gospel music are important. In 1986, Ralph Carmichael wrote an autobiographical account of his contributions to gospel music. Titled He's Everything to

Me, the work provides primary resource materials necessary to complete a history of gospel music publishing. He shares detailed accounts of his personal life and documents the times and dates of many important events.

John Peterson also documents his early contributions to gospel music in his autobiography, The Miracle Goes On (1976). Of particular importance are his accounts of the 1960s and 1970s Singspiration Music workshops and seminars. Peterson provides primary resource material essential to the understanding of the place traditional gospel music has enjoyed in the development of twentieth century evangelical hymnody.

Barbara A. Kraiss (1982) provides a helpful document on the development of the gospel cantata. Titled The Contemporary American Popular Church Cantata in Evangelical Renewal Since World War II and written as a master's thesis at California State University at Fullerton, her work detailed the birth and use of the gospel cantata genre.

Maxey Huffman Mayo (1988) completed a study on the Techniques of Music Printing in the United States, 1825-1850. Mayo examined the music printing techniques, equipment, presses of the period, and the progression from music type to engraved plate and lithograph. Mayo's study concluded that music printing in the United States was constantly changing because older techniques were improved as new processes were invented.

In 1988, Susan Kitts Messer completed The Southern Baptist Children's Choir Curricula from 1941 through 1985 and Influences of Major Music Education Trends Upon the Curricula. This study presents a history of the Southern Baptist children's choir curricula by describing the background development and content of each of the curriculum books, periodicals, and supplementary materials published from 1941 to 1985. Messer finds that major trends in secular music education did influence the development of children's choir curricula from 1941 through 1985.

Charles Randall Bradley's (1988) The Influence of Frances W. Winters on the Development and Philosophy of the Graded Choir Movement in the Southern Baptist Convention provided accurate historical documentation of Frances Winter's education, influence, teaching, writing, and contributions to Southern Baptist music.

In 1986, John David Booth wrote A Comparative Study of Four Major Non-Denominational, Evangelical American Hymnals in Current Use. The work compared four hymnals: Hymns for the Living Church (1974) (Hope Publishing Company), Hymns for the Family of God (1976) (Paragon Associates, Inc.), The New Church Hymnal (1976) (Lexicon Publishing, Inc.), and Praise! Our Songs and Hymns (1979) (Zondervan Publishing House). The study investigates historical context, rationale in compilation, content, current use, and relationship to mainline denominational hymnody of each book. Booth provides a brief history of each publisher, studies the editors and those assisting in compiling the hymnals, and documents procedures by which each collection was compiled.

## Summary

Although extensive research has not been conducted in the field, it is possible to establish some precedents for study in areas closely related to the gospel music publishing industry. An historical orientation toward the publishing of music has been established in the studies of the camp meeting song, Sunday School song, the sacred harp, the gospel song, African-American gospel music, the great revivals, and other methods in performing gospel music.

Previous efforts focus on the evolution of gospel music between 1850 and 1950. The last significant work documenting the history of evangelical hymnody is The History of Evangelistic Hymnody (1978), written by James Sallee. This work provides another overview of gospel music and chronicles the relationship that various "evangelistic" music styles have in the music of Homer Rodeheaver, Charles Alexander, and post-1950 revival

movements. Attention is given to defining, explaining, and illustrating the evangelistic style.

Sallee's work does not address publication needs, spiritual emphasis, or sociological and cultural shifts affecting gospel music. Rather, it focuses on a history of evangelistic hymnody with no correlation between the relationships and practices of evangelistic hymnody (which can also be defined as traditional gospel music) and the publishing efforts of Southern, or African-American gospel music styles.

# CHAPTER III

## GOSPEL MUSIC AND THE EVANGELICAL CULTURE

> Gospel hymnody has the distinction of being America's most typical contribution to Christian song. Gospel hymnody has been a plough digging up the hardened surfaces of pavemented minds. Its very obviousness has been its strength. Where delicacy or dignity can make no impress, gospel hymnody stands up triumphing. In an age when religion must win mass approval in order to survive, in an age when religion must at least win a majority vote from the electorate, gospel hymnody is inevitable. Sankey's songs are true folk music of the people. Dan Emmett and Stephen Foster only did in secular music what Ira D. Sankey and P. P. Bliss did as validly and effectively in sacred music. (Stevenson, 1953, p. 162)

Gospel hymnody is music for the masses. It is most commonly identified with specific religious groups known as evangelicals. Evangelicals traditionally use gospel music as a method of communication that transcends culture, popular music styles, and theological dogma in a common, everyday vernacular.

Evangelicals trace their history to the European pietist movements of England, Germany, and Scandinavia between 1600 and 1900. At one time, all protestants were considered evangelicals. Today, the term refers to people who are united by fundamentalist doctrines that focus on the authority of the Bible, a personal (subjective) encounter with God (sometimes called a "born again" experience), a dynamic relationship with God through holy living, and evangelism (Hustad, 1981, pp. xiv-xv). While the substance and style of evangelical practice may vary by theological tradition, region, and denominational tenets, most evangelicals place significant emphasis on the outward expression of an inward, personal experience with God. Characteristic of most evangelical groups is an ardent enthusiasm for proselytizing others to their cause. This commitment to convert others to Christianity is illustrated by a strong emphasis on church

growth, revivalism, repentance, and justification by faith. Three tenets unite all evangelicals: "a basic adherence to evangelical concepts of theology, religious experience and ministry, and free worship" (Hustad, 1981, p. xix). Evangelicals believe the Bible is infallible and man's divine authority. They teach that outside Christ's redemptive work man is depraved and destined for hell. Salvation from sin is necessary for eternal life, and only through the blood of Christ can fellowship between humanity and God be restored. Evangelicals believe in the imminent and visible return of Christ.

Evangelicals are protestants who take a conservative view of Christian doctrine and practice. As opposed to religious groups that emphasize clergy as mediators with God, evangelicals hold to a concept of the priesthood of the believer that gives them freedom to approach God individually through prayer and Bible study. Evangelicals do not believe that membership in a local church is necessary for eternal life. A person may be evangelical but not necessarily hold membership in a church that is identified with the movement itself (Billy Melvin, Telephone Interview, February 2, 1992). Rather, evangelicals believe the term, "The Church," refers to the larger body of believers called in the Bible, "The Bride of Christ." Based on the teachings of the Bible, evangelicals are committed to the proclamation of the gospel in the name of Christ (Bloesch, 1973, p. 52-77).

The evangelical community has grown into a large and diverse American sub-culture. The number of adherents has increased to more than 50 million people since World War II. According to Dr. Billy Melvin, Executive Director of the National Association of Evangelicals, Gallop pollsters estimate that nearly 20 percent of the American population now consider themselves evangelicals (Telephone Interview, February 1, 1992). Within the evangelical culture are those who represent the full spectrum of the American population: rural and urban, sophisticated and crude, wealthy and poor, educated and uneducated. Evangelicals are traditionally patriotic, have a strong work ethic, and are conservative on political and economic issues. Evangelicals are

influenced by their religious convictions when making philosophical, educational, political, and social decisions.

In 1942 several evangelical groups united to found an organization to officially represent their cause, the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE). Since its early days, NAE helped establish Bible conferences, Bible colleges, seminaries, and universities. A number of para-church organizations also hold full or associate membership with NAE, such as denominational agencies, publishing companies, Christian bookstores, religious radio and television ministries, broadcasting affiliates, missionary organizations, youth ministries, and others. Believing that strength lies in numbers, various groups network through NAE to promote common beliefs, theological practices, and evangelistic efforts. While NAE does not represent all groups calling themselves evangelical, it is a qualified representative of broader evangelical culture.

Over the years, several printing and publishing houses have been formed with the specific mission of serving the evangelical culture with books, magazines, and tools for Christian education. American education has profited financially and academically from hundreds of colleges and institutions representing evangelical theology. Through agencies such as World Vision, World Relief Crusade, and Feed the Children Ministries, the evangelical community has tried to serve social and political needs. Hospital ministries, medical missions stations, rescue missions, camps, and retreat centers which contribute to the quality of life in communities all mirror the theology, doctrine, and social agendas of the evangelical movement.

The purpose of music in the evangelical tradition is to promote the cause of Christianity, to evangelize and convert others, to educate, and/or to express personal evangelical experiences to God or to one another. Evangelicals teach tenets of faith, concepts of living, and social action through their music. Some evangelicals choose to be traditional in their music worship, preferring to use European hymns, nineteenth century gospel hymns, and a few newer, pop-related songs. An evangelical church within that

same denomination might use the same music but have a large orchestra for accompaniment. By contrast, other evangelicals might perform only contemporary gospel songs with small ensembles or soloists. Still others might design their worship with simple folk songs accompanied by acoustic guitar. These services qualify as evangelical because of the textual substance of the songs, the strong emphasis on evangelism, repentance, and godly living.

Traditionally, gospel music has borrowed from or been solely based on secular musical styles popular at a given time. Because evangelicals are inherently conservative toward all religious matters, their adaptation of secular styles has lagged between 10 and 35 years behind secular music innovations. The gap between the appearance of a secular style and its religious acceptance may have narrowed from time to time, but evangelicals have always been slow to accept new styles in their worship. In an effort to summarize this relationship, Chart 1 (see page 39) illustrates that from the time America was first settled by the Puritans through the 1760s, all social musical activity was influenced by the church. Early eighteenth century music educators such as Walter Tufts, Thomas Walter, John Tufts, William Billings, and Moses Cheney were church musicians whose musical forms, such as the early fuguing tunes and patriotic songs, reflected very conservative scrutiny by the church (Keene, 1987, p. 28-30). Even so, their musical forms (especially the fuguing tune and anthem) closely resembled contemporary secular forms, harmonies and rhythms commonly used by all composers of that time.

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Protestants experienced periods of revival and renewal, called Awakenings, that brought about changes in musical taste. The Great Awakening of 1740, for example, was characterized by exuberant hymn singing of Old English, Scottish, and Scotch-Irish ballads and folk tunes (Sallee, 1978, p. 25) that were set to already popularized texts written by the Isaac Watts, John Newton, Phillip Doddridge and others. The Great Awakening of 1792 brought the hymnody of Charles and John Wesley whose theologically-based hymns helped establish new musical

forms called camp meeting and Sunday school songs (Fromm, 1983, p. 11). Music in these early colonial churches reflected the styles and trends in secular European folk music. As the chart illustrates, a lag of approximately 50 years existed at that time between the popularity of secular song styles and their adaptation and use by local congregations (See Chart 1, page 39).

By 1800, secular music began to influence the composition of sacred music. The Camp Meeting Movement of 1800 is remembered particularly for its spontaneous, improvised music based on secular folk idioms. This music is in ballad style and contained simple lyrics that deal with the salvation of sinners. While the texts of these camp meeting songs reflect a growing "gospel" consciousness theologically, the music reflects a conservative style of secular folk song writing based on the harmonies and rhythms of American and European folk tunes. Again, as the chart indicates, the time lag between popularization of secular folk songs and their acceptance by main-stream evangelicals as a medium and influence for promoting the gospel was still about 35 years (See Chart 1, page 39).

The music of hymn writers such as Thomas Hastings, Lowell Mason, and Joshua Leavitt helped propel a third Great Awakening. During the 1820s, Sunday school songs became a favorite of people embracing evangelical tenets. These Sunday school tunes were truly popular songs for the evangelical church (Sallee, 1978, pp. 48-51).

The wide acceptance of these songs helped propel a Fourth Great Awakening around 1858 that resulted in the creation of the gospel song as it is known today. The transition from the Sunday school songs of the 1850s to the gospel song is easy to trace. The Sunday school songs were patterned after the secular folk songs of the 1820s and 1830s and provided the form for developing the new gospel song hymnody of the late nineteenth century. Secular folk music composers such as Stephen Foster and Dan Emmett served as models for evangelical songwriters. For example, Stephen Foster's "Old Black Joe" (See Example 4, page 36) was adapted, note for note, to the gospel text

"I Love Him" (See Example 5, page 38). This song has the direct simplicity of the Sunday school songs, yet the text is gospel in that the lyrics focus on a personal experience of religious faith. This textual shift is what traditionally has marked the transition from folk-based Sunday school songs for children and young adults to the full-fledged gospel song for congregational worship. Such tunes abound in hymnals and gospel song collections published throughout the nineteenth century. As illustrated by Chart 1 on page 39, the gap between the time secular styles were introduced and when they were adapted into Sunday school songs for evangelical congregations is reduced to approximately 25 years. This 25 year gap continued unchanged until the advent of radio ministries in America in the early 1940s.

The stanza/chorus format, already well established in Protestant hymns of the early nineteenth century, served as the archetype for gospel tunes well into the twentieth century. Composers such as Philip Bliss, William Doane, William Bradbury, George Root, Ira Sankey, and Ralph Hudson composed in this form, using the heightened emotional lyrics that distance gospel hymns from most traditional protestant hymns. As discussed more fully later, evangelist D. L. Moody and his song leader, Ira Sankey, were influential in disseminating the new gospel song through their religious revivals. They established a model later used by twentieth century evangelistic teams such as Rubin Torry and Charles Alexander, Billy Sunday and Homer Rodeheaver, Billy Graham and Cliff Barrows.

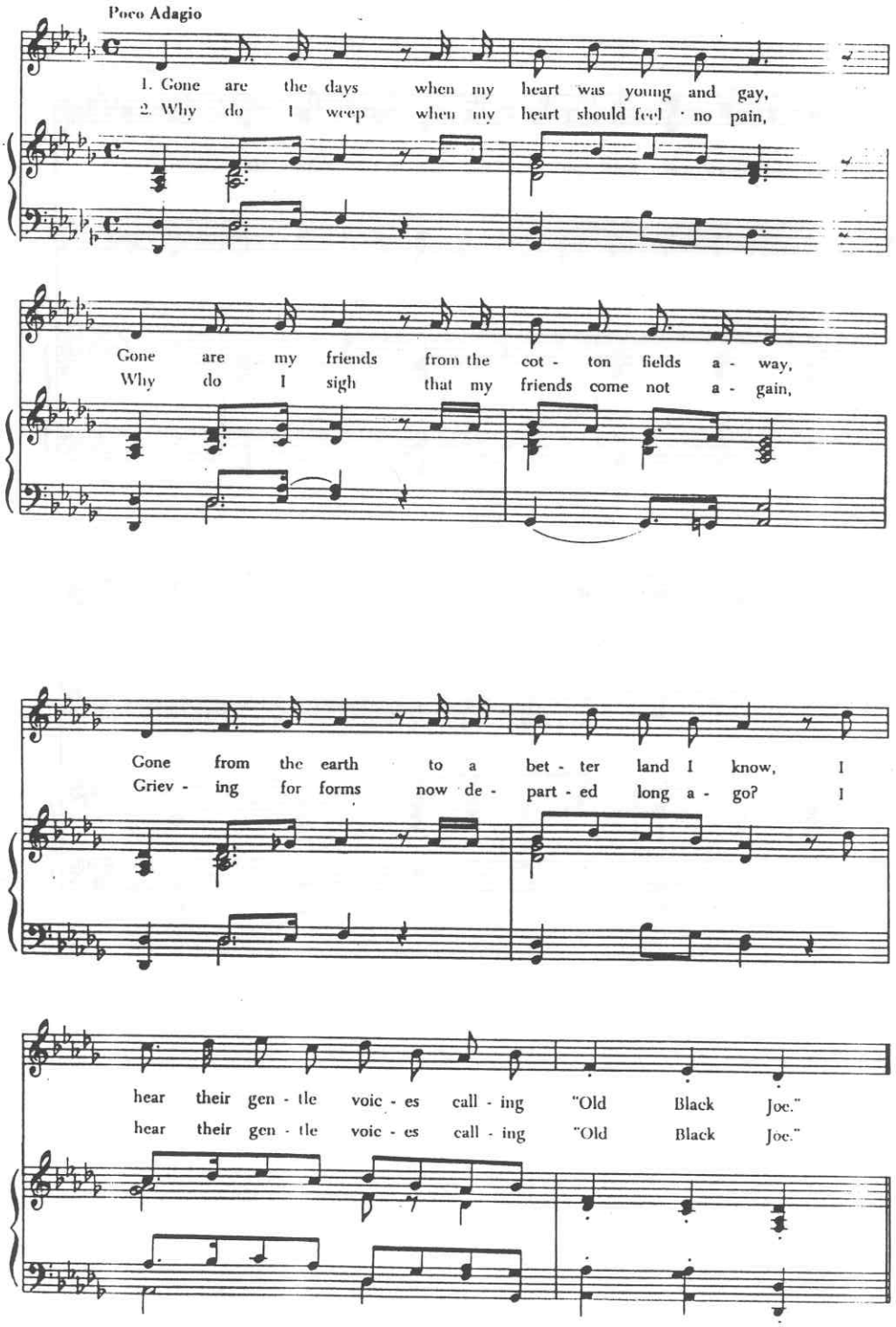
Throughout the first half of the nineteenth-century, the influence of secular folk musics on the evangelical musical culture increased and the time needed to adapt these styles for sacred music use decreased. By 1850, sacred music composers were able to adapt and incorporate secular musical styles of the preceding generation, but remained hesitant to compose in their generation's secular musical styles. Only after a particular form, genre, or style became familiar and so pervasive within society's musical culture, could individuals of a later generation accept it as appropriate for religious expression.

The Great Awakening of 1905, also known as the Azusa Street Awakening, is remembered for the development of Pentecostalism, a movement characterized by fervent, undirected, and often unaccompanied congregational singing that was intended as spontaneous expressions of religious experience (Fromm, 1983, p. 13). Again, in the late 1940s and early 1950s, the Billy Graham Crusades, the Oral Roberts Revivals, the Texas Youth Revival Movement, the Word of Life Crusades, and Youth For Christ International all brought the evangelical church together through music and preaching.

The process of adapting secular styles to sacred use emerges in the nineteenth century as the manner in which gospel music would develop, evolve, and expand. With the shift in textual emphasis from proper conduct and moral virtue, exemplified in the Sunday school songs, to the personal reflection and expression of religious conviction, exemplified in the adaptation of Foster's "Old Black Joe," the creation and definition of gospel music were complete. Specific kinds of texts could be written and specific styles of music could be safely adapted to sacred use. As a result, evangelicals found their unique musical voice and their relationship to the traditional protestant hymn tradition was irrevocably altered.

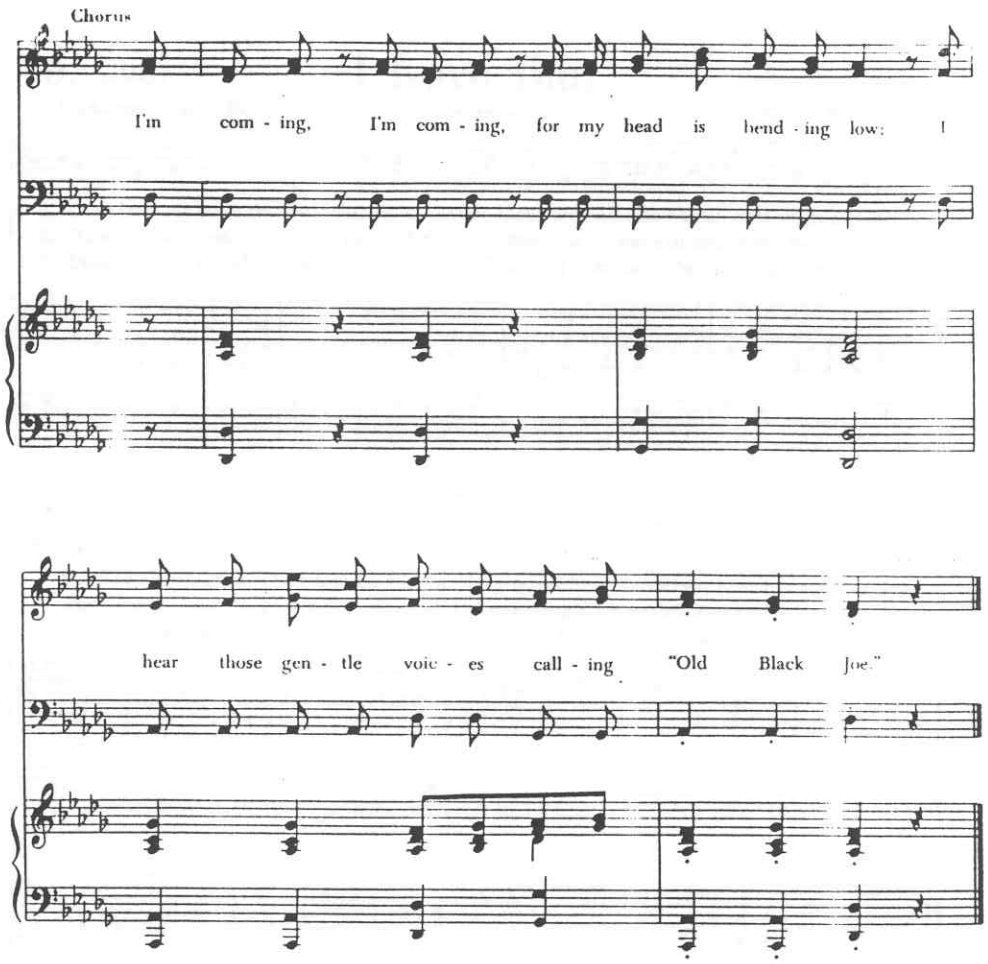
# *OLD BLACK JOE*

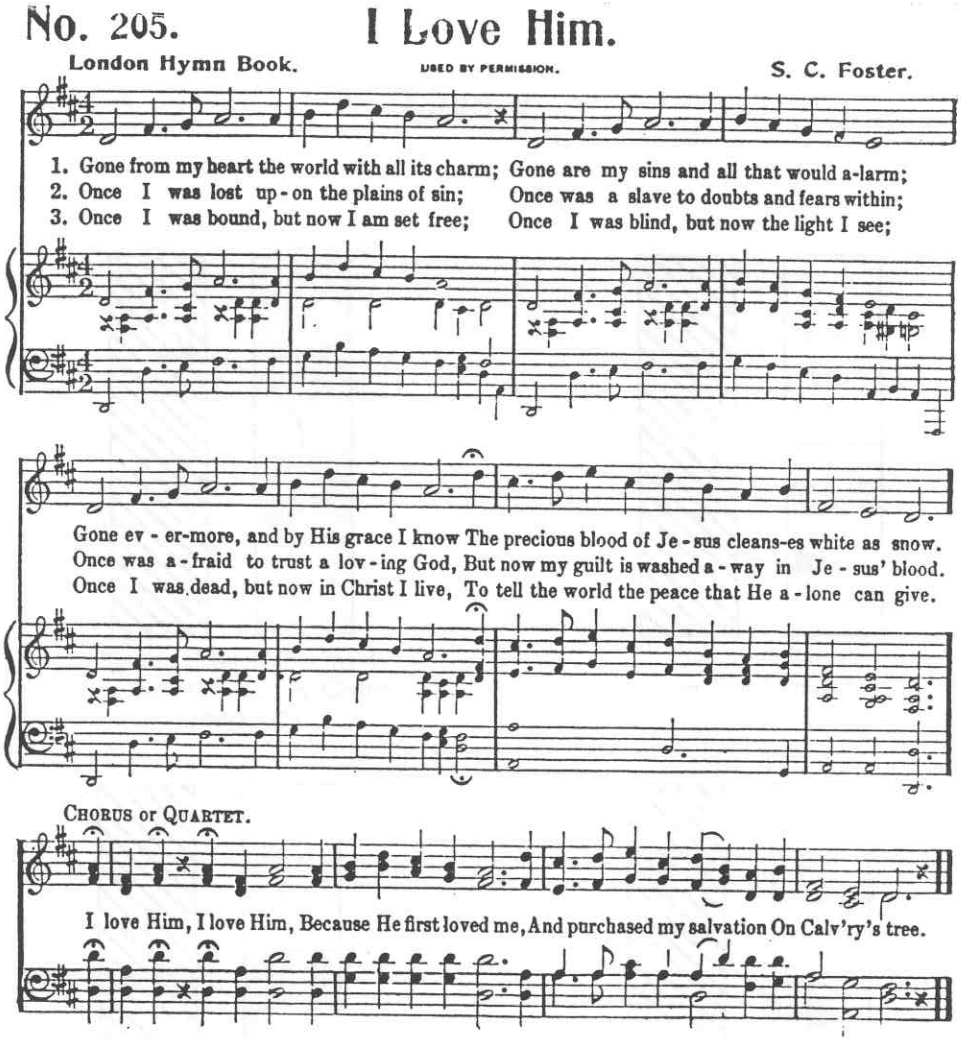
***by Stephen Foster***




**Example 4:**
***Old Black Joe*** **by Stephen Foster**
**Public Domain**
**Taken from A Treasury of Stephen Foster (1946),**
**Compiled by D. B. Commins.**

## [EXAMPLE 4 CONTINUED: *Old Black Joe . . .* ]

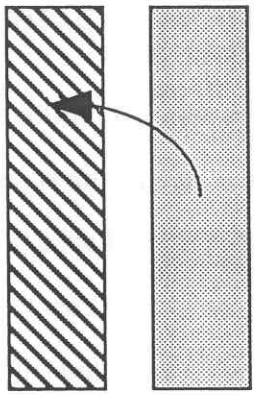




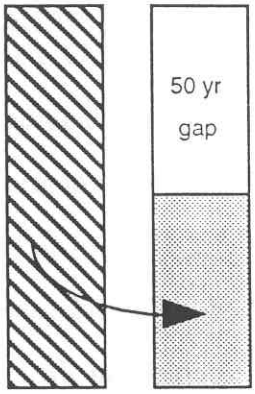

Example 5:
*I Love Him* by Stephen Foster
Public Domain
Taken from Diadems: A Collection of Religious Song, New and Old, for the Church and Sunday School (1913),
Compiled by W. C. Everett and E. O. Excell

## Relationship Between Secular & Evangelical Influences on Music (1700-1890)

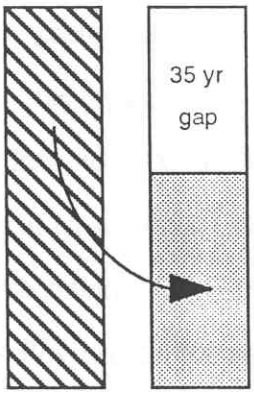
***Chart 1***



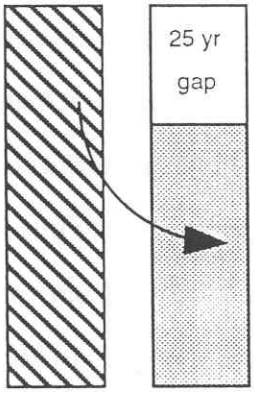
Singing School Movement
Secular Influenced by Church
1700-1780s



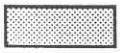

Secular Influence
on Folk Hymnody
1790-1800




Camp Meeting Songs Based on
Rural Folk Singing, 1800-1825




American Secular Folk Song
Influences Gospel Song - 1880's



Evangelical Influences

Secular Music Influences

## CHAPTER IV

## HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON PUBLISHING MUSIC FOR THE EVANGELICAL CULTURE

Music publishing for the evangelical church has traditionally served as: (1) service music for corporate and private worship; (2) a means for promoting various forms of theology; and (3) a method for music education. The chart on page 60, *Schematic Representation of the Development of Music Publishing in the Evangelical Culture from 1700 to 1940,* illustrates the growth processes of gospel music publishing. Publishing music for people of the evangelical culture began with the early eighteenth century singing school movements of colonial America. Historical documentation seems to indicate that all gospel music genres trace their heritage to the pre-eighteenth century singing schools where lining out the phrase and oral traditions were accepted methods of music education in the church. Prior to 1800, black and white congregations from the North and South used the music of Isaac Watts, Charles and John Wesley, and other European hymn writers as source material for their worship services. Camp meeting songs associated with The Great Revival of 1800 also encouraged greater use of congregational singing (Reynolds, 1963, pp. 79-92). By 1800, the folk-music style of camp meetings combined with texts that expressed a personal faith in God to create a popular sacred style that was a precursor of gospel song.

Around 1820, a division between Northern and Southern traditions in music instruction affected the development of music publishing for the evangelical culture. The sheer number of migrants moving to America after 1790 challenged music publishers to

change their publishing practices. These migrants brought with them a European, rounded-note notational practice and a hymn tradition based on slower harmonic rhythm, parallel thirds and sixths, and the more common major keys. This tradition, called **The Reformed Branch (or Progressive Movement)**, encouraged music instruction and aided in the establishment of public school music, music conventions, choral societies and festivals, summer music schools, music normal institutes, and the publication of secular, sacred, educational, social, and "pop" music. The Reformed Branch, inspired by city revivalism, secular folk music, and Sunday school songs, was accepted in the northern states.

In contrast, the South was more conservative and gave preference to maintaining the traditions taught by the old eighteenth century singing school movement. Known as **The Character Notation Group**, this method of music education and publishing was based on unique pedagogical methodologies and varied approaches to notation: letter notation; four shaped-note tune books; seven shaped-note tune books; and numeral notation. This group continued their singing school tradition and published oblong shaped-note tune books.

Acceptance of these two systems assured common musical languages among large audiences. Distinct differences were seen in their: (1) music notation; (2) book formats (The Reformed movement produced books in a smaller, rectangular shape and, the Character Notation group published oblong tune books); and, (3) audiences (The industrial Northern states were in contrast to the rural, more provincial Southern states).

From the 1840s, on a new body of songs developed that were particularly adapted to the American Sunday School (Mel Wilhoit, 1991, p. 13). The City Revivals, led by such notables as Charles Finney, gave publishers opportunity to present camp meeting and other "folk" songs to the public in an environment outside the walls of the church building. The popular Sunday school movement provided a platform for the presentation of new literature and promotion of evangelical theology to children. By 1870, Ira

Sankey, famous nineteenth century composer of gospel song and companion to evangelist Dwight L. Moody, coined the term "gospel music," and the publication of gospel texts set to popular tunes was common. During the years of 1850-1910, three sub-genres of gospel music evolved for use in the evangelical community. They were *Traditional Gospel Music*, *Southern Gospel Music*, and *African-American (Black) Gospel Music.* The use of popular songs to proclaim the gospel proved a quick, grass-roots method for communicating evangelical tenets. "The finer points of theology were generally abandoned for a more general, personal message" (Wilhoit, 1991, pp. 11-14).

## Traditional Gospel Music

*Traditional gospel music,* sometimes referred to as the "Northern gospel song," is essentially patterned after the German art song. A stanza, communicating an important gospel textual thought, is followed by a chorus or refrain that drives home the message in summary (Wilhoit, 1991, p. 13). Less emphasis is placed on rhythm. Two types of songs characterize traditional gospel music prior to 1900: *The gospel song* and its derivative, *the gospel hymn.* Hymnologists and musicologists often consider these two types of traditional gospel music to be synonymous.

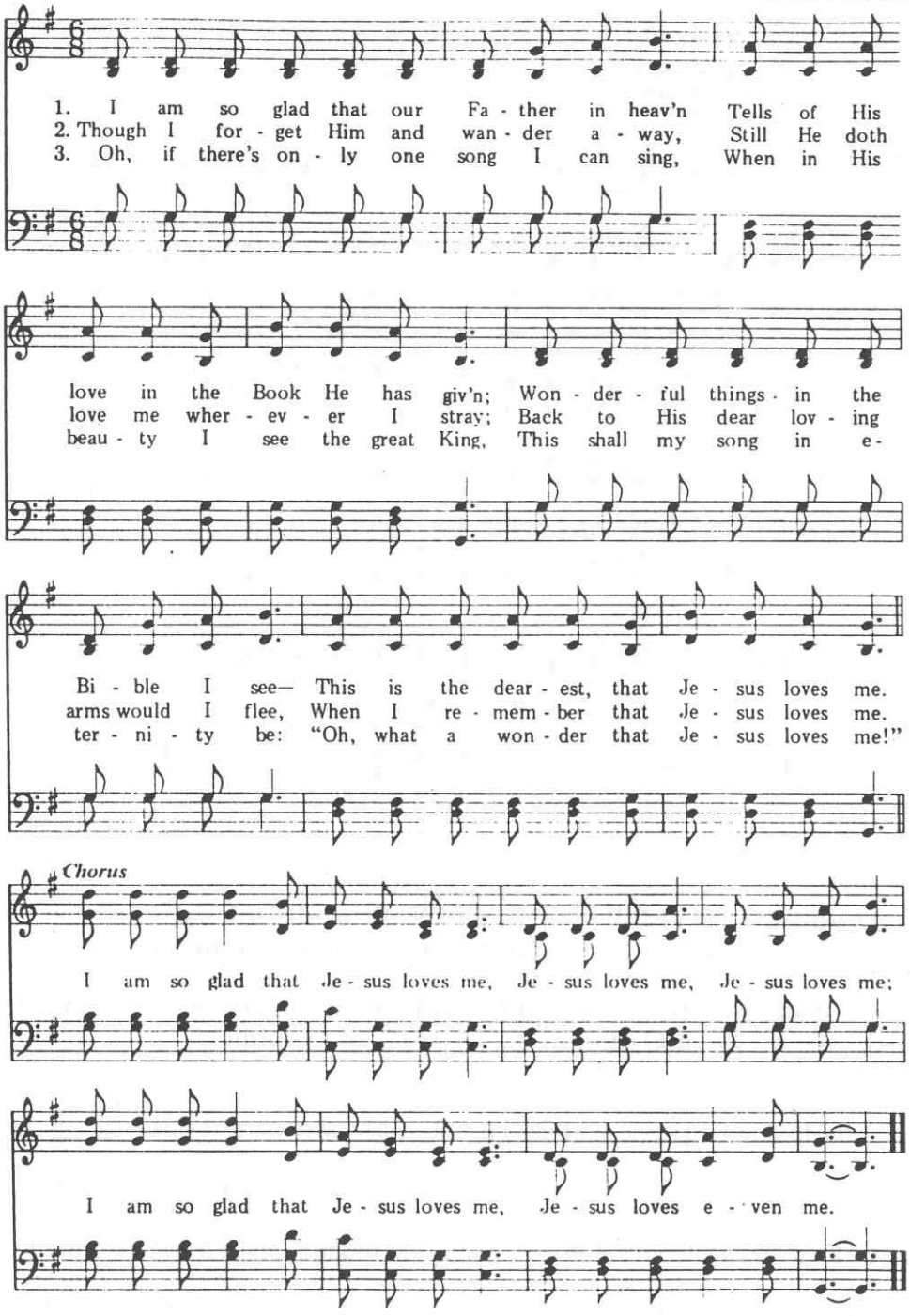
The gospel song found its origin in the Sunday school movement of the City Revivals of the 1850s (See Example 6, page 43). In contrast, the gospel hymn, "came forth as a major force in urban revivalism" (Eskew and McElrath, 1980, pp. 177-178) in the 1870s and is musically more sophisticated, theologically more conservative, and often expressing an intimate relationship and commitment to God (Example 7, page 44).

A comparison between Examples Six and Seven illustrates that the difference between gospel songs and gospel hymns has more to do with the spirit of the text and appropriateness of the tune to that text than anything else. Example Six is a popular gospel song for children. The tune is in compound meter and the text joyfully affirms aloving relationship with Jesus. There is no commitment on the part of the singer to

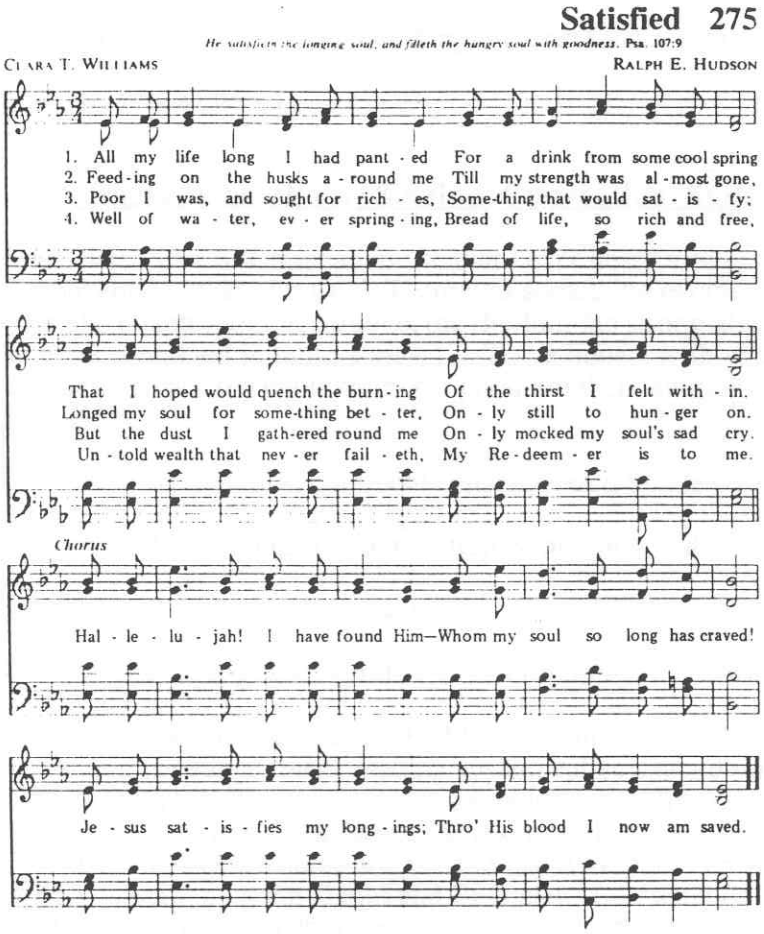
# Jesus Loves Even Me 243

*I will love him, and will manifest myself to him.* John 14:21

PHILIP P. BLISS PHILIP P. BLISS




Example 6:
*Jesus Loves Even Me* by Philip P. Bliss
Example of a nineteenth century Gospel Song
Public Domain
Taken from Hymns of Faith (1980), Compiled by Don Hustad.




**Example 7:**
***Satisfied* by Clara T. Williams and Ralph E. Hudson**
**Example of nineteenth century Gospel Hymn**
**Public Domain**
**Taken from REJOICE: The Free Will Baptist Hymn Book (1988)**
**Compiled by Leroy Cutler and Others.**

holiness, godliness or Christian service. There is simply an expression of gladness because "Jesus Loves Me."

Example Seven is different in the expression of faith. "Jesus Loves Even Me" deals with God's love for mankind. "Satisfied" is a much slower song that provides a progressive account of a personal relationship with God. Verse one deals with the personal need for satisfaction. Verse two addresses the inclination common to every person to seek for life's answers in sources outside God. Verse three illustrates the

fallacy of seeking for answers in wealth and things. Verse four is an affirmation of faith. Each verse is followed by a chorus.

## Southern Gospel (or Singing Convention Style)

> One of the first styles of Christian music that I ever heard was the Southern singing convention style of music. There was something exciting about the optimism, the counterpoint technique, the rhythm, the strong altos, the low basses and the hope contained in those songs. . . . To be honest with you, I still get excited when I hear a big choir singing a good Southern singing convention song. (Gaither, 1976, p. 2).

Southern gospel style is most commonly characterized by the gospel male quartet and music of in the fa-sol-la singing school tradition, sometimes called Singing Convention Style. In contrast to Traditional gospel music, Southern gospel music, or as some refer to it as shaped note-gospel hymnody, is a rural or small town phenomenon.

> The Southern gospel field was a totally different game. The Southern gospel field operated with this strange music reading system called shaped-notes. That's one of the things that probably kept it out of the Northern tradition. It had it's own "weird" music style. Individual songs came out in sheet music form, just like pop piano/vocals. The shaped-noted songs were just two score -- really, as I think now, TTBB -- written on the G clef and Bass clef. But, what developed was a vibrant, dynamic song publishing industry -- an incredible industry -- now called the Stamps-Baxter Industry. Ten, 12, 15 major companies were established. They all had their singing schools that grew out of their publishing house. Their salesmen and their singers traveled through the south with these twice-a-year books. That became what the singing convention sang for the next four months or six months, or whatever it was. It was a huge industry, and to have that many books there had to be song writers and there had to be staff songwriters. There were a lot of people in the South who made their living printing music. (MacKenzie, October 3, 1991)

There were two approaches to publishing for the Southern gospel music market. The first was the Southern gospel singing school. For better than 100 years (1850-1950), congregational singing was of premier importance among gospel singers in the South. The singing school was a social, educational, and religious event in rural, Southern communities. Singing from shaped-note books developed into a tradition that became a way of life for these Southern evangelicals. Right up through the 1960s, the singing school, with the singing school master, was an important method of music education for Southern churches. Singing schools were usually held for a one or two-

week period at a local church. Monthly "class singing" sometimes grew out of these singing schools. The practice developed into a rather amazing event that music publishers used to the fullest advantage:

> . . . they publish them [little soft-back songbooks] for the purpose of what they would call "class singing." They would get together on Sunday afternoons and sing these new songs that had been written and read them from the book. It was amazing. . . all these kids reading through these songs and singing the parts off first with syllables and then with words. It sounded great . . . I mean, they would come together and sing with emotion and energy. It was really teaching a tradition and culture from past generations. (Gaither, Personal Interview, October 9, 1991)

The second approach that publishers of Southern gospel music used involved singing conventions. The singing convention was different from the singing school. It usually included one or two all-day meetings. Representatives from the publishing companies promoted their song books at these meetings and were often presented as special performing artists. Long-time leader in the singing convention movement, Oliver S. Jennings, gave the following description in a 1971 interview with Jesse Burt:

> I refer now to the singing conventions. In those days a church or community would have an old-time singing school for about a month or so and climax it by setting aside a Sunday to sing the songs they had learned. After a few years, one community would invite others to join them in their day of singing. Everyone who went to the singing prepared to spend the day, so naturally they took along a picnic lunch. About this time someone thought of the idea of everyone spending lunch together, and so they did. . . . in the south and southwest [sic.], one could hardly find a county that didn't have its own singing convention. Each county elected its own officers to handle its business and act as master of ceremonies for a year. (Allen & Burt, 1971, 37-38)

The undisputed leader in the publication of Southern gospel music from 1900 through the later half of this century was the Stamps-Baxter Company of Dallas, Texas. Their sales were so successful that the company dominated the field of Southern gospel for decades.

## African-American Religious Music (Black Gospel)

Singers of traditional Black gospel have most closely followed the African concept of using a *Griot* as a soloist, preacher and/or song leader (Aldridge, Personal Interview,

October 12, 1991). *Griot* is a French word commonly used to describe the ceremonial role that an African has in stimulating audience participation through spoken and/or sung dialogue or drama (Southern, 1983, pp. 9-10). Depending upon their location, nineteenth century African-American congregations adapted their oral traditions to both the Northern revival song practices and Southern shaped-note singing. Their literature was the same as that of white congregations but the method for singing and expression of faith was entirely African-American.

> During the Great Awakening that spread from New England to Kentucky, millions of pioneers shouted, danced, barked, and jerked, getting release, entertainment and, incidentally, salvation. . . . Slaves attended these services and were profoundly influenced. They combined the revival hymns of eighteenth-century England with an African song style and created our greatest national music. . . . The first songs slaves sang on this continent were probably those sturdy eighteen-century English [Isaac Watts and John Newton] hymns depicting amazing grace, Jordan's stormy banks, and fountains filled with blood. Traditionally a leader would recite the line, after which the congregation sang in a slow, languorous manner called long or common meter, which allowed for intricate embellishments by each singer. (Heilbut, 1985, pp. xv-xx)

> Another tradition found in the black folk church during this period was that of shape-note singing. . . . for the singers sang "by note" rather than "by rote." They read music from *The Sacred Harp* . . . . They indulged in their special kind of singing when they gathered together for social entertainments in the community. The tradition included county festivals, where singers met for sessions lasting one or two days, and annual conventions or festivals that involved a large area of the state. A typical singing group might include as many as 500 people, who sat in a semicircle with the leader in the center. In addition to singing sessions, the activities . . . included classes conducted by teachers who received licenses to teach after passing examinations administered by the convention. . . . Often black communities had their own *Colored Sacred Harp,* it not only contained the old favorites hymns found in the white *Sacred Harp* but also hymns written by members of the community. . . . the repertory did not include spiritual or other kinds of folk songs. (Southern, 1983, pp. 447-448)

Modern African-American religious music is referred to as *black gospel* and characterized by spontaneous solos, and improvised vocal counterpoint. African-American gospel music is often highly rhythmic and most often taught as part of an oral tradition. Its roots lie in a much older European tradition of preaching, singing, shouting, and clapping. At first African-American gospel music simply mirrored music of the great revivals experienced by the evangelical population in general. While Blacks maintained

uniqueness in presentation, Sankey's gospel hymns, Sunday school songs, and the Watts hymns remained popular with black congregations. However, during the years of 1900-1930, an African-American gospel music genre emerged. Stylistically, it was influenced by the spiritual, jazz, rhythm and blues, and singing associated with the Pentecostal Holiness tradition. Its theological and musical beginnings were traced to the Azusa Street Revival which occurred in Los Angeles between 1906-1909. The Azusa Street Revival meetings were characterized by racially integrated audiences participating in unrestrained preaching, healings, speaking in tongues, and singing. Their music was based on the gospel song tradition of Ira Sankey and Philip Bliss and performed with hand-clapping, bodily movement, shouts, and ornamentation of the melody. African-Americans made up a large part of the Azusa Street Revival movement's new followers and encouraged a style of church music that allowed expression of personal feelings and experience (Wilhoit, 1991, p. 14).

The beginnings of African-American gospel song coincides with the origin of ragtime, blues, and jazz. Eileen Southern (1983) called traditional Black gospel the "sacred counterpart of the blues."

> By the 1920s it had developed into a distinctive genre, displaying features of both the historical sacred black music and the secular. Observers perceived that this expressive church music was essentially the sacred counterpart of the blues, frequently the sacred text being the only distinguishing element. The call-and-response, rhythmic vitality, musical density, predilection for duple meters, improvisation, and "bent note" scale were all present. The harmonic patterns of the music were chiefly diatonic--that is, based on tonic, dominant, and subdominant chords as in the blues--but the scalar "bent tones" changed some of the chords to borrowed dominant and diminished seventh chords (p. 449).

## The Church Music Publishers Association

Important to the growth of gospel music publishing was the creation of the Church Music Publishers Association in 1925. Originally called the Sunday School Publishers Association, this organization provided a much-needed structure for sharing and promoting copyrights for hymnal publication. Frank Kingsbury of The Hope

Publishing Company, Chicago, was the organization's first president (Shorney, 1992, pp. 10-15). The significance of the organization is seen in the group's collective and broad distribution of gospel hymnody to local evangelical congregations. Robert MacKenzie (October 3, 1991), long time member of the group and president of Spectra Distribution, Inc., elaborates on the practical purpose of the Church Music Publishers Association:

> The major music publication of that era (the 30s and 40s) was the hymnal. New songs were approved and accepted by the hierarchy of every denomination if they came through the hymnal. Coming out of the early part of the century (the 1920s and 1930s), out of the revival movement, were a body of songs that were owned by various publishers. Some were owned by Lillenas, by the Shorney family who had Hope, some were owned by Gospel Publishing House. A few were owned by the John T. Benson Company in Nashville. Quite a few were owned by the Southern Baptist Sunday School Board. The companies had a common problem. None of them could publish a hymnal without songs that the other companies owned. With Hope it was "Great is Thy Faithfulness." With Rodeheaver it was "In the Garden" and "The Old Rugged Cross." With John T. Benson it was "Love Lifted Me." With Lillenas it was "My Wonderful Lord." And, with the Southern Baptists there were the B. B. McKinney songs. And, so an association was formed. . . . They agreed to pay $10 for the use of their songs. . . . They didn't want the income from the copyrights. They wanted the income from the millions of hymnals they were selling. . . . That was what created a uniformity in a way that all of these independent companies and these denominations took a body of songs to their constituents. I would say the 50, 100, or 200 copyrighted songs introduced by CMPA affiliates in the 1920s and 1930s remain the core of evangelical church hymnody today.

## Geographic Relationships of Gospel Music Publishers Prior to 1940

By the end of the 1930s, significant centers for gospel music publishing were established (See Chart 3, page 61). Traditional gospel music was published in New York, Philadelphia, the Chicago area, and in some cases, Los Angeles. Denominations that embraced evangelical theology established music publishing outlets in Nashville, Tennessee, Springfield, Missouri, and Kansas City, Missouri. Southern gospel publishing houses were in Dallas, Nashville, and Atlanta. Smaller publishing firms were located in East Tennessee, Arkansas, and Missouri. African-American gospel publishing centered in Chicago and Atlanta. In all instances, these publishing houses were founded by or associated with specific composer/performers, revivalists, denominations, or

defined in service of regional and ethnic markets. All publishing houses were formed to disseminate a particular musical *style* identified with the composer/performer, revivalist or market.

## The Impact of Dynamic Individuals

Certain individuals associated with the great revivals of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries must receive credit for assisting evangelicals to accept new musical styles. One can safely say gospel music moved forward in direct relationship to the influence of particular song leaders who were famous in their time. These talented evangelical musicians founded or controlled publishing houses that promoted and distributed new music to evangelical denominations. As an example, consider William Bradbury (1816-1868), a graduate of the Boston Academy of Music, writer of gospel songs, a composer of tunes for the famous blind gospel hymn writer Fanny Crosby, and protégé of Lowell Mason. As Don Hustad (1978) notes,

> . . . in 1841 [he] became music director at the Baptist Tabernacle in New York City where he established singing classes patterned after Mason's Boston Academy. In that same year, Charles Walden Sanders, of reader-and spelling-book fame, suggested to Bradbury that they collaborate in publishing a "juvenile music book." The result was Bradbury's first publication, The Young Choir, for which he wrote all the music. A second volume appeared in 1843 entitled School Singer, or Young Choir's Companion. These books were published by Dayton and Saxton of New York. In 1844 William Bradbury and Thomas Hastings published the first of four volumes which they compiled together. Entitled The Psalmodist, it was the young musician's first commercial success.
>
> Bradbury's most famous tune is the familiar setting of "Jesus Loves Me" which first appeared in the Golden Shower. The tune "Woodworth," commonly used with the text "Just As I Am," first appeared in The Mendelssohn Collection . . . . Most of Bradbury's compositions and collections were planned for youth and intended to be used in Sunday schools. His Orola, released in 1859, established the pattern for later publishing successes. In this same year, Bradbury and his assistant, Sylvester Main, edited and published their first congregational hymn and tune book, Cottage Melodies.
>
> In 1861. . . having achieved fame and fortune as an editor, compiler and composer, he decided to go into the publishing business himself. It was in this year that he founded the William B. Bradbury Company, New York. The company's first songbook was entitled The Golden Chain which was the beginning of a series of very successful song books. (p. 5)

Bradbury published The Young Choir (1843), School Singer or Young Choir's Companion (1844), Orola (1859), The Golden Chain (1861), Golden Shower (1862), Golden Censer (1864), New Golden Chain (1866), New Golden Shower (1866), and Fresh Laurels (1867). His eleven books sold over one million copies each. All of these books were pocket size (5" x 6") with 130 to 160 pages and a $ .25 per unit retail price (Hustad, 1978, p. 1-3).

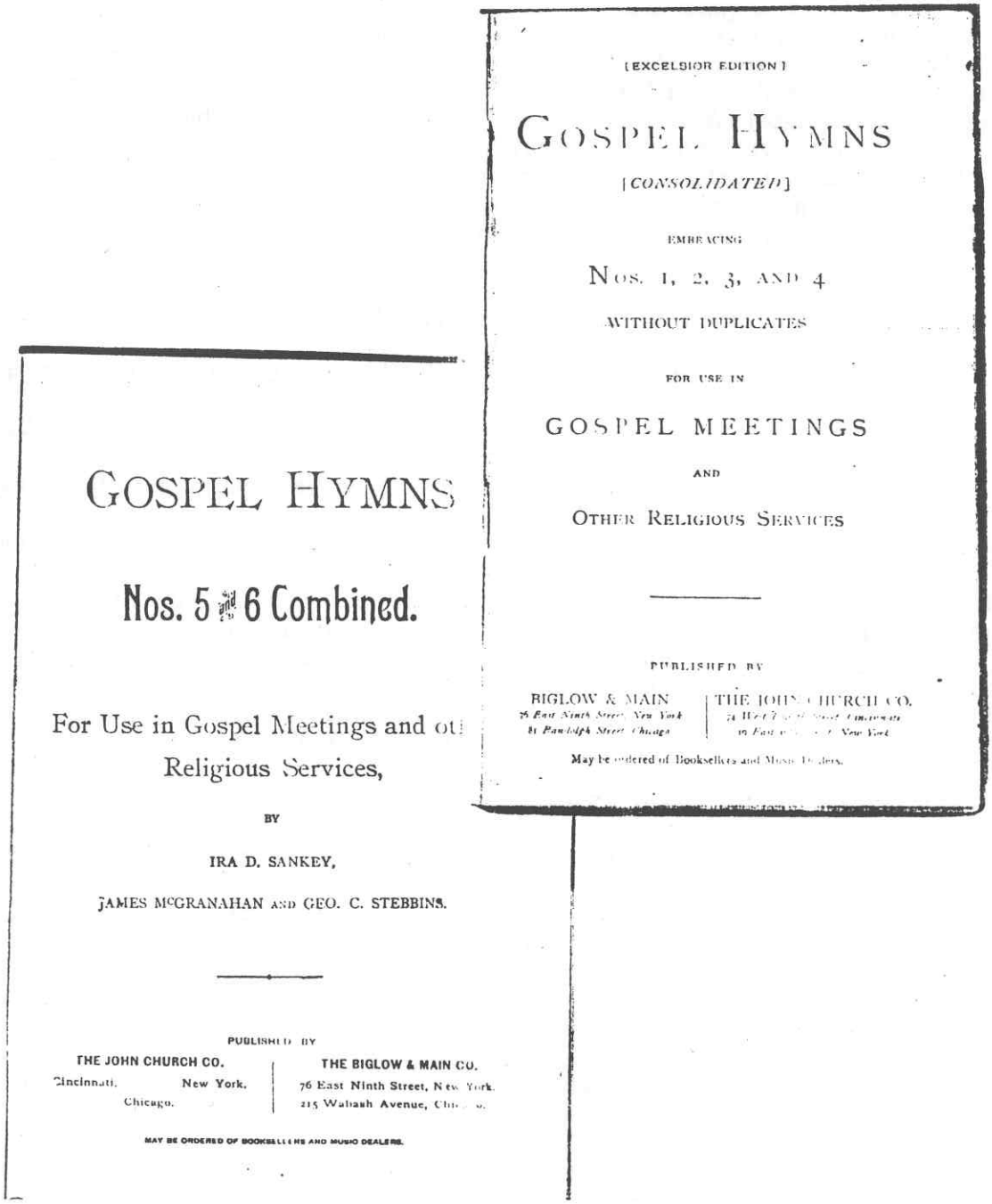
Ira David Sankey is the second dynamic personality recognized in gospel music publishing. While the first use of the term, gospel song, is unknown, the Rev. A. A. Rees of Sunderland, England used the expression "singing the gospel" in 1874 to describe Ira Sankey's purpose in singing (Sallee, 1978 p. 59). Rees used the statement as advertisement on walls, billboards and posters declaring: "D. L. Moody of Chicago will preach the gospel, and Ira D. Sankey of Chicago will sing the gospel in Bethesda Chapel every afternoon and evening this week" (Wilhoit, 1991, p. 12). George Stebbins credits Ira Sankey with coining the term "Gospel Hymns" (Stevenson, 1953, p. 156).

Ira David Sankey is generally referred to as the "Father of Gospel Music" (Wilhoit, 1991, p. 12). Born in Edinburg Pennsylvania on August 28, 1840 to David and Mary Sankey, he received his formal musical instruction at a series of 12-week music conventions in Farmingtown, Ohio led by Lowell Mason associates William Bradbury, George F. Root, and George Webb. He joined Dwight L. Moody, a well-known evangelist from Chicago, in early 1871 (Wilhoit, 1991, p. 11). Together they became the first evangelistic preacher-singer team. Apparently, the title of "Singing Evangelist" had not been used before the Moody and Sankey's campaigns in the British Isles. Sankey brought the service of song to the fore and established the custom of evangelists going two by two, preacher and singer, preaching the Word in sermon and song (Sallee, p. 61). One account tells of Ira Sankey giving a concert at Exeter Hall, London to an estimated congregation of 20-thousand people. He sat behind a small reed organ and "sang the gospel" without amplification. Sankey compiled no less than 16 different song book

collections. His Sacred Songs and Solos (1881) sold over 70-million copies by the end of 1934 and more than 90-million copies sold by 1961 (Reynolds, 1963, pp. 105-106).

Sankey also established himself as a gospel music publisher. In 1873, he joined forces with R. C. Morgan, publisher of the religious periodical, *The Christian*, and produced an inexpensive pamphlet with the texts to 23 songs. He wrote the pamphlet "Sacred Songs and Solos sung by Ira D. Sankey at the Meetings of Mr. Moody in Chicago." He had 500 copies printed that sold out quickly at sixpence each (Wilhoit, 1991, p. 13). The pamphlet was eventually developed into a hard-cover volume of more than 12-hundred songs and published by the Morgan and Scott Company of England (Reynolds, 1964, p. 398). In 1875, Sankey combined his original Sacred Songs and Solos with Gospel Songs written by Philip Bliss and Daniel W. Whittle. Titled Gospel Hymns and Sacred Songs, the book was published jointly by Biglow and Main and the John Church Company of Cincinnati (See Example 8, page 53). The hymnbook was introduced at the Moody-Sankey meetings held in the Brooklyn Rink in New York City. Altogether six volumes of Gospel Hymns and Sacred Songs were published and edited by Sankey and later editions were printed with the title shortened to Gospel Hymns. The success of these hymnbooks was unprecedented; only the English Bible outsold it at the time. Of these hymns Louis Benson said, "The new melodies penetrated even the music hall and were whistled by the man on the street" (Sallee, 1978, p. 63). In 1895, Hubert Main persuaded Sankey to become president of the Biglow and Main Company, a position he held until his death in 1908 (Hustad, 1978, p. 5-6).

A third individual to impact gospel music publishing was Homer A. Rodeheaver. Rodeheaver joined noted evangelist Billy Sunday in 1910 and was famous for his leadership of enthusiastic congregational singing and large choirs. Ira Sankey's choirs of two and three hundred singers hardly compared to Rodeheaver's choirs which often numbered in the thousands of voices:



[EXCELSIOR EDITION]

GOSPEL HYMNS

[CONSOLIDATED]

EMBRACING

NOS. 1, 2, 3, AND 4

WITHOUT DUPLICATES

FOR USE IN

GOSPEL MEETINGS

AND

OTHER RELIGIOUS SERVICES

PUBLISHED BY

BIGLOW & MAIN
76 East Ninth Street, New York
81 Randolph Street, Chicago

THE JOHN CHURCH CO.
74 West 7[illegible] Street, Cincinnati
19 East [illegible] Street, New York

May be ordered of Booksellers and Music Dealers.

GOSPEL HYMNS

Nos. 5 & 6 Combined.

For Use in Gospel Meetings and ot[illegible]
Religious Services,

BY

IRA D. SANKEY,

JAMES McGRANAHAN AND GEO. C. STEBBINS.

PUBLISHED BY

THE JOHN CHURCH CO.
Cincinnati, New York,
Chicago.

THE BIGLOW & MAIN CO.
76 East Ninth Street, New York.
215 Wabash Avenue, Chi[illegible]o.

MAY BE ORDERED OF BOOKSELLERS AND MUSIC DEALERS.

**Example 8:**
**<u>Gospel Hymns Number 1, 2, 3, and 4 Consolidated</u> (1886),**
**Compiled by P.P. Bliss and Others.**
**<u>Gospel Hymns Number 5 and 6 Combined</u> (1892),**
**Compiled by J. McGranahan and Others.**

> Mr. Sunday had tabernacles constructed in most of the larger and smaller cities where he preached. . . . Platforms were built to seat as many as two thousand singers. The chorus in Philadelphia, organized by Mr. H. C. Lincoln, that veteran master organizer, had a membership of considerably over five thousand. We divided them into three groups, No. 1, No. 2 and a male chorus, each of about two thousand. No. 1 chorus sang on Tuesday, No. 2 on Wednesday, and the male chorus on Thursday night. No. 1 chorus came again on Friday, and No. 2 on Saturday. They they alternated Sunday morning and Sunday night, and usually the male chorus sang on Sunday afternoon. . . . Because of the large number of churches co-operating it was never difficult to keep our chorus platform filled with good singers. (Rodeheaver, 1936, pp. 75-76)

Here the choir was a spectacle itself and an integral part of the music portion of the service. According to one source, the choir would sing "The Hallelujah" from MESSIAH, "The Gloria" from Mozart's TWELFTH MASS and any number of old hymns and popular gospel songs. Like Sankey before him, Rodeheaver had a thoroughly utilitarian purpose for his gospel songs:

> These songs are not written for prayer meetings, but to challenge the attention of people on the outside who have not been interested in any form of church work or worship. They are used simply as a step from nothing to something. If critics knew how some of these songs were loved by many people, they would never refer to "saccharine talents" of great and good men who have blessed the world with their songs. (Howard, p. 366)

Rodeheaver (1936) credits himself with being influential in the development of great music in a number of important churches and schools:

> The outstanding example of this is the famous Westminster Choir, with its magnetic director, Dr. John Finley Williamson. He was the chairman of our music committee in the city of Dayton, Ohio. During that meeting a mass meeting was held where I presented the needs, the opportunities, and the advantages of a great singing organization. From this gathering the Westminster Choir was organized. . . . Sometime after this I brought this great choir into the studio of the RCA Photophone Company in New York, where we made a picture of a complete church service, using the Westminster Choir for the music. . . Dr. Charles R. Erdman, of Princeton Theological Seminary, read the Scripture. It was this meeting of Dr. Williamson and Dr. Erdman in this studio that opened the way to
>
> bring the Westminster Choir School to Princeton as a part of that institution. (pp. 83-84)

Rodeheaver also established himself as a successful composer and publisher of gospel music. His Rodeheaver Music Company was known for the publication of a series of small gospel song books for solo, duet, trio, quartet, and choir. By the end of

Rodeheaver's career as publisher, the Rodeheaver Music Company was credited with a large number of copyright holdings, including "The Old Rugged Cross" and "In the Garden" (See Example 9, page 56).

The fourth important personality important to the development of gospel music publishing was Thomas A. Dorsey. Without question, Thomas A. Dorsey is the most important personality associated with African-American gospel music. He was reared near Atlanta and skilled as a blues, jazz, and ragtime piano player. One of his first encounters with Traditional gospel music was when Billy Sunday and his revival team made a visit to Atlanta. Dorsey was impressed by the music of Homer Rodeheaver (Heilbut, 1885, p. 23) and later decided to become a composer of gospel songs himself.

By his own admission, Thomas A. Dorsey claims to be the "Father of Gospel Song:"

> In the early 1920s I coined the words "gospel songs" after listening to a group of five people one Sunday morning on the far south side of Chicago. This was the first I heard of a gospel choir. There were no gospel songs then, we called them evangelistic songs. (Heilbut, 1985, p. 27)

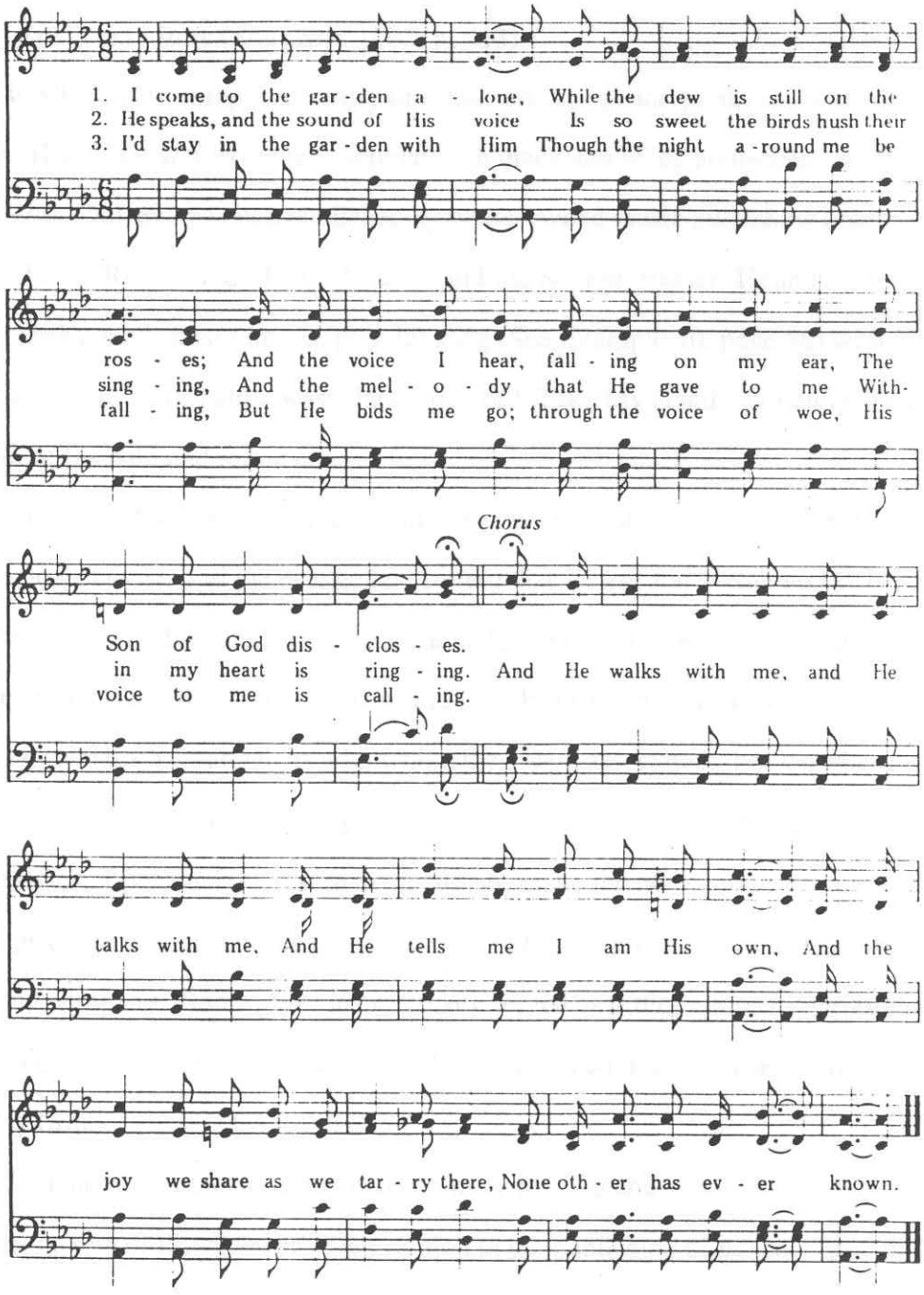
The inclusion of hand clapping, percussion instruments, vamping via repeated chord progressions over which the soloist improvises, and the sixteen-bar blues form all contribute to the style so readily identified with Dorsey's music. Anthony Heilbut (1985) stated that "Dorsey combined the good news of gospel with the bad news of blues in a form worldly singers called the gospel blues" (p. 28). What made Dorsey's contribution significant was that he used a previously existing oral tradition, the melodic and harmonic patterns of the blues, and his experience as a blues/jazz pianist to establish a genre of music easily accessible to singers and successful in communicating the gospel.

Thomas Dorsey's contribution to gospel music in general and Black gospel music in particular is monumental. In 1932 he was co-founder of the National Convention of Gospel Choirs and Choruses. This organization met annually to offer workshops and provide a showcase for singing groups. He also established the Dorsey House of Music

# 19 In the Garden

*Mary Magdalene came and told the disciples that she had seen the Lord.* John 20:18

C. AUSTIN MILES C. AUSTIN MILES






**Example 9:**
***In the Garden* by C. Austin Miles**
**©1940 Copyright renewed in 1940 by The Rodeheaver Company**
**(A Division of WORD, Inc.) Used by Permission**
**Taken from Hymns of Faith (1980), Compiled by Don Hustad.**

as the first music publishing house organized solely for purposes of selling music of Black gospel composers (Southern, 1983, p. 453).

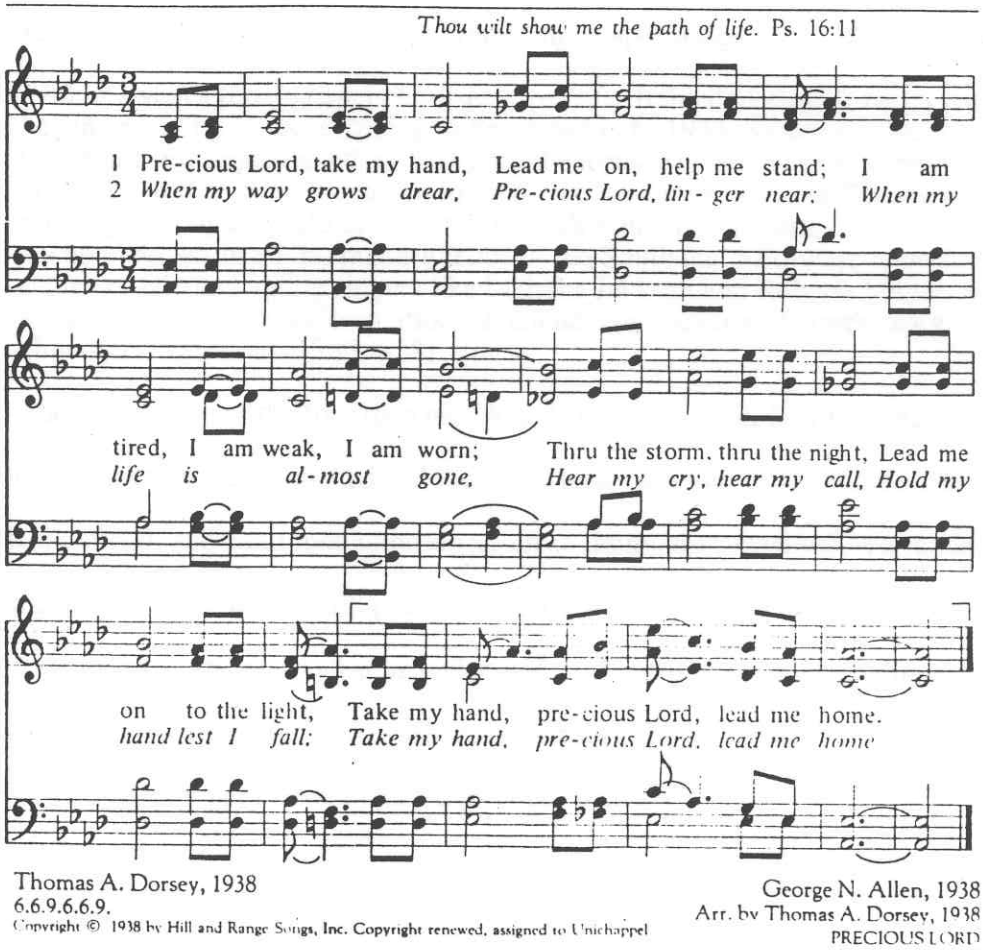
In all, Dorsey composed nearly one thousand songs and published more than half of them. His music was extremely popular with black and white audiences. By the end of the 1930s, Dorsey had been published by white-owned music publishing companies such as Homer Rodeheaver, R. E. Winsett, and the Stamps-Baxter (Heilbut, 1985, pp. 23-31). Perhaps his most famous, popular song (See Example 10, page 58) with black and white congregations alike was "Precious Lord, Take My Hand" written in 1932 after the death of his wife and infant son.

Bradbury, Sankey, Rodeheaver, and Dorsey all symbolize the relationship between gospel music and the evangelical culture that fosters and consumes it. They illustrate the process by which newer secular styles were incorporated into traditional gospel communities. Bradbury, Sankey, and Rodeheaver capitalized on the reputations of noted musicians or evangelists with whom they were associated: Lowell Mason, Dwight L. Moody, and Billy Sunday respectively. They adapted gospel texts to secular musical styles of personal interest to them and promoted the new songs in large public gatherings under the aegis of their associates. Bradbury formed his own gospel music publishing company. Some years later, Sankey served as senior editor for the Biglow and Main Company, the very organization that participated in an 1872 acquisition of the Bradbury firm.

Rodeheaver established his own company in 1910 and Rainbow Records in 1916. Don Cusic wrote of Rodeheaver's contribution to the publishing of gospel music in The Sound of Light: A History of Gospel Music (1990):

> In many ways, Homer Rodeheaver set the standard for the gospel music industry in the twentieth century. Through the creation of his publishing company he promoted and popularized a number of new songs (including "The Old Rugged Cross") and through the formation of his record company he reached large numbers of people with new gospel songs, establishing the independent label as the primary outlet for gospel music. (p. 74)

# PRECIOUS LORD, TAKE MY HAND 562




**Example 10:**
***Precious Lord, Take My Hand* by Thomas A. Dorsey**
**© Copyright 1938 by Hill and Range Songs, Inc.**
**Copyright renewed, Assigned to Unichappel.**
**Used by Permission. All rights reserved.**
**Taken from <u>REJOICE: The Free Will Baptist Hymn Book</u> (1988),**
**Compiled by Leroy Cutler and Others.**

Thomas A. Dorsey approached publishing from a different vantage point than did his three predecessors. Dorsey was influential in developing African-American gospel music of the 1930s. He collected copyrights and published sheet music which he peddled at concerts and gospel music events. One of Dorsey's major contributions was his

commitment to mentor young singers and gospel music groups. In 1932 he joined with Sallie Martin in writing, publishing, and promoting gospel songs:

> Within a year's time, gospel choruses especially trained to sing Dorsey's tunes began sprouting all over Chicago's South Side. In 1933, Sallie traveled to Cleveland and organized their first gospel chorus. . . . On that trip he sold ten dollars' worth of sheet music, enough to clue her to the business Dorsey was missing. "People would come into Dorsey's home to buy music". . . . The two set up choruses in all the major ghettos of the South and Mid-west, sponsored scores of talented young singers like Mahalia Jackson and Roberta Martin, and set up the Gospel Singers Convention, an annual convocation of America's gospel choristers. (Heilbut, 1985, p. 8)

The importance of the four men mentioned above is that all four personalities controlled companies that published and marketed their own music which they themselves identified, defined, and continued to produce. In so doing, they established a model in marketing gospel music that is still practiced today: a secular musical style is adapted to gospel texts by a specific national songleader or "star" in the evangelical tradition who defines and clarifies a specific market which is then served by the deliberate and continuous development of newly-created print product.

# SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF MUSIC PUBLISHING IN THE EVANGELICAL CULTURE FROM 1700 TO 1940

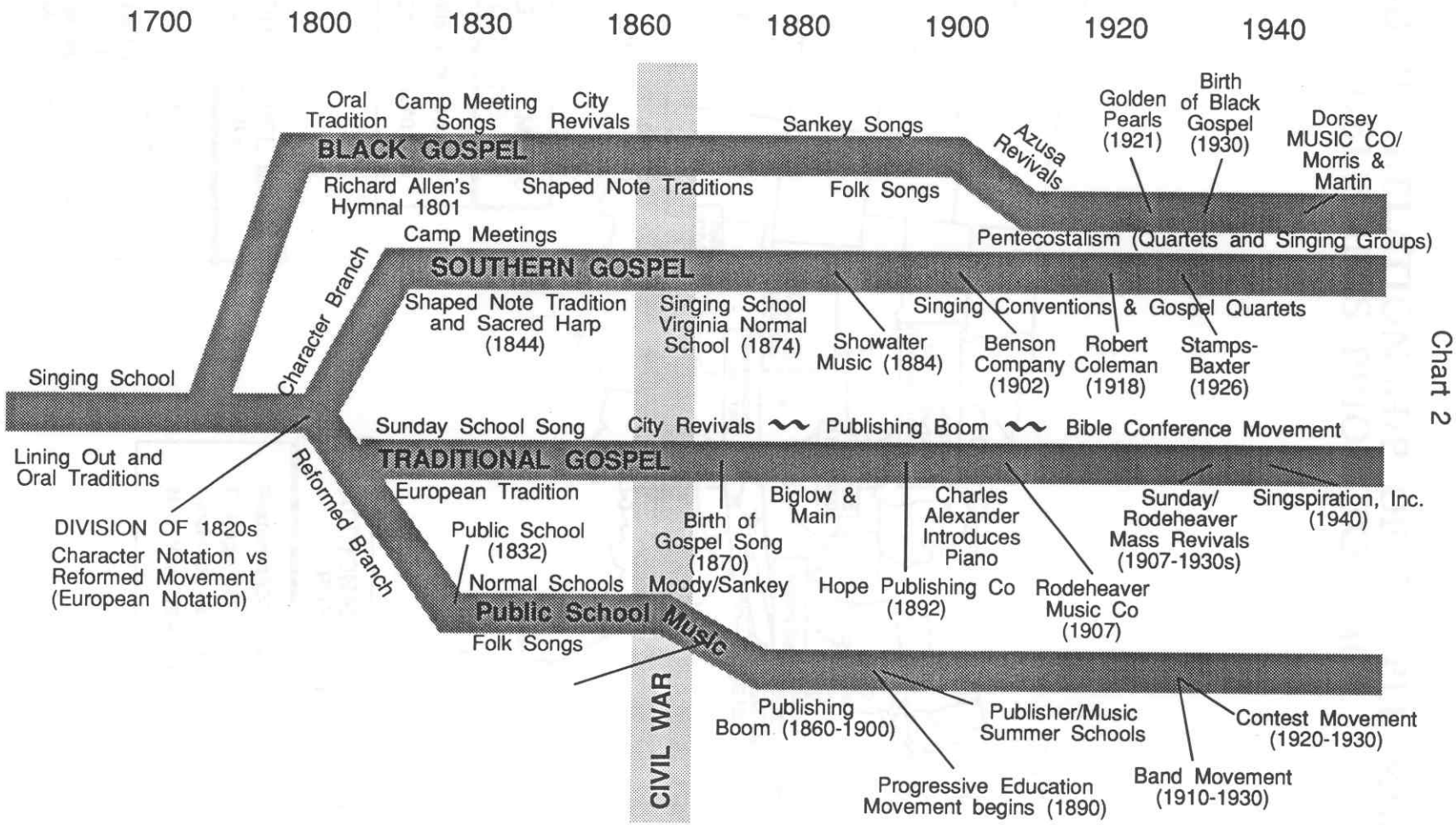
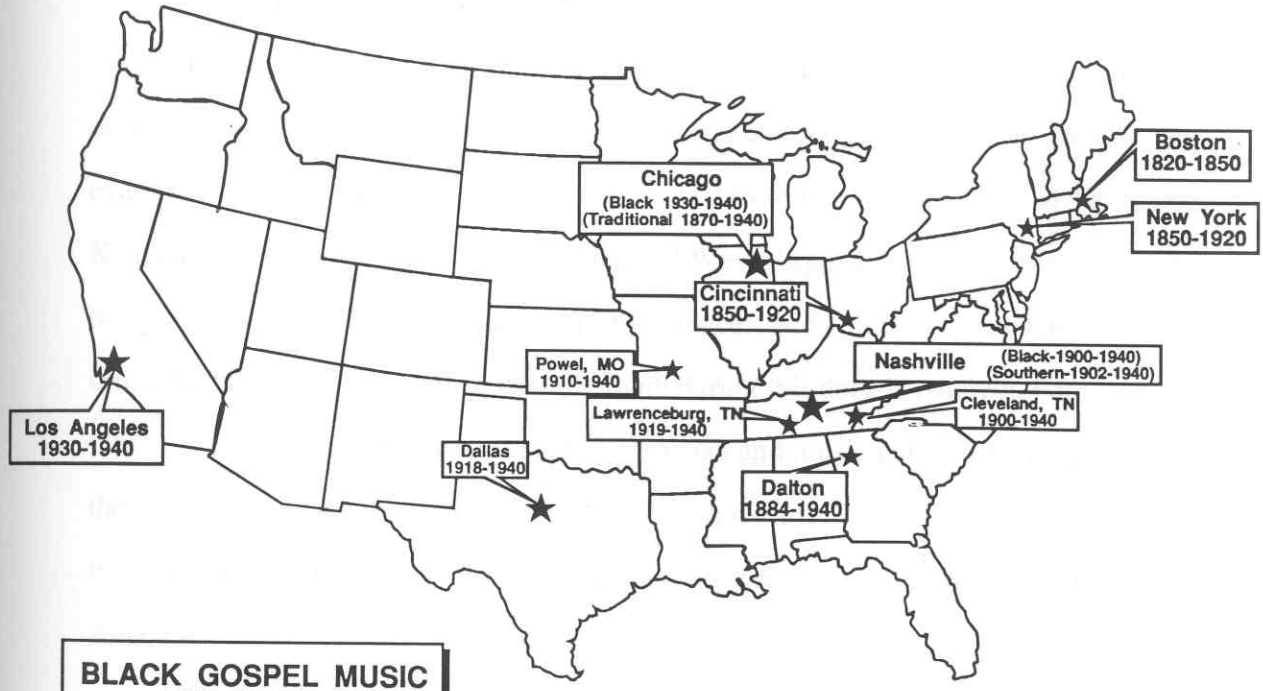



Chart 2

# GEOGRAPHIC RELATIONSHIP OF GOSPEL MUSIC PUBLISHERS PRIOR TO 1940

**Chart No. 3**




**BLACK GOSPEL MUSIC PUBLISHING**

Nashville 1900- 1940
Chicago 1930-1940

**TRADITIONAL GOSPEL MUSIC PUBLISHING**

Boston 1820-1850
Chicago 1870-1940
Cincinnati 1850-1920
New York 1850-1920

**SOUTHERN GOSPEL MUSIC PUBLISHING**

Nashville 1902-1940
Cleveland, TN 1900-1940
Dalton 1884-1940
Dallas 1918-1940
Lawrenceburg, TN 1919-1940
Powel, MO 1910-1940

# CHAPTER V

## THE POST-WORLD WAR II EVOLUTION OF GOSPEL MUSIC PUBLISHING: TRADITIONAL GOSPEL MUSIC

Immediately following World War II (WWII), changes in technological changes, ecclesiastical influences, and economic, educational and social expectations altered evangelical culture. Thousands of families moved from rural communities in Tennessee, Kentucky, Alabama, Mississippi, Virginia, and West Virginia to major industrial centers, bringing with them their music, religious preferences, and cultures. The evangelical movement experienced unprecedented growth during this decade (Melvin, February 1, 1992). According Chuck Fromm (1983), historian and music publisher, evangelicals of the 1940s experienced a Great Awakening of their own (p. 14). John Peterson captured the spirit of those times when he described his experience in returning to post-WWII America:

> I had just come out of the jungles of Burma and landed in Chicago, and here I thought I was in heaven, you know. It was incredible. I couldn't believe it. I'd sit there in the chapel service at Moody [Bible Institute], and I could hardly keep the tears back. I was just caught up in the glory of this, you know. You live in a tent in Burma for a year with no fellowship and you appreciate the joy of sharing your faith. After the war, people had a hunger for God. . . . spiritual revival was breaking out all across the land. People wanted to know more about God. They wanted to sing about Him and they were busy sharing personal experiences with their friends. One of the things that impressed me was what they were doing with gospel songs. It was an incredible and exciting time. (Interview, October 18, 1991)

Five particular influences affected the growth and development of traditional gospel music publishing during the 1940s and 1950s: (1) the advent of evangelistic radio programs; (2) secular music influences; (3) the bible college movement; (4) the mass

evangelistic crusade; and, (5) the youth movement. Each of these influences mirror social, educational, cultural, musical, political, economic, and ecclesiastical shifts within the evangelical community (MacKenzie, October 3, 1991).

## The Advent of Evangelical Radio Programs

> It was just like famous radio programs: "from the ballroom in the air . . ." Radio was about imagination, right? In my life, especially as a junior high school guy, Sunday afternoon I washed the dishes after the Sunday dinner and listened to the radio, and listened to Charles E. Fuller from Long Beach, California. And this music was amazing. It was much more dynamic than the music in my church. So, hearing it, I wanted to duplicate it. As I became part of the music program of that radio ministry, I got these books that were used on the Old-Fashioned Revival Hour for my church. (MacKenzie, January 11, 1992)

Beginning around 1940, a number of evangelical radio programs enjoyed success. One the most successful radio ministries of the era was *The Old Fashioned Revival Hour* with Charles E. Fuller. The broadcast was networked live over ABC radio and "known as the best and most often emulated radio program of its kind. *The Old-Fashioned Revival Hour* was the premier showcase for evangelism and a newly-created 'evangelistic music' from the West Coast" (MacKenzie, January 11, 1992). In speaking of the Old-Fashioned Revival Hour Choir, Ralph Carmichael reflected:

> . . . it was a wonderful choir. Leland Green and I always had a good friendship. That choir really had a secular feel. In the secular world there was Fred Waring. In the gospel field there was the Old-Fashioned Revival Hour Choir. . . . Now he [Leland Green] only sang SATB right out of the hymnal. The Old-Fashioned Revival Hour was clean and good. The tone production and pitch was excellent. (Interview, October 17, 1991)

Three uniquely qualified musicians, Leland Green, Rudy Atwood, and George Broadbent provided the evangelical church with a fresh, new approach to performing traditional gospel music. Leland Green's choral blend and theme song, "Heavenly Sunshine," became a trademark of the Fuller radio ministry. Rudy Atwood's piano improvisations helped Fuller establish a fast-paced, spirited and enthusiastic atmosphere for the broadcast. George Broadbent used the Hammond B-3 organ to accompany soloists and provide an effective invitation, usually given at the conclusion of Fuller's sermons. The

Old Fashioned Revival Hour Quartet with Bill MacDougall, Jack Coleman, Ken Brown, and Arthur Jaissle, sang a wide variety of literature including Southern gospel, traditional gospel, Western European hymns, and African-American spirituals.

Rodeheaver Music Company captured the momentum of the radio ministry's popularity by publishing and marketing a songbook series representative of the *The Old-Fashioned Revival Hour* broadcasts. Small, spiral-bound books contained around 100 gospel songs and hymns, newly written songs made popular on the program, a few short choruses associated with the youth movements of the 1940s and 1950s, a personal word from Charles E. Fuller, and several pages in the front of the book with photographs of personalities made famous on the weekly program (Fuller & Green, 1950) (See Example 11).


**Example 11:**
***Charles E. Fuller Songbook published by the Rodeheaver Music Company***
**Old-Fashioned Revival Hour Song Book (1950)**

Other radio ministries were *The Radio Bible Class* with M. R. DeHann, *Back To the Bible Broadcast* with Theodore Epp, *The Haven of Rest* (See Example 12, page 65), *Revivaltime* with C.M. Ward, *Hour of Decision* with Billy Graham, *Young People's Church of the Air* with Percy Crawford, The Southern Baptist's *Laymen's Hour*, and The

Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod's *The Lutheran Hour* (MacKenzie, October 3, 1991). These radio ministries provided a showcase for new music and proved an effective marketing tool for gospel music publishing houses.

Most radio ministries developed some type of songbook and in some cases hired arrangers and musicians, collected copyrights, and developed their own music publishing companies. *Back To the Bible Broadcast* and *Young People's Church of the Air* were two of the most successful radio ministry groups to print music for the evangelical culture.


**Example 12:**
***Published by***
***Back to the Bible Broadcast Ministries***
**Songs You Love No. 1 (1953)**
**Compiled by Eugene Clark**

One influential and important radio station operating prior to and during the wars years was WMBI Radio, a ministry of Moody Bible Institute of Chicago. WMBI served as a catalyst for gospel music development well into the 1960s. Vocalist George Beverly Shea, organist Don Hustad, pianists Harold DeCou and Tedd Smith, trombonist Bill Pearce, The Melody Four Quartet, gospel composer/vocalist John Peterson, The White Sisters, Norman Clayton, Merrill Dunlap, Dick Anthony, Wendell Loveless, and a host

of other gifted and talented musicians joined in making WMBI's live radio broadcasts a leader in gospel music radio. For nearly 30 years, this radio station provided a standard for creative development and marketing to the evangelical church north of the Mason-Dixon line unequaled by any other radio program or station (Peterson, October 18, 1991).

WMBI and publications associated with many radio programs created resource material for evangelical churches not quickly available before 1940:

> Coming out of WMBI radio station was a fresh, though very innocent, kind of music. Except for those quartet songs, the music was non-rhythmic. It was a very rubato style that was characteristic of that Northern evangelical syndrome; sort of hurry up and slow down, hurry up and slow down, hurry up and slow down. There were some major players. Dick Anthony was the arranger. Dick Anthony and Bill Pierce sang duets which I copied with a mate of mine. We were the Dick Anthony and Bill Pierce of Wooster, Mass. They had a quartet, The Melody Four Quartet, and much of the music they had recorded came out in printed music form. So, from my whole background was that well spring of new music that allowed me to express my Christian faith into the culture that understood that music idiom. It had the feeling of being fresh and new. It wasn't that old stuff (See Example 13, page 67). (MacKenzie, October 3, 1991)

MacKenzie refers to the Moody/Sankey and Rodeheaver type music which is sung with an improvisational technique unique to traditional gospel solo repertoire prior to the 1960s. One might compare the stylistic practice to performances of baroque recitatives. Soloists generally sang verses of a gospel song in a "quasi rubato" style, rushing through a line only to slow down within the same period or phrase. Singers followed with a repeated chorus in an even, predictable tempo, much like singing an aria after a recitative. The idea behind such stylistic nuances was to place emphasis on the text, slowing down or speeding up according to important textual emphases. According to Robert MacKenzie, a precedent for singing in this tradition was established by well-known soloists such as Ira Sankey, Charles Alexander, Homer Rodeheaver, and George Beverly Shea (MacKenzie, October 3, 1991).

Two radio ministries specifically targeted to the growing high school and college-age markets of the 1940s and 1950s were Percy Crawford's *Young People's Church of the Air* and Jack Wyrtzen's *Word of Life*. Both organizations were instrumental in the

propagation and use of popular musical genres for the evangelical church (MacKenzie, October 3, 1991).

MELODY FOUR QUARTET ARRANGEMENTS BY

*Dick Anthony*


**THE MELODY FOUR QUARTETS FOR MEN, Vol. 1**
**No. 5860**

Here is the original collection of arrangements for male voice by The Melody Four Quartet. Some of the selections include: *Heaven Came Down and Glory Filled My Soul; Swing Low, Sweet Chariot; Brethren, We Have Met to Worship; I Believe in Miracles; He Was Wounded for Our Transgressions; and others.*

**THE MELODY FOUR QUARTETS FOR MEN, Vol. 2**
**No. 5861**

Here is a fine collection of arrangements for male voice, including piano accompaniment. Some of the selections are: *At Least One Chance; Leave Your Heavy Burden At the Cross; Glorious Things of Thee Are Spoken; Guide Me, O Thou Great Jehovah; Springs of Living Water; and others*

**THE MELODY FOUR QUARTETS FOR MEN, Vol. 3**
**No. 5862**

Another collection of brilliant Melody Four arrangements by Dick Anthony, including piano accompaniment. Some of the selections are: *I Want to Be There; My Faith has Found a Resting Place; Higher Hands; The Church in the Wildwood; Savior, Like a Shepherd Lead Us; and others.*

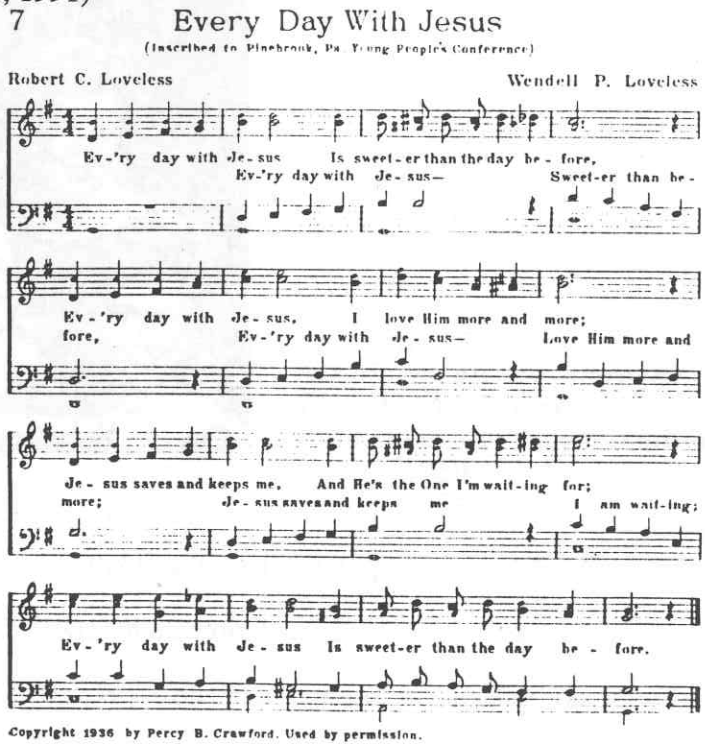
**Example 13:**
***Arrangements as Sung by The Melody Four Quartet***
**Published by Singspiration, Inc. in the 1950**

In writing The Complete Book of Youth Ministry, Warren Benson and Mark Senter (1991) credit Percy Crawford with the introduction of swing into Christian music:

> . . . it was his use of current, popular music that especially affected youth evangelization in this era. . . . Ruth and Percy knew young people must be attracted through music, and they were in tune with the musical culture of their day. Sounds like that of Fred Waring and the big bands impressed them. The Crawfords brought swing into Christian music, especially in the new gospel choruses that came out regularly in *Pinebrook Praises.* Pinebrook was their camp in East Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania. . . . Songwriters from around the country and even Great Britain sent their scores to Ruth Crawford. . . . Crawford developed the Saturday night rally, new-style Bible conference, camps and bookstores. . . . Many youth organizations rose from his inspiration and help: Youth For Christ, Word of Life, Singspiration, Song Time, High School Born-Againers, and New Life Boys' Ranch. (pp. 67-68)

Crawford was a publisher known from Baltimore to Boston as a "very energetic, hot, flashy preacher-businessman. His music was often identified by added 6ths and 9ths harmonies, almost jazzy, and very innocent rhythmically" (MacKenzie, October 3, 1991).

> Percy Crawford's college was The King's College. He had a trumpet trio that represented the college in those days, the Ohman Brothers. The Ohman Brothers Trumpet Trio was a very influential group to me as a trumpet player. The parallel would have been the trumpet section in the Stan Kenton Orchestra. . . playing with the same kind of harmonies and screaming trumpets. They were in a concert in my home town to which I really looked forward to for months and months. I remember as a senior in high school hearing one of the Ohman Brothers play and at the piano was Clayton Erb. Clayton also played saxophone. Clayton took a saxophone and joined the trio in a Stan Kenton sort of very tight harmony arrangement of "Savior, Like A Shepherd Lead Me." And, that was racy stuff. That was way over the moon. There was no influence of race music in any way in the Northern evangelical church back then (See Example 14). (MacKenzie, October 3, 1991)




**Example 14:**
***Every Day With Jesus* by Robert and Wendell P. Loveless**
**© Copyright 1936 by Percy B. Crawford,**
**Used by permission. All rights reserved.**
**Taken from Youth Favorites (1963), Compiled by John W. Peterson**

Near the end of the War, Jack Wyrtzen established the highly successful *Saturday Night Word of Life Hour.* His broadcast was live from Times Square, New York City.

The program was enthusiastic, innovative, and fast-paced. One female group associated with *Word of Life* was the White Sisters Trio:

> The White Sisters were tied to Word of Life. The music at Word of Life was very energetic and incredibly innocent. There was no suggestion of bumping, grinding, kinds of rhythms. It was all simple, very simple. What they were doing was what the Andrew Sisters were doing. . . and the Perry Comos, Nat King Coles, and the McGuire Sisters. There were parallels (See Example 15). (MacKenzie, October 3, 1991)


**Example 15:**
***Arrangements as Sung by The White Sisters***
**Published by Singspiration, Inc. in the 1950s**

*Word of Life* was the East Coast counterpart to *The Old-Fashioned Revival Hour.* Over the years, Jack Wyrtzen mentored scores of youth pastors, ministers of music, and Christian youth directors. Wyrtzen gave scores of musicians a platform for making contributions to traditional gospel. He published music, influenced the musical style of evangelical congregations, and encouraged young composers and arrangers to market their music through his radio program. Norman Clayton, Dick Anthony, Harold DeCou, and Merrill Dunlap were all associated with *Word of Life.* Wyrtzen was able to establish a Bible institute, a significant and important conference center/youth camp at Schroon Lake.

New York, and *Word of Life* chapters in local communities across the country (Peterson, October 18, 1992).

## Secular Musical Influences

In addition to providing a direct communication outlet for an emerging evangelical movement, radio also brought secular artists and musical styles into the home. Individual congregations became more receptive to music in contemporary, secular or popular styles as a result of radio. Ralph Carmichael (1986) tells of listening to big band as a high school student:

> In high school I played the trumpet in the concert band and stage band. . . . I was allowed to listen to the big bands on radio and even had a small record collection (78 rpms) of James, Krupa, Dorsey, and Goodman. What I was not allowed to do was go to dances. . . . However, I did sneak off to the Civic Auditorium in the summer of '42 and heard Tommy Dorsey; then a year later, Stan Kenton. . . . I never had the slightest feeling of guilt either time, although I did stare at the bedroom ceiling half the night trying to figure out just what made them sound so good. (p. 39)

Gospel music in the 1940s and 1950s was also affected significantly by the harmony, rhythm, and form identified as jazz, rhythm and blues, bebop, and rag time. According to both Robert MacKenzie (October 3, 1991) and Ralph Carmichael (October 17, 1991), the simple song forms and harmonies used on Broadway were emulated by writers of traditional gospel song. The compositional techniques of such greats composers as Irving Berlin, George Gershwin, Cole Porter, Leonard Bernstein, and Rogers and Hammerstein were studied by traditional gospel songwriters (Peterson, October 18, 1991). Commercial soloists such as Ella Fitzgerald, Dinah Shore, Debbie Reynolds, Frank Sinatra, Bing Crosby, Perry Como, and Nat King Cole introduced new approaches to singing ballads that evangelicals easily adapted to gospel music. Ladies trios and male quartets were popular performance medias for evangelicals, and composer/arrangers such as Ralph Carmichael copied writing styles of such famous groups as the McGuire Sisters, Andrew Sisters, Modernaires, The Hi-Lows, Mills Brothers, Golden Gate Quartet, and the Ink Spots (Carmichael, October 17, 1991).

Gospel song writers associated with the youth movements of 1940s and 1950s listened to and embraced the form, harmonies, rhythms and ensemble sound of the big bands. Stan Kenton, Glenn Miller, Harry James, Benny Goodman and Les Brown all served as unofficial mentors to gospel song writers (Carmichael, October 17, 1991). Arrangers and composers of traditional gospel choral music were influenced by such well-established groups as The Pennsylvanians, Fred Waring Chorale, The Ringwald Group, and Norman Luboff Chorale. These groups not only provided a showcase for good choral adaptation of pop genres, they also encouraged and at times established a new standard of excellence for musicians in the evangelical movement (MacKenzie, October 3, 1991).

As noted in Chapter Three, music in the evangelical church has traditionally been influenced by writing practices of the secular market. Chart 4 on page 98 is an expanded version of Chart 1 that illustrates how secular influences have tempered music for the evangelical since 1700. Over the years, the gap between secular influences and church acceptance has narrowed. By the late 1950s, a clearly-defined pattern may be observed. In spite of seemingly broad acceptance of secular music styles by evangelical songwriters of the 1950s, there remained a lag of approximately 15 years between the time secular music was introduced to the public and subsequently integrated into evangelical culture. Consider, for example, arranging techniques as practiced by Ralph Carmichael during the early 1950s. On an October 17, 1991 Carmichael spoke of writing "gospel big band" arrangements to "Brighten the Corner Where You Are" and "I'm On the Battlefield for My Lord." He also admitted to integrating the writing styles for such groups as the McGuire Sisters, Andrew Sisters, Modernaires, and The Hi-Lows into his arranging techniques for the gospel groups he directed in California. According to Stanley Green, the "days of the mass popularity of big bands were numbered. . . their place in the musical spotlight was being shared by the vocalists who would become the dominant attraction by the decade's end" (Green, 1986, pp. 8-9). Carmichael did not write his "gospel big band" charts until

at least five years after WWII and broader acceptance of the Andrew Sisters-type harmonies by evangelical musicians did not solidify until the mid to late 1950s -- 10 to 15 years after their endorsement by secular markets. The point is that while popular musical genres were accepted by the evangelical community as legitimate methods for promoting the gospel, conservative attitudes within the community maintained a distance from overtly secular music (MacKenzie, January 10, 1992).

## The Bible College Movement

In response to the phenomenal growth experienced by evangelicals during the 1940s and 1950s, many organizations, denominations, and para-church groups established Bible and Christian liberal arts colleges. At first, these institutions served as trade schools, quickly providing much-needed workers for the fast-growing evangelical movement. Some colleges, such as Fuller Seminary, Word of Life Bible Institute, and The King's College, were started as an extension of the missionary and educational commitment of well-known radio ministries. Other institutions, such as Houghton College, Wheaton College, Taylor University, John Brown University, Eastern College, and BIOLA University experienced exceptional growth by responding to needs of specific evangelical groups. It was during this same period of time that The American Association of Bible Colleges was organized as an official accrediting agency for the Bible college movement.

The significance of the Bible college movement to publishing gospel music was two-fold. First, music directors were now trained for ministry in evangelical churches. Heretofore, musicians were educated in traditional music conservatories or university music programs. Most degrees were designed to equip musicians as choral conductors or organ masters in liturgical churches. Evangelical churches used song leaders to lead entire congregations in singing gospel songs and seldom employed the services of an organ master (MacKenzie, January 10, 1992).

The second contribution of the Bible college movement to the gospel music industry is seen in the publishing of gospel music by the institutions themselves. For example, Moody Bible Institute was so committed to the development and promotion of gospel music, they employed music editors, composers and arrangers, and developed their own gospel music publishing company for the purpose of producing print product for the evangelical church (Peterson, October 18, 1991).

Other evangelical colleges were directly or indirectly associated with music publishing companies. For example, a popular radio program during the late 1940s and early 1950s was *Young People's Radio of the Air. Young People's Radio of the Air* was affiliated with The Percy Crawford Evangelistic Association which founded and organized The King's College in Wilmington, Delaware. Crawford owned a publishing company and used musicians from his college to disseminate music originally heard on the radio broadcast. In turn, the travelling teams, many of whom appeared on the radio programs, performed this music on tour and extended the publisher's advertisement to local congregations.

As the numbers of Bible and Christian liberal arts colleges increased, publishers discovered an undeveloped potential for marketing their gospel music. They trained ministers of music to establish an evangelical choral tradition in local churches and were able to directly affect the growth and direction of gospel music publishing for the evangelical culture (MacKenzie, January 10, 1992). Thus, an evangelical choral tradition was popularized by traveling teams representing one of the many colleges. Traveling teams helped define a market that was in turn serviced by graduates of one of the college music departments (MacKenzie, October 3, 1991).

## Mass Evangelistic Crusades

Evangelicals such as Billy Graham, Rex Humbard, Oral Roberts, Bob Jones, and Oliver Green traveled the country holding revivals and evangelistic campaigns during the

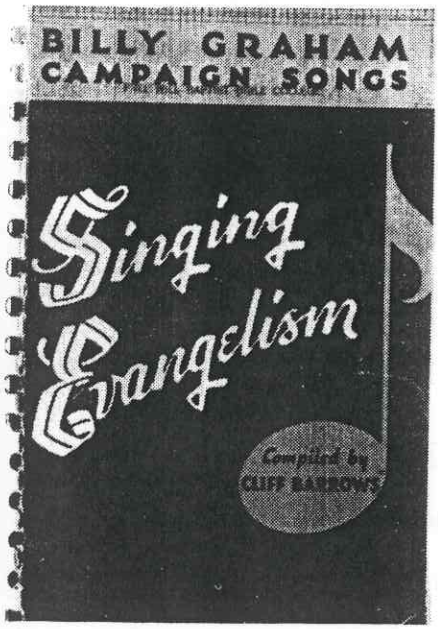
1930s, 1940s, and 1950s. All these organizations produced or endorsed songbooks for use in their evangelistic campaigns. Crusade attenders took the crusade books (containing new songs) home and taught new songs to their own choirs and singing groups. This process was repeated over and over again, with great success all across the country (MacKenzie, October 5, 1991).

Evangelist Billy Graham came into national prominence during the Greater Los Angeles Billy Graham Crusades. During that series of meetings, Graham and his team brought together more than 700 churches in the Los Angeles area in a corporate, mass evangelistic effort. National publicity, all-night prayer meetings, powerful preaching, evangelistic singing, and impressive testimonials from major, popular personalities were all part of the Graham style (Fromm, 1983, p. 14). Graham's campaigns were characterized by high-spirited congregational singing, large choral presentations, personal testimonies by well-known celebrities, exceptional vocal presentations by soloists and small singing groups, and evangelistic preaching.

The notoriety resulting from his Greater Los Angeles Crusades put Graham and his entire team in a unique position of musical leadership. Each Billy Graham Crusade offered opportunity for the presentation of new music to the evangelical church.

> The Rodeheaver Company came out of the Billy Sunday-Homer Rodeheaver revivals. They were a publishing company. We looked at Billy Graham as this young rebel, but he was incredibly extraordinary. When they decided to do revivals, they did the same thing that Billy Sunday did. If you're going to have a revival, you've got to have a song book. Rodeheaver knew about songbooks. So, Rodeheaver did the Billy Graham songbook (See Example 16, page 75). (MacKenzie, January 11, 1992)

The Billy Graham songbooks were spiral-bound publications that included anywhere from 75 to 100 hymns, gospel hymns, and gospel choruses. A significant number of pages included photographs of the Graham team, important crusade events, and a variety of interesting data relating to the organization. The books were congregational songbooks easily adaptable for use with choir, solos, duet, ladies trios, and quartets. (MacKenzie, January 11, 1992)




**Example 16:**
***Graham Songbook as published by Rodeheaver and compiled by Cliff Barrows in 1950***
***Used by the choir and congregation at Graham Crusades***

The publication of these books was important to the gospel music publishing industry for three reasons: (1) They established the precedent of using evangelistic crusades as a platform for publishers to present new music. Graham's organization gave publishers opportunity to submit songs for performance in the crusades. (2) The crusades provided local congregations immediate access to crusade songs. With the availability of the small songbooks at the crusade meetings, directors were immediately able to take the actual music back to their churches. (3) The crusades in general, and the Graham organization, in particular, helped raise performance standards for local church choirs and music ministries. Crusade music was always well rehearsed and presented with utmost professionalism. Attention was given to music details not often dealt with in the average evangelical church (MacKenzie, October 11, 1992). This provided ministers of music and choir members an opportunity to observe and experience first hand the work of highly-trained, professional musicians. Soloists and special music groups benefited from a newly-discovered market for their music. They often received

invitations to local churches as a result of the exposure they received during the Graham crusades.

Much of the success in the Graham services can be attributed to the work of Cliff Barrows, music director for the crusades. Barrows often introduced new songs during these evangelistic crusades that became part of evangelical singing traditions all across the country. For example, the Fanny Crosby song, "To God Be the Glory" (See Example 17, page 77) was first introduced to the American church during the 1950 Billy Graham Crusade in Nashville, Tennessee (Reynolds, 1976, pp. 228-229).

## The Youth Movement

During the years following the war, evangelicals experienced enormous growth and success among high school and college-age students. As the World War II baby boomers grew into teenagers and adults, para-church organizations established broad ministry opportunities such as youth camps, summer education programs, Bible study groups, youth evangelism teams, Christian athletic organizations, radio ministries for and by youth, youth music teams, vacation Bible schools, Bible institutes, and youth music training institutes.

The most notable and by far most influential organization meeting the unique needs of the emerging youth market was Youth For Christ International.

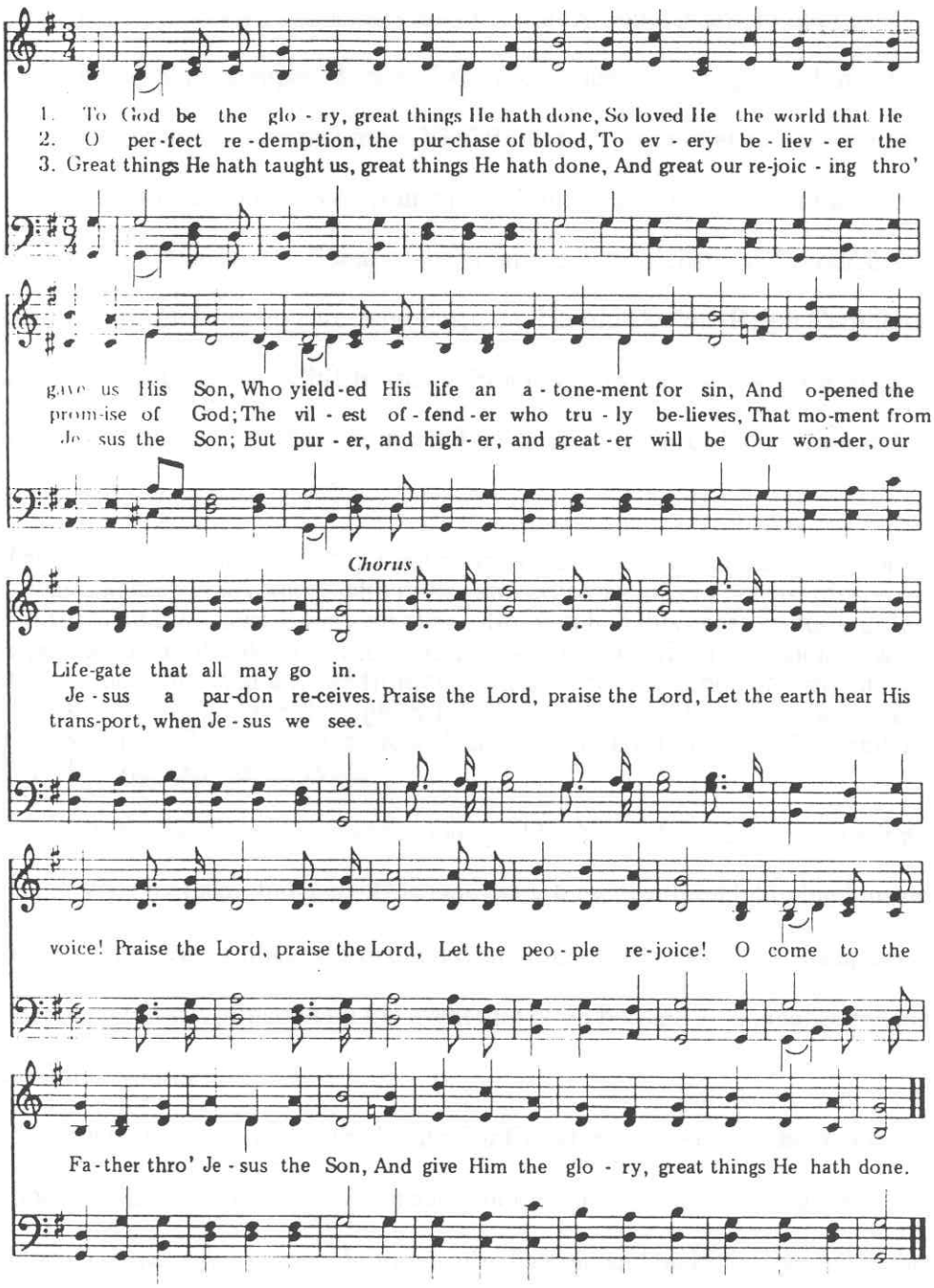
> It was a dynamic time in the independent Northern evangelical church. It was very strongly stimulated by the Youth For Christ Movement. It was a para-church organization. So, the musical limitations you had in the church, you didn't have in the YFC rallies. Many looked askance at the entire movement. It was much too dynamic, rhythmic, flashy, energetic for the local church. And, of course, it was exactly what the kids liked. (MacKenzie, October 3, 1991)

> I think one of the most significant developments during the war, and then, of course, it flowered right after, was the Youth For Christ movement. Every major city across America had a group. They just grew up. Men like Bob Cook, Cory Johnson, Billy Graham and Al Smith were actively involved in those early days. The thing was well organized. It had an incredible impact upon the nation. . . . I mean, Saturday nights were exciting. The music, the excitement and the freedom of it was just something marvelous. (Peterson, October 18, 1991)

# To God Be the Glory

*Give unto the Lord the glory due unto His name.* Psa. 29:2

FANNY J. CROSBY — WILLIAM H. DOANE



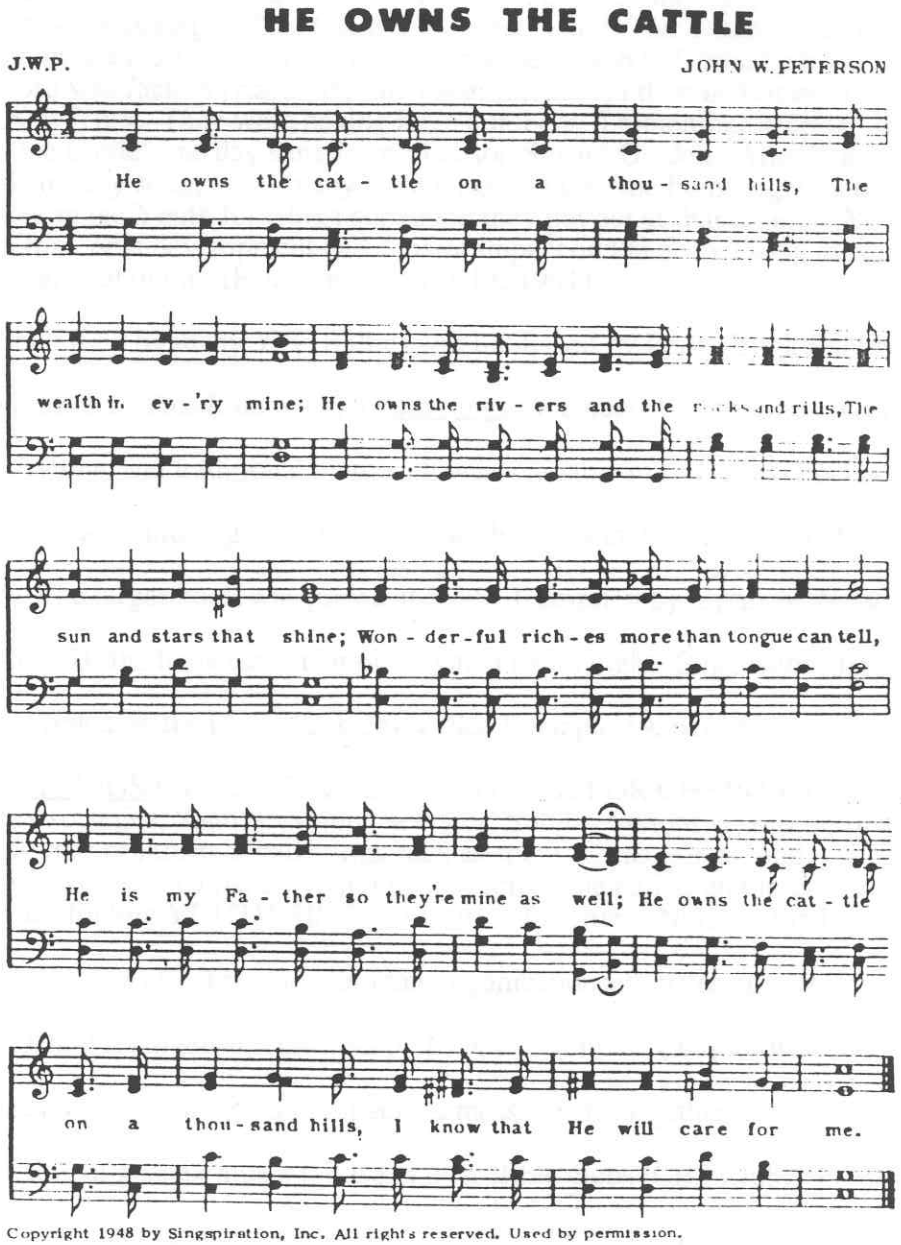

**Example 17:**
***To God Be The Glory*** **by Fanny Crosby**
**(First introduced to the American evangelicals at The Billy Graham Nashville, Tennessee Crusade in 1950)**
**Taken from Hymns of Faith (1980), Compiled by Don Hustad.**

Youth For Christ International (YFC), of Wheaton, Illinois, championed changes in the gospel song. They introduced short, easy-to-sing, highly popular gospel choruses to the evangelical culture (See Example 18, page 79). The ministry was organized into local chapters that held monthly Saturday night YFC Rallies. It was not at all uncommon for these meetings to attract thousands of young people and often include elaborate, well-planned musical extravaganzas. Some of the composers, musicians, and arrangers associated with this movement were John Peterson, Harold DeCou, Ralph Carmichael, Tedd Smith, Norman Clayton, Cliff Barrows, Ethel Waters, George Beverly Shea, Alfred Smith, The Ohman Brothers Trumpet Trio, and, a variety of ladies trios and male quartets.

> There were a whole body of hot young musicians coming out of Youth for Christ. It was a national movement with rallies and organizations in at least most major Northern and Western American cities. So, you had this cross-cultural influence, especially from the West Coast California studios. California musicians were always more hip than anyone from the North. The whole pop and rhythm side of things started moving in through them. There were all kinds of musicians like Otis Skillings, Thurlow Spurr, Kurt Kaiser, Ronn Huff, and Ralph Carmichael. (MacKenzie, October 3, 1991)

One of the most important events sponsored by Youth For Christ was their annual convention at Winona Lake, Indiana. This two-week long meeting highlighted music competitions, large youth rallies, youth choirs, and music premiers. YFC Chapters from all over the United States joined in on the event that often boasted an annual attendance of more than 5,000 youth.

Of particular importance to the Youth For Christ movement was the Youth For Christ Chorus. These short songs were usually not much more than a refrain about an aspect of the Christian experience. Harmonically diatonic and melodically predictable, they were the twentieth century counterpart to the Sunday school songs made popular during the mid-nineteeth century. Several publishers, including Percy Crawford's company, produced songbooks devoted almost exclusively to these choruses:





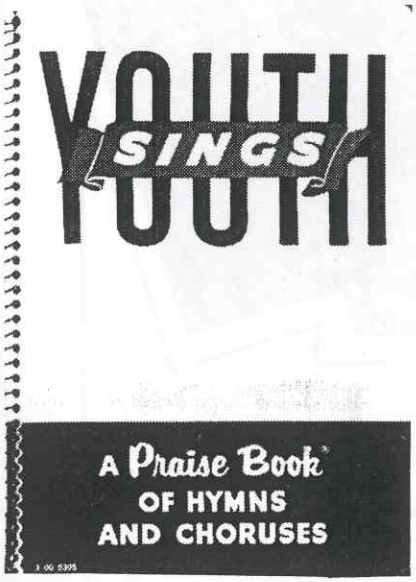

Example 18:
Youth For Christ Chorus
*He Owns The Cattle* by John W. Peterson
© 1948 Singspiration, Inc., Assigned to John W. Peterson in 1987
Taken from Making Melody (1969), Compiled by N. A. Woychuk.

> There were several in the series that were just incredibly successful. . . . they were called the "Pinebrook Series." These collections were small hard back books available in green or red covers. You'd see them everywhere in America. It was incredible. . . . I remember sending some choruses to Al Smith. He had started a publishing company over in the East. He published my song, "He Owns The Cattle On A Thousand Hills," in 1947. . . . By the time I got to Chicago, the whole town was singing "He Owns the Cattle." [sic.] The Youth for Christ Rallies picked it up. Another fellow that had been won to Christ by Percy Crawford was Jack Wyrtzen. He and his group started their activities in upper state New York. They were having huge numbers. I remember hearing "He Owns the Cattle" one day sung from Madison Square Garden. After hearing that crowd sing my song, I was ready for the Lord to take me home right then. It was included in the Youth for Christ songbook they put out at that time. . . .Yes, the Youth for Christ development had a major impact on the gospel song movement. No question about it. (Peterson, October 13, 1991)

One book used by many YFC Rallies was published by Praise Book Publications of Mound, Minnesota. This little book, Youth Sings, included 128 choruses, gospel songs, gospel hymns, and traditional hymns. It was available in two sizes: Pocket size (4 1/4 inches by 6 inches) and large size (5 1/2 inches by 7 3/4 inches). The smaller book sold for $ .45. The larger book was priced at $ .75. Compiled by Cyrus N. Nelson and copyrighted in 1951, the book came complete with a list of eight "Suggestions for Using Youth Sings" printed on the inside back cover (See Example 19, page 81).

> YOUTH SINGS is especially suitable for YOUTH FOR CHRIST rallies, young people's societies, Sunday evening services, Sunday School groups of all ages, and all types of informal gatherings such as spontaneous "sings" and singspirations. . . . Christian young people across the nation and in all parts of the world are finding YOUTH SINGS to be their favorite. (Nelson, 1951, p. i)

One of the most effective and important organizations ministering to youth during the 1950s was Child Evangelism Fellowship. Established in the early 1930s for the purpose of reaching children with an evangelical message, they gathered a rather impressive catalog of gospel music for use in their Bible clubs (CEF Club). In 1935 Ruth P. Overholtzer and her husband began publishing the CEF series of books called Salvation Songs for Children. First copyrighted in 1939, these songbooks included short gospel songs by such well known gospel songwriters as Ruth Crawford, Harry Loes, Wendell Loveless, and Al Smith. Instructors constructed or purchased "visualized songs" and other forms of audio visuals on which the text of their songs were written.

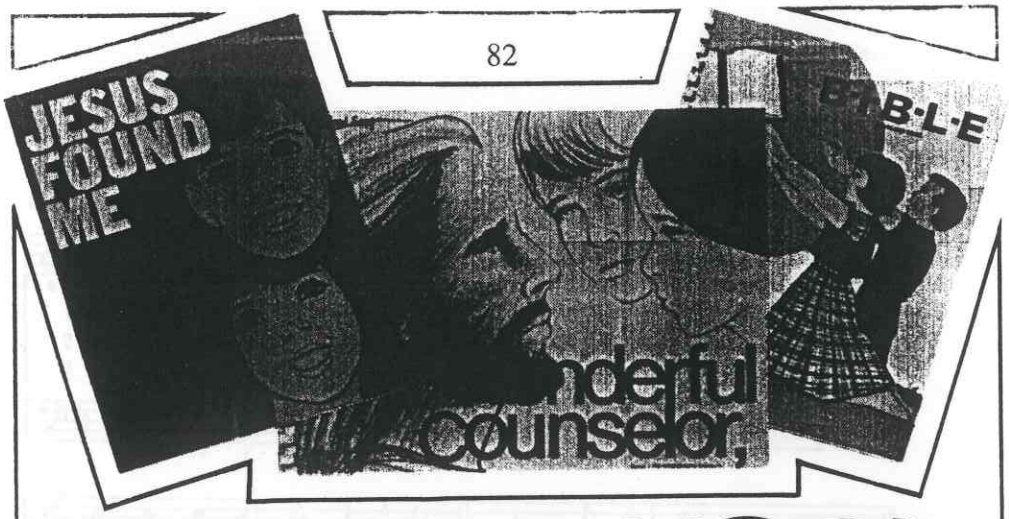



**Example 19:**
**Youth Sings (1951),**
**Compiled by Cyrus N. Nelson.**

The "visualized songs" were usually complete with supplementary teacher's aids and scripture memory activities. By using the "visualized songs," instructors were able to provide music instruction anywhere: inside a home, at an apartment complex, in a Sunday school room, or a neighbor's backyard. CEF leaders often allowed students to help lead the singing by holding these posters (See Example 20, page 82).

Another successful type of music used by CEF was the "action songs." These songs included instructions for body movement at certain important moments in the song. CEF leaders often used "action songs" to communicate specific theological tenets or principles of conduct for daily living. Many were sung as activity songs with hand and finger motions. For example, the song "This Little Light of Mine" (See Example 21, page 82) uses bodily movement as a method for teaching the responsibility of evangelistic outreach and missionary service. The instructions for this song are:

> Verse 1: Hold up fore-finger of left hand to represent light.
> Verse 2: Hold right hand, palm down, as cover over top of left finger. Shake head and stamp foot on the words "I'm going to let it shine."
> Verse 3: Instead of singing "blow," blow at top of forefinger for candle and continue singing. (Woychuk, 1969, p. 11)




# VISUALIZED SONGS

B-I-B-L-E
Colorful in 11x14 spiral bound book for easy use. Music sheet included. Visualized version produced to accompany **God's Word and Me** series of lessons but usable with any lesson material.

GOD'S WAY TO HEAVEN
Visualized song includes five verses written for use with **The Wordless Book Visualized.** In five colors of Wordless Book, bound, 10x13.

JESUS FOUND ME
Die-cut, colorful chorus in bound book, tune of "Jesus Loves the Little Children." Prepared to accompany **Lost and Found** but may be used at any time.

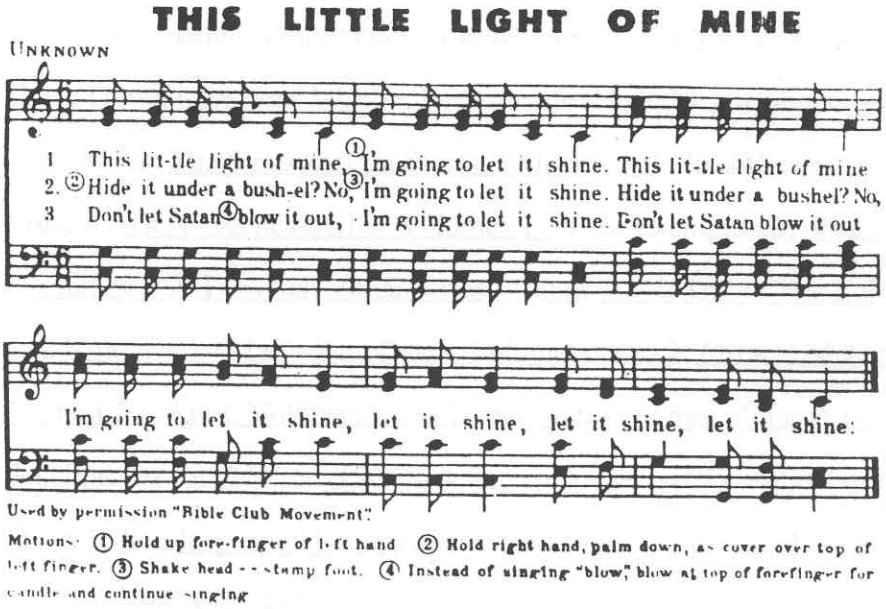
JESUS ONCE SAID
Four verses written to accompany **Knowing Christ** series. Printed in color in 10x13 book. (Tune: O For a Thousand Tongues)

WONDERFUL COUNSELOR
10x13 beautifully illustrated chorus presenting Christ as Wonderful, Counselor, The Prince of Peace, The Mighty God. Correlated with **My Wonderful Lord** Biblegram but excellent for any teaching situation. New, lively tune.

For a complete line of visualized Bible lessons, missionary stories, and supplementary teacher's helps write for a free catalog.

CHILD
EVANGELISM
FELLOWSHIP
PRESS
Grand Rapids, Michigan 49501

**Example 20:**
**Advertised List of Child Evangelism Fellowship Press Visualized Songs**
**Taken from Salvation Songs for Children No. 3 (1958),**
**Compiled by Ruth Overholtzer**




**Example 21:**
**Child Evangelism Action Song**
***This Little Light of Mine* Author Unknown**
**Public Domain**
**Taken from Making Melody (1969), Compiled by N. A. Woychuk.**

## Publishers of Traditional Gospel Music: 1940-1960

Prior to 1940, publishers of traditional gospel music concentrated on the production of hymnals or small hard-back gospel song books for choirs, choral ensembles, quartets, trios, duets and soloists. These companies were primarily based in Cincinnati, New York, Philadelphia, Montrose, Pennsylvania, and Chicago. By the end of the 1950s, publishing activity for traditional gospel music focused on broader needs in the evangelical community and major companies were located in Montrose, Pennsylvania, the Chicago area, or Los Angeles (See Chart 5, page 99).

**Singspiration, Inc.** Singspiration president Alfred Smith started the company at Chicago in 1941. In 1955 he moved the company to Montrose, Pennsylvania at which

time he employed John W. Peterson as music editor and composer-in-residence, an affiliation Peterson kept for more than 25 years. Smith, along with music editors Herman Voss, Harry Dixon Loes, and John W. Peterson, developed a progressive collection of gospel songbooks: The Singspiration Series, Volumes 1-9 (a collection of gospel songs and choruses); The Favorites Series, Volumes 1-5 (See Example 22); The Low Voice Series, Volumes 1-9; The High Voice Series, Volumes 1-4; Treble Trios, Volumes 1-4; Sing Men, Volumes 1-4; Let's Sing Duets, Volumes 1 and 2; Miracle Melodies, Volumes 1 and 2; Choir Favorites, Volumes 1 and 2; and, Action Songs, Volume 1-5 (a collection of gospel choruses for children) (Smith & Peterson, 1961, p.2). A host of other products, including Inspiring Hymns, was created for the evangelical markets. The Favorites Series and Miracle Melodies Series are perhaps the two best known and most important of the group. The Favorites Series was a popular collection of books that remained in print well into the decade of the 80s (Peterson, October 3, 1991). First introduced in 1943, the little books became a standard repertoire of nearly every evangelical home (See Example 22, page 85):

> The Singspiration Company put out a series of books annually, a new book, called Favorites. In that Favorites book were what became our new songs for the next period of time, many of which passed into the general evangelical vocabulary. That's how we found new songs. . . by sitting down at the piano and playing through the newest Favorites book. Different composers were represented. I remember one especially interesting composer named Beatrice Bush Bixler. The unique thing about her songs was that harmonically they were not part of our world at all. They were jazzy and always had a triad in the right hand and then some broken pattern with cluster chords or whatever in the left hand. That was very racy harmonic language for us (See Example 5.21). (MacKenzie, October 3, 1991)

All product by Singspiration, Inc. was marketed and distributed by Zondervan Publishing House, Grand Rapids, Michigan. Al Smith and the Zondervan brothers had an arrangement whereby Singspiration produced music and immediately sold the product to the Zondervan company. Singspiration's capital was based on a monthly advance provided by the Zondervan Publishing House (Peterson, October 18, 1991).


# THE FAMOUS FAVORITES

**FAVORITES VOLUME 1**
Contains such outstanding songs as:

*Precious Hiding Place*
*The Heavenly Light*
*Jesus, Name I Love*
*The Road Leads Home*
*Not Dreaming*

**FAVORITES VOLUME 2**
Includes such numbers as:

*The Unveiled Christ*
*The Lights of Home*
*Amazed*
*Love Divine*
*Just Keep on Praying*

**FAVORITES VOLUME 3**
Included in this volume are:

*Be Still and Know*
*Back of the Clouds*
*Thine, Lord*
*The Old-Fashioned Meeting*
*For All My Sin*
*A Heart Like Thine*

**FAVORITES VOLUME 4**
This compilation includes:

*Only One Life*
*There Is No Greater Love*
*Thank You, Lord*
*Peace in the Valley*
*My God Is Real*

**FAVORITES VOLUME 5**
The best gospel songs. Including:

*Each Step of the Way*
*Lord, Keep Your Hand on Me*
*So Send I You*
*How I Want the Lord to Find Me*

EACH: Size 6" x 9" ..... 75¢

**Example 22:**
***The Favorites Series Published by Singspiration, Inc.***
**Compiled and Edited by Alfred Smith and John W. Peterson**

The most significant publications produced by the Singspiration Company during the 1950s were the John Peterson cantatas. By the end of the decade of the 1950s, Peterson was writing a cantata, one for Easter and one for Christmas, each year. The broad acceptance of his cantatas thrust Singspiration, Inc. into a firm position of leadership in the evangelical church that remained unchallenged until the mid-1970s.

Most other publishers of traditional gospel music were located in Chicago or Los Angeles. These two locations were strategic for industry development.

Chicago was a focal point for evangelicals. The National Association of Evangelicals and several other para-church organizations associated with the evangelical movement established home offices in Wheaton, a suburb of Chicago. Chicago was also well known for a competitive printing industry and home to a number of highly skilled and successful gospel music composer/arrangers. Chicago based publishers were influenced by the Broadway musical, legitimate composition as taught in the great mid-Western music conservatories and university music programs (i.e. American Conservatory, Northwestern University, Chicago Musical College, Chicago Conservatory, etc.), and the grand traditions associated with the music of Moody and Sankey (MacKenzie, October 3, 1991). The Chicago area was home to Hope Music, Norman Clayton Music, Rodeheaver, Hall-Mack Music, Van Kampen Press, Merrill Dunlap Music Company, and Moody Music.

**Hope Publishing Company.** During the 1940s and 1950s, The Hope Publishing Company of Chicago continued to place strong emphasis on the sale of hymnals and smaller hardback gospel song books. Their earlier acquisitions of the E.O. Excell, Tabernacle Press, and the John Church catalogs provided evangelical culture with a central agency for handling thousands of copyrights. The E. O. Excell Company copyright holdings included some of the best loved and most famous gospel songs sung by the evangelical church. One of Excell's most famous copyrights was the very popular "Since I Have Been Redeemed" (Hustad, 1978, p. 7-8).

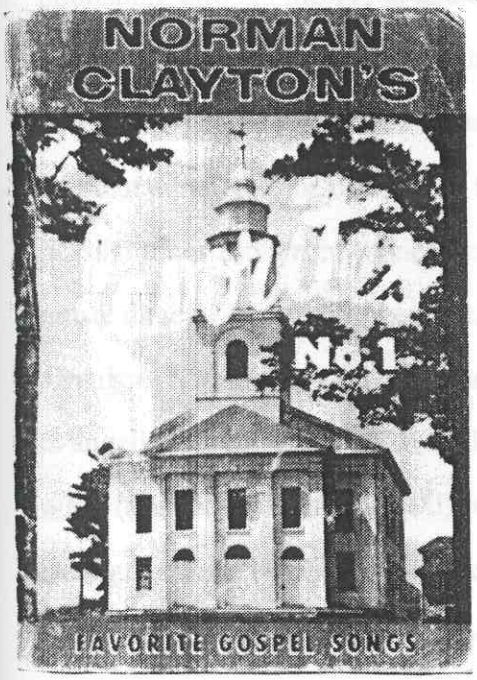
The second company, Tabernacle Publishing, produced and developed a highly effective and successful series of hymnals for the evangelical church called The Tabernacle Hymns. The Tabernacle publication and Hope's Worship and Service Hymnal (1957) were two of the most famous and widely accepted hymn books for evangelicals in the North. The Worship and Service Hymnal (1957) alone sold more than two million copies for Hope (Shorney, 1992, pp. 14-17).

The John Church Company was the third company Hope acquired. This company held all the copyrights to the Ira Sankey Gospel Hymns series and nearly 4,000 songs written by the blind song writer, Fanny Crosby. Copyright management for the Hope Publishing Company was an enormous task. So, developing new and creative marketing approaches was expensive, somewhat risky, and certainly not a high priority for the company.


**Example 23:**
**Hymn Arrangements No. 2 (1958)**
**Choral Arrangements by Don Hustad, Published by Hope Publishing.**

During the 1950s, John W. Wilson and Don Hustad joined Hope as editors. Hustad was organist with the Billy Graham Crusades, faculty member at Moody Bible Institute, a graduate of Northwestern University, a gifted organist/composer and regular on WMBI radio. John Wilson was also a professor at Moody Bible Institute. Together, these two men developed new, creative products for the evangelical choir. One of the most effective was *The Hymn Arrangements Series* produced by Don Hustad (See Example 23). By the end of the 1950s these men had assembled a competitive line of choral arrangements of gospel songs and hymns for SATB choir, SSA choir, SA(T)B youth chorus, two-part children's choir, and TTBB choir.

**Norman Clayton Publishing Company.** This company was started by Norman Clayton in the early 1940s. Clayton was a brick-layer turned gospel organist/publisher. He developed his company in Chicago through his association with Word of Life and Jack Wyrtzen. Most of his publications consisted of small gospel song books. His music was marketed on Wyrtzen's radio ministry and passed from church to church through a network of young people who traveled with one of Wyrtzen's gospel singing teams (Peterson, October 18, 1991). Clayton developed an entire series called "Word of Life Song Books For Singing Pleasure." His most successful and best known collection was called Norman Clayton's Favorites (See Example 24). By the end of




**Example 24:**
**Norman Clayton Favorites**
**Published by Norman Clayton and distributed by Rodeheaver**

the 1950s, Norman Clayton Publishing Company was an official division of The Rodeheaver, Hall-Mack Company (MacKenzie, October 3, 1991).

**Rodeheaver, Hall-Mack Company.** Based in Winona Lake, Indiana, this was the company originally started by the singing evangelist Homer Rodeheaver. Prior to 1950, the Rodeheaver organization had been known as an aggressive publisher of gospel song books, creator of records, and a leader in the field of print music distribution.

By the end of 1950, primary attention was given to collecting, controlling, and maintaining its huge copyright base, publishing small spiral bound gospel songbooks for Billy Graham Crusades, Charles E. Fuller's *Old Fashioned Revival Hour,* and a number of other radio ministries, and providing songbooks for small groups, duets, and solos. The Rodeheaver organization continued to purchase other, much smaller, gospel publishing companies and for a number of years tried, rather unsuccessfully, to publish and promote choral arrangements for the evangelical choir loft. Because of its large and important copyright base, The Rodeheaver Company continued to be a formable force in publishing through the 1950s and on into the 1960s. (The Rodeheaver, Hall-Mack Company was purchased in 1969 by WORD, Inc.)

**Van Kampen Music Company.** What made this company unique was the fact that they were one of the very first to make gospel choral arrangements based on popular tunes and writing styles available to the evangelical community. Doug Fisher, music director for the Midwest Bible Church, Chicago, was the premier arranger/songbook compiler for the company. Fisher was known for his abilities as an evangelistic song leader and excellent organizer (Peterson, October 18, 1991). His Song-a-log (See Example 25, page 90) compilation included 96 gospel songs and hymns by such gospel songwriters as George S. Schuler, Ira Sankey, Harry Dixon Loes, Merrill Dunlop, Seth Sykes, Norman Clayton, and Robert Lowry. Significant to the book are several songs specifically arranged for choir. Doug Fisher arranged 14 tunes, James P. Davies arranged three tunes, and Cornelius Keur, J. Thurston Noe, Norman Clayton, and W. H. Jude each arranged one song.

Some of the arrangements are ambitious for the average volunteer choir. "There Shall Be Showers of Blessings," arranged by James P. Davies, for example, is written for SSAATTBB choir (See Example 26, page 92). He uses a variety of compositional devices such as pyramid technique for voicing at the introduction, dialogue between ladies trio (SSA) and men's quartet (TTBB), text painting in the men's part (to illustrate

the sound of rain showers) and an augmented sixth chord (German 6th of G [Ab, C, D F#]) as a method for modulating from the key of Bb major to Eb major. The arrangement was innovative for the day and well ahead of what other publishers were making available to the market. The book has a 1947 copyright by Van Kampen Press but all assignments are made to The Rodeheaver Company.


**Example 25:**
**Song-a-log compiled by Doug Fisher, Published by Van Kampen Press and assigned to Rodeheaver Music Company**

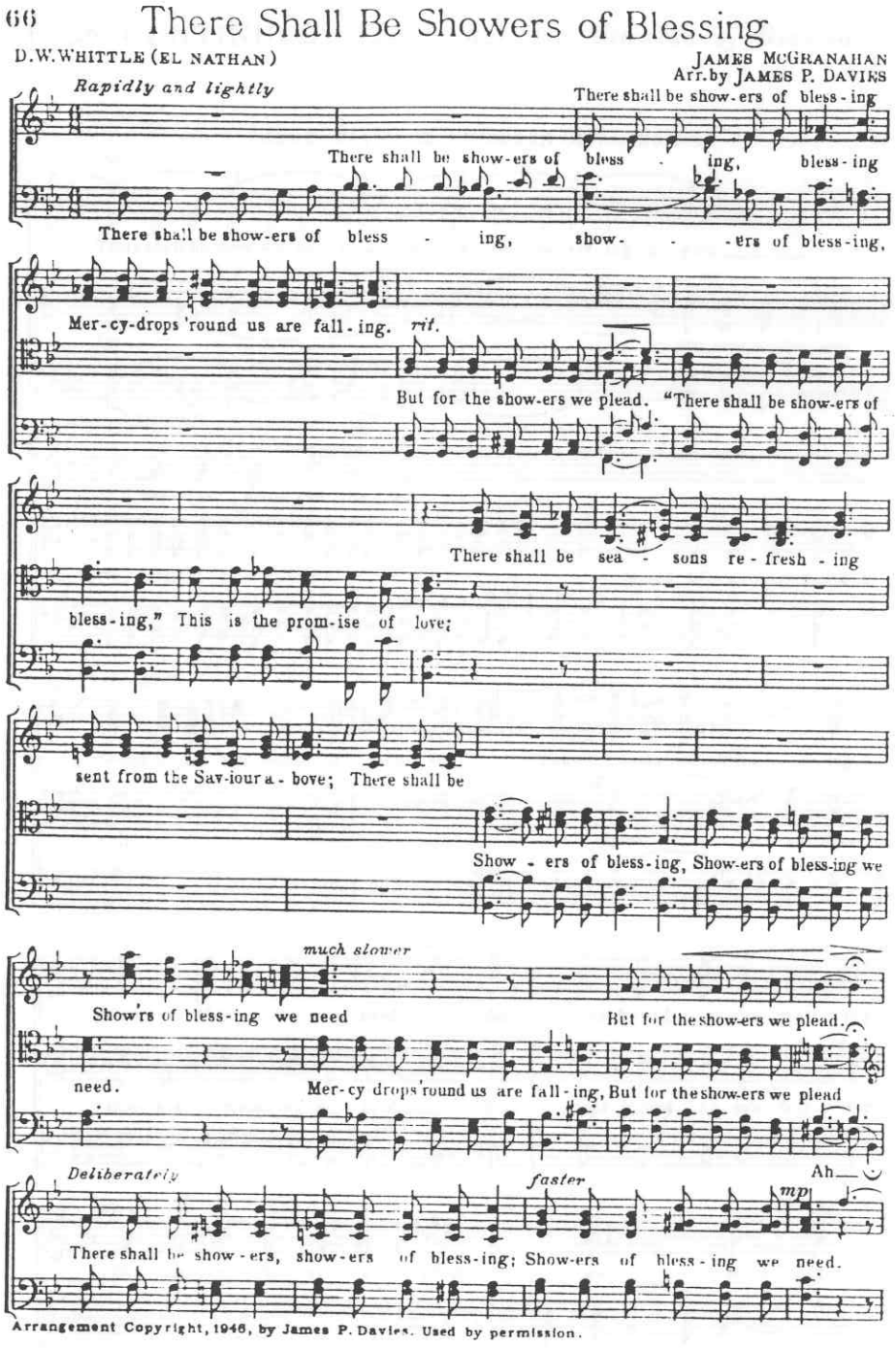
Los Angeles-based companies were not as involved in the technical end of printing, but they were as aggressive as their Eastern counterparts in influencing and shaping the direction of traditional gospel music. Being in Los Angeles, they were influenced by some of the best secular musicians in the business. Gospel musicians were able to assimilate, digest, create, publish, distribute, and immediately affect change in gospel music through one of the many progressive radio and television ministries based in the area.

Los Angeles was home for a number of innovative record producers, composers and songwriters of Traditional gospel music. Men and women such as John Hurt, Ralph Carmichael, Audry Meir, and Doris Aikers influenced the gospel music market by arranging songs in the styles of Stan Kenton, Glen Miller, Benny Goodman, and Les Brown (Carmichael, October 17, 1991). Consider, for example, Ralph Carmichael's "I Found What I Wanted" (See Example 27, pages 94 & 95).

Compositional technique for popular secular song in 1940s and 1950s include the use of added sixths and ninths harmonically, verse/chorus form, easy to sing melodies, and simple, straight-forward texts. Compositional technique for "I Found What I Wanted" includes a vocal solo in ballad style with piano accompaniment, an easy to sing diatonic melody, AB form that translates into verses with repeated chorus, and the use of added sixths, ninths and diminished chords.

One important contributor to the changing gospel music scene in the 1950s was Charles Hurt, conductor of the Hollywood Presbyterian Church Choir. Hurt contracted with RCA to record his choral group and was able to develop some of the finest choral recordings available at the time. "Dr. Hurt was very influential in publishing for church choir. He did things on those records that were well ahead of their time" (Hearn, October 4, 1991).

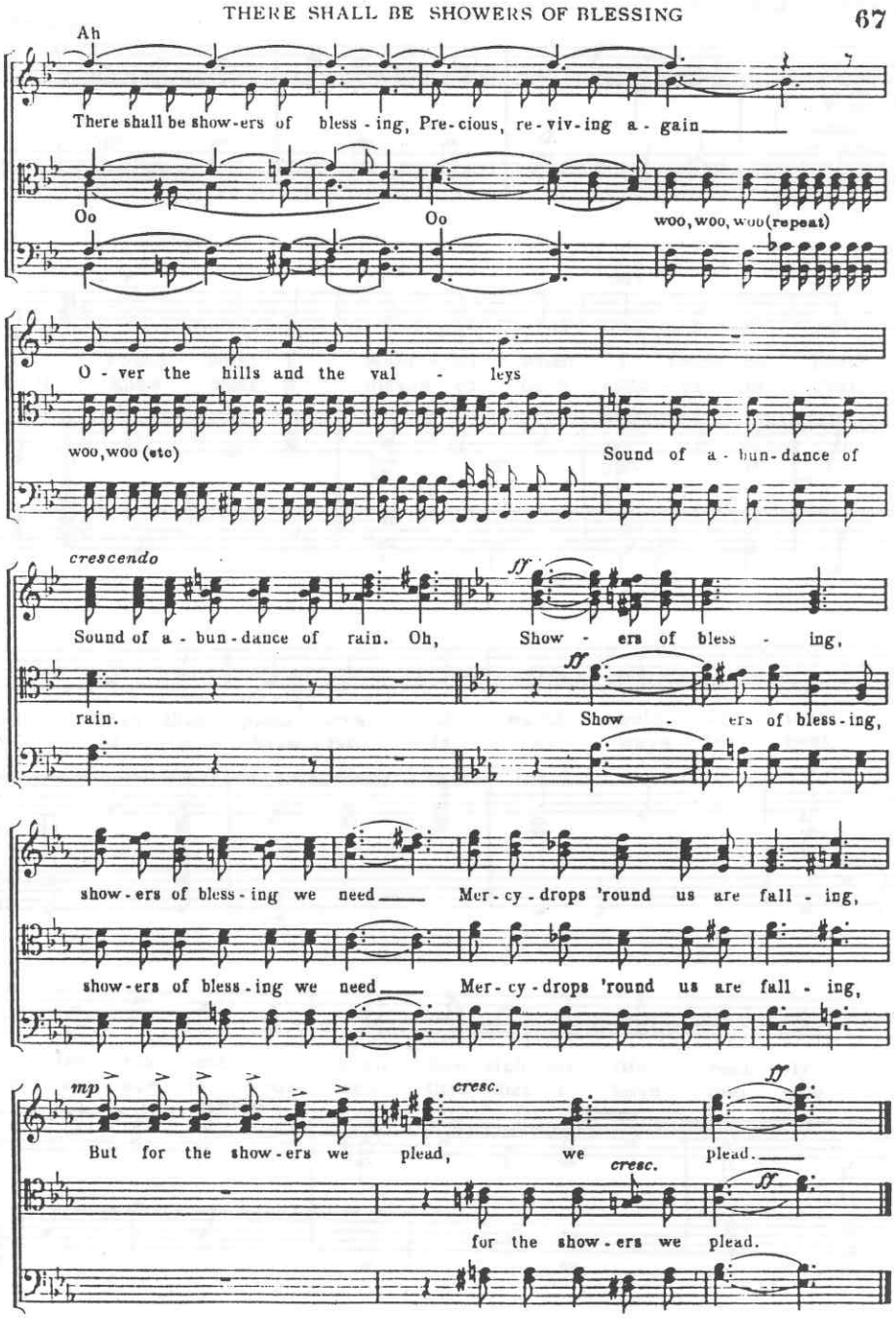
**Manna Music Company.** Manna Music was a California-based company owned by Tim Spencer. Spencer was one of the members of the country/western group, *The Sons of the Pioneers*. He was involved as a talent agent for RCA Records. Names associated with Spencer during the 1950s were Audry Meir, Phil Kerr, and Doris Akers. Spencer's company contributed to the evangelical culture with its exclusive ownership of copyrights, most notably "How Great Thou Art." The song was introduced during the Greater Los Angeles Billy Graham became favorite with protestant, catholic, liturgical, and evangelical congregations (See Example 28, page 97) (MacKenzie, January 10, 1992).



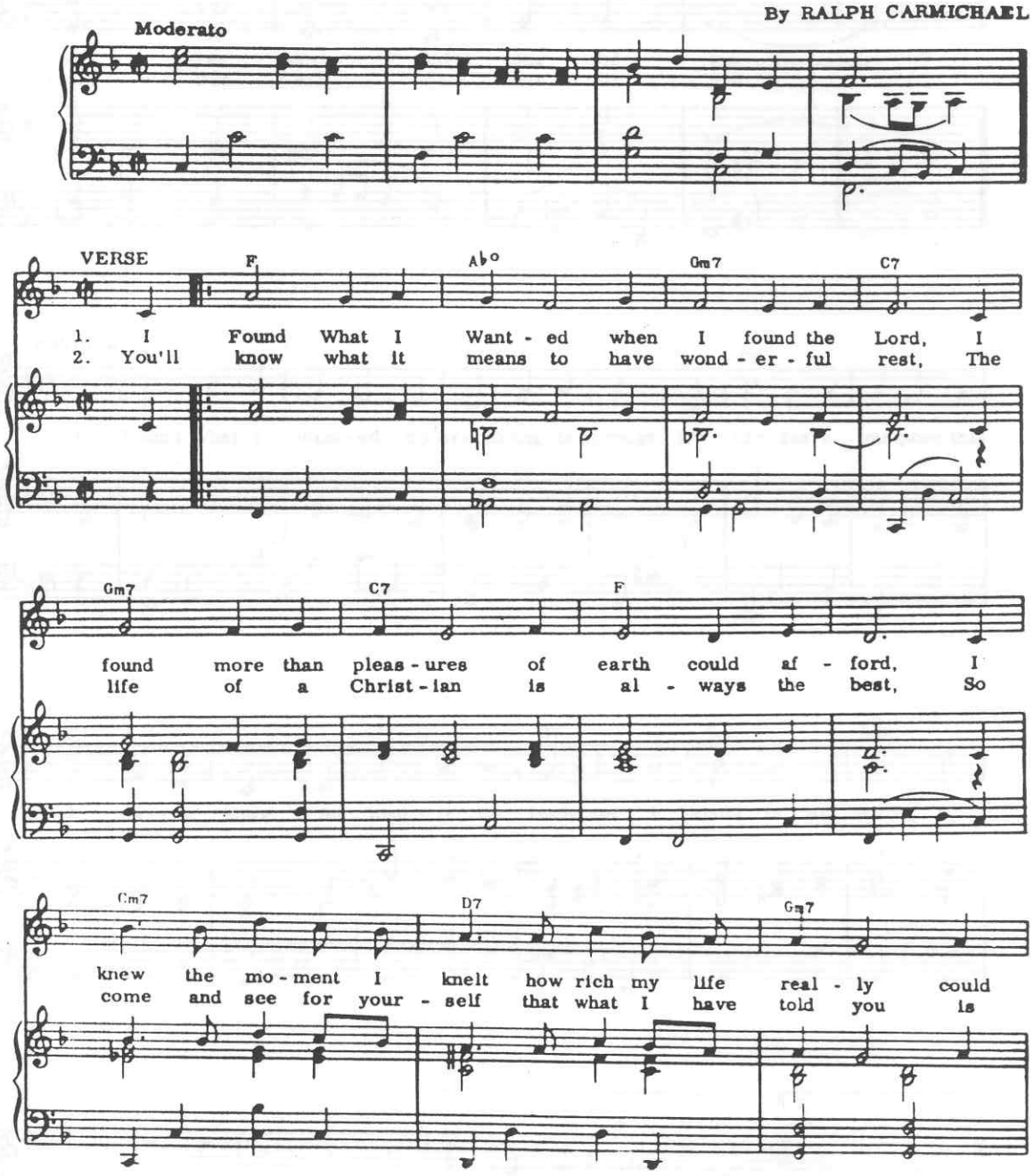

**Example 26:**
***There Shall Be Showers of Blessings Arranged by James P. Davies***

**Taken from Song-a-log (1947), Compiled by Douglas Fisher.**

**[EXAMPLE 26 CONTINUED: *There Shall Be Showers of Blessing . . .*]**



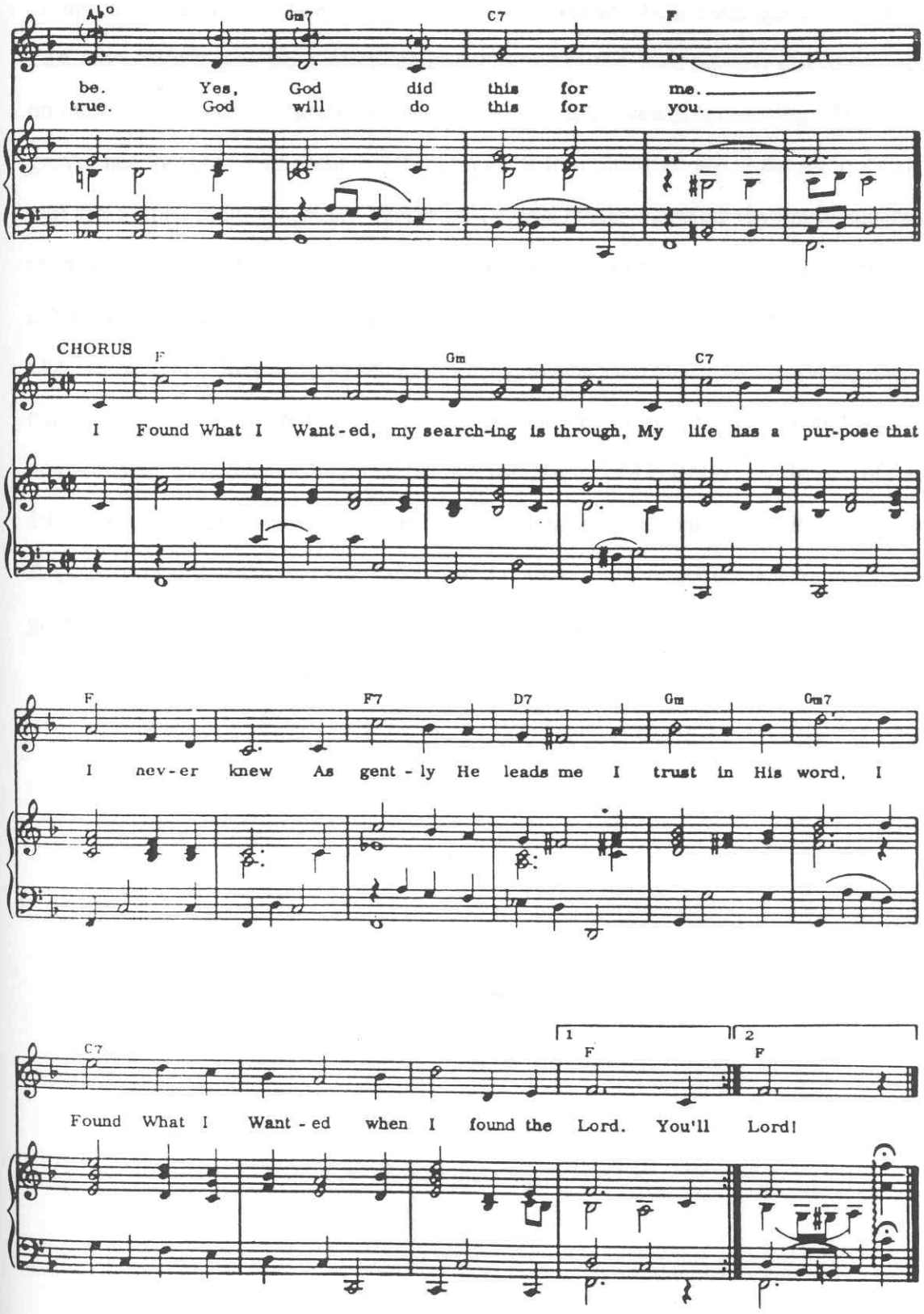
# I Found What I Wanted




Example 27:
*I Found What I Wanted by Ralph Carmichael*

Taken from Favorites Number Five (1961),
Compiled by Al Smith and John W. Peterson.

[EXAMPLE 27 CONTINUED: *I Found What I Wanted . . .*]



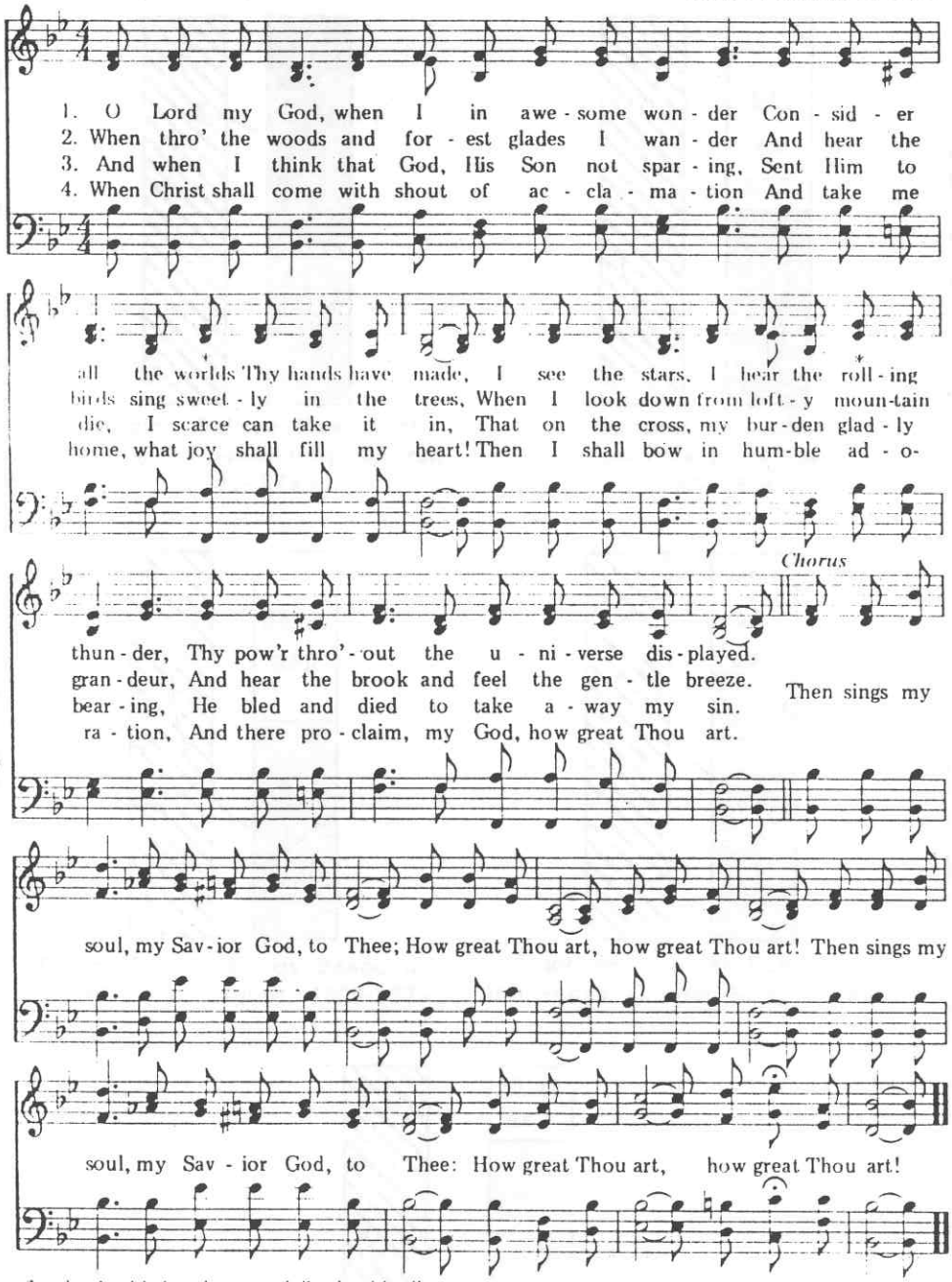
Arrangers and composers on the West coast used their studio and radio singing groups to introduce these new commercial sounds to evangelical congregations on the East coast. While they were interested in publishing music, their primary efforts focused on meeting utilitarian demands for studio, radio, and television programming. Their greater need was to create fresh, practical products for immediate use in the studio or as part of a regular radio program. "West Coast gospel music was more rhythmic, musically more credible, and often stronger textually. It was a new experience for the Eastern evangelicals to sing to swing rhythms and jazz harmonies of big band" (MacKenzie, October 3, 1991). In spite of mixed reviews, the musical influences by California gospel composer/arrangers ushered in new levels of excellence, musical expression, and artistic credibility for the evangelical church (Carmichael, October 17, 1991). By the end of the 1950s, a creative cycle developed whereby gospel music trends introduced in Los Angeles moved East through radio and television to impact the product development of gospel music publishers (MacKenzie, January 11, 1992).

# How Great Thou Art

*Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised.* Psa. 48:1

CARL BOBERG
TRANS. BY STUART K. HINE

Swedish Folk melody
ARR. BY STUART K. HINE

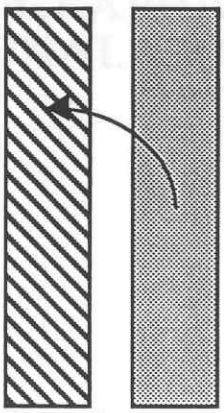



Translator's original words are "works" and "mighty."

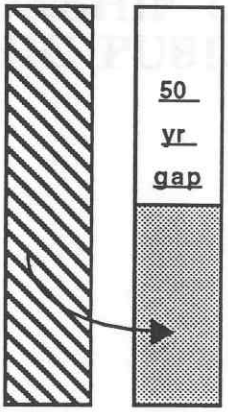

**Example 28:**
***How Great Thou Art by Carl Boberg and Stuart K. Hine***
**© 1955 Copyright Manna Music, Used by Permission**
**All rights reserved. Used by permission.**
**Taken from Hymns of Faith (1980), Compiled by Don Hustad.**

## *Relationship Between Secular & Evangelical Influences on Music (1700-1960)*

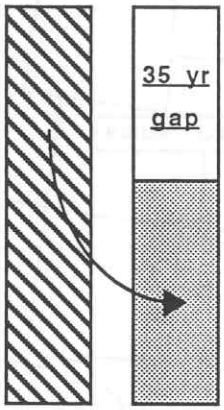
(Chart 4)



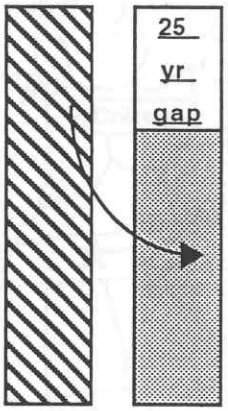
Singing School Movement
Secular Influenced by Church
1700-1780



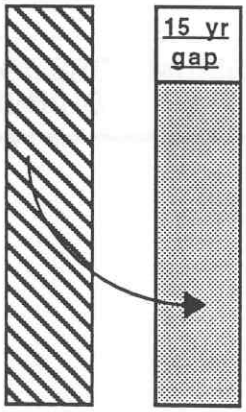

Secular Influence
on Folk Hymnody
1790-1800




Camp Meeting Songs Based on
Rural Folk Singing, 1800-1825




American Secular Folk Song
Influences Gospel Song - 1880s




Evangelical Music of the 1940s & 50s
Influenced by Secular Music

Secular Music Influences

Evangelical Influences

# GEOGRAPHIC RELATIONSHIP OF TRADITIONAL GOSPEL MUSIC PUBLISHERS 1940-1960

**Chart No. 5**

# CHAPTER VI

## EARLY INNOVATIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF JOHN W. PETERSON AND RALPH CARMICHAEL

> You can look at writers of each period and they all had their day, and it faded. And the next one came on and had his day, and the style changed and it'd go and they'd come. And so there is a time for everyone of those influences. And, then they align themselves with a publisher . . . and a personality. And that publisher banks on that. What happens is the new thing and the new personality comes . . . and is birthed with a new person that organizes into publishing company or a record company, and that takes the place of the old company instead of the old company engulfing that. (Hearn, October 4, 1991)

By 1950, clear patterns of gospel music publishing for the evangelical market began to emerge. Bradbury, Sankey, Rodeheaver, and Dorsey are models for publishing within the evangelical culture. This model illustrates the adaptation of secular song styles for use with gospel texts; the rise to leadership positions of individuals (usually dynamic personalities) who serve as catalysts for the introduction and use of new gospel music styles and genres; and, the founding of publishing companies to serve a market generated by these dynamic individuals.

With each generation comes new leaders and prophets of change in gospel music. Associated with these leaders are music publishers and promoters. John W. Peterson and Ralph Carmichael are the models for change, innovation, and leadership in gospel music during the 1940s and 1950s.

### The Impact of John W. Peterson

A Swedish-American from Kansas, John Peterson published as early as 1941 with the R. E. Wissett and The Stamps-Baxter Companies. Following war-time service in China as an airplane pilot with the United States Air Corps, he returned to the states

and settled with his wife in the Chicago area. Peterson's original ambitions were to prepare himself at Moody Bible Institute for missionary service. After moving to Chicago, he enrolled at the American Conservatory of Music to study with Irwin Fisher, organist of the Chicago Symphony.

Upon his arrival at Moody in 1947, Peterson joined the staff at WMBI, the college-owned radio station. During his stay at Moody he interviewed hundreds of well known gospel and popular musicians, wrote songs, and helped compile songbooks for the Melody Aire gospel music series published by Moody Press and edited by Ken Taylor. By 1953, he was responsible for directing and developing more than 20 live radio programs each week (Peterson, October 18, 1991).

As with Ira Sankey's "The Ninety and Nine" and the Rodeheaver Company's "In the Garden," John Peterson captured the attention of the entire evangelical world with the 1949 publication of "It Took A Miracle" (Example 29, page 102).

> One thing giving impetus to my career was in 1949, I wrote "It Took A Miracle." And, that thing just literally changed my life. I was never the same afterwards. . . Well, I sent a group of songs to Percy Crawford. I think I sent him a dozen songs. . . . He gave me fifty dollars for twelve songs, and I told him to deduct 15% as my tithe for his program. So he sent me a check for $42.50. One of the songs was "It Took A Miracle." So, I say, I got $3.50 for "It Took A Miracle" (Example 30, page 103). (Peterson, October 18, 1991)

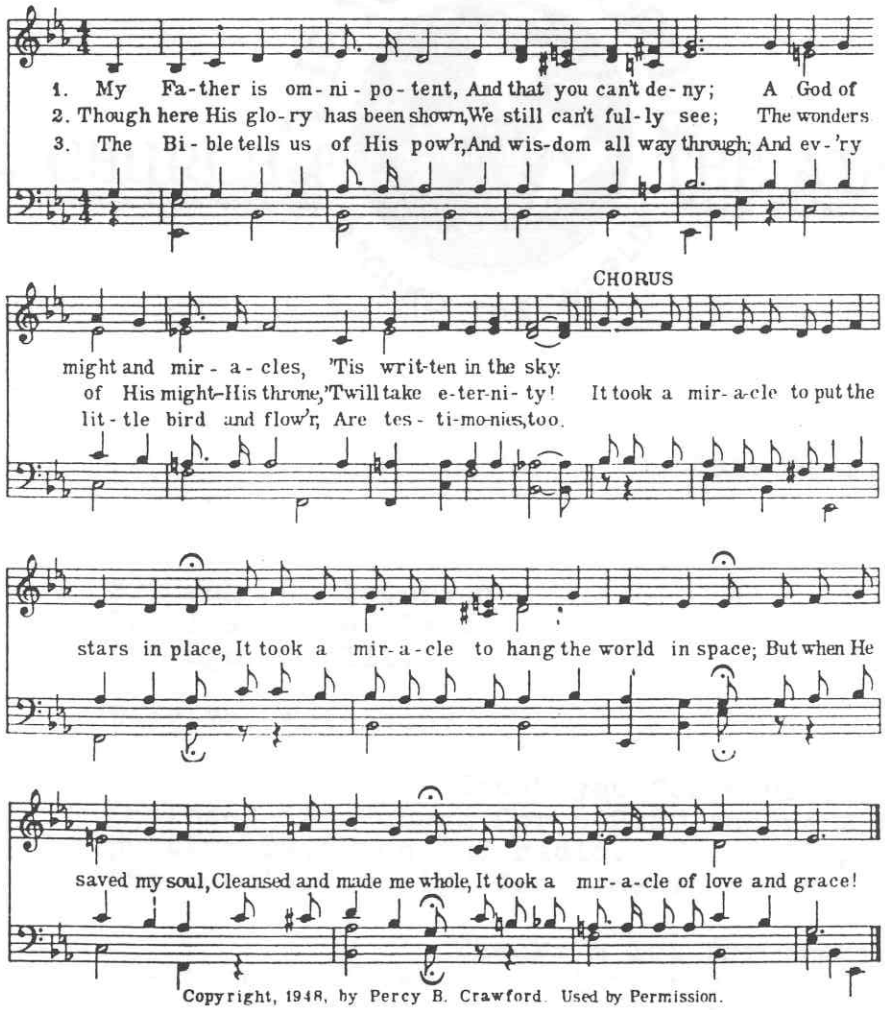
Crawford introduced "It Took A Miracle" on his *Young People's Radio of the Air*. Subsequently, mimeographed copies of the song were made and offered in return for gifts to his radio program.

> It was an overnight sensation. It became popular within weeks. They [Crawford] introduced it on the broadcast, and it just really took. . . again, it was one of those funny things that happen. And, again, it was recorded by everybody. (Peterson, October 18, 1991)

> . . . before long my song was recorded by many artists, both in the gospel field and in the secular field: Eddie Arnold, Earl Wrightson, Jimmy Carrol, Kate Smith, George Beverly Shea, and scores of others. For several years it was the number one gospel song in the nation. Crawford sold distribution rights to the Hill and Range Publishing Company in New York City, then one of the biggest and most successful publishing houses for pop and western music. My song ["It Took A Miracle"] had turned into a bonanza. (Peterson, 1976, pp. 145-146)

# IT TOOK A MIRACLE

J. W. P. JOHN W. PETERSON






Example 29:
*It Took A Miracle* by John Peterson

Taken from Making Melody (1969), Compiled by N. A. Woychuk.

CHURCH of THE YOUNG PEOPLE'S THE AIR
AROUND THE WORLD
280 STATIONS MUTUAL NETWORK
REV. PERCY B. CRAWFORD, M.A.D.D.
P.O. BOX No 1, PHILA., PA.

July 9, 1948.

Mr. John W. Peterson
153 Institute Place
Chicago 10, Ill.

Dear Mr. Peterson:

Thank you for your letter. Enclosed is a check for $42.50 and we are putting $7.50 on the radio. You will get the regular receipt for same in a few days.

Thanks a lot for sending the songs, and we appreciate your graciousness in giving us the 15% tithe for the radio.

Sincerely,

PERCY B. CRAWFORD

**Example 30:**
***Letter from Percy Crawford to John Peterson***
**(Peterson was paid a one time sum of $3.50 for his song. Peterson instructed Crawford to deduct 15% tithe.)**

It was not uncommon during those days for composers to sell their songs to publishers for a one-time, set price. The $3.50 rate was a fair compensation for a gospel song in the 1940s (Peterson, October 18, 1991). Unless otherwise negotiated, publishers were not obligated to share royalties with their writers. Publishers profited from the sale of books, sheet music, and income received from royalty assignments to other publishers, record producers, and performance rights organizations.

> I never got a penny from "It Took A Miracle" beyond the original purchase price, but I had the good sense to see its value to me as a songwriter in the eyes of the publishing world. . . . It was customary in those days, as it been for many years, for a publisher to buy a song outright from the composer and copyright it in his own name. There was nothing unusual about this practice. . . . Crawford did make one concession by promising that I could use "It Took A Miracle" (or any of my other songs which he controlled) in any book I might produce without paying the usual permission fee. (Peterson, 1976, pp. 146-147)

"It Took A Miracle" helped popularize musical style, generally associated with the Broadway Musical, as a practical method for writing gospel songs. It provided an alternative song form not previously used by gospel singers. The song served as a compositional model for gospel composers and performers and clearly established John Peterson as a leader in gospel music for the evangelical culture (MacKenzie, January 11, 1992).

Peterson's early songs were first published by one of a few companies specializing in marketing and sale of "Youth for Christ choruses." Percy Crawford published Peterson's gospel songs and advertised them on his *Young People's Radio of the Air* program. Al Smith published several songs with his Singspiration, Inc. Norman Clayton first gave Peterson the opportunity to compose songs on a systematic basis. During the late-1940s, Clayton contracted with Peterson to produce 24 newly composed songs a year:

> He paid me $25 a song. I was going to school trying to get food on the table, you know. And one of the most significant songs out of that period of time was "No One Understands Like Jesus." He included it in one of his songbooks, and as I recall, it sold very well for him. (Peterson, October 18, 1991)

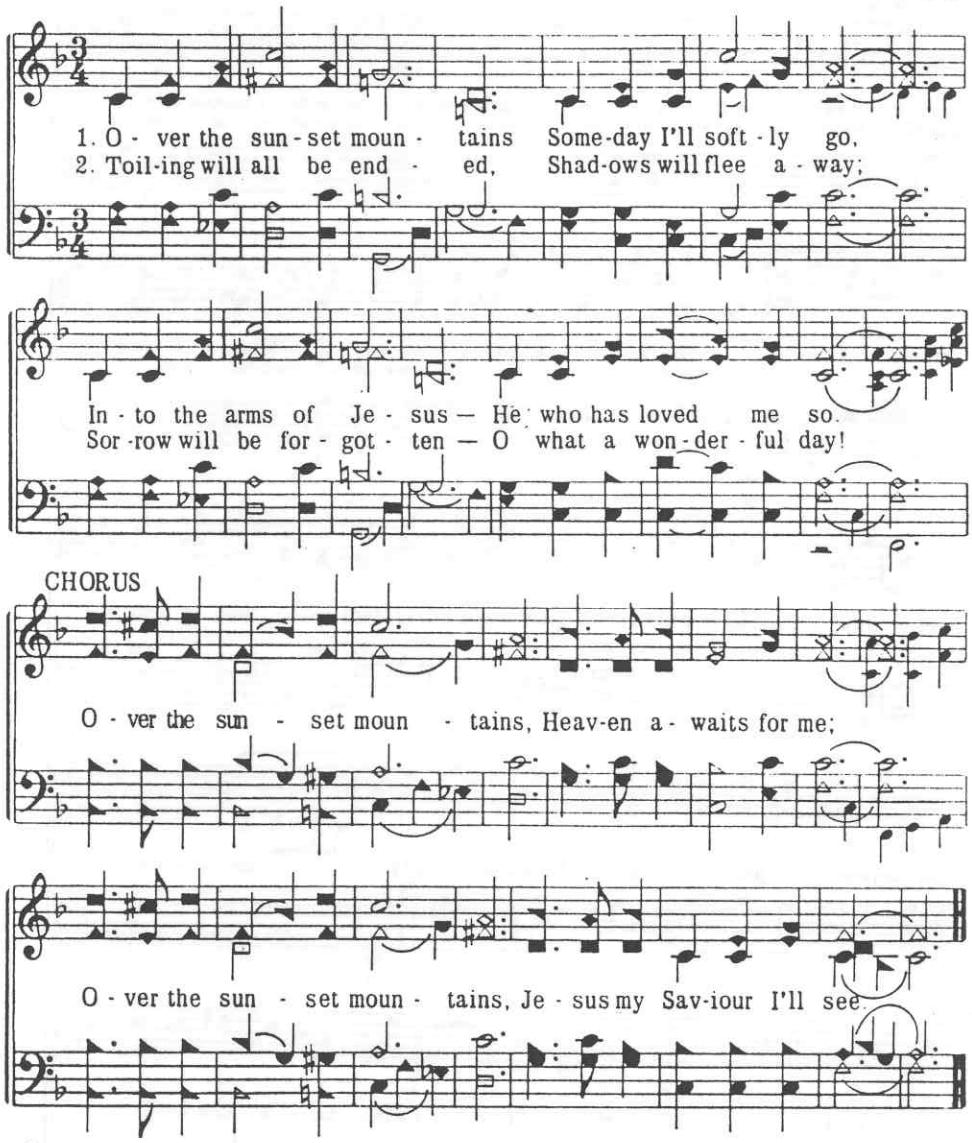
By the end of the 1940s, congregations were singing Peterson's music. Recording artists were using his music as source material for their concerts and album projects. Soon, the name John Peterson attracted the attention of secular publishers interested in cashing in on the apparent success of gospel music publishing. In an October, 1991 interview with Peterson, the gospel composer recalled an experience with a well-known New York publisher of secular music:

> It was 1953. Dick Anthony, Bill Pierce and I were all together at that time. . . . One day I wrote this little song "Over the Sunset Mountains" [See Example 31, page 106]. We had a program called "Cheer Up," Dick Anthony and I. On this one particular morning I brought this manuscript in and said, "I think we should introduce this today." It met with immediate success. . . . We had a girl's trio come in, and we rented the RCA Studios and recorded it. . . . Bill Pierce had a program called "Radio Requests" on Saturday. He introduced this thing, and for months the girls trio recording of it was the number one song on that program.
>
> Well, it finally came to the attention of a publishing house, a secular house, in New York. I was invited by them to go to discuss this. They wanted the song. They had heard it on the radio. It had caused quite a stir. I'm sitting in their offices -- Dick Anthony was with me that day -- and they said, "Look, we want this song. We can guarantee that three or four major stars will record the song." I remember the person saying that the one star he mentioned will sell immediately 250,000 records and could possibly sell upwards to 500,000 records. . . . However, they did make some suggestions. They didn't ask me to rewrite the whole song. They simply asked me to rewrite the chorus and take the name "Jesus" out. They wanted me to change the phrase "Jesus, my Savior I'll see". . . I told them that I couldn't do it, and I was very disappointed and so were they.
>
> We were living in Chicago at the time. I was in school trying to slug it out and go to the American Conservatory of Music. Marie and I had two children and were living in a housing project. I didn't have any money. So, the possibility of a contract that was going to be recorded by major secular stars was dazzling to me. As a result of that song, and in answer to them, I wrote "My Song" (See Example 32, page 107).

In 1955, John Peterson moved his family to Montrose, Pennsylvania to join with Alfred (Al) Smith as music editor at Singspiration, Inc. Al Smith had already secured Jim Brewer as a sales person for the company. Brewer was a young entrepreneur who tried with little success to publish gospel choral arrangements based on popular secular forms and tunes. He had already successfully published a quarterly publication called "Better Choirs." Together, the three of them (Smith, Brewer, and Peterson) continued producing

# Over the Sunset Mountains

J. W. P. John W. Peterson



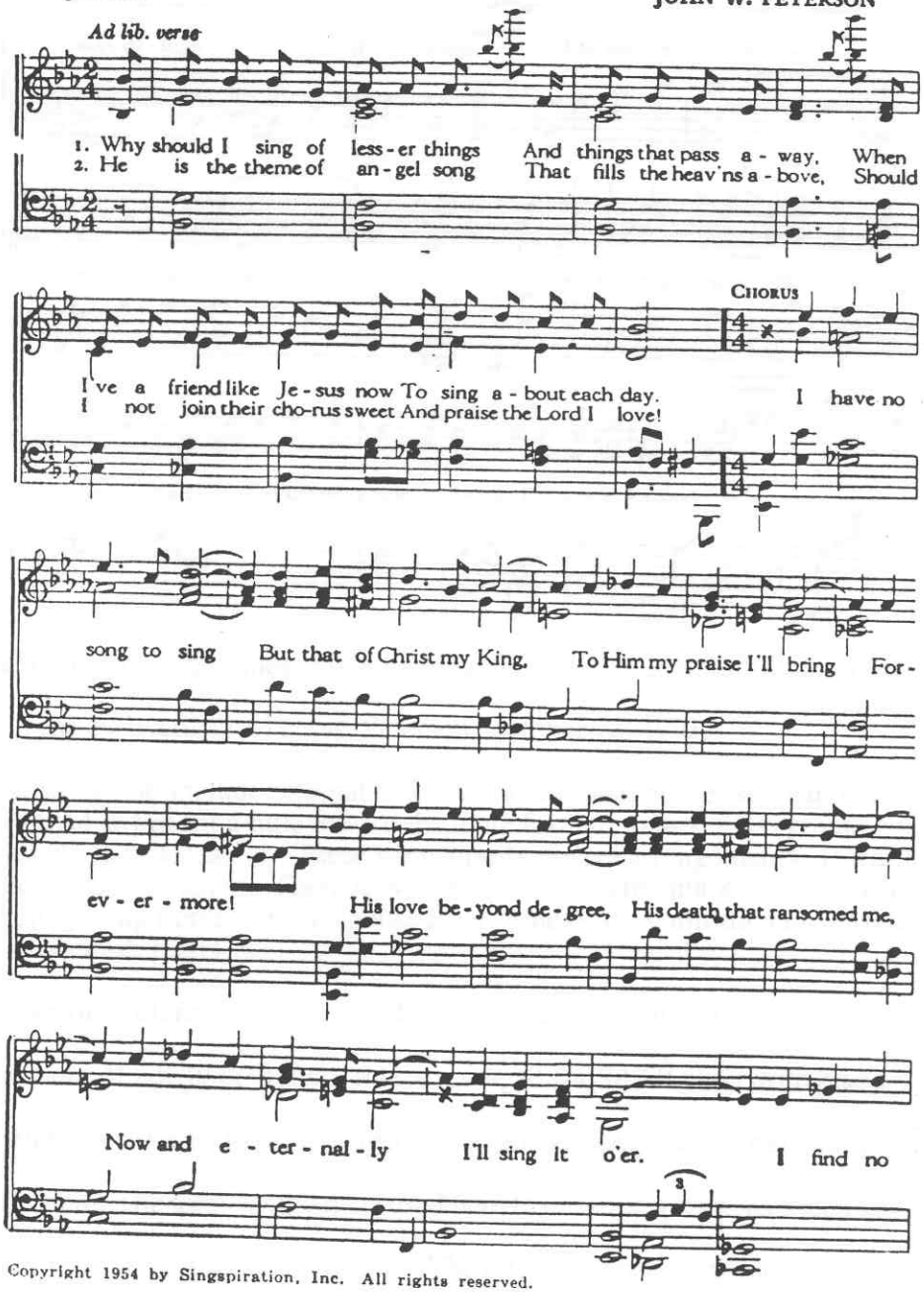



**Example 31:**
***Over the Sunset Mountains*** **by John W. Peterson**
**© Copyright 1953 by Singspiration, Inc.,**
**Arr. © 1966 by Singspiration, Inc., Arr. © 1987 John W. Peterson**
**Used by permission. All rights reserved.**
**Taken from Great Gospel Songs and Hymns (1976),**
**Compiled by William J. Gaither and Others.**

# My Song

(As sung by Dick Anthony)

J. W. P. JOHN W. PETERSON

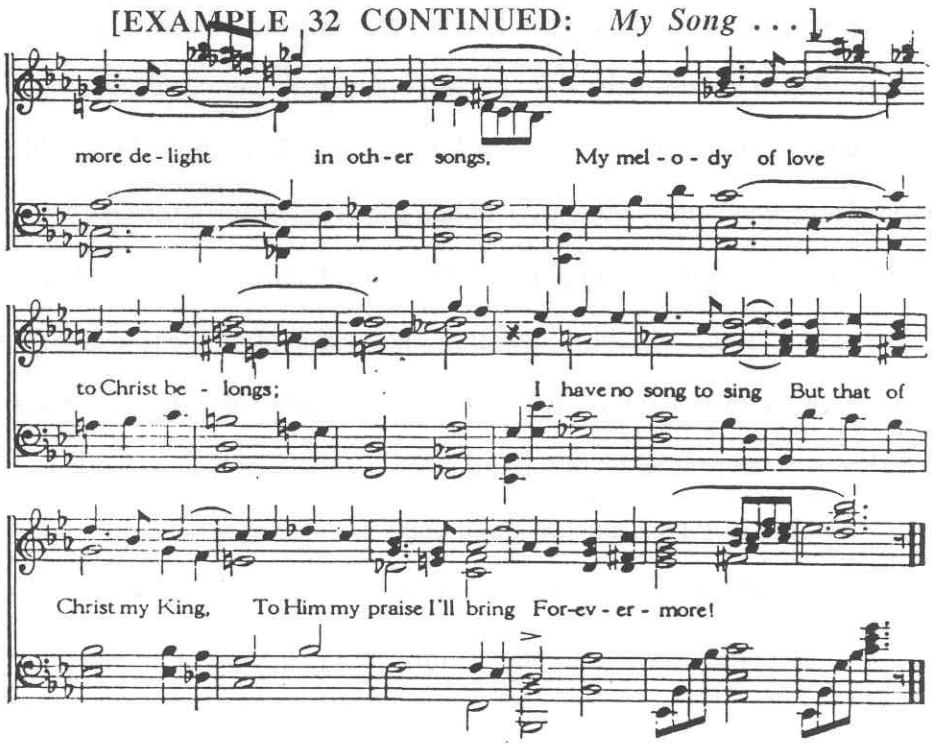





Example 32
*My Song* by John W. Peterson

Taken from Favorites Number Five (1961),
Compiled by Al Smith and John W. Peterson.

[EXAMPLE 32 CONTINUED: *My Song . . .*]




the quarterly magazine as a means of enlarging the scope of literature and musical expression for the evangelical choir (Peterson, October 18, 1991).

> . . . we would include original anthems and original gospel song anthems. Once we tried to bend it a little toward the more formal, stained glass group, but we weren't too successful. These were strictly gospel arrangements. It was a fresh breath for the nation. There was nothing like it in the market. . . . I mean, we were getting tremendous response from some of the choir directors. (Peterson, October 18, 1991)

Peterson's references to "original anthems" and "original gospel song anthems" are descriptions of newly-composed music arranged for SATB choir with piano accompaniment. Prior to 1950, few Traditional gospel songs were arranged specifically for SATB choir. The term "anthem" is used here to describe a compositional technique of writing in a more choral style and format. The difference between "anthems" and "gospel song anthems" has more to do with text and tune than the technique of writing, compositional style, or publication format (MacKenzie, October 3, 1991).

What made the "Better Choir Series" unique was the emphasis on gospel choral arrangements. Other companies produced gospel songbooks in hopes that choirs,

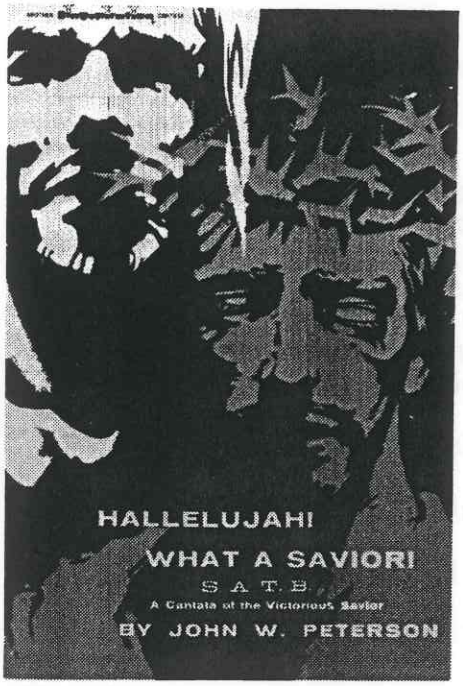
quartets and other ensemble combinations would buy the product. Singspiration specifically targeted an evangelical choral market. With distribution help from Zondervan (Book) Publishing Company, Singspiration, Inc. developed a sophisticated direct-mail system whereby pastors, music directors, and instrumentalists in evangelical churches received samples of their music. From 1955 to 1960, Peterson, Brewer, and Smith jointly produced gospel choral collections, octavos, children's choral books, and demonstration recordings for evangelical choirs (Peterson, October 18, 1991).

In 1957, while working with Singspiration, Inc. at Montrose, Pennsylvania, Peterson wrote the first gospel cantata, Hallelujah, What a Savior (See Example 33, page 110). The work is a combination of original compositions, standard hymns (in the Western European tradition), and more familiar gospel hymns, each giving textual emphasis on the death, burial, and resurrection. The circumstances around the creation of this new genre are documented:

> The choir magazines were being well received. So, somebody said, "we ought to write a cantata." You know, it got real quiet. Well, I was the only composer for the group. The rest, they were writers but they weren't composers. So they said, "John, you do it." And I did it through "Hallelujah, What A Savior." I was convinced this whole process was an idle exercise. . . . It came out late for that Easter. It was not enough time hardly to give it any promotion. I've got to tell you, I was so shocked when after we produced it I think we sold 25,000 copies or so. At that time a 25,000 sale was incredible. I couldn't believe anybody would like the stuff . . . . (Peterson, October 18, 1991)

Perhaps Peterson's most important contribution to traditional gospel music was his creation of a new choral genre called the "gospel cantata." The gospel cantata was a new approach to choral arranging that combined traditional choral (SATB) writing with the melodies, form, and harmonies most clearly identified with Broadway musicals. Robert MacKenzie, producer and historian of gospel music publishing, defined the importance of Peterson's contribution:

> The Peterson Cantatas? I think that they were incredibly important. They were a copy of an old legit form. The old form was of musical merit but there lacked a sense of personal gospel. Peterson was able to give the cantata the experiential pull that the church needed. (MacKenzie, January 11, 1992)




**Example 33:**
**Hallelujah, What A Savior(1957)**
**Cantata by John W. Peterson**
**Published by -**
**Singspiration, Inc.**

(MacKenzie used the term "old form" to refer to a compositional technique most often associated with the Baroque cantatas of Vivaldi, Schütz, Bach. The gospel cantata was melodically, harmonically, and rhythmically modeled after the Broadway musical but formally structured [as a total work] like the Baroque cantata. Like its Baroque counterpart, choral settings were alternated by solos, duets, and small vocal ensembles. Narratives -- usually Scriptural accounts of the advent, cruxifiction, the gospel, or some other evangelical dogma -- are usually spoken between musical selections).

> The last three years I spent in Chicago, I had one consuming passion -- to write a Broadway musical. And I was gathering material. One of the big-time publishers from New York came in one day and we talked ideas. We talked about the problems that you would face in a Christian musical because you couldn't dance. We were discussing the ways we were going to get around this and still give it movement. I had . . . a three year period where we would sit and talk about this Christian Broadway musical. . . . And you know my song "God Is Love" . . . was originally written for the Broadway musical that never came about. That was going to be the love duet (See Example 34, page 112). (Peterson, October 18, 1991)

The Singspiration Company took full advantage of marketing opportunities associated with Hallelujah, What A Savior. A complete array of products were developed

for evangelical consumers that included the choral book, a demonstration album, bulletin covers, and posters.

> We innovated something here that I think was one of the big factors in promoting our material. That's when we started to produce demo records for our cantatas. We did it with "Hallelujah, What A Savior". . . . Organ, piano, and a good choir. They weren't terrific, but they made the choir director an authority. Hey, this goes this way. This is the tempo, you know. And, the organist no longer was going to be able to argue with the director. . . . It was an incredible tool in learning for these [evangelical] people. (Peterson, October 18, 1991)

Following the positive results of Hallelujah, What A Savior, Singspiration, Inc. instructed Peterson to produce a Christmas cantata. Using the formal structure and printing format already established with Hallelujah, What A Savior, Peterson developed Love Transcending (See Example 35, page 113). Harold Sandlin, resident artist for Singspiration, created attractive cover art for the book, support product was developed, and the cantata released in the summer of 1957. Reaction from the evangelical community to this new Christmas cantata was equal to that of Peterson's Easter work. Within weeks, more than 30,000 copies of the book sold.

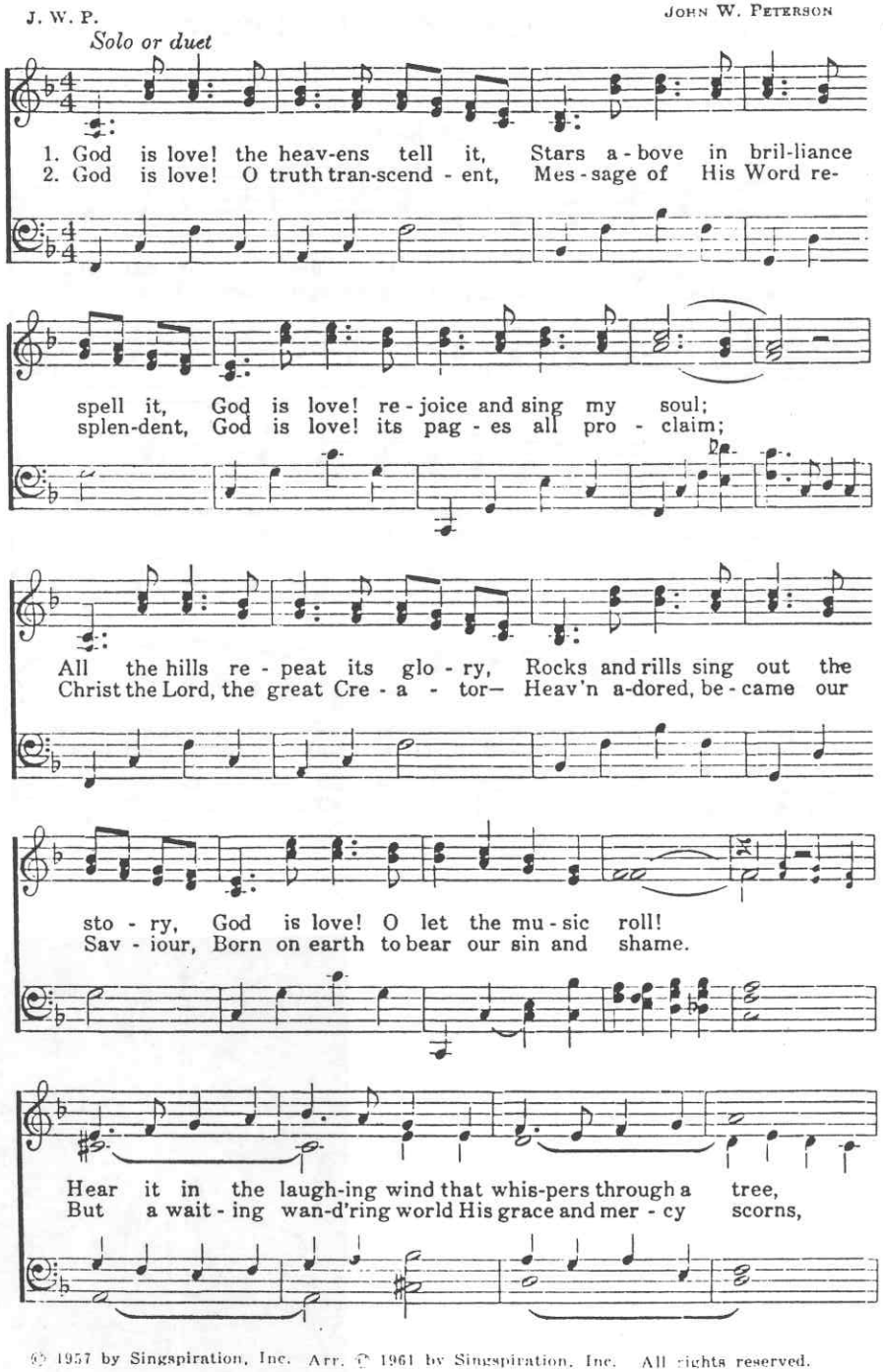
Broad acceptance of this new gospel genre by the evangelical culture matured with the publication of Peterson's Night of Miracles. Product development and advertisement as well as the same sort of balance between newly created compositions and hymns in public domain were associated with this cantata. Peterson comments on the acceptance and success of the work:

> The next Christmas [1958] we agreed that I should write another one. I really seriously got down to business, and I wrote "Night of Miracles" . . . . Well, when I wrote "Night of Miracles" the dam broke, and my life was changed forever. . . . That year "Night of Miracles" swept across the nation. I got letters. I got telegrams. You know, it was a fresh breath for these choirs. (October 18, 1991)

> . . . its instantaneous acceptance dwarfed the popularity of the two earlier works and literally stunned me with its magnitude. Its release brought letters and telegrams from people all across America. Friends and even strangers began to send newspaper clippings showing church schedules of musical programs and services; it was not unusual to find scores of churches in a single city doing one or another of my cantatas on a holiday weekend. (Peterson, 1976, p. 171)

An interesting anecdote about the Singspiration Company team centers around the

# God Is Love






**Example 34:**
***God Is Love*** **by John W. Peterson**
**© Copyright 1957 by Singspiration, Inc., Arr. © Copyright 1987 by John W. Peterson. All rights reserved. Used by permission.**
**Taken from Favorites Number Five (1961),**
**Compiled by Al Smith and John W. Peterson.**

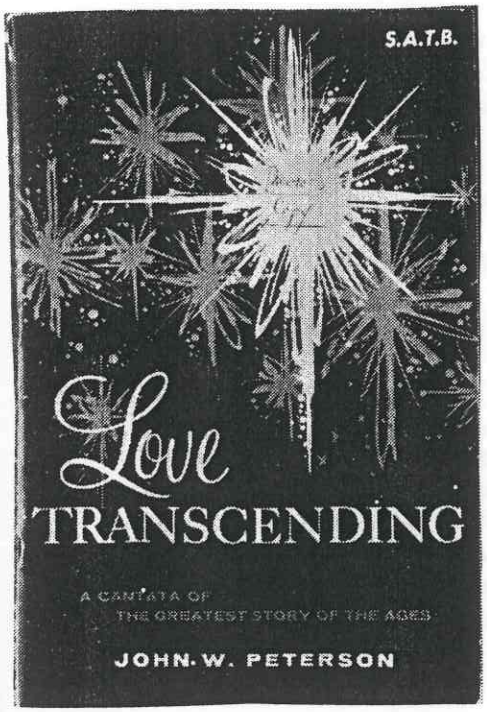
[EXAMPLE 34 CONTINUED: *God Is Love . . .* ]

**God Is Love**

Lis - ten to its ech - o in a rob - in rhap - so - dy;
In a Ro - man judgment hall they crown Him King with thorns!

Glo - rious word, all na - ture's ring - ing, Have you heard the
O what loss! all earth should note it, At the cross in

song they're sing - ing? God is love! O praise Him, God is love!
blood He wrote it: God is love! O hear it, God is love!




Example 35:
Love Transcending (1957)
Christmas Cantata by John W. Peterson and Published by Singspiration, Inc.

recording of "Night Of Miracles". During the early success of "Night Of Miracles", the Singspiration Company contacted a Los Angeles orchestrator and arranger by the name of Ralph Carmichael to help them "do a first class recording of the cantata" (Peterson, October 18, 1991).

> Ralph was out on the West Coast and he had the names and contacts. He was doing some incredible things with some well known people. We contacted Ralph, and, after some time, he agreed to to do it. We were at Capitol Studio. He had an orchestra in that big studio that was enormous. It was huge. Everything was recorded at once: choir, orchestra, rhythms. You didn't lay down tracks then. We did the whole shebang that night. I'm telling you we had one of the top producers from Capitol help us. He was one of Ralph's friends. . . . This was different writing for Ralph. . . . he did a beautiful job. I mean, there were passages that sounded a little Mozart, then some that were heroic. . . . I remember that Ralph's mother was there. It caused quite a stir in the city. People would come in and watch. The place was jammed with spectators. They had everything recorded in three nights. For that time, it was a phenomenal thing. We did it just as a record. Never did develop any more product from it. (Peterson, October 18, 1991)

The success of "Night of Miracles" launched the Singspiration Company into the choral print market arena with purpose, single focus, and much-needed financial capital. The gospel cantata became the trademark for the young Singspiration company with hundreds of thousands of Peterson's books sold annually (Peterson, October 18, 1991).

> . . . Something had been started that couldn't be stopped, and I had to keep on producing. Next came the Easter work No Greater Love. Like Night of Miracles it was completely original. Its popularity, too, was immediate. (Peterson, 1977, p. 171)

By the end of the decade, the company, boasting "ownership" of Peterson's newly-created gospel cantatas, was the undisputed leader in choral print music for the evangelical market. Peterson recalls:

> I might tell you that by the time we were in full gear, [and I was editing at Singspiration, Inc.], Rodeheaver was not a significant force, particularly in the choral field. They were riding on the laurels of their past greatness. And, you know, when you have "The Old Rugged Cross" and "In the Garden," you have something. They had a phenomenal copyright library. That was their strength. The publishing at that time was not very imaginative. I would have to say that during this time Singspiration became the dominant publishing force [of gospel music] in America. (October 18, 1991)

According to Peterson, reaction among evangelicals to the new cantata was mixed. On the one hand, people like the fresh new sounds and rhythms he used to communicate the gospel. On the other hand, they did not feel altogether comfortable with the close identification Peterson's music had with Tin-Pan-Alley style, harmonies, sound, and performance practices. In the end, his music won out, and Peterson was able to establish himself and Singspiration, Inc., as a significant contributor to gospel song:

> There was a cautious reaction to this newly-created gospel cantata. There was resistance from certain sources, particularly educational groups towards the little choruses, the cantata, and some of the other things we were doing. I was criticized for introducing worldly sounds and harmonies into the evangelical church. . . . Some of the songs like "Calling," "My Song," and "God Is Love" were greatly scorned by certain groups. There was a general snobbery by some of the better educated. I never really took it serious. We just went on doing our thing. I think one of the interesting things was we were being successful and they weren't. I remember one particular interdenominational group got together and discussed me and my songs. Their concern was, "What are we going to do with this man Peterson?" My music was sweeping the country. There was some alarm about it. They couldn't understand it. They didn't know what was going on. I've since become close friends with most of those fellows. (Peterson, October 18, 1991)

## The Impact of Ralph Carmichael

> Sometime during the mid-decade, I began hearing the name Ralph Carmichael. Ralph, it turns out, was an absolutely extraordinary arranger, enormously gifted. But he was way above all these other people [gospel music arrangers in Chicago] because (1) he was in Hollywood, and (2) he was working in the big league. He was arranging for people like Nat King Cole and Stan Kenton and others. . . . Ralph was absolutely big in my life and he was a hero. He was making the kind of music that we all aspired to make. (MacKenzie, October 3, 1991)

Ralph Carmichael is the second major post-WWII innovator of music for the evangelical culture. While Carmichael's contributions as a composer became more prominent during the late 60s and early 70s, his innovations in the 40s and 50s changed gospel music forever (MacKenzie, October 3, 1991). Carmichael was the first evangelical to firmly establish himself as a Hollywood studio/television composer and arranger. Prior to the mid- 1960s, evangelicals rarely encouraged their young people to cultivate ambitions as a professional, secular musician, especially in jazz, rhythm and blues, and/or pop music. According to Ralph Carmichael's personal experience,

evangelical youth were told: "Either be a professional musician or a Christian, but not both at the same time" (Swaney, 1977, p. 9). Carmichael successfully challenged this restriction and developed his talents as a skilled, highly-qualified, professional studio arranger (MacKenzie, January 11, 1991).

Ralph Carmichael was born in Quincy, Illinois into the home of an Assembly of God minister. He began studying violin at the age of four and showed keen interest in the different instruments of the orchestra. As a child, he listened to big bands over the radio and in high school played the trumpet in the concert and stage bands. He played the violin in the orchestra and string quartet and was the youngest member to ever join the San Jose Civic Symphony Orchestra. In 1944, at the age of 17, he went to Southern California Bible College at Pasadena, California.

By 1947, and as a student, Carmichael established himself as guest violin virtuoso with the Youth For Christ Saturday Night Jubilee at the Los Angeles Church of the Open Door, *The Old-Fashioned Revival Hour, The Haven of Rest Radio Program,* and *The Far East Broadcasting Company.*

> About that time, I [Carmichael] was carrying my fiddle like a sidearm. I was known in those days for probably the hottest chorus and a half of 'Onward Christian Soldiers' you'd ever want to hear. I was much in demand because I could get on and off in about a minute and a half. (Swaney, 1977, p. 5)

While in Bible College, Carmichael developed a flare for writing creative "pop" arrangements to familiar gospel tunes such as "Brighten the Corner Where You Are," "Savior Like A Shepherd Lead Us," "All That Thrills My Soul Is Jesus," and "Ivory Palaces" (Carmichael, 1986, p. 44). He experimented with the sounds of a mixed quintet (Two females and three males) like that of the 1940s group, The Modernaires. He developed a 17-piece stage band and 16 voice male chorus for the college that became a favorite of Assembly of God and Pentecostal Churches on California's west coast (Swaney, 1977, p. 5-6). In 1949, Arnie Peterson recruited Carmichael to write, arrange, conduct, produce, recruit players and perform with a gospel stage band on a weekly

television show. Called *The Campus Christian Hour* and sponsored by the Folda-Rolla Company, the broadcast of "gospel big band" was aired for 76 consecutive weeks on Los Angeles television station KHJ-TV (Channel 2).

> In the beginning, we received loads of unfavorable mail about our TV program. A strange thing started happening by the end of our 13-week run. The mail response became overwhelmingly favorable. And as we began building a mailing list, we noticed that many of our early critics had turned out to be our strongest supporters. . . . Our contract was renewed for another 13 weeks, and then for another and another. Offers and invitations for public appearances started pouring in. I signed a recording contract, and we began producing records of the band and singers. . . . We even won an Emmy and attended the awards show with our sponsor. The award was presented to us by Earl Warren, who at the time was Governor of California. (Carmichael, 1986, 72-73)

The success of Carmichael's gospel big band was unprecedented for the time and generally unappreciated in traditional gospel music circles. The band certainly helped establish him as an innovative, skilled, and highly motivated Hollywood arranger. Before long gospel musicians in the East were hearing about him:

> We also heard stories that out in California he [Carmichael] actually had a big band playing Christian music, wailing Christian music. We heard they had a Christian television program. And we had heard everybody was wanting to hear this Ralph Carmichael. (MacKenzie, October 3, 1991)

In 1951, Carmichael was secured by producer Dick Ross to write film scores for *The Call of the Orient* show at the Moody Institute of Science and his first Billy Graham film, *Mr. Texas*. Carmichael subsequently wrote film scores for a number of Billy Graham films including *Oiltown, U.S.A., London Crusade, Fire on the Heather, The Heart Is a Rebel, Boomerang,* and *Wiretapper* (Carmichael, 1986, p. 80). By the end of the 1950s, his arranging experiences and clientele included more than 20 gospel artists and well-known popular celebrities:

> Things really started happening then. The calls came in right and left, and I still wouldn't turn anything down. Over the next few years I wrote and/or conducted for Peggy Lee, Jack Jones, Stan Kenton, Count Basie, Duke Ellington, Earl (Fatha) Hines, Kay Starr, Roger Williams, Stuart Hamblen, Sue Raney, Barbara McNair, Debbie Reynolds, Alvino Rey, The King Sisters, Pat Boone, Eddie Fisher, Julie London, Jimmy Durante, Margaret Whiting, Shani Wallis, Shirley Bassey, Pete Fountain, Jane Powell, Al Martino, Tex Ritter, George Shearing, Clint Walker, Lena Horne, Allen Sherman, Pete Barbuti, Frank Gorshin, Stan Freberg, Don Rickles, Red Skelton, Ben Blue, Frankie Lane, Bing Crosby ("Do

> You Hear What I Hear?"), and Ella Fitzgerald. I worked for Capitol, Decca, Kapp, RCA, and Columbia. I wrote all kinds of music under all kinds of conditions (mostly pressure). I also ghosted for David Rose, Billy May, Les Baxter, Jud Conlin, Walter Shumann, Bobby Hammack, and Ray Heindorf. In addition to "I Love Lucy" (Lucille Ball) and "December Bride," (Spring Byington), I was music director on some other TV shows such as "My Mother the Car" (Jerry Van Dyke) and "OK Crackerby" (Burl Ives). I also worked on some films, including "Finnian's Rainbow" (Fred Astaire, Petula Clark), The "4-D Man "(Robert Lansing), and "The Blob" (Steve McQueen). (Carmichael, 1986, p. 95)

Carmichael did not escape the scrutiny of the evangelical community. Robert MacKenzie called him "a legend in his own time." Student musicians and arrangers copied his work and closely monitored his movie and recording productions:

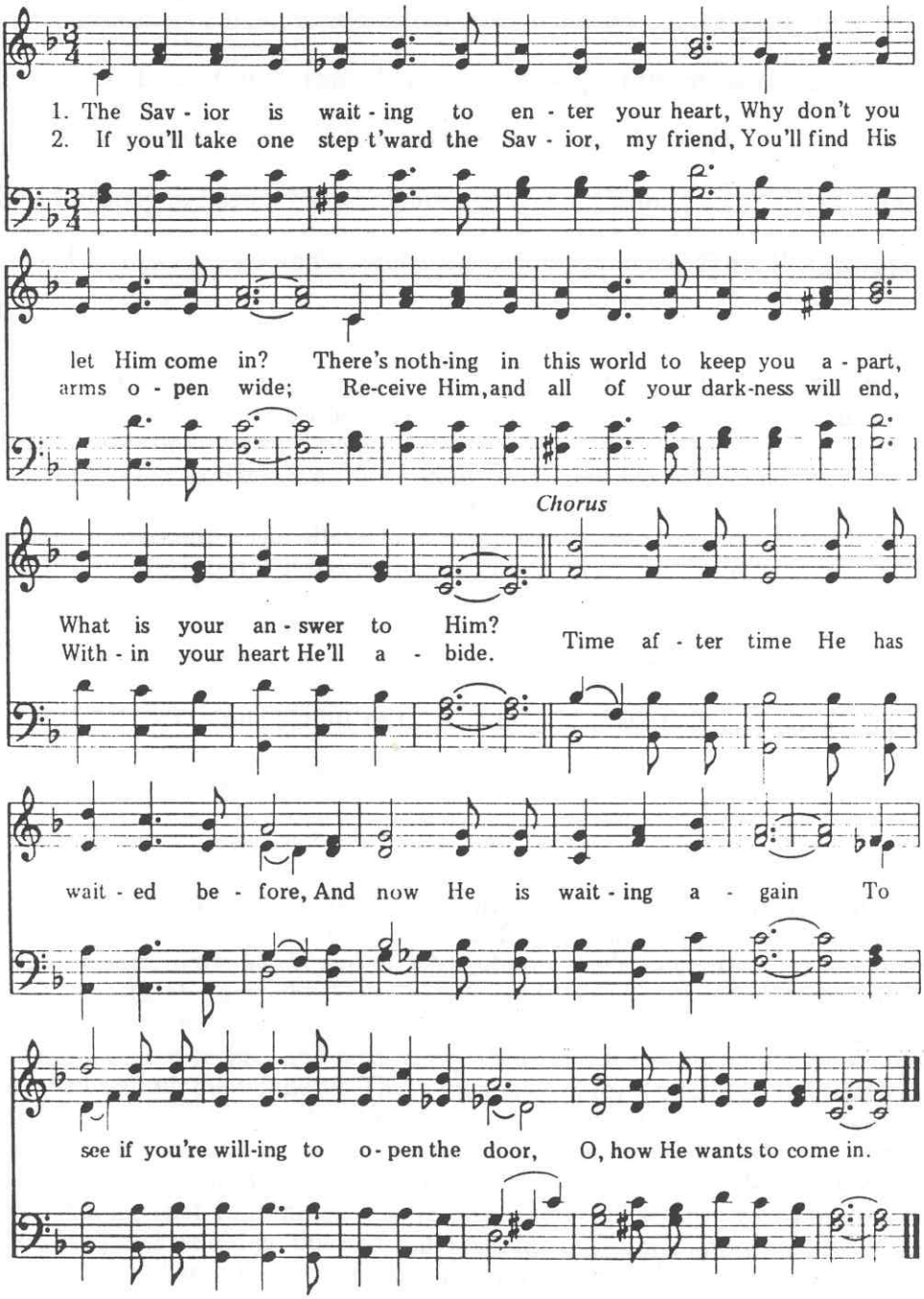
> We knew about him because here was his name in two foot letters on the Billy Graham films. That was a big event in our town when the Billy Graham film came to our town. It was something I could take my friends to. There was a little record label that we started hearing about called Sacred Records. . . . I first saw Sacred Records on 45s and in fact, there was a regional representative. I first heard the Ralph Carmichael Brass Choir on one of those 45s. It was absolutely astonishing. It was a combination of legit and Hollywood writing. It was very heroic. To this day those arrangements for brass are some of the most stunning arrangements available. To play them is an extraordinary treat. . . . We heard through the grapevine that a man had given Ralph Carmichael the unheard of sum of $10,000. With that money Carmichael had created an orchestral album called Rhapsody in Sacred Music. Beautiful cover with a double flap on it and Ralph personally writing a very provocative paragraph about each tune. Again, this is very Hollywood, very symphonic. It was absolutely marvelous. (MacKenzie, October 3, 1991)

The brass project MacKenzie refers to was one of Ralph Carmichael's first published works. For a number of years, Carmichael was minister of music at the Temple Baptist Church in downtown Los Angeles. The church owned the auditorium that was also home to the Greater Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra and the venue for the Los Angeles Light Opera Company. Church offices were on the fourth floor of the building and the great concert hall was rented to the orchestra for rehearsals and performances. Dr. J. Lester Harnish was pastor of the church and somewhat of a spiritual mentor to Carmichael. Harnish was the inspiration for Carmichael's writing of "The Savior Is Waiting" (See Example 36, page 119). It was Harnish who encouraged him to develop a brass choir for the church services. Carmichael developed the group from a pool of professional musicians associated with the symphony into a successful, 14

# The Savior Is Waiting

*Today if ye will hear His voice, harden not your hearts . . .* Heb. 3:7,8

RALPH CARMICHAEL RALPH CARMICHAEL




Example 36:
*The Savior Is Waiting* by Ralph Carmichael

Taken from Hymns of Faith (1980), Compiled by Don Hustad.

piece brass choir. Earle Williams, owner and director of Sacred Records, was the first to give Ralph a recording contract with a record label and to accept the brass choir as a recording project. Later, Carmichael obtained ownership of the master tapes and published the arrangements as a set (Carmichael, October 17, 1991).

The Rapsody in Sacred Music album was one of Carmichael's first attempts at writing choral arrangements with full orchestral accompaniment. Earle Williams provided $10,000 for the project:

> It featured 25 of the best voices in Hollywood. (That's a "big choir" as far as recording is concerned!) I had Loulie Jean Norman on lead soprano and Thurl Ravenscroft on low bass and all the other good guys in between. [Ravenscroft was the voice for the Kellogg's Tony the Tiger commercials.] I wrote for them just as I'd write for an orchestra, and they sight read it. It was almost frightening! The album was first released on Sacred under the title, "The Garden of The Heart." It has since been released on the Light label under the title, "The Savior Is Waiting." (Carmichael, 1986, p. 89)

Hundreds of anecdotes have been told of Carmichael's experiences. Many of the stories are about the recording studio, other accounts include life experiences within the evangelical community. Robert MacKenzie shared one story about Carmichael's pattern in meeting deadlines:

> He was incredibly fast. This was told me by Hy Lesnick, his [Carmichael's] contractor. He always used to record on Capital, he always had the same guys, the best guys in the world and they loved him. He's a character. But when it was time for a Ralph Carmichael session, he would drive in over from the Valley and there was a corner, about three miles from the studio, and a copyist used to be standing on the corner, and he'd barely slow the car down and hand the copyist his material out the window. That's the material for the session for which he was already late. This is at 10 o'clock, he's got a 10 o'clock session, this will be 10 minutes till 10 and at 10 o'clock the first official act of the contractor at the Ralph Carmichael session, was to step out into the room and say, "Okay boys, lets take 10." So, the first 10 minutes of a Ralph Carmichael session was a break. And then Hy [sic.] would go out and stand outside of Capital and watch for Ralph's car to come zooming, and as he saw it coming into sight, it's at the end of the 10 minutes, he'd say, "All right boys, he's coming, let's go . . . ." So, Ralph would walk in, at 10 after 10. They would then start the first tune or whatever it was. Most often, while he was conducting the first tune, he was writing the last arrangement. And, there were copyists in the restrooms, there were copyists all over the building. . . . (MacKenzie, January 11, 1992)

Another interesting story involves Carmichael's leadership role at the annual Youth For Christ Convention at Winona Lake, Indiana. Carmichael maintained his

relationship with the organization all through the 1950s. Right after he accepted the position at Temple Baptist Church, Roy McKeown appointed Carmichael music director and emcee for the Los Angeles YFC Saturday Night Jubilee. While working with the Los Angeles YFC Chapter, Carmichael organized a small stage band (six brass, four saxes, and four rhythm players) and a youth choir of more than 50 singers. His flamboyant reputation preceded him at the national meeting in July, 1956. He conducted a 500-voice choir, 16 trumpets, 12 trombones, six baritones, and tubas in flashy "Hollywood-type" musical extravaganzas:

> It was a terrific experience for me as day after day we rehearsed and night after night I conducted the 500 voice choir. . . . We would sandwich the visiting celebrity singers and musicians into what we called "a musical package," and then end with everyone on stage for a finale. Then, during the late, late night, I'd write the arrangements for the next day. One night I had some guys take a couple of tubs full of dry ice up on the roof next to the open-air vents. When we got to the last chorus of this particular song about heaven, they were to dump buckets of water over the dry ice. They were right on cue, and with a sizzle and a roar, here came the white clouds pouring into the auditorium. The problem was, it looked more like smoke than clouds, and it wasn't long before we heard the sirens of the Warsaw, Indiana, volunteer fire truck as it rumbled to a stop alongside the building. (Carmichael, 1986, pp. 90 - 91)

Carmichael's contributions during the 1950s were four-fold: (1) He introduced the writing technique and sound of 1940s big band and commercial jazz as an alternative style for Traditional gospel music. (2) He merged the musical innovations created in the Hollywood studios with music for the Youth For Christ movement. (3) He established a standard of excellence in the recording of traditional gospel music equaled only by secular record labels. (4) He served as an example, mentor, and inspiration for hundreds of aspiring young evangelical arrangers:

> The significance of Ralph, to me, is that he created the standard so high above what the normal practice was at the time. . . . As Christian recording was in its infancy, he came on with the standard and then for the next 10 years all these young guys came along eyeing the standard. . . getting nowhere near, but building their craft. Let's see, there was Paul Michaelson, Dick Anthony, Kurt Kaiser, Thurlow Spurr, Otis Skillings, and a few others. Here's the significance of the process. What Ralph did all the rest of us could only enjoy in awe. What Anthony, Michaelson and the others did we could copy. It was more pragmatic and had usability. (MacKenzie, November 2, 1991)

## CHAPTER VII

# RADIO AND THE QUARTET: AFRICAN-AMERICAN AND SOUTHERN GOSPEL MUSIC PUBLISHING, 1940-1960

> Black music has always had the jump on white gospel music. For the majority of the white population, Black church music is just a wonderful art form to observe. Now, because of that, there were many young kids who came along in the Black gospel field who were not so much caught up into Christ as they were with the gospel music. They were just caught up in the form. Same thing is true in the Southern Gospel field. The form was fine, or fun. In the Southern Gospel field, in the early 1950s, the counterpart to that in the pop field was quartets -- Four Aces, Four Preps, Mills Brothers, Ink Spots, Four Lads, and the list just goes on and on. So really, in all fairness, Southern Gospel Quartets were only a counterpart to what was happening in the popular or secular side. (Gaither, October 9, 1991)

## African-American Gospel Music Publishing

By the mid-1950s, the African-American gospel style of Thomas A. Dorsey, Roberta Tharp, and others, began making an impact on secular markets. Heretofore, the reverse had been true. Gospel song writers used and/or copied popular music styles from the secular markets in a manner similar to that outlined earlier. Now, secular composers were beginning to use African-American gospel styles, harmonies, sounds, and rhythm.

> Clevant Derricks was a phenomenon because mainly he was more known in the white field than the black field. He wrote songs like "When God Dips His Hand On My Heart" and "Just A Little Talk With Jesus." Those kinds of things were more popular by the white gospel groups. But it was not unlike what was also happening later in the 1950s with Elvis Presley and Pat Boone. They were taking hit tunes from black pop, rhythm and blues artists, who could only take it to a certain level. You know, the whole MoTown Story. They could take it to a certain level financially and businesswise. Then Pat Boone and Presley could take it up to the next level in the white community. Well, the same thing happened, to a certain extent, in the Southern white gospel music with The Statesmen and Blackwood Brothers. "Climbing Higher and Higher" was a tune written by a

> Black writer, W. Herbert Brewster. "Get Away Jordan" by Clara Ward was a big hit. (Gaither, October 9, 1991)

As Bill Gaither recalls, the division between secular and sacred styles blurred as a result of new interest in the Afro-American gospel style.

> There were big hits that came out of the black gospel field. "He'll Understand and Say, Well Done" is a gospel song that was a number one song on the pop charts in 1949. It was made popular by a group called the Four Nights. The Black gospel music field was, in all fairness, about 15 years ahead of us. Still is. Already [by the mid-50s] they were feeling syncopated and straight eighth note rhythmic or rock feels. The first time I heard a straight eight feel was from Black gospel back in the early 1950s. I didn't know what it was. I just knew it was different. It was good. It had more energy, and it was more fun. . . . Many of those Black Gospel songs found themselves published in the Southern white gospel books. . . . It's a very close parallel to Southern music in the black field, mainly from the "feel" or "soul" perspective. To me my whole music life started in the 1950s and mainly through the influence of the Southern White quartet music field. Then I began to hear my first Black gospel stuff. The different harmonies and rhythm feels that came with Black gospel really impressed me. The secular country field was producing some wonderful heart songs. Songs like "I'm So Lonesome I Could Cry" by Hank Williams, and "Precious Lord, Take My Hand" and "Peace in the Valley" sung by Red Foley really impressed me. (Gaither, October 9, 1991)

The most famous popular singers to adapt African-American gospel for use with predominantly white audiences during the 1950s were Elvis Presley and Pat Boone. "Presley's music, in particular, was a composite of Southern song styles, most of them black " (Heilbut, 1983, p. 97). Boone's adaptations were much more sophisticated but, according to Robert MacKenzie, the influences from African-American gospel were unmistakable.

> What was going on at that time in the secular field? Black music was distributed out of the trunks of cars. No respectable company did that. They had a whole sub-culture, which was called "race music." And all the stuff that we honor in the folk tradition now, the blues, Robert Johnson, Muddy Waters, and the like, came out of that tradition. And, we whites were saying, "Holy Smokes, this is the real stuff. This is a real, honest, uniquely American art form." It was all hidden under the bed and in the trunks of cars and there were sub-cultural businesses going on. It was all very clandestine. It wasn't on the radio. Radio station managers would say, "You're not going to get that race music on my radio." And in truth, that's the significance of Elvis Presley. He was the capstone or the lead of the whole MoTown movement. He is a major reason that this black music got to the public, closer to its real form. Before that, this black music got to the public sanitized through Pat Boone's hips. . . . Elvis came along and he was closer to being black in the way he performed that music. He stole exactly from the black guys. Suddenly, when it came out into the open air, it was an explosion.

> Obviously, it just changed the whole scene, but it also impacted all kinds of stuff, including gospel. (MacKenzie, January 10, 1992)

African-American gospel style and sound also affected other gospel styles. By the end of the 1950s, evangelicals, particularly those from the South, were successfully copying the sounds, styles, and more predictable forms coming out of this tradition (MacKenzie, October 3, 1991).

> The first time I heard Thomas Dorsey's song "Sho Do Need Him Now" it was done by a white group called the Rangers Quartet in 1951. It was a big, big tune for them. And then all the white gospel groups sang it, The Statesmen, The Blackwood Brothers, The Blue Ridge Quartet, and so forth. (Gaither, October 9, 1991)

African-American gospel music was disseminated primarily through radio and an efficient oral tradition. With the exception of the National Baptist Convention's hymnal, printed product was limited to one and two-page sheet music that contained melody lines, texts, and primary chords, mostly used for improvisational purposes. Most African-American gospel song writers did not have their music transcribed to print. Many more did not bother to copyright their songs. Unless songs were preserved on a recording or put on paper through aural dictation, the chances were slim that new tunes would survive the modifications that improvisation naturally brought to their oral tradition. Because African-American gospel was tied so securely to the oral tradition, composers and arrangers were easy prey for publishers who disregarded business ethics for personal gain and financial profit.

In the 1940s and 1950s radio brought new marketing potential to African-American gospel singers. Groups hosted radio programs, advertised music, sold records, and traveled across a "nationwide church performing circuit."

> Singers would travel from city to city by car or bus and stay in private homes or rooming houses in order to perform for almost nothing. They worked closely with pastors all over the country, their music becoming a major feature of worship everywhere, bringing joy in hard times and spiritual answers to human needs. The motive wasn't money. It was ministry. It was a glorious time. . . . (Gordon, ed., May/June, 1992, p. 28)

The Soul Stirrers with R. H. Harris was one of the most important African-American gospel quartet groups during the decades after World War II (WWII). It was one of the first traveling quartets exclusively committed to performing gospel music.

> The Soul Stirrers are the real creators of the modern quartet sound. Their history vividly demonstrates the leap gospel made in a generation's time from backwoods churches to million-dollar show business. . . . The great records Harris made in the '40s still sound modern despite the a cappella harmonizing of the Soul Stirrers. The background harmonies are pleasing and undistinguished, but Harris' voice comes through with the timeless urgency of a Robert Johnson or a Billie Holiday. . . . (Heilbut, 1983, pp. 81 - 83)

In 1939, The Soul Stirrers shared radio time at a Texas station with the white Stamps-Baxter Quartet. This opportunity gave Harris exposure as a composer and performer of gospel music with the largest white-owned Southern gospel publisher of the day, the Stamps-Baxter Company.

During the 1940s and '50s various events marked a shift away from strictly church performance toward general acceptance of African-American gospel music. Rosetta Tharpe made a debut appearance in 1943 at the Apollo Theatre in Harlem. She usually sang with simple guitar accompaniment, and her appearance before a secular audience set the precedent for other African-American gospel singers to perform for audiences outside the church. In the early 1940s, Joe Bostic organized his own radio program, *Gospel Train*, for WLIB at New York City and Savoy Records began signing contracts with singers in 1942. Radio and recordings allowed singers such as Theodore Fry, Mahalia Jackson, and Rosetta Tharpe to be heard in a variety of markets and to build a large following with a much broader base. In 1950, the same Joe Bostic organized the Negro Gospel and Religious Music Festival at Carnegie Hall in New York. His featured soloist was Mahalia Jackson. The success was overwhelming. In its second year, James Cleveland, J. Earle Hines, and Norsalus McKissick made appearances. In 1959, Bostic moved the event to Madison Square Garden under the name "First Annual Gospel, Spiritual, and Folk Music Festival." Bessie Griffin is credited with being the first gospel singer to take a leading role at the Cabaret Concert Theatre in New Orleans. She appeared

in what Eileen Southern called "the first gospel musical in history." She opened doors for a number of other gospel groups to accept invitations as guest artists in coffee houses and nightclubs (Southern, p. 473). Mahalia Jackson became famous with the song "He's Got the Whole World in His Hands." Her appearances on "The Dinah Shore Show," "The Ed Sullivan Show," and "The Steve Allen Show" gave her a platform for performance she had not previously enjoyed.

> Mahalia Jackson . . . rose to the top of the profession to be "The World's Greatest Gospel Singer." Based in Chicago, she played the Gospel circuit but eventually recorded for Columbia Records. . . .She was beloved by millions, black and white. She performed before the Queen of England, the Emperor and Empress of Japan, Indira Gandhi and other world leaders. She opened doors for Black performers of all kinds. She was really the Jackie Robinson of gospel music. (Gordon, 1992, p. 29)

In the 1940s and 1950s segregation was still a serious obstacle for all African-American musicians. The "cross over" between Afro-American and white musical styles, especially in the gospel quartet medium, and the exposure provided by radio and television helped African-American song writers get their music to a broader market without being taken advantage of or being misunderstood. In turn, white quartets were able to find fresh, creative new sounds and songs for their own newly established commercial audiences (Dixon, October 29, 1991).

## Southern Gospel Music Publishing

The only other development in gospel music to rival the popularity of African-American musicians was the Southern Gospel Quartet, a unique gospel music art form that usually includes four men singing in TTBB harmony accompanied by piano. The Southern Gospel Quartet traces its roots to the mid-nineteenth century singing school tradition. Singers usually freely compose and harmonize the parts (often called "singing head charts") or read parts SATB part-writing from one of the singing convention songbooks. When reading SATB, the first tenor usually sings the alto while the second tenor usually sings the melody or trades off with the baritone for a middle part. The

baritone singer takes what is the tenor line in SATB choral writing and the bass sings the bass. The sound is usually homophonic, tone production is guttural, and emphasis is not so much on blend as emotion, sound, and intensity.

Southern gospel quartets spawned a new commercial venture whose origin can be traced specifically to November 8, 1948 at Nashville, Tennessee's Ryman Auditorium. Organized by entrepreneur and entertainer Wally Fowler, the "all-night-sing" consisted of a line-up of gospel groups who performed before a paying audience. Each group provided a 30-60 minute repertoire of songs. Often when all the groups had finished a round of singing, they'd start at the beginning of the list and sing again. There was usually a cover-charge and sometimes promoters organized contests between new groups. The "all-night-sing" was extremely popular during the late 1940s and 1950s (Cusic, 1991, pp. 97-98) as documented in the November 7, 1949 issue of Time. A magazine reporter attended a two-day event where more than 4,000 people jammed a small college gymnasium:

> Quartets and soloists from all over the South hopped onto the platform to take their turns at singing with piano or guitar accompaniment. In between, professional gospel song leaders led the audience in catchy religious songs not found in regular denominational hymnals. Most of the men, women, and children attending had been going to gospel sings all their lives.
>
> At last week's convention Stamps-Baxter was much in evidence. One of its quartets, in blue suits and red ties, brought down the house with four new Stamps-Baxter songs: "I'm Having a Good Time Here," "Dreaming," with a falsetto blues-style solo, "Swing Low Sweet Chariot," with new words and music, and "Far Above the Starry Sky." Delegates cheered the quartet's close harmony and syncopation, [and] bought 500 copies of their songbooks and records. (Luce, ed., 1949, p. 44)

The "all-night-sing" provided a ready-made publicity opportunity for print music and records in a manner similar to the nineteenth century revivals that forged the early gospel markets for Sankey and others. Record companies recorded live albums of these singing events and publishing companies printed sheet music of songs by the groups. Folios and gospel songbooks featured the gospel singing groups. The "all-night-sings"

grew at such a rate that by the end of the 1950s such concerts were being held in all regions of the United States and the major cities of Southern Canada.

The "all-night-sing" was not without its critics. The Northern publishers looked at it with suspicion. They were not interested in the cultural following identified with Southern gospel quartets:

> The Northern Publishers response to Southern Gospel was less than enthusiastic. When the professional quartets came along like the Statesmen and Blackwoods and started making this commercial and selling a ticket to a concert, then the groups were even criticized by the Stamps people. Stamps-Baxter followers were saying "the groups are in it for the wrong reason." Actually, Gospel Quartet was an illegitimate art form. They were not great readers, great musicians, or even great Christians. All of a sudden the performance element became important. At the same time, they were making 10 times, 20 times the money doing what they were doing. They learned to put the showbiz element to it. (Gaither, October 9, 1991)

A number of individuals and singing groups should be listed as major contributors to this newly-established art form including Frank Stamps, J. R. Baxter, V.O. Stamps, Wally Fowler, Hovie Lister, Mosie Lister, Albert E. Brumley, Lee Roy Abernathy, Adger M. Pace, Jake Hess, Vep Ellis, James D. Vaughan, and R. E. Winsett. Important Southern gospel singing groups during the 1940s and 1950s were the Homeland Harmony Quartet, the Rangers, John Daniel Quartet, the Four Tones, the Sand Mountain Boys, the Lewis Family, the LeFevres and the Gospel Singing Caravan, the Sunshine Quartet, the Songfellows, the Happy Goodmans, the Stamps Quartet, the Weatherfords, the Jennings Trio, the Lowe Family, the Speer Family, the Watchman Quartet, the Gospel Melody Quartet, the Florida Boys, and others. These groups and individuals represented a movement within the evangelical culture that proved profitable for publishers, promoters, and record companies (Allen & Burt, 1971, pp. 25-56).

In particular, the Blackwood Brothers Quartet illustrates the impact of southern gospel quartet singing. Originally organized as a family quartet in 1934, the group appeared as guests with the Billy Graham and the Crusade Team (Allen & Burt, 1971, p. 54) and in 1951 signed a contract with RCA Records to produce albums. In 1954 they

appeared on the *Arthur Godfrey Talent Show* and sang the song "Have You Talked to the Man Upstairs." In 1957, James Blackwood and J. D. Sumner of the Blackwood Brothers Quartet sponsored the first National Quartet Convention in Memphis. The idea was to bring "gospel people" together once a year, to sing for one another and to show new products to the entertainment industry and loyal fans. The annual convention included representatives from radio, television, publishing companies, trade magazines, recording companies, recording studios, musicians, and a variety of singing groups (Allen and Burt, 1971, p. 41).

Most major southern gospel quartets became publishers, gathering enormous numbers of copyrights. The groups took full advantage of the newly-created markets brought by radio and the "all-night-sing." Each week they were in concert. The exposure to crowds, coupled with a natural distribution mechanism, gave them unique opportunities to find new songs.

> The best distribution of music was underneath the quartet bus, because the quartets drove those buses all over the country and sold those records off their table. It was fabulous distribution. If the quartet sang what the John T. Benson Publishing was printing then the music sold. . . . That's what it was all about, the sales of sheet music. The Benson Company couldn't get the Statesmen or Blackwoods to sing their songs. They were on RCA Records. They were selling a lot of records and owned their own publishing companies. They weren't going to put out somebody else's songs. So, Benson did a solo album with a tenor from the Statesmen named Rosie Rosell. The sole purpose of that was so they could get under the Statesmen bus and go to Cincinnati and Cleveland and Akron, Chicago, Detroit, and over to California. (MacKenzie, October 5, 1991)

"Underneath the quartet bus" refers to the location of the baggage and storage compartments. Quartets commonly stored their equipment, music, and commercial products in such compartments. The phrase referred to the act of taking music, records, and other materials from the bus and selling them at concerts. After the concerts the music was returned to the storage areas and carried to the next concert. Sheet music was usually one of any number of original compositions written by one of the quartet members or other well-known Southern gospel personalities. Printed in 9 x 12 inch pop-

music format, the songs were generally engraved with shape-notes and written in strophic, chorale-like form (MacKenzie, October 3, 1991).

Radio played a significant role in the growth of both Southern and African-American gospel music publishing during the 1940s and 1950s. Its impact was not determined so much by radio ministries as by gospel music programs produced by local radio stations and/or networks and sponsored by secular businesses:

> The shows attracted advertisers to the radio station who, in turn, paid for time. The groups advertised songbooks over the air and people sent in money . . . . In this way, the group developed a following and performed in concerts within the listening area. (Cusic, 1991, pp. 101-102)

Radio gave publishers an avenue for promoting their "quartet books" and "singing school" literature. V.O. Stamps, co-owner of the Stamps-Baxter Music Company, was known for capitalizing on the relationship between the quartet and radio:

> . . . he [V. O. Stamps] had the greatest impact on the promotion of gospel music of any predecessor. Though he was a noted singer, writer, publisher, and pioneer recording artist, his greatest accomplishment was spreading gospel music through the medium of radio. . . . For several years he had many salaried quartets and more than 100 representative quartets on key radio stations nation-wide. His name became a household word in that era. (Allen & Burt, 1971, p. 117)

The Stamps-Baxter Company was one of the oldest and most successful publishers of Southern gospel music during the post-World War II years. Although J. R. Baxter and V. O. Stamps both had early identities with the Methodist Church, they led the company as a conservative, independent, interdenominational publisher of gospel music for markets created by the singing school, singing convention, and Southern Gospel Quartet Singings. Time Magazine featured a "gospel sing" in its November 7, 1949 music news:

> Last week in Nacogdoches, Texas (pop. 11,7000) more than 4,000 delegates [attended] the interdenominational Tri-State (Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas) Singing Convention . . . . In spite of heavy rains, sticky red clay roads and a football game across the way, they crowded into the white frame gymnasium at Stephen Austin State Teachers College. There for two straight days they kept the rafters ringing with gospel jazz, gospel hillbilly ballads, gospel blues.
>
> To feed the South's continually growing appetite for such music, a gospel Tin Pan Alley has grown up with headquarters in Dallas. Presiding over it is bright-eyed,

> 60-year-old Jesse Randall Baxter, whose Stamps-Baxter Music and Printing Co., Inc. [sic.] employs 50 people, does $300,000 worth of business a year. It turns out paper-bound song quarterlies, a monthly magazine, the *Gospel Music News* (circ. 20,000), and books of gospel favorites which have sold as many as 4,000,000 copies.
>
> Five full-time religious songwriters and two song editors grind out a large part of the some 600 new gospel songs published by the firm every year. To outside writers (who submit more than 5,000 songs a year) Stamps-Baxter pays $5 to $10 for each song published. The company also runs a school in Dallas to train itinerant song leaders, [and] has four traveling quartets. (Luce, ed., 1949, p. 44)

Almost every major quartet hosted a live radio program. The LeFevres and their Gospel Singing Caravan, for example, were sponsored by The Chattanooga Medicine Company. The Sunny South Quartet was featured on WFLA, Tampa from 1945 to 1949. The Sunshine Boys Quartet sang Southern Gospel on WSB, Atlanta from 1948-1954 (Allan & Burt, 1971, p. 25). From 1940 until 1950, The Blackwood Brothers hosted three live shows a day 5:30 a.m., 7:30 a.m., and 12:30 p.m. over radio station KMA at Shenandoah, Iowa (Cusic, 1991, pp. 105 & 154).

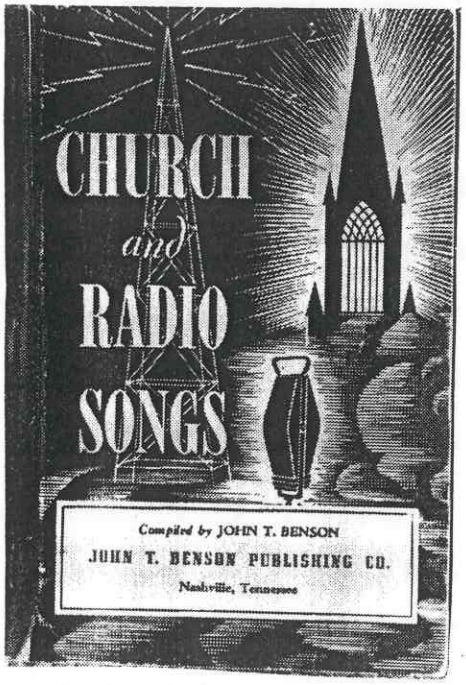
Many of the "all-night-sings" were carried live over independently owned and network-affiliated stations. One of the most popular broadcasts originated from the Grand Ole Opry in Nashville, Tennessee:

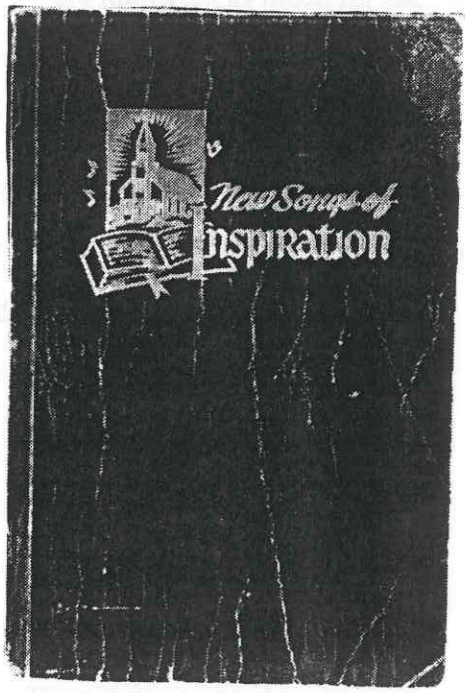
> WSM Radio in Nashville sponsored an all-night gospel sing on the first Friday night of the month at the Ryman Auditorium, the home of the Grand Ole Opry. They would broadcast an hour of the singing from 11:00 p.m. to midnight. . . . It was just like what they were doing with the Opry on Saturday nights. And, it was so exciting because it was live. It was real live people singing quartet music. . . . Just hearing the quartets and hearing the possibility of really moving a crowd with music really influenced me. Probably, as a kid, the art side of it all, the entertainment side, was just as strong, and maybe even stronger, an influence than the theological or spiritual side. That music was just fun music. (Gaither, October 9, 1991)

Almost every group or at least every radio program had its own gospel songbook. These were "custom printed" songbooks (See Example 36, page 132) produced by one of the major music publishers. One such book was published by the John T. Benson Company of Nashville. This series, New Songs of Inspiration was advertised over Wheeling, West Virginia station, WWVA:

> John T. Benson, Jr. created a book called New Songs of Inspiration. It contained the vast array of quartet songs and the standard southern gospel songs that were around at the time. It was also sold through the radio at Wheeling, West Virginia on station WWVA. It sold hundreds of thousands of copies. It became the singular standard. All the companies were pitching their books: The Vaughan School Books, Stamps-Baxter in Dallas, Tennessee Music and Printing over in Cleveland, Tennessee, and many, many more. This book was the book that rose above all the others. It had a very strong impact. (MacKenzie, January 10, 1992)

The John T. Benson Company was a family-owned business that continued to publish small gospel songbooks all through the 1940s and 1950s. Their primary marketing strategy focused an effective radio program and a team of Sunday school boys selling songbooks at the Ryman Auditorium before showings of the Grand Ole Opry. Two successful books brought the company to national importance: Church and Radio Songs (1946) and New Songs of Inspiration (1948).




**Example 37:**
**Church and Radio Songs (1946), Compiled by John T. Benson, Jr. and New Songs of Inspiration (1948), Compiled by John T. Benson, Jr.**
***Both successful gospel songbooks compiled and published by John T. Benson Company, Nashville, TN***

The latter grew into an effective series, and by 1955 New Songs of Inspiration Number 2 and 1958 New Songs of Inspiration Number 3 were on the market:

> The company had a body of copyrights that had appeared, many of them, in shaped notes in their New Songs of Inspiration Series. That was what the company was all about. It really came into its own with John T. Benson, Jr. In 1902, his grandfather and grandmother started the company to help the emerging Holiness Movement, the Church of the Nazarene in Nashville. Benson did their first book in shaped notes. He sold the books two ways: (1) His office was right in back of the Grand Ole Opry Ryman Auditorium. He was a choir, sort of jack-leg, director and young people's Sunday School Teacher at First Nazarene in Nashville. . . . On Saturday night the line to get into the Grand Ole Opry would go way down to Broadway and turn left. There would be several thousand people for each one of the shows. And, Benson sold that songbook with his team of boys on Saturday night. (2) It was also sold through the radio at Wheeling, West Virginia on station WWVA. . . . The company came out with a new book every two years, or so. They were enormously successful. It also became the projector of new songs that came out of the Southern gospel field. (MacKenzie, January 10, 1992)

New Songs of Inspiration and similar publications were marketed as much for use with Southern gospel singing convention type choirs as they were for quartets. The singing convention perpetuated a Southern gospel choral tradition deeply rooted in shape-note, sacred harp or fa-sol-la practices. Choirs used the same literature as did the Southern gospel quartets except altos sang the first tenor part and sopranos sang the second tenor part. Performance in this tradition involved the choir singing a verse and chorus of the song through once with each part assigned to sounding the *solfege* syllables. At the conclusion of that "syllable verse," the group would then sing the intended text. By 1950, most Southern gospel choirs were singing out of the small "convention" song books and the choral tone was usually unrefined and driven more by emotion than artistic sensitivity. "Choral tradition in the Southern church was loud, fast and guttural. It was not traditional European choral tone. The emotion was almost Black" (MacKenzie, January 10, 1992). The little gospel songbooks provided a wealth of literature for these Southern choirs. Everyone read shape-notes so well, that as long as the music was printed in shape-notes, singers could easily sight read most anything given to them. Take away the shape-notes and singers lost their point of reference.

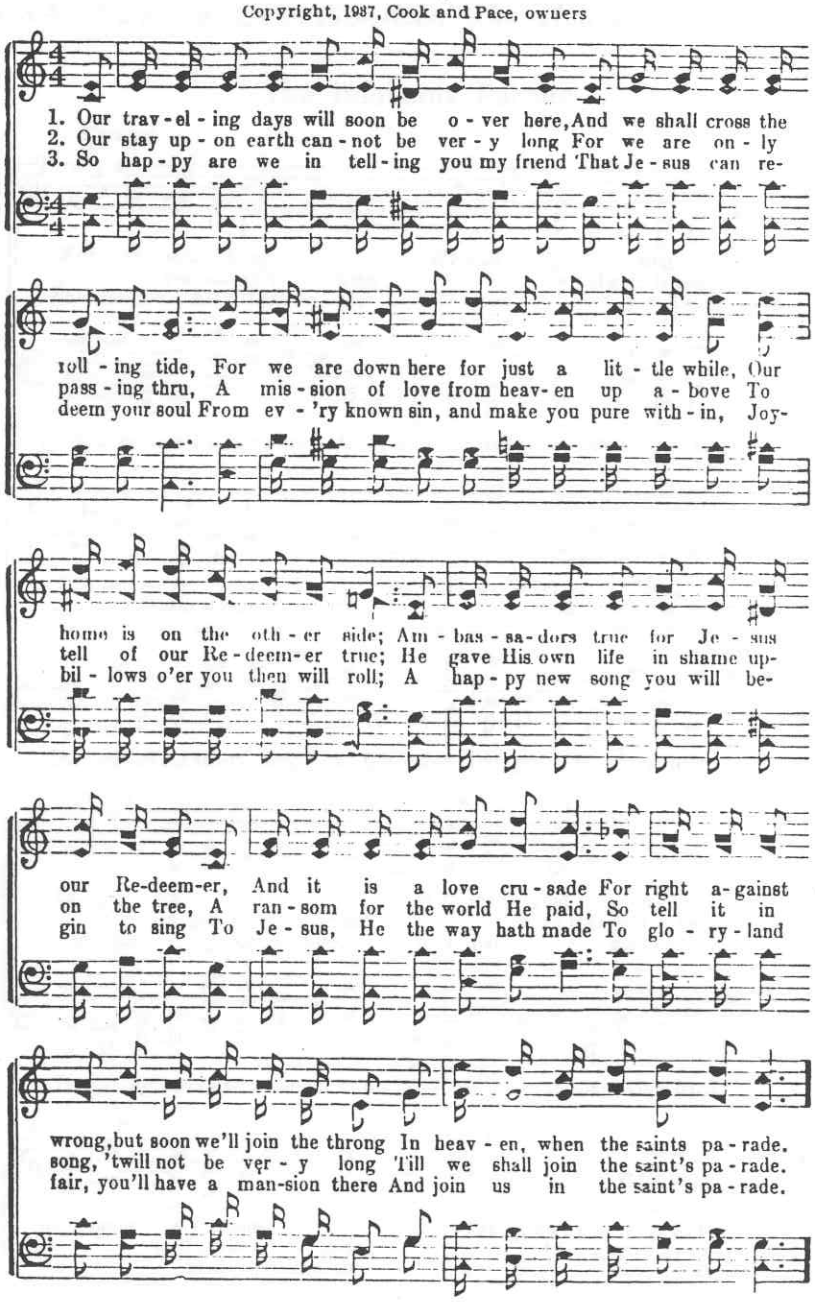
> As a kid from the North observing it [shape-note singing] for the first time, it blew my mind. . . . they'd learned to read notes, little squares. Matter of fact, I have a friend who grew up in that. When he would pick up a hymnal with just all round notes, he say, "These are all sol. I can't read it."
>
> The unsophisticated character of the convention style choral tone should not allow one to think there was not refinement to the compositions. The songs were often simple and easy-to-sing but, much of the compositional technique was rather sophisticated. Early convention writers were musically trained and skilled. They would write counterpoint . . . that took some sophistication to write. . . . Let me tell you, the early readers in that business knew exactly what they were doing. You've got to see "The Heavenly Parade" (See Example 38, page 135) and "Delivered From the Hands of Pharaoh" (See Example 39, page 137). (Gaither, October 9, 1991)

A choir skilled in this tradition was amazing to observe. The energy and emotion enhanced or often made up for the need of better text, more refined choral tone, and unsophisticated musicianship. Choirs were most often accompanied by piano. Keyboard players usually improvised some type of rhythmic pattern based on a given harmonic progression. Pianists usually played an introduction based on the melody found in the chorus with harmonic adjustments for easy transition into verses. The same melodies, harmonies, and rhythms used in the introduction were repeated as thematic material for the interlude. Each chorus ended with a long fermata. Separate identities between introduction, verses, choruses, and interlude were all without elisions or overlapping. For example, before a pianist played the interlude, the choir usually ended the chorus section with a very long fermata whole note in full SATB harmony. Only after the director gave the choir a complete cut-off would a separate cue be given for the pianist to continue with an interlude. Formal design of most compositions sung in Southern gospel convention style resembles the following:

**Introduction; Verse; Chorus; Verse; Chorus; Interlude; Verse; Chorus; Chorus; Sometimes an Optional Coda or Tag**

## The Heavenly Parade

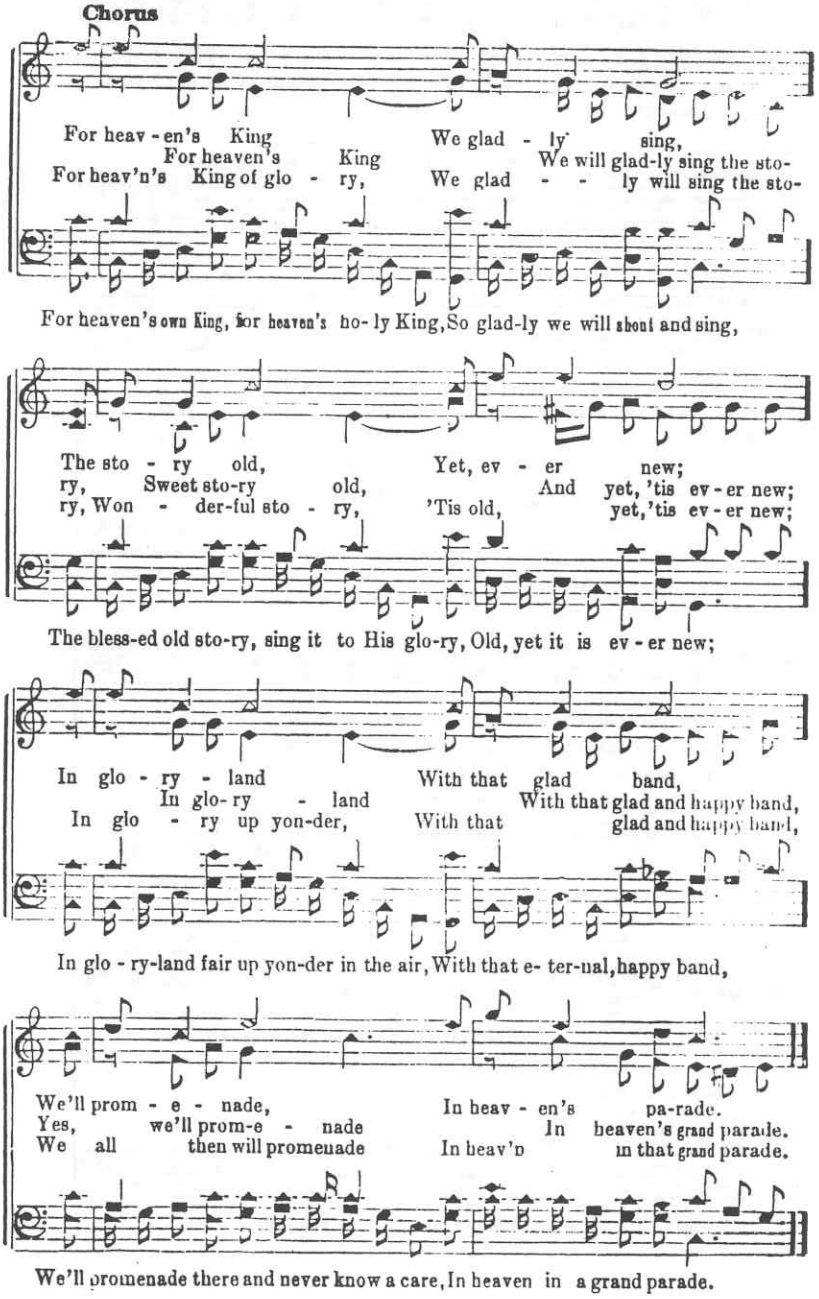





Example 38:
*The Heavenly Parade* by Adgar M. Pace and J. T. Cook
Public Domain
Taken from Gospel Singing Caravan (1957),
Compiled by Maureen LeFevre and Others.

## [EXAMPLE 38 CONTINUED: *The Heavenly Parade . . .*]

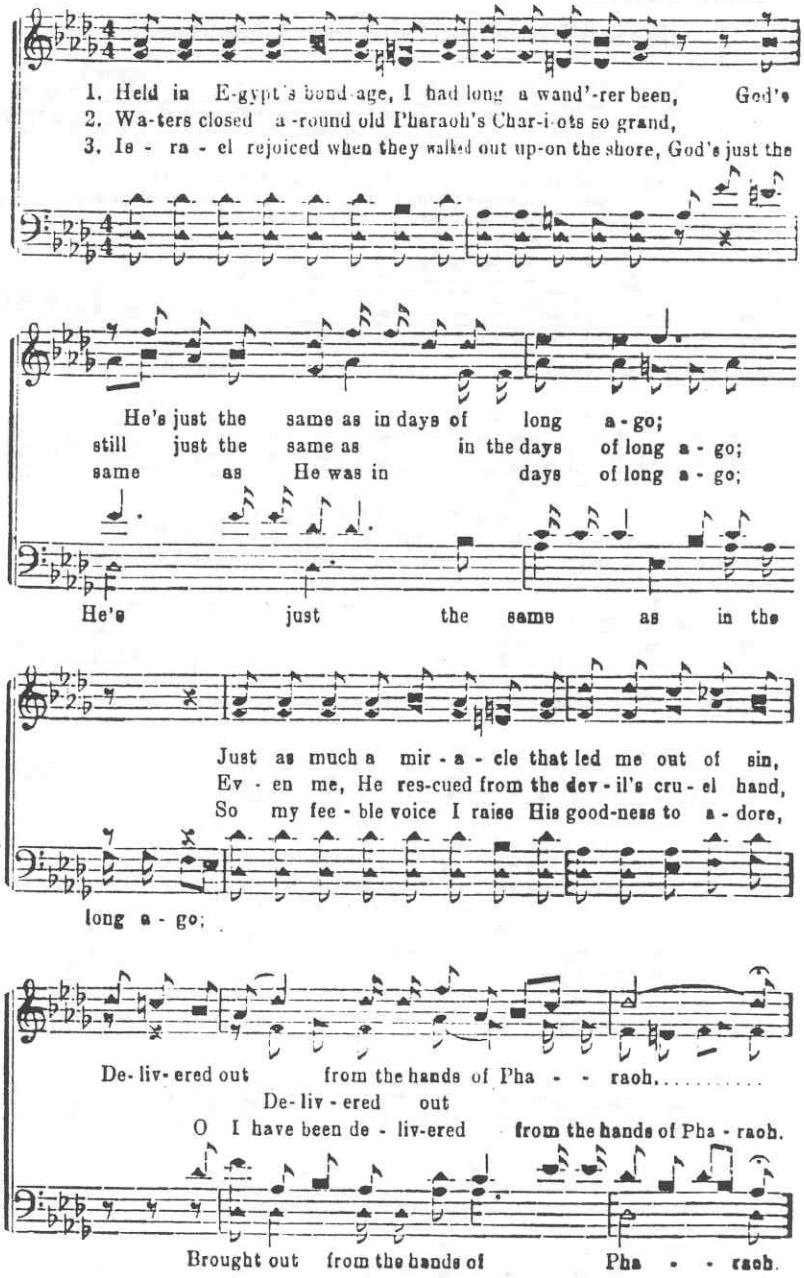
### The Heavenly Parade



## Delivered From the Hands of Pharaoh



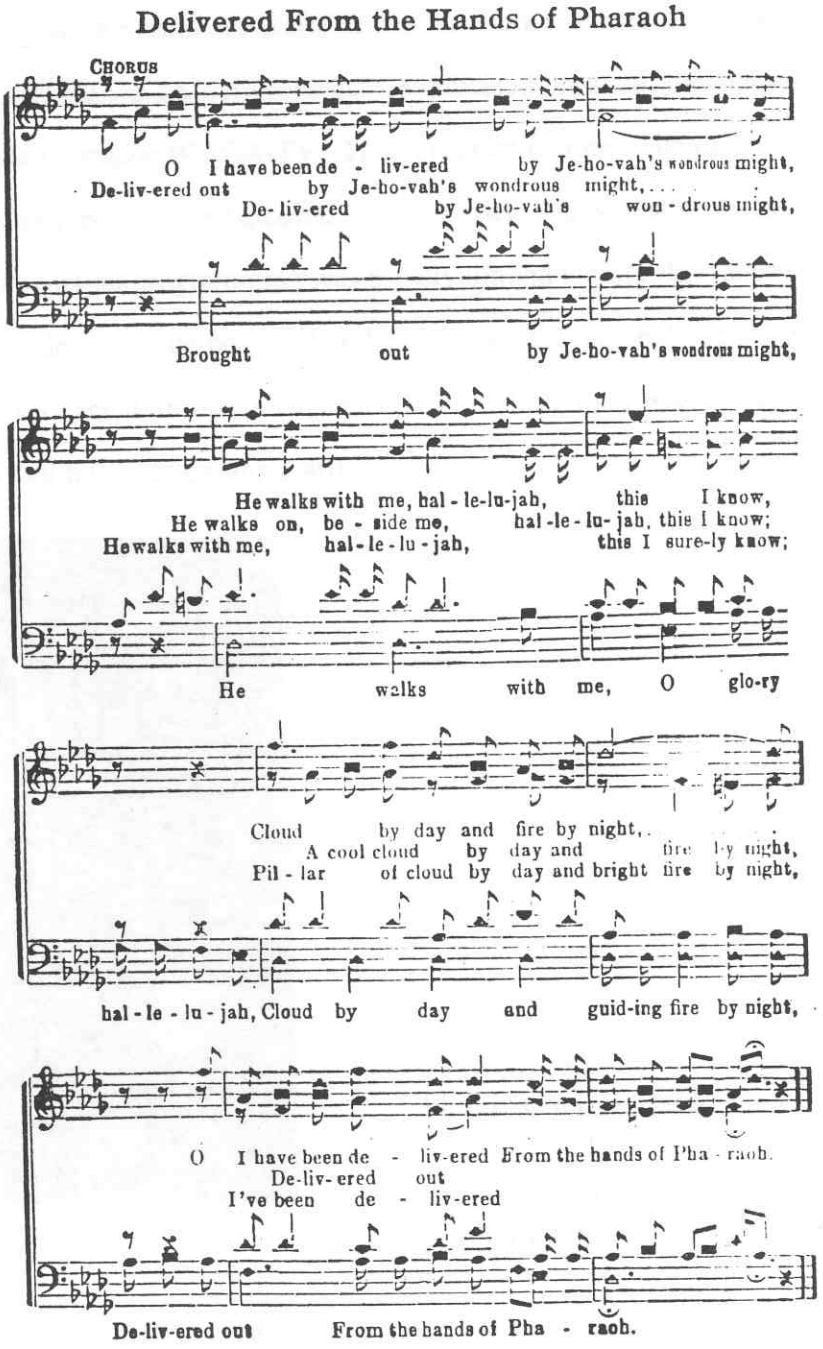
O. A. PARRIS EUGENE WRIGHT



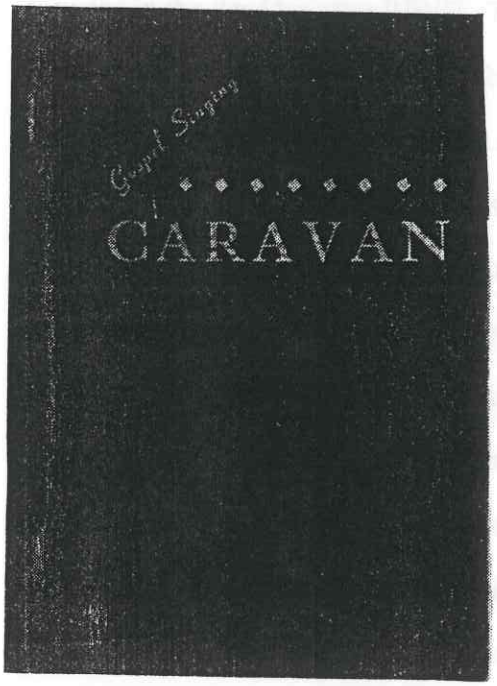

**Example 39:**
***Delivered From the Hands of Pharaoh*** **by O. A. Parris and Eugene Wright**

**Taken from Gospel Singing Caravan (1957),**
**Compiled by Maureen LeFevre and Others.**

**[EXAMPLE 39 CONTINUED: *Delivered From the Hands of Pharaoh . . .*]**



By the end of the 1950s, Southern gospel quartets had expanded their entertainment marketing to a newly-developing television format. In 1954, the Lewis Family started their own show on WJBF-TV at Augusta, Georgia (Allen & Burt, p. 55). The LeFevres established a highly successful syndicated program, the *Gospel Singing Caravan,* at Atlanta station WAGA-TV. Their program featured The LeFevres, The Blue Ridge Quartet, and special guest quartets or solo artists. Television time reserved for Southern gospel quartet programming was usually limited to Saturday afternoon or evening and Sunday morning before church . Even so, the national exposure and growing interest enabled groups to create a consumer base for gospel songbooks, sheet music, and recordings (See Example 40).




**Example 40:**
**<u>The Gospel Singing Caravan</u> (1956)**
**LeFevre's most famous book sold on The Gospel Singing Caravan television and radio programs and published by LeFevre-Sing.**

The 1940s and 1950s saw a new approach to marketing Southern gospel music that had only tangential references to publishing traditions in the North. Due to the advent of radio, local artists and performing groups could publicize their work to very specific denominational and ethnic audiences. Radio gave these groups a certain amount of fame

within the region where they worked. In turn, such recognition allowed the groups to tour their region and sell records, sheet music, and other promotional literature that they developed and first marketed on radio. Publishing became a "grass-roots" or "bottom-up" venture that relied on the popularity of a particular gospel singing artist or group. This process echoes the traditional mode of marketing developed by Sankey and others in the nineteenth century. The difference lies in the fact that these groups did not begin their publishing ventures from a national forum provided by a noted evangelist and crusade tour, but from local and regional support that grew to national prominence only as a result of radio and television.

The media, therefore, were the catalyst that propelled gospel music publishing forward in the decades after WWII. Through the market demand created by the media, popular artists and groups could establish and built small publishing houses that served both their own evangelical needs and the interest of a secular general public. As general interest grew, publishers and artists adapted gospel music to secular markets. By the mid-50s such efforts succeeded in establishing gospel music, particularly the solo and quartet genres, as legitimate musical expressions outside the confines of the evangelical tradition. Still, the manner of disseminating products developed by artists remained an insular industry, supported by denominational publishers and a host of smaller independent publishers whose financial success remained tied to the individual artists who "hawked" their music at concerts, "all-night sings," and singing conventions.

In looking at the activity in the Southern gospel tradition, it becomes apparent that the gospel composers, artists, and publishers limited their perspectives to serving evangelical needs and their own provincial activity. The quartets never saw themselves as artists of interest to the general public, but only within the Southern gospel tradition that nurtured them. The success of the Blackwood Brothers is an example. While they appeared on a number of nationally-televised programs, on platform with the Billy Graham Crusade, and maintained a rigorous radio schedule and concert agenda, it was

RCA that signed them to contracts, not Stamps-Baxter or any of the other traditional gospel publishers who could have been catapulted to national prominence through their promotion of the Blackwood Brothers. Rather, these publishers tried only to create similar products and market them through traditional "underneath the bus" or "at the singing convention" methods. Whether this reveals a lack of vision, singleness of purpose, or a general financial and cultural conservatism is hard to determine. In keeping with earlier gospel artists and publishers, popularity with the general public, however potentially lucrative, was interpreted as a reflective gauge of being "obedient to the will of God," a confirmation of the direction they should vigorously pursue. Gaither hints at this when he comments that many gospel artists "were not good Christians" (Gaither, October 9, 1991). Such a theological perspective so permeates thinking within the evangelical community that, in the decades after WWII, when confronted with marketing possibilities that would extend their influence and financial development, artists and publishers alike chose to pursue only those avenues of development that continued to serve the evangelical community itself. While a select few individual artists went on to national fame, taking with them the gospel tradition and message, the publishing industry continued to nurture denominational and provincial markets they had developed earlier.

# CHAPTER VIII

# SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

## Summary

The purpose of this study was to compile a survey of gospel music publishing from 1940 to 1960. Elements for the investigation included the stated marketing strategies employed by gospel music publishers to expand their markets from 1940 to 1960 and factors contributing to the growth in the gospel music publishing industry from 1940 to 1960.

The information for the study was collected through oral history methodology consisting of interviews with seven leaders in the industry. A letter confirming each individual's participation in the research project was sent and immediately followed by telephone commitments and written confirmations. Personal interviews with all seven participants were completed, recorded on audio tape, transcribed to print, and used as primary research materials. Because of the unique roles served in the industry by Billy Ray Hearn and Robert MacKenzie, a second set of interviews was completed to further assure historical consistency and reliability.

Additional data were collected from publisher catalogs, interviews, magazine articles, actual music publications, reference books, and trade journals. This information served as secondary resource material and combined with interviews to provide documentation for a historical narrative.

This chapter is a summary/conclusion of events, major personalities, marketing concepts, and product development of the gospel music publishing industry from 1940-1960. Observations significant to the continuation of trends established during the years from 1940 to 1960 are made, and conclusions focus on relationships between objectives and marketing strategies by gospel music publishers during the same period of time. Three charts illustrate the growth (Chart 6, page 152), geographical relationship of publishing centers (Chart 7, page 153) , and important personalities (Chart 8, page 154) identified with music publishing for the evangelical community since 1700.

Clear patterns emerged in gospel music publishing which included the adaptation of secular song styles for use with gospel texts, publicizing of music through dynamic individuals associated with religious revival systems, and the organization of publishing companies to serve the market generated by these music personalities. Examples prior to 1940 included Ira Sankey, William Bradbury, Homer Rodeheaver, and Thomas A. Dorsey. Important personalities from 1940 to 1960 included Percy Crawford, Al Smith, John W. Peterson, and Ralph Carmichael.

Growth experienced by evangelical churches following World War II prompted the establishment of para-church and specialized ministry organizations. Newly-founded Bible colleges trained music ministers who, in turn, promoted and developed a gospel choral tradition. Three movements, identified with various personalities, influenced marketing of gospel music by publishers the mass evangelistic campaigns, the advent of radio, and the youth movement. Cliff Barrows helped promote new gospel music through the Billy Graham evangelistic campaigns. *The Old-Fashioned Revival Hour* radio ministry with Leland Green and Rudy Atwood provided a platform for the presentation of new music through choirs, quartets, and small ensembles. Percy Crawford and Jack Wyrtzen opened doors for the publication of gospel music as an alternative to secular pop music (See Chart 6, page 152).

John W. Peterson and Ralph Carmichael set the stage for future development of gospel music publishing by creating new print product based on secular musical styles. John Peterson's use of Tin-Pan Alley style provided evangelicals with a new gospel music style in a vernacular common to the man on the street. Peterson's major contribution was in creating the gospel cantata as a new choral genre.

Carmichael established a standard of excellence by recording gospel music with technical, musical, and artistic quality equal to any secular record label and introducing the sounds of 1940 and 1950 big band and commercial jazz to the very conservative traditional gospel music market place. He merged the sounds created in the Hollywood studios with the excitement and energy identified with the Youth For Christ movement and served as an example and inspiration to hundreds of aspiring young evangelical arrangers.

Southern and African-American gospel music from 1940 to 1960 grew out of similar secular ethnic, cultural, and religious influences. Publishing of Southern gospel music developed through singing conventions and Southern gospel quartet venues. Softback songbooks and sheet music with shaped-note engravings were printed by and used in publishing company-sponsored singing schools and conventions. The Southern gospel quartet popularized newly-composed and published songs through radio programs and aggressive concert scheduling. Gospel music for the African-American Evangelical was primarily an oral tradition. Jubilee quartets and singing groups helped popularize the gospel song through recordings and radio. Thomas Dorsey and a few other arrangers and composers of African-American gospel secured copyright holdings to their songs and sold sheet music at concerts, from their automobiles, in churches, and at special events. Writers of Southern gospel (white) music were influenced by the jazz harmonies, rhythms, and songs of African-American musicians. By the end of the 50s, their gospel style was sung at secular meetings and imitated by popular musicians in the secular market.

During the 1940s and 1950s publishers of Traditional gospel music continued to focus on the production of hymnals and small gospel songbooks. By the mid-1950s, Singspiration, Inc. was successfully manufacturing and marketing a new genre called the gospel cantata. At the end of the decade most publishers of traditional gospel music were producing choral collections based on popular gospel songs in book format.

By the end of 1960s, major publishing centers emerged in certain regions of the country as illustrated by Chart 7 on page 153, *Geographic Relationship of Gospel Music Publishing Houses by 1960* . Traditional gospel music was primarily published in Chicago and Montrose, Pennsylvania. African-American gospel publishing was also centered in Chicago but was highly influenced by musicians in Los Angeles and New York. Publishers of Southern gospel music, on the other hand, were much more diversified with major contributors of gospel books and sheet music in Dallas, Atlanta, and the three Tennessee cities of Nashville, Cleveland, and Lawrenceburg.

## Conclusions

Several conclusions relating to the developments of gospel music publishing industry may be drawn from this study. First, the centuries-old tradition of dynamic individuals forging changes and developments in gospel music publishing remained an effective method for marketing music to the evangelical church from the 1940s to 1960s. Chart 8 on page 154 illustrates how important personalities emerged as leaders because they represented specific trends, influences, and tenets within the evangelical culture. These personalities were often thrust into the limelight through the introduction of one particular song. Ira Sankey was established as a leader in gospel music publishing with his song, "The Ninety and Nine." Homer Rodeheaver captured the attention of evangelicals across the country with his publications of "In the Garden" and 'The Old Rugged Cross." John Peterson emerged as a leader with "It Took A Miracle." In the 1960s, Ralph Carmichael influenced American youth with "He's Everything to Me" and

Bill and Gloria Gaither created a market with their song, "He Touched Me." Dynamic personalities have always initiated change in the music of the evangelical world (See Chart 8, page 154). Although the form of communication changed from time to time, (e.g. from hymn to gospel quartet to cantata), the practice of using important personalities to promote gospel music provided a financially and culturally safe avenue for presenting new music to the culture.

Gospel music publishers were influenced by changes within the evangelical culture. Evangelical growth in the 1950s, the establishment of Bible colleges and para-church organizations, and the migration from rural to urban centers all affected the expansion of various gospel music styles within the evangelical community. For example, the unprecedented growth of Southern and African-American gospel music in the North during the late 1950s may be attributed to demographic shifts. Evangelicals from rural communities of Tennessee, Kentucky, Western North Carolina, Alabama, and Georgia took their cultural and religious practices to urban centers of the industrial North, thus creating new markets (although transplanted from the South) in Northern communities for other gospel music styles.

The complex history of gospel music publishing is based on the intertwining influences of evangelical theological tenets, charismatic performers within the evangelical culture, and modern business practices that capitalize on these two elements. For example, music in evangelical theology has been inherently conservative, and the music most commonly used for church services in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reflected popular music styles 30 to 50 years behind the times. Yet, due to the advent of radio and recording, the time needed to disseminate new musical styles was shortened greatly. While proponents of musical change still had to contend with skeptical publishers or reactionary congregations, they could establish large followings and develop support through church-sanctioned radio and concert tours that provided exposure and "star" status. In a reflexive turn, the new exposure and fame gave credence

to their musical goals and allowed for more efficient and dramatic acceptance of new styles.

In turn, music publishers anxious to capitalize on this popularity quickly marketed musical products in the style associated with the artist. Even though this sequence of events expanded marketing to ever-increasing audiences, the publishers seldom controlled the development and evolution of new gospel music styles. They remained reactive, playing catch-up in a field where change was prompted by events outside their direct influence. Publishers quickly hired the artists and contracted with others to produce and arrange music, but seldom did successful marketing occur as the result of research and development prior to the introduction of specific works or artists. This is due to the fact that, in many ways, the publishing industry is as conservative as the religious community it serves, seeking new markets only when sudden artist popularity or publishing tradition clearly identify them. Since gospel music is tied to specific cultural and religious heritages in America, this condition reflects practice conditioned by religious conservatism more readily than might be expected in secular markets. Consider Ralph Carmichael whose work typifies this problem. As a young man growing up in the rural mid-west, the idea of expressing evangelical gospel theology through the musical styles he heard in the secular music of his youth seemed unlikely if not heretical. He left that tradition, in part, by going to Hollywood and becoming a professional producer/arranger. Through his connections within the publishing industry and his dogged intent to use his skills to serve his religious beliefs, he was able, eventually, to compose and publish in secular styles that prior to his time would have seemed impolite.

Understanding this interweaving of publishing and artist requires a basic grasp of the conflict facing the gospel artist. Essentially the performer/publisher/composer/arrranger in this tradition is seeking moral permission to place old wine, (i.e. theological tenets of evangelical theology), in new bottles, (i.e. the various popular musical styles that are attractive as a result of growing up in a particular culture). This is difficult because the

artist is trying to reconcile a theological problem rather than a musical one. The evangelical tradition tacitly assumes anything secular is foreign, the tainted product of a sinful and alien world. Yet, no style, in and of itself, is prohibited from being applied to whatever ends the artist desires if the audience or consumer accepts the artist's intent. Therefore, the rejection of certain styles as inappropriate to theological expression is a matter of taste, of the sacred music tradition in the denomination in question, or in the attending political and theological arguments. In incorporating a secular musical style into the evangelical musical culture, the artist sanctifies the style or, in evangelical terminology, the artist redeems the style from its worldly uses and "saves" it for sacred use.

Getting the larger religious community to accept the secular style as an avenue for religious expression is the problem. Historically that problem has been resolved by large social upheavals such as war, urbanization, industrialization, and religious crises such as denominational divisions and revivalist movements. When a secular style adapted to religious use accompanies one of these cataclysmic changes, the style can be more easily accepted into the new. The lives of Ira Sankey, Homer Rodeheaver and others illustrate this tradition within the gospel music community over the last century. John Peterson and Ralph Carmichael exemplify the tradition today.

Since WWII the time needed to affect such changes has telescoped and changes have occurred without many of the social upheavals. The amount of time between the appearance of a new sub-genre or style in popular music and its appearance in gospel music performance and publishing can be a matter of months. Equally, no new social events have affected the demographic structure of the evangelical community as they did prior to WWII. Radio, recordings, and to a lesser extent television, seem to be the keys to understanding the rapid acceptance of secular musical styles. These are the music technologies that allow for faster dissemination of musical alternatives, the quick and forceful consolidation of theological tenet, artist, and musical consumer, and these forces

enable publishers to flood markets with product quickly and thoroughly. As a result, musical styles acceptable to the gospel evangelical community resemble the styles acceptable to the secular community as well. This is an interesting anomaly since it implies a muddying of the sacred/secular divisions that, heretofore, have defined musical acceptance by the evangelical community. Yet, no such conflict exists for the gospel artist for whom a style is merely a sound vehicle for gospel text. The particular musical style characteristics that bring emotional satisfaction due to their familiarity, popularity, or inherent musicality, are made "holy" by their adaptation to gospel text and are subsumed under the artist's religious and evangelical intents. The artist's compelling desire to write in a particular style is interpreted not to be the result of anything inherent in that style, but the "will of God" working through that style to reveal greater truth.

## Recommendations for Further Study

Much work needs to be done to adequately record the history and development of gospel music publishing in America since World War II:

1) The history of gospel music publishing from 1960-1990 needs completion. Special attention should be given to historical developments in the gospel music recording industry during the late 1960s and early 1970s.

2) Studies should direct attention to the birth of the gospel youth musical, the growth of Contemporary Christian Music (CCM), the growth of the evangelical choral traditions, the contributions of the recording industry, and individual histories of the new publishing companies serving the evangelical tradition.

3) Documentation needs to be made of the contribution that various industry personalities, artists, and composers have made to the publishing of gospel music from 1940 to 1990. Such studies might include the contributions of publishers Bill and Gloria Gaither, Chuck Fromm, Robert MacKenzie, John W. Peterson, Ralph Carmichael, Cliff Barrows, Percy Crawford, Al Smith, the Zondervan Brothers, Jim VanHook, Bob

Benson, Billy Ray Hearn, Albert E. Brumley, James Cleveland, and Jessy Dixon. Investigation of important gospel music artists and composer/arrangers might include George Beverly Shea, Douglas R. Fisher, Norman Clayton, Don Hustad, Kurt Kaiser, Dick Anthony, Ronn Huff, Adger Pace, Oren A. Paris, Mosie Lister, Larry Goss, Sam Cooke, Sallie Martin, Andraé Crouch, Edwin Hawkins, Sandi Patti, David Clydesdale, and Steve Green.

4) Historical research of the Gospel Music Association's (GMA) relationship to the music industry needs documentation. Investigation might include GMA's place and role in the music industry, relationship to evangelical culture and theology, music traditions, and implications to educational developments within the evangelical church.

5) The educational contributions by the Vaughan School of Music, Anthony Showalter's Southern Normal Music Institute, and the Stamps-Baxter School of Music need documentation and investigation.

6) A definitive history of the Southern gospel music industry has never been completed. Such a history might include a documentation of important personalities to the movement, strategic roles the gospel quartet plays in promoting Southern gospel music, birth of the Natonal Quartet Convention, important contributions made by singing conventions and singing schools since 1940, and the all night gospel sing.

7) The contributions of James Cleveland's *Gospel Music Workshop of America* , in particular, need to be documented. Cleveland's concept and approach to music education for the church and African-American community at large needs review. The many important roles he played in developing gospel music publishing for the African-American evangelical church has not been completely investigated.

8) Further research should concentrate on the contributions of the 1950 youth movements to gospel music publishing. Attention should be given to the various influences popular genres had on the marketing and development of youth music during that era.

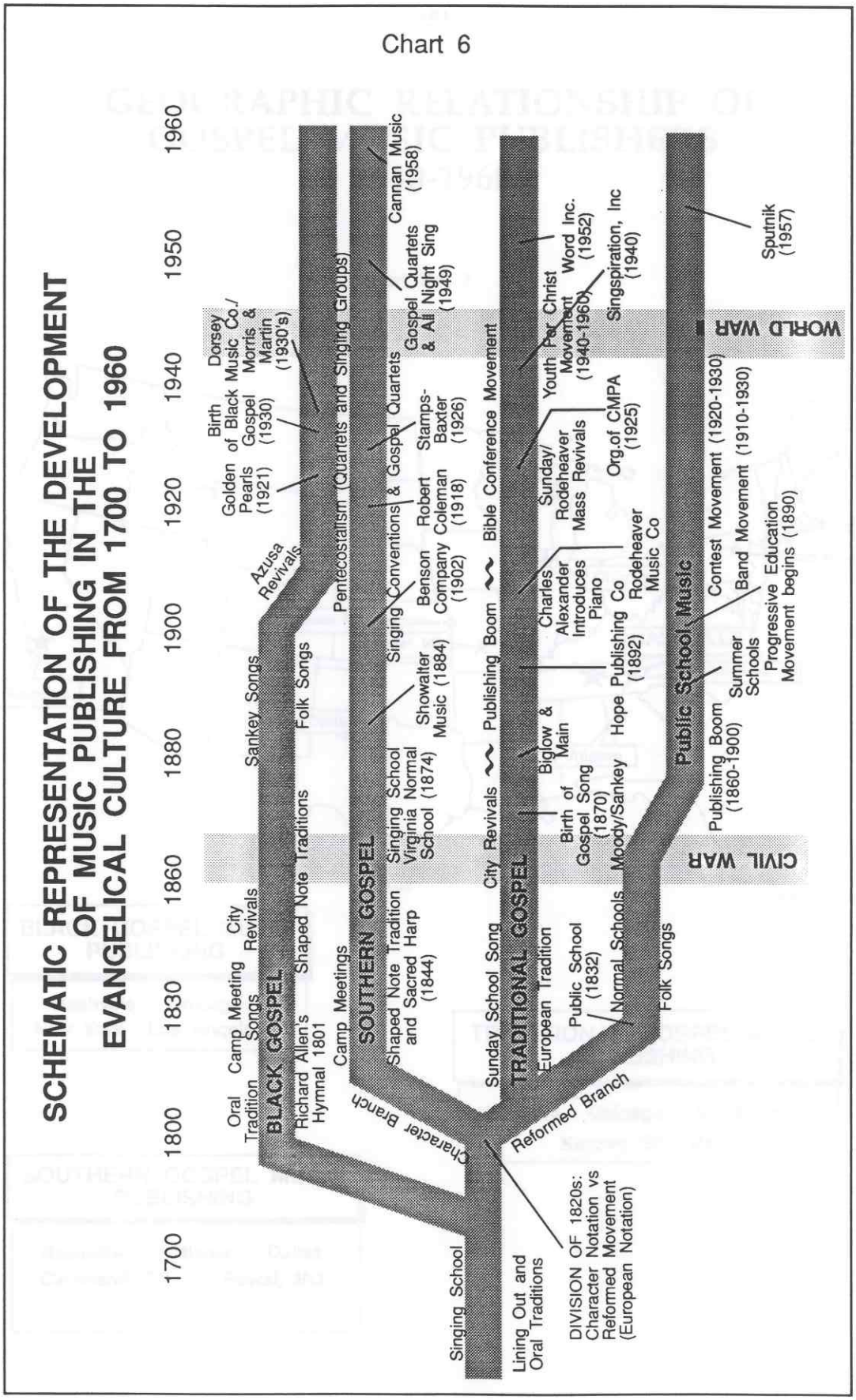
9) Historical, descriptive, and empirical research should focus on the Scripture-song movement of the 1980s and 1990s. Correlation between the Youth for Christ chorus and Scripture-song should be made. Empirical research should direct attention to the relationship of Scripture-song to church growth, cultural demographics, and musical practices in the evangelical church.

10) Child Evangelism Fellowship's (CEF) musical and theological contributions to the evangelical culture has never been made. A comparative-analysis of CEF music and, in particular, the "action songs" to music education concepts of Kodály, Suzuki, and Dalcroze might provide a platform for further developments in music for evangelical children.

11) Objective research on the use of gospel music literature in the public school should be done. Comparative studies focus on the processes for acceptance and inclusion of jazz genres and gospel music genres into academic disciplines.

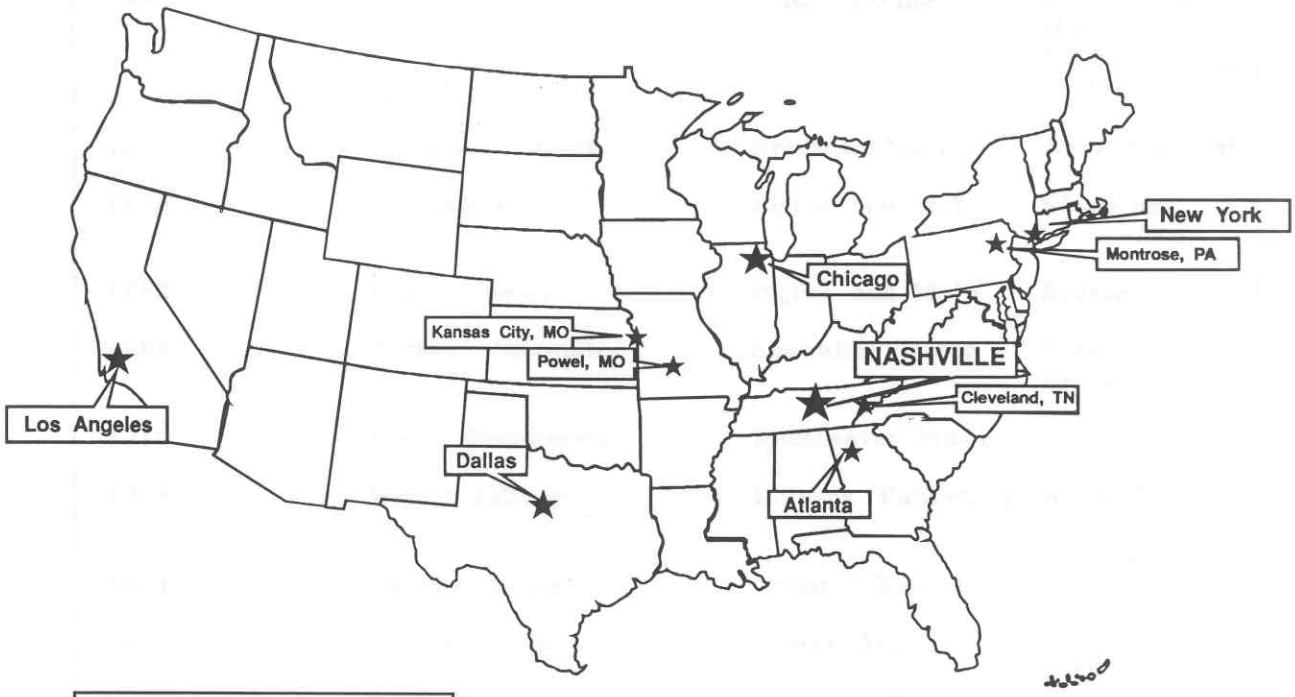
12) The contributions Singspiration, Inc., The Benson Company, WORD, Inc., Sparrow, Lexicon Music, Gaither Music Company, Albert E. Brumley and Sons, Maranatha! Music, the Hartford Music Company; and the Stamps-Baxter Company have made to gospel music publishing have never been completed. Statistical analyses of the marketing successes and failures of these companies might provide insight into the growth and development of gospel music publishing in the future.

Chart 6


SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT
OF MUSIC PUBLISHING IN THE
EVANGELICAL CULTURE FROM 1700 TO 1960
1700
1800
1830
1860
1880
1900
1920
1940
1950
1960
Singing School
Lining Out and
Oral Traditions
DIVISION OF 1820s:
Character Notation vs
Reformed Movement
(European Notation)
Character Branch
Reformed Branch
Oral Tradition
Camp Meeting Songs
City Revivals
Richard Allen's Hymnal 1801
Camp Meetings
BLACK GOSPEL
Shaped Note Tradition
Shaped Note and Sacred Harp (1844)
Singing School Virginia Normal School (1874)
Sunday School Song
Normal Schools
Folk Songs
Shaped Note Traditions
Sankey Songs
Folk Songs
SOUTHERN GOSPEL
Showalter Music (1884)
City Revivals
TRADITIONAL GOSPEL
European Tradition
Public School (1832)
Birth of Gospel Song (1870)
Biglow & Main
Moody/Sankey
Hope Publishing (1892)
Publishing Boom
(1860-1900)
Summer Schools
Public School Music
Progressive Education Movement begins (1890)
Contest Movement (1920-1930)
Band Movement (1910-1930)
Azusa Revivals
Pentecostalism (Quartets and Singing Groups)
Singing Conventions & Gospel Quartets
Benson Company (1902)
Robert Coleman (1918)
Stamps-Baxter (1926)
Publishing Boom
Bible Conference Movement
Charles Alexander Introduces Piano
Rodeheaver Music Co
Org.of CMPA (1925)
Sunday/ Rodeheaver Mass Revivals
Youth For Christ Movement (1940-1960)
Word Inc. (1952)
Singspiration, Inc (1940)
Cannan Music (1958)
Golden Pearls (1921)
Birth of Black Gospel (1930)
Dorsey Music Co./ Morris & Martin (1930's)
Gospel Quartets & All Night Sing (1949)
CIVIL WAR
WORLD WAR
Sputnik (1957)

# GEOGRAPHIC RELATIONSHIP OF GOSPEL MUSIC PUBLISHERS 1940-1960

Chart No. 7




**BLACK GOSPEL MUSIC PUBLISHING**

Nashville Chicago
New York Los Angeles

**TRADITIONAL GOSPEL MUSIC PUBLISHING**

Nashville Chicago Montrose, PA
Kansas City, Mo

**SOUTHERN GOSPEL MUSIC PUBLISHING**

Nashville Atlanta Dallas
Cleveland, TN Powel, MO

## *RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PRINTING COMPANIES AND PERSONALITIES FROM 1800s TO 1960s*

### *CHART 8*

| Year | Personality | Publisher | Song/Book |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1801 | Richard Allen | AME Church | *AME Hymnal* |
| 1802 | Little and Smith | Self | *Mus. Instructor* |
| 1830 | Lowell Mason | Mason Brothers | *SS Songs & My Faith Looks Up to Thee* |
| 1860 | William Bradbury | Bradbury Music | *Jesus Loves Me* |
| 1875 | Ira Sankey | Biglow and Main | *Ninety and Nine* |
| 1882 | Fanny Crosby | Biglow and Main | *Redeemed* |
| 1884 | Anthony Showalter | Showalter Music | *Leaning on the Everlasting Arm* |
| 1910 | Homer Rodeheaver | Rodeheaver Music | *In the Garden* |
| 1918 | Haldor Lillenas | Lillenas Publishing | *Wonderful Grace of Jesus* |
| 1921 | Charles Tindley | National Baptist | *Lead Me Gently Home* |
| 1930 | Thomas Dorsey | Dorsey Music | *Precious Lord, Take My Hand* |
| 1938 | B. B. McKinney | Southern Baptist | *Have Faith In God* |
| 1940 | Percy Crawford | Young People's Radio of the Air | *Everyday with Jesus* |
| 1949 | John Peterson | Singspiration | *It Took A Miracle* |
| 1958 | Mosie Lister | Lillenas Publishing | *Til the Storm Passes By* |
| 1962 | Bill & Gloria Gaither | Gaither Music | *He Touched Me* |
| 1964 | Ralph Carmichael | Lexicon Music | *He's Everything to Me* |

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## APPENDIX A

## LETTER TO PARTICIPANTS CONFIRMING ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW

## [PERSONAL LETTERHEAD]

October 8, 1991

Dr. John W. Peterson
11668 North 80th Place
Scottsdale, AZ 85260

Dear Dr. Peterson:

Thanks so much for the enjoyable and most pleasant telephone conversations. It is with great anticipation I look forward to our interview together. This is to confirm our scheduled meeting at 8:00 a.m., Friday, October 18.

As per our conversation, I will call you Friday morning for directions to your home. I am staying at the Marriott Courtyard Hotel, 13444 East Shea.

Enclosed please find a copy of the questions I will be working from for the interview. These questions only serve as a guide for further conversation and investigation. A draft copy of the proposal is also enclosed. Please do spend some time reading through the document. It's relatively easy reading and can tell you something about the direction I am heading as an academic research project.

In addition, please be thinking of personal experiences that might serve as anecdotal material for the dissertation. Personal experiences help reinforce historical events and bring life to such writing projects.

Let me thank you for the opportunity for our visit. I am sure the interview will be of significance to the industry for years to come.

Sincerely,

Vernon M. Whaley
Arranger

## APPENDIX B

## POSTCARD CONFIRMING INDIVIDUAL PARTICIPATION

## [PRINTED ON BACK OF SELF-ADDRESSED, STAMPED CARD]

Dear Vernon:

I agree to participate with you in the doctoral dissertation study of Contemporary Christian Music. I am aware that participation will include personal interview and telephone conversations. I understand that you (Vernon M. Whaley) are responsible for all expenses related to the dissertation and gathering of historical data.

_____ Date _____
Bill Gaither, Composer/Publisher
Address_____
City_____ State_____ Zip_____
Please check which phone preferred for research-related interviews:
❑ Business phone (  )_____ ❑ Home phone (  ) _____
Please check most appropriate time for telephone interviews:
❑ Morning (after 8:00 a.m.) ❑ Afternoon (after 1:00 p.m.)
❑ Evening (after 6:00 and before 10:00 p.m.)

# APPENDIX C

## INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

**1.0 MUSICAL INFLUENCES DURING THE DECADE OF THE 1950S** -- What musical influences most impacted the gospel music publishing industry during the time immediately before, during and after the decade of the 1950s?

**1.1** What was the major emphasis in publishing gospel music during the decade of the 1950s? Explain why you think this emphasis was important.

**1.2** What would you consider the major market for gospel music during the decade of the 1950s? How do you think this market was expanded? Explain.

**1.3** What secular music influences most affected gospel music during the decade of the 1950s?

**1.4** What music education influences, if any, impacted gospel music during the decade of the 1950s? To your knowledge, was there any "cross-over" in marketing for education and/or the evangelical church? Explain.

**1.5** What sort of product was introduced to the evangelical market during the decade of the 1950s? How did this meet specific needs and demands of that market? Explain.

**1.6** Were there any major shifts in focus by gospel music publishers during the decade of the 1950s? How were these shifts accommodated by the market and in product development.

**1.7** Who were some of the major personalities that contributed to the success of the gospel music during the decade of the 1950s? Explain.

**1.8** What one individual or group of individuals do you think made the most significant contribution(s) to gospel music publishing during the decade of the 1950s? Explain.

**2.0 SOCIAL INFLUENCES DURING THE DECADE OF THE 1950S --** What social influences had a direct or indirect affect on the publishing of gospel music during the decade of the 1950s.

**2.1** Were there specific social and/or spiritual needs that publishers of gospel music sought to address during the decade of the 1950s? Explain.

**3.0 CULTURAL INFLUENCES DURING THE DECADE OF THE 1950s --** There are natural shifts in cultural demands during the course of a decade. In thinking back on the decade of the 1950s (and realizing that music is a reflection of individual cultures), what cultural demands most affected the development of gospel music.

**4.0 POLITICAL INFLUENCES DURING THE DECADE OF THE 1950s** -- The decade immediately following World War II was characterized by new hope, new political directions, new economic concepts, a new spiritual awareness, and political freedoms. In what ways, if any, do you think the political atmosphere of the 1950s affected the gospel music industry. Explain.

**5.0 TECHNOLOGICAL INFLUENCES DURING THE DECADE OF THE 1950s** -- The 1940s and 1950s is characterized by the acceptance and utilization of an industrial revolution. Major industries began to attract workers to the city from the farms. Thousands of families moved from the rural communities of Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia and West Virginia to major industrial centers. While these shifts in industrial emphasis certainly do have obvious and major cultural implications, do you think these changes in technology influenced the publishing of gospel of music? Why? Why not?

**5.1** During the 1940s and 1950s America saw the introduction and development of radio and television. How do you think these new advances in technology influenced the gospel music publishing industry? Explain.

**6.0 ECCLESIASTICAL INFLUENCES DURING THE DECADE OF THE 1950s** -- The time immediately following World War II has often been characterized as years of revival in the evangelical church. Do you agree with this statement? Explain. How did the gospel music industry respond to this emphasis in spiritual renewal?

**6.1** What product can you point to that was created in response to the ecclesiastical demands of the 1950s.

**7.0 EDUCATIONAL INFLUENCES DURING THE DECADE OF THE 1950s** -- The education environment in American during the 1950s is characterized by shifting of emphasis and changes in purpose. The launching of sputnik by the USSR in the later part of the decade stimulated major changes in the music education world. Do you see that these changes affected the gospel music in any way? Explain.

**7.1** Are there any gospel music product(s) or publication(s) produced during the 1950s that significantly assisted in the music education of children of the evangelical culture? Explain.

**8.0 INDUSTRY DEVELOPMENTS AND GROWTH CYCLES DURING THE 1950s** -- During the 1940s and 1950s, there seemed to be interest on the part of a few select denominations in providing music publications for their constituents. The Church of the Nazarene established The Lillenas Publishing Company, The Assemblies of God founded Melody Music, and the Baptist Sunday School Board (already establishing a department of church music)affirmed their commitment to music education through the development of graded music curricula. Why do you think these denominations established these publication divisions?

**8.1** How did "other" publishers of gospel music respond to these developments in the industry?

**8.2** What were some of the positive results in seeing denominational (tax-free) groups publish music for the evangelical culture? Explain.

**8.4** Where there other organizations and institutions created during the 1950s that were of significance to gospel music publishing?

**9.0 PERSONAL INFORMATION RELATED TO THE DECADE OF THE 1950s.** What do you believe was your most important contribution to the gospel music publishing industry during this decade? Explain.

**10.0 GENERAL COMMENTS ABOUT THE DECADE OF THE 50s.** Do you have any general comments or observations that might help further define the direction, intent, and scope of gospel music publishing during the decade of the 1960s? Explain.

## APPENDIX D

## INTERVIEW APPROVAL FORM

## [PERSONAL LETTERHEAD]

**This is to certify that I have read the Edited Interview Transcripts for the INTERVIEWS WITH ROBERT MacKENZIE as taken by Vernon M. Whaley at Nashville on October 3, 1991; November 15, 1991; January 10, 1992; January 11, 1992; March 26, 1992; and, March 29, 1992. I have made changes, suggestions, additions and deletions to the transcripts and returned them to Vernon M. Whaley for use with the dissertation, A HISTORY OF GOSPEL MUSIC PUBLISHING: 1940-1960.**

**I hereby grant Vernon M. Whaley permission to use the interviews and related transcripts as primary resource material for his dissertation project at the University of Oklahoma. I understand these interviews will not be used for any other purpose without first obtaining written permission from me.**

**I further understand a copy of THE INTERVIEW WITH ROBERT MacKENZIE (FINAL EDITION) will be sent to me for my keeping.**

_____

**John W. Peterson**
**Date** _____

## APPENDIX E

## PERMISSION TO PHOTO COPY SELECT SONGS

**[PERSONAL LETTERHEAD]**

**I ❑ grant ❑ do not grant (check [√] appropriate box) Vernon M. Whaley permission to photo-copy the songs *It Took A Miracle, Calling, My Song, He Owns The Cattle, Over the Sunset Mountains,* and *God is Love* for use as illustrations in his dissertation. It is my understanding that Vernon M. Whaley will make 25 copies of the dissertation: 9 for the dissertation participants; 7 for the dissertation/general exam committee; 2 for the University of Oklahoma libraries; 3 for Free Will Baptist college libraries; and 4 for his personal use.**

**I have written below the format in which the copyright and permission statement should appear in the dissertation.**

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**John W. Peterson**
**Date** _____