DEFINING AFRICAN AMERICAN GOSPEL MUSIC
BY TRACINGS ITS HISTORICAL AND MUSICAL DEVELOPMENT
FROM 1900 TO 2000

DISSertation

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By
Raymond Wise, B.F.A., M.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
2002

Dissertation Committee:
Dr. Jan McCrary, Advisor
Dr. Jere Forsythe
Dr. William McDaniel

Approved By

Advisor
School of Music
Copyright by
Raymond Wise
2002
ABSTRACT

The prominent use of African American gospel music outside of the African American church coupled with the implementation of secular or non-African American musical elements has caused many African American gospel listeners, artists, and historians to raise the question, "what is gospel music?" and "what makes a song 'gospel'?" This study examined the historical and musical development of African American gospel music throughout the 20th century in order to define its key components, clarify its identity and account for its expansion and development since its beginnings. The underlying premise of this study was that African American gospel music could not be accurately defined because its history has not been completely documented within one source and a single agreed-upon definition does not consider the music's changing stylistic characteristics from its beginnings to the present. The study began with a review of the literature to document the significant musical and historical developments of African American gospel music throughout the 20th century as evidenced in scholarly and popular sources. The literature review began with the pre-gospel era (ca. 1860 - ca. 1920), moved on to gospel music's beginnings (ca. 1920s), and continued until the year 2000. The literature was examined to answer the questions, what distinguishes African American gospel music from other musical styles also referred to by the name "gospel
music?," "what are the core elements of African American gospel music?," and "what is a more comprehensive definition of African American gospel music based upon the music's significant historical and stylistic developments throughout the 20th century. An analysis of the data revealed that African American gospel music could be distinguished from other sacred musical styles also known by the name gospel based upon its time of origin and core musical and non-musical properties. The data also revealed that African American gospel music was to be distinguished from other African American sacred music styles by its unique stylistic characteristics. The unique stylistic characteristics of African American gospel music have been retained, altered, or expanded over time and have caused musical distinctions within African American gospel music. These distinctions reveal a recurring pattern throughout the history of African American gospel music that allow it to be divided into five Gospel Music Eras and eleven distinct Gospel Musical and Performance Styles. Although stylistic distinctions exist between the various eras and performance styles, the data revealed common musical and textual elements, performance properties, artists, and ministerial functions and purposes that link all 20th century African American gospel songs. A paradigm was formulated based upon these core components to identify African American gospel songs and distinguish them from other songs also known as gospel songs. Finally a comprehensive definition was formulated for African American gospel music based upon its musical and historical development throughout the 20th century.
Dedicated to all of my family members and mentors who did not live to see the completion of this work but significantly contributed to its existence (Daddy, Grandmother, Aunt Pauline, Dr. Robert M. Simmons, and Dr. Robert Fryson) Also dedicated to all of the gospel pioneers who helped to create this wonderful music called “Gospel,” and to the Gospel artists who will perpetuate and preserve it in the future.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank God, who proved to me that when I am weak, I am strong because the power of Christ will rest upon me. (II Corinthians 12:9-10). Thank you for allowing your awesome power to work in me and flow through me. I Love You!!

I wish to thank my loving wife Dawnne Wise, Ph.D., for always seeing the best in me. Thank you for going through the process first and encouraging me to finish my course. Most importantly, I thank you for giving me the freedom and support to realize this and other dreams and for being there when I’m done to assess them along the way. Thanks also for being my personal editor; I couldn’t have done it without you. Thanks for helping to bring forth our beautiful son Ryan Alexander. He is a joy and I look forward to raising him with you. I love you very much.

I wish to thank my son Ryan for being my motivator. Thanks for providing my minute vacations while working on this document by allowing me to hold you and play with you. I can’t wait to finish, so that we can really have some fun. I love you little one!!

I wish to thank my father, Ceylon Dexter Wise Jr. who departed this life in 1992, but whose spirit and words have never left me. Thanks for instilling in me the importance of education and the belief that I could be anything I desired to be. I decided, as you so often told me, to make up mind to be somebody. It is still unfolding, but I
know you would be proud of this accomplishment. I miss you!!

I wish to thank my mother, Rev. Julia Virginia Wise, for teaching me how to do this music called “Gospel.” As my first teacher, it was from you that I learned how to sing, play, and direct Gospel music. But most of all I thank you for the spiritual example you have exemplified throughout my life. I thank you for demonstrating to me how to live a godly life that blesses others and bears fruit. The fruit in my life is a product of the seeds you’ve sown in me. And thanks for your continual prayers and encouragement.

I wish to thank my best friend, Frank Lane for loving me enough and trusting me to hold down the fort at Raise Productions, while I’ve pursued these last two degrees. I know its been hard at times and perhaps a little lonely at times, but know that I appreciate your sacrifice. It’s your turn now, so go get that M. Div.!!

I wish to thank my adopted family, Bonnie, Mom Lane, Sassy and Shay for all of your love, support, hugs, laughs and meals; they really made a difference. Thanks most of all for providing a place for me to relax and be “nobody.”

To my brother Skip (Dr. C. Dexter Wise, III): You have been a role model for me since childhood. I always wanted to be like you. Thanks for the academic, spiritual, and practical example. Thanks Shirley and the other Wises for your support as well over the past 20 years.

To my other brothers and sisters, Karen, Nita, Jimmy, and Robert: Thanks so much for allowing me the opportunity to grow up singing Gospel music with you. You’ll never know how much that period of my life meant. It was the beginning of my musical journey. Thanks Jimmy and Robert for singing my songs, even if I had to bribe you to
do it. “You know that I know, that they know, that we know, that its true, ah huh huh.”

I think you now see what was in the works. Thanks to all of the spouses, nieces, and nephews, too.

I wish to thank my grandmother, the late Sylvia Person, for my first piano lessons and for supporting all of my musical endeavors. Also thanks to Aunt Thelma, Aunt Lucille, and Aunt Julia for all of your musical and ministry examples.

I wish to thank my great Aunt Pauline Wells Lewis for providing me with the chance to witness this history of gospel music first-hand and to perform with so many of the great gospel pioneers. Thanks for introducing me to Richard Smallwood and Union Temple, it forever changed my life. But thanks most of all for leaving me your legacy and collection of Gospel recordings and other artifacts. Don’t worry it will be put to good use to help preserve and train young musicians in Gospel music. It has already aided me tremendously by providing primary sources for this study.

I wish to thank my in-laws, Drs. Carlton and Gwen O’Neal for your encouragement and support. You’ve both been here and done this, so you know what I’ve encountered. Thanks for having me as a son-in-law, but for loving me as a “son.” Thanks, you too Elisha. Keep growing!!

I wish to thank my high school music teacher and friend, Hugh Carey, for introducing me to classical music and teaching me so much about choral conducting. You taught me how to care for students and how to draw excellence out of each one of them (Even if they couldn’t carry a tune in a bucket). I still contend to this day that I learned more about musicianship from you in the early days performing at Dunbar High
School, than I have learned throughout my musical career. Thanks for trusting me as your assistant and for silently convincing me to major in music rather than anesthesiology.

Thanks Terence Womble, for introducing me to the joys of classical music and believing that I could master classical music.

I wish to thank all of my musical mentors and friends within the gospel community who have helped to shape my musical career both up close and from afar. I would like to especially thank Richard Smallwood, the late Robert Fryson, Henry Davis, and Mark Payne, whose musical influence sparked the desire within me to major in classical music, and to Edwin and Walter Hawkins who helped me to polish my discipline and skills as a professional musician. You’ll never know how much you’ve meant. I appreciate all of you.

I wish to thank the late Rev. Robert Simmons, Ph. D., former Dean of the Academic Division of the Gospel Music Workshop of America. Thanks for helping me to discover who I am and where I fit. I’m glad to be a “C”. Thanks for encouraging me to pursue my doctoral degree. Thanks also for letting me hang out with you and assist you for the last eight years of your life. You taught me how to think critically about Gospel music and what it could be, or should I say, what it will be. Thanks for leaving such a legacy and collection of original artifacts, books, and recordings. I am committed to helping complete the research that you began. I miss you! Thanks to you mom Simmons and the GMWA faculty and staff as well.

I wish to thank my advisor, Dr. Jan McCrary (Dr. J.). Thanks for being a
wonderful advisor. I know I was the first, so there was some trial and error, however, you’ll never know, how many days I wanted to quit, but decided to continue because of your words of support and encouragement that brought a smile to my face and lifted weights off of my shoulder. Thanks for reading and re-reading and re-reading and reading again. Thanks for all of the editing and advice that helped to shape this dissertation into a finished product. You did a great job!! I hope I’ve made you proud. I look forward to all of the future collaborations.

To Dr. McDaniel, thanks for being there and encouraging me to do something with the “music” that would be significant to the academic and gospel community. I appreciate your example and support more than you could ever know.

I wish to thank Dr. Jere Forsythe for believing in me and for being one of my greatest fans. Thanks for being such a forward thinker and for giving me the chance to realize the dream of teaching a course in Gospel music at the college level. It has been a great success!! So many people have been blessed because of the day you asked me, “do you think we can pull it off.” Yes we can!! Yes we have!! The Gospel choir is a hit!! Thanks!!

To Dr. Boone, thanks for helping me to shape my thoughts about this music whose identity is always in motion.

Thanks Donna Knicely for being you and always having the answers, solutions, course registration numbers, and PAC Codes. You’re the greatest!

Thanks Dr. Flowers, for signing and signing and signing and signing. I finally made it. When I first entered the doctoral program, you suggested that my gifts could be
a great asset to students within the academic environment. I now see and understand the need and I’m glad to be here. Your support has meant more than you know.

I wish to thank the teachers and staff of Raise Productions (Timika, Willie, Chris, Ceylon, Tam, Cindy, Mark and John) for seeing the vision and for helping to carry it while I’ve pursued this degree. We’re about to go to a new place so “get ready!”

Thanks to Raise Choir and all of the choirs with whom I’ve worked over the past 25 years that have provided the training ground for me to become the composer, musician, and director that I am today.

I wish to thank Columbus School for Girls, The Ohio State University School of Music, Denison University, and Trinity Lutheran Seminary for allowing me to release the years of knowledge and experience within me by developing and instructing courses in African American Gospel Music and Spirituals.

I wish to thank Mom and Dad Alsbrooks, Mom and Dad Smith, Mom Barksdale and all of the adopted parents who have encouraged and supported me throughout the years. I love you much!!

I wish to thank all The Sisters of Faith (Sharon, Fran, Vicky and Veronica), for your continued prayers, encouragement, and cards.

I wish to thank Goldean Gibbs, for encouraging me with cards and prayers to not stay ABD. I promised I wouldn’t!! Your support meant so much. Thanks!!

And finally, thanks Cindy G. and Cindy G. for digging through the archives to find some of the oldies but goodies.
VITA

December 3, 1961

Born - Baltimore, Md.

1983

B.F.A. Music,
Denison University

1987-1994

Faculty Member, Academic Division
of The Gospel Music Workshop of
America

1995-1996

Dean’s Fellowship,
The Ohio State University

1996-2002

Choral Director, Columbus School
for Girls, Columbus, Ohio

1997

M.A. Music Education,
The Ohio State University

1998–2002

Graduate Teaching Associate,
The Ohio State University

2000-present

Adjunct Faculty, Choral Director
Denison University, Granville, Ohio

2001-present

Adjunct Faculty, Sacred Music
Trinity Lutheran Seminary

FIELD OF STUDY

Major Field: Music
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dedication</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgments</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vita</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Tables</td>
<td>xviii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Figures</td>
<td>xx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapters:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Introduction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Background of the Study</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need for the Study</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limitations and Definitions</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Review of the Literature</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Pre-Gospel Years (Pre-1900s – 1920s)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-1900s</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Spiritual</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalmody and lined Singing</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaped note singing</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emancipation and Education: The Establishment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Fisk University and the Fisk Jubilee Singers</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quartets</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-1900 recording</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evangelistic Movement</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dissention within the Black Church –
Pentecostal Church Movement begins..................................22

1900s.........................................................................................25
Music inside the mainline and traditional
Black denominational churches..............................................25
The Evangelistic Movement and Black Hymnody......................30
Apostolic Hymnody.................................................................34
Quartet music........................................................................36
Blues and Jazz........................................................................36

1910s.........................................................................................38
The ongoing influence of White and Black Hymnody..................38
Lucie Campbell and the National Baptist Convention.................39

The Developmental Years of Gospel Music (1920s – 1930s)............42

1920s.........................................................................................42
The first Gospel hymnals..........................................................43
Thomas Dorsey and the name “Gospel Songs”..............................44
The influence of radio and recordings.........................................61
The early Gospel Quartets: 1920s – 1930s.................................65
Gospel music becomes a new and distinct genre.........................52
Thomas Dorsey: The Father of Gospel Music..............................53

1930s.........................................................................................55
Chicago: The Birthplace of Gospel Music....................................55
The new Gospel music and the Black Church..............................56
The first Gospel choruses..........................................................58
The first Gospel convention.......................................................59
Spreading the new Gospel style through Gospel sheet
music publishing.................................................................60
Gospel music publishing.........................................................63
Musical characteristics and innovations by three early
Gospel pioneers..................................................................66
Gospel music gains exposure through radio
and recordings..................................................................71
Gospel music spreads beyond the Black Church.........................72

The Golden Age of Gospel (1940s-1960s).................................74

1940s.........................................................................................74
Introduction.............................................................................74
Music publishing...................................................................74
Gospel music gains exposure through radio and recordings ........................................ 77
Gospel music continues to spread beyond the Black Church ........................................ 78
Gospel music in the Black Church ........................................................................... 80
The musical contributions of Herbert Brewster ....................................................... 83
Community Gospel choirs form ............................................................................. 88
Female groups .......................................................................................................... 89
Quartets ...................................................................................................................... 90
Gospel solo vocal styles develop ............................................................................ 91
Accompaniment ......................................................................................................... 93

1950s ............................................................................................................................ 94
The Gospel Highway is developed ........................................................................... 94
Milestones in Gospel music during the 1950s ............................................................ 95
The expansion of Gospel music publishing .............................................................. 96
The National Baptist Convention appoints a new director of music ..................... 98
Performance practices and musical innovations ...................................................... 99
Gospel Music outside of the Black Church: A Growing Controversy Music Ministry or Entertainment? .......................................................... 101
Gospel artists cross over to perform secular music .................................................. 104
The refinement of the Traditional Gospel choir sound ............................................. 105

Contemporary Influences in Gospel Music (1960s – 1970s) ........................................ 111

1960s ............................................................................................................................ 111
Introduction .................................................................................................................. 111
Gospel music continues to spread beyond the Black Church .................................. 112
Gospel music influences secular music ................................................................... 114
The contributions of James Cleveland ................................................................... 115
Gospel music publishing declines ........................................................................... 119
Gospel choirs on college campuses ........................................................................ 122
The classical influence expands into the Gospel community .................................. 124
Andrae Crouch and the seed of Contemporary Gospel music .................................. 125
New Gospel organizations rise in the 1960s ............................................................... 128
Edwin Hawkins: The Father of Contemporary Gospel Music .................................. 132
More Gospel Artists adopt the new gospel style ....................................................... 135

1970s ............................................................................................................................ 136
The Gospel Music Worship of American continued to expand .................................. 137
Traditional Gospel style is further refined ............................................................... 139
Traditional Gospel Artists continue to perform ......................................................... 140
A new era in Gospel music begins .......................................................................... 142
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Contributions of Edwin Hawkins</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contemporary Gospel music finds an audience</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classical music continues to influence Gospel music</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New contemporary performing forces emerge during the 1970s</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The musical contributions of the Hawkins Family</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Gospel record industry expands</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New possibilities for Gospel artists</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emerging Trends in Gospel Music (1980s)</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980s</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The expansion of the Gospel recording industry</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gospel expands nationally and abroad through radio, television and concert tours</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gospel artists present major tours and rock style concerts</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competition affects Gospel music</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gospel festivals, competitions, and commercials</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The state of Gospel music awards</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical research, scholarship, and documentation of the Gospel art form</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Gospel artists rise in the 1980s</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional Gospel music still thrives</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gospel Music is redefined and a new musical movement emerges</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrae Crouch sows seeds for new musical movements</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The influence of Rap, Hip-Hop, and Jazz on Gospel Music during the 1980s</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gospel Music is redefined and a second musical movement begins</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990s</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major labels continue to join the Gospel field</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gospel spreads through new products and marketing strategies</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The secular sound of Gospel leads to increased radio airplay</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The business of Gospel music</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The effects of a saturated Gospel market</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Significant Gospel recordings</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The state of Gospel music awards</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Gospel support organizations, magazines, and conventions are established</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Preserving and perpetuating the Gospel art ........................................ 207
Secular musical genres continue to influence 
Gospel music .............................................................................. 209
Non-Musical innovations lead to ambiguity concerning 
Gospel music’s identity ................................................................. 213
Gospel artists began performing in specific Gospel styles .............. 215
Gospel music gains cross over and cross cultural appeal ............... 217
Traditional Gospel music still thrives .............................................. 218
New Traditional: A combination of Traditional and 
Contemporary styles ..................................................................... 219
Choirs thrive as a performing force .............................................. 221
Other performing art forms rise in popularity and are 
combined with Gospel music ....................................................... 224
Conclusion .................................................................................. 225

2000 ............................................................................................ 225
Gospel enters the new millennium ................................................ 225
Has Gospel music gone too far? .................................................... 227
The continuation of Gospel eras .................................................... 228
The future of Gospel music ............................................................ 229

3. Methods and Procedures .......................................................... 231

Gospel Music and 20th Century Definitions .................................. 231
Materials and Resources ............................................................... 234
Compilation and Organization of the Sources ............................. 236

4. The Assessment of the Literature .............................................. 239

Introduction ................................................................................ 239

What distinguishes African American Gospel music 
from other musical styles that are also referred to by 
the name “Gospel music”? .......................................................... 240

What are the core musical elements of African American 
Gospel music? ........................................................................... 245

Historical Pattern ....................................................................... 245
  The Congregational Era (1900s – 1920s – present) ................. 251
  The Traditional Era (1920s – 1960s – present) ....................... 256
  The Contemporary Era (1960s – 1970s – present) ................. 260
  The Ministry Era (1980s – 1990s – present) ......................... 265
  The Crossover Era (1990s – 2000 – present) ....................... 271
The Continual Line ......................................................... 276
The Continual Line of Core Musical Elements .................. 276
The Continual Line of Non-Musical Elements .................... 281
Textual Retentions ......................................................... 281
Performance Practices .................................................. 281
Peak Forms ................................................................. 285
Gospel Artists and their Protegees ................................. 287
Connection to the Black Church ................................. 293

Core Elements of Gospel Music ..................................... 294

How to use the Paradigm ............................................. 297

Testing the Paradigm ................................................... 298

Conclusion ................................................................. 308

A comprehensive definition of African American Gospel Music
based on the music’s significant historical and stylistic developments
throughout the 20th century? .......................................... 310

5. Summary and Discussion, Implications of this Study, and Recommendations
for Further Research ..................................................... 312

Summary and Discussion ............................................. 312
Implications of this Study ......................................... 318
Recommendations for Further Research .......................... 320

Bibliography .............................................................. 322

Appendices:
A: Discography of Gospel and Secular Recordings
   Referenced within this study ..................................... 341

B: The Recurring Historical Pattern Throughout
   Gospel Music History ........................................... 359

C: Gospel Trade Organizations and their Missions .............. 365
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Distinguishing Characteristics among African American and Non-African American Gospel Songs</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>African American Sacred Musical Genres</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Table of Gospel Eras and Time Periods</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Gospel Music Eras and Gospel Musical and Performance Styles</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>Significant Developments and Contributors within the History of Gospel Music</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>Gospel Musical Development Chart - Hymn Style</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>Gospel Musical Development Chart – Quartet Style</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>Gospel Musical Development Chart – Early Classic Gospel Style</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>Gospel Musical Development Chart – Late Classic Gospel Style</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.10</td>
<td>Gospel Musical Development Chart – Total Style</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.11</td>
<td>Gospel Musical Development Chart – Classical Style</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>Gospel Musical Development Chart – Contemporary Style</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.13</td>
<td>Gospel Musical Development Chart – Contemporary Jazz and Blues Style</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.14</td>
<td>Gospel Musical Development Chart – Ministry Style</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.15</td>
<td>Gospel Musical Development Chart – Praise and Worship Style</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.16</td>
<td>Gospel Musical Development Chart - Urban Style</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.17 Core Gospel Musical Elements evidenced within African American Gospel music throughout the 20th century .................. 278

4.18 Table of An Entire Song that has been Performed in Various Gospel Styles throughout the various Gospel Music Eras .................. 280

4.19 Core Non-Musical Elements evidenced within African American Gospel throughout the 20th Century .................................................. 282

4.20 The Three Identifying Components of Gospel Music .................. 283

4.21 Continual Line of Gospel Artists and their Protegees (Composers, Musicians, and Singers) ................................................................. 289

4.22 Paradigm for identifying African American Gospel Songs .................. 296

4.23 Songs of Various Musical Eras and Styles to be Tested by the Paradigm .......... 299

4.24 Paradigm Model for Secular Songs written in the African American Gospel Music Style ................................................................. 301

4.25 Paradigm Model for White Gospel and non-African American Sacred Gospel Songs ................................................................. 304

4.26 Gospel songs that do not reflect the core musical and performance properties or function and purpose properties ................................................................. 307

4.27 Paradigm Test Results. What constitutes an African American Gospel Song? ................................................................. 309
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.1 Emotional Peak Forms</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The prominent use of African American gospel music outside of the African American church coupled with the implementation of secular and non-African American elements has caused many listeners, artists, and historians to ask “what is gospel music?” In fact, African American gospel music has changed so significantly as a result of these two factors that its identity is often ambiguous. It appears that when African American gospel music moves too far beyond the walls of the “Black Church” and includes secular aspects, there is the perception by some that gospel music is no longer serving its intended function and is therefore no longer “gospel music.” However, the debate raised about such issues is not new. In fact, discussions concerning the definition of African American gospel music have occurred throughout the history of gospel music. Although each generation’s debate may seem to be greater than the preceding generation, a debate, nonetheless, has always existed. However, gospel composers, performers, scholars, and listeners sometimes fail to recognize this recurring pattern. Thus, an examination of the history of African American gospel music might lead to greater clarification concerning gospel music’s identity and meaning.
Background of the Study

Since the beginnings of gospel music, gospel musicians have frequently been shunned by the African American church community for either mixing secular musical elements into gospel music or for performing gospel music in non-traditional or secular settings. In the 1920s and 1930s Thomas A. Dorsey, known as the “Father of Gospel Music”, was reportedly prohibited from playing the “new gospel music” in prominent African American churches because it was thought to be too “bluesy” or “worldly” (Harris, 1992, p. 179). In the 1950s and 1960s Clara Ward and her group, the “Famous Ward Singers,” were criticized for performing gospel music in night clubs. Though Clara Ward maintained that her mission was to evangelize rather than to entertain, her motives and intent were not always understood or approved by the church community, especially since they performed gospel music in Las Vegas night clubs and other venues such as the Apollo Theater in New York, and the Newport Jazz Festival (Ward 1956, p. 16; Maultsby, 1992, p. 23).

In the 1970s Edwin Hawkins and the Hawkins Singers were also criticized for incorporating the music of secular genres into gospel music and performing in non-traditional settings (Jones, 1998, p. 95). Due to the popular appeal of their musical style, their recordings were played on secular stations and they frequently performed in non-traditional settings, such as Madison Square Garden and Caesar’s Palace. Edwin Hawkins recalls the ridicule he and his group received mainly from the church community (Jones, 1998, p. 95). In the 1980s and 1990s, The Winans (Winans Brothers, Be Be and Ce Ce) were criticized for expanding gospel music’s boundaries by merging rhythm and blues musical elements with gospel music in order to appeal to young
listeners (Collins, 1999, p.7). By producing gospel recordings with secular artists like Anita Baker, Michael McDonald, and Whitney Houston, which contained a strong rhythm and blues influence, many people within the church community believed the Winans had “left the church” (Smith, 1988, p.28). The Winans, Be Be and Ce Ce in particular, were especially criticized for diluting (altering) their gospel texts by replacing familiar sacred terminology such as “God” and “Jesus” with words like “love”, “light”, and “He.” In their defense Marvin Winans stated, “just because you don’t say Jesus, Jesus, Jesus, all the time doesn’t mean it’s [music] not gospel (Smith, 1988, p. 32).

Recently Kirk Franklin has been criticized for incorporating secular musical elements and artists into his music, and for implementing secular performance practices such as rap and hip-hop dance and clothing. Believing that the bottom line is to reach the young listeners, Franklin explains,

generation X doesn’t want to hear from the reverend behind the pulpit, or go to any bible conferences. So we need to go about getting the message to them in another way. That doesn’t mean my way isn’t godly just because I’m not using the same tools they’re using (Jones, 1998, p. 156).

These and other examples demonstrate that gospel musicians have been criticized throughout the years for including secular musical elements within gospel music, performing in secular settings, including non-gospel artists on their recordings, and implementing secular performance practices.

A primary concern within the African American church community, and among some gospel music composers, performers, and listeners, is that monetary gain rather than evangelism has been the motive for taking gospel music beyond the walls of the African American church. For example, in the 1960s Della Reese, who is known in both sacred and secular arenas, declared to the contrary that her performances with the
Meditation Singers at New York’s Copacabana served only an entertainment purpose.

Reese stated,

we are not presented as holy singers; we are there to show that gospel music is interesting music. We don’t perform in night clubs to save souls. She also acknowledged that financial considerations played a role in her decision to perform gospel music in night clubs: “I like a comfortable apartment, a healthy bank account and some good solid real estate” (“Gospel to Pop to Gospel” 1962, 107; Maultsby, 1992, p. 23).

Even Thomas Dorsey, remarked of how in his early career, he performed as both a gospel and jazz musician (Harris, 1992, p. 180). Dorsey stated,

I wasn’t giving all my time to the church, see, I was kind of straddling the fence, making money out there on the outside, you know, in the band business and then going to church Sunday morning helping what I could do for them for they wasn’t able to pay nothing. I could make money out there (Harris, 1992, p.180).

While there are gospel artists who make their living performing gospel music in sacred and secular musical settings as entertainers, there are also gospel artists who perform gospel beyond the walls of the Black church as musical evangelists. Because motives and intentions are not always apparent, many people within the African American gospel community have expressed concerns over gospel artists who take gospel music beyond the church walls. Some members of the gospel community have become so concerned that they question whether gospel music will remain within the domain of the Black church, if it continues to change its musical elements and be performed in secular arenas (Boyer, 1979, p. 6). A chronological investigation of the history of gospel music could add insight into the continuous sacred-secular musical relationship that has led both to the stability and musical development of gospel music. Unless gospel music is defined from a broad historical perspective, its definition will continue to be limited to narrow subjective views, and its identity may continue to be ambiguous to some people.
Purpose

The purpose of this study is to define African American gospel music based on its historical and musical development throughout the 20th century. The study will begin with a review of the literature to document the development of African American gospel music as evidenced in scholarly and popular sources. The literature review will begin with the pre-gospel era (Pre-1900s – ca. 1920), move on to gospel music’s beginnings (ca. 1920s), and continue until the year 2000. The history of gospel music will be reviewed in order to answer the following research questions.

1.) What distinguishes African American gospel music from other musical styles that are also referred to by the name “gospel music?”

2.) What are the core musical elements of African American gospel music?

3.) What is a more comprehensive definition of African American gospel music based on the music’s significant historical and stylistic developments throughout the 20th century?

Need for the Study

Available sources define African American gospel music from either a cultural (Reagon, 1992), spiritual (Davidson, 1975), textual (Butler, 1979), or musical perspective (Eskew, 1980). Though each perspective may offer insight into the core components of gospel music, commonly referenced definitions only account for one of the many facets of its identity (Davidson, 1975; Eskew, 1980; Randel, 1986; Oliver, Harrison, and Bolcom, 1986; and Sadie, 1994). For example, though gospel music has underlying theological and spiritual principles upon which it is based, there are other genres of music
that are also based upon similar principles. Although gospel music has a spiritual component, it is not only spiritual music. Though gospel music primarily uses biblical texts for its lyrics, gospel music texts have been expanded to include not just the gospel message as presented in the *Bible*, but any message of hope, faith and assurance and other related themes. Gospel texts and themes are not used exclusively within African American gospel music, therefore, text can not be considered as the only identifying property. African American gospel music has distinguishing musical elements that can be readily identified, and these same musical elements are often used in many different American musical styles and genres, thus musical style alone may not be the sole identifying factor of gospel music. Gospel music also incorporates musical styles and performance practices of other secular and sacred music that are also referred to as “gospel music.” Since gospel music can be defined from various perspectives, a definition which encompasses and accounts for diverse perspectives is needed.

Gospel music composers, performers, scholars and listeners tend to disagree about the definition of gospel music because they attempt to define the music from a specific perspective. When gospel music is defined too specifically, the resulting definitions may not accurately account for what gospel music was in the past or what it has become in the year 2000. A definition that describes gospel songs composed in the 1930s, for example, may not accurately describe gospel songs composed in the year 2000 and vice versa. One who hears gospel music for the first time in the year 2000 might define gospel music as Collins (1993) describes it: “music designed for urban radio airplay that may have a place in our spiritual lives but not in the traditional worship experience” (p. 9). This definition, while descriptive of some gospel songs composed in the year 2000, does not accurately
describe gospel music composed in the 1930s through 1960s, which Bernice Johnson-Reagon (1992) describes in the following manner:

The new music [Gospel music] evolved out of the African American repertoire and song style of the nineteenth century, which included hymns, arranged and congregational spirituals, shape-note singing, and a style distinguished by highly charged, emotional sound” (p. 4).

This definition, though descriptive of some gospel songs composed in the 1930s to 1960s, does not adequately describe gospel music composed in the 1990s and the year 2000.

Defining gospel music from a general or broad perspective may also be inadequate. Many gospel composers, performers, scholars, and listeners choose to define gospel music very generally as any song that contains the “Gospel” message. For example, Butler (1979) writes in the introduction to the Gospel Music Encyclopedia, music is music and what makes it Gospel is the lyric content which contains the message of Good News, Hope, Promise, Faith and Assurance. Any song containing such a message, regardless of who sings it, is Gospel (p. 11).

While this definition highlights text as a key component of gospel music, it fails to distinguish African American gospel music from other styles of Christian music that also use gospel texts. Such a definition would allow songs like, “Precious Lord”, “Amazing Grace”, “What A Friend We Have In Jesus”, “Surely God is Able”, “Jesus On The Mainline”, “We’ll Understand It Better By and By”, and “We Shall Behold Him” to all be categorized as gospel songs. These types of general categorizations often lead gospel listeners to group all songs containing the gospel message into one general category. Though all of these songs are related by their gospel texts, if they were considered from a musical or cultural perspective, one would observe significant differences within their core musical and non-musical characteristics. Since musical and
stylistic differences exist among songs referred to as “gospel music,” definitions that are too general or specific may be inadequate. Until the various styles of gospel music are distinguished from each other, there will continue to be ambiguity concerning the usage and meaning of the term “gospel music.”

A broad historical picture of 20th century African American gospel music should reveal distinct musical and non-musical elements to formulate a comprehensive definition of African American gospel music. Presenting a broad historical examination of the evolution of African American gospel music requires an extensive review of the literature, utilizing both scholarly and popular sources, as well as an analysis of the information in order to determine its historical significance.

Most of the scholarly research available generally ends its historical account in 1969 with the release of Edwin Hawkin’s “Oh Happy Day,” which is believed to be the song that began the “modern or contemporary era” in gospel music (Walker, 1979; Boyer, 1995; Reagon, 1992). National symposia and projects have been conducted by scholars since the 1970’s, however, most of them tend to focus on the early pioneering days and composers of gospel music, rather than the contemporary artists from the 1970s through 2000. However, the history of African American gospel music has been very well documented within popular sources. In the introduction to the text “Jazz In The Sixties,” Budds (1990) acknowledges a similar situation that occurred when he attempted to document the history of jazz music based upon scholarly sources (p. xi). This book, written in a scholarly format, supported the use of popular literature and suggested that it was not only acceptable but often necessary to uncover valuable information on the history of a specific genre of music. This text helps demonstrate a parallel between
gospel music and jazz music and reinforces the view taken by the author of that current study, that both popular sources and scholarly sources are necessary for a complete historical investigation of gospel music in the twentieth-century.

Several serial and trade magazines are published monthly, quarterly and yearly that offer accounts of the key events in the gospel music field. Three such magazines are, *Totally Gospel* (1986 - 1990), *Gospel Today Magazine* (1989) formerly *Score Magazine*, and the *Gospel Music Industry Round-Up* (1994). Within these magazines are the monthly and yearly accounts of the gospel music industry from the 1980s until 2000 as it specifically relates to African American gospel music. These magazines contain historical facts that can be used to complete the historical picture of gospel music.

In order to obtain information about the music’s development during the decade of the 1970s, additional information was extracted from record jacket liner notes. The record jackets proved to be an invaluable source for filling in the historical gap and providing information for many of the gospel artists who recorded during the 1970s. The liner notes of the recordings also provided a wealth of biographical and historical information concerning the historical and musical development of African American gospel music. Many of the liner notes were written by noted scholar Anthony Heilbut (author of “*The Gospel Sound*”, 1971), while others contained notes by other scholars, radio announcers, and the artists themselves. Therefore, this study will examine popular sources to fill in the historical gap and expand and contribute to the scholarly literature on African American gospel music (Budds, 1990, p. xi).

This study will define African American gospel music based upon its overall development in the twentieth-century. By examining the history of gospel music in one
document, it will be possible to define African American gospel music as it developed during the 20th century and to distinguish it as a unique art form. This study will present data from various sources.

Limitations and Definitions

Though people tend to categorize all sacred songs containing the gospel message of faith, hope, and assurance as gospel songs, it should be noted that all gospel songs are not the same. The distinctions can be observed by reviewing the three recurring definitions of gospel music that appear within the literature. According to these definitions, gospel music includes; texts from the biblically based “gospel message” (Davidson, 1975; Butler, 1979); a form of hymnody developed by White composers during the Evangelistic Movement of the 1800s (Davidson, 1975; Eskew, 1980; Southern, 1997); and music developed in the Black church by African Americans during the late 1920s (Walker, 1979; Reagon, 1992; Southern, 1997). Writers who use the latter description to define gospel music also state the music combined elements of blues and jazz with hymns and spirituals. Though reference may be made to the other styles of gospel music throughout this study, for the sake of clarity “gospel music,” when used in this study will refer to “African American gospel music styles.” “White gospel” when used will refer to the White Hymnody of the 1800s, Southern or Contemporary Christian gospel.
CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

PRE-GOSPEL YEARS (Pre-1900s - 1920s)

Pre-1900s

The Spiritual.

Scholars agree that Africans brought and retained elements of their African culture when they were brought to North America from Africa (Ricks, 1960; Jones, 1963). It is further believed that African cultural has been applied to every situation and setting in which African Americans have been placed. African culture is particularly evidenced within the music of African Americans. “In the early days of the Black church between 1750 and 1777 there was spontaneous creation of the “spirituals” which resulted from the African tradition of call and response” (php.iupui.edu/~apcarpen/history.htm website, 2001, paragraph 4). The spiritual became the predominate form of music used in rural Black churches and praise houses during and after slavery (Jones, 1963). Ricks (1960) reports that African Americans performed
various types of spirituals throughout the history of slavery such as moans, cries, shouts, and field hollers (p. 47). Though spirituals were generally songs with a sad mood, Ricks (1960) suggests that there were many forms of spirituals. There were slow spirituals, metered spirituals, and the jubilee spirituals. The jubilee spirituals were fast-paced up-tempo songs that had a happy mood and spoke of the joys of freedom. The fast shouts were used for dancing. The moans were a special type of spiritual that included songs for the dead. There were also song narratives that combined features of the shout-jubilee and shout-spiritual. In general, spirituals were congregational and improvisational in nature. Though the words might change from one performance to another and though there were song leaders, the congregation was expected to participate (Ricks, 1960, p. 47). Much has been written on the spiritual, therefore, this study will not devote much time to its characteristics here. However, it is important to note that the spiritual is believed to have provided the basic musical foundation for many subsequent African American sacred and secular musical genres.

There was a thrust among White missionaries and Slave owners to convert African slaves to the Christian faith with the intent of making them more submissive (Walker, 1979, p.30). As a result of this thrust for conversion among the slaves, many Africans were allowed to join White Protestant denominational churches in which they were exposed to European sacred musical genres such as psalmody, lined or metered hymns, and shape note singing. The interaction of these two cultures produced a unique American and African American cultural expression. The result of the merging of these two cultures is uniquely evidenced and expressed within African American sacred music.
Psalmody and lined singing.

Church music during the first colonial century consisted of congregational singing of metrical versions of the Psalms called Psalmody. These Psalms were sung to four or five tunes that were handed down by oral tradition. Hymns and other paraphrases of the Psalms were not known until after 1740, when Watt’s and Wesley hymns began to be reprinted in the United States (Birge, 1929, p. 4). Psalmody, a form of congregational singing that was conducted by “lining out the tune,” became the established custom in all New England churches. Typically, a leader read the words of the Psalm one line at a time, followed by the people. The custom, which originated in England because the people could not read, “enabled the singers to begin each phrase together” (Birge, 1929, p. 6).

As a result of the Second Great Awakening, a Christian revival movement that swept through America between 1780 and 1830, Blacks were introduced to hymnody, the art of learning and singing European hymns. By the 1860’s Blacks were lining the hymns of Dr. Isaac Watts (php.iupui.edu/apcarpen/history.htm website, paragraph 4). In the lining hymn tradition, a deacon or one of the church’s members “lined out” the words of the hymn, and the congregation followed by singing the words of the hymn they had just been given. The tradition was very effective in congregations where literacy was rare. “Even as more practitioners of the tradition learned to read, the lining style of singing a hymn continued to be one of the great preferences among certain congregations” (Boyer, 1992, p. 84).
Though Blacks were converted to Christianity and accepted as members into the White denominational churches, the underlying motive of many of these churches was to use the gospel message as a tool to encourage a more submissive slave. Many slaves were upset by the fact that they were considered “brothers and sisters” in the faith yet they were mistreated within the church just as they were outside of the church. For example, Blacks were banned from praying at the altar of White churches and required to sit in sections designated for “colored” people (Southern, 1997, pp. 73-74). Consequently, many Blacks rebelled and formed their own churches in which they preached a gospel message of freedom versus a gospel message of submission (Southern, 1983, p. 52; Southern, 1997, pp. 70-75).

Some Blacks left the White denominational churches to form their own denominational churches. One example of this is Richard Allen who left the Methodist church in 1787 to form the African Methodist Episcopal or AME Church. The Black denominational churches adopted many of the worship traditions from the White churches of which they were former members. By applying African culture to European worship traditions, a unique African American worship style was created (Simmons, 1997, p. 67). Not only did African Americans adopt the worship formats of the White denominational churches, they also adopted and transformed music such as psalmody and lined hymns (Simmons, 1997). Blacks applied elements such as the pentatonic scales, flattened notes, and improvisation, from their African musical tradition to transform these musical forms into unique musical expressions. For every sacred musical style that European Americans had, African Americans adopted and created a comparable form.
For example, Boyer (1995) compares Euro American and African American lined hymn performance practices:

The difference was that in the lining of hymns, one would recite the words in an oratorical fashion in order to give the text, and then the congregation sings them in time and in tune, however, in raising a hymn, the deacon or member raised the song by intoning, chanting, the opening line, thereby setting the mood for the tune, time, and tempo (p. 85).

**Shaped note singing.**

Another musical tradition adopted by the Black church during this period was shape note singing tradition. Shape note singing sounded similar to lining out, however, the singers sang by note, versus by rote. White singing groups read shape note music from a hymnbook entitled *The Sacred Harp*, collected and edited by W. M. Cooper (Southern, 1997, p. 455). They would sing the hymn first with the use of four sol-fa-syllables, then sing the words. Southern (1997) reports that “Black communities developed their own *Colored Sacred Harp*, that was used in addition to or in place of Cooper’s version (p. 456). The *Colored Sacred Harp* contained the hymns found in Cooper’s *Sacred Harp* as well as hymns written by members of the Black community. The Black shape note singers expanded their repertoire to include spirituals and other folk songs that Blacks performed at the time. Contemporary reports reveal a related tradition called Seven-Shape Note Singing, that was prevalent throughout the South. This form differed significantly from Four-Shape Note singing and is believed to have developed within the Black gospel tradition (Southern, 1997, p. 456).
Other musical adaptations can be evidenced in the first hymnbook compiled for Black congregations entitled *A Collection of Spiritual Songs and Hymns Selected From Various Authors by Richard Allen*. Allen compiled this hymnbook in 1801 for the newly formed African Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia (Southern, 1983, p. 52). Rev. Peter Spencer compiled another hymnbook in 1822 for the Ezion Methodist Episcopal Church in Wilmington, Delaware (Boyer, 1992, p. 54).

While some Blacks established traditional churches, other Blacks ran their own camp meeting services. These services, held in what was called “Praise Houses,” consisted of a very spirited worship service that allowed the slaves to worship according to their African American cultural heritage and aesthetic (Jones, 1963). These services would include the use of instruments, spirited singing and holy dancing or the ring shout. Worshippers who participated in the ring shout believed they could evoke the presence of the Holy Spirit, from whom they could draw power and strength to endure the injustices of slavery (Jones, 1963. P. 43). Jones (1963) offers the following description.

The early Black Christian churches or the pre-church “praise houses” became the social focal point of Negro life. The relative autonomy of the developing Negro Christian religious gathering made it one of the only areas in the slave’s life where he was relatively free of the White man’s domination. (Aside from the more formally religious activities of the fledgling Negro churches, they served as the only centers where the slave community could hold strictly social functions.) The “praise nights,” or “prayer meetings,” were also the only times when the Negro felt he could express himself as freely and emotionally as possible. It is here that music becomes indispensable to any discussion of Afro-Christian religion . . . “Spirit possession,” as it is called in the African religions was also intrinsic to Afro-Christianity. “Getting’ the spirit,” “getting’ religion” or “getting’ happy” were indispensable features of the early American Negro church and even today, of the non-middle-class and rural Negro churches. And always music was an important part of the total emotional configuration of the Negro church, acting in most cases as the catalyst for those worshipers who suddenly “feel the spirit.” “The spirit will not descend without song” (pp. 40-41).
Jones (1963) goes on to describe a typical service as follows.

The “ring shouts” or “shuffle shouts” of the early Negro churches were an attempt by the Black Christians to have their cake and eat it: to maintain African tradition, however yielded or unconscious the attempt might be, yet embrace the new religion. Since dancing was irreligious and sinful, the Negro said that only “crossing the feet” constituted actual dancing. So the ring shout developed, where worshipers link arms and shuffle, at first slowly but then with increasing emotional display, around in a circle, singing hymns or chanting as they move. This shuffle, besides getting around the dogma of the stricter “White folks” Christianity also seems derived from African religious dances of exactly the same nature... The so-called “sanctified” Protestant churches still retain some of these “steps” and moo-men” today. And indeed, the sanctified churches always remained closer to the African traditions than any of the other Afro-Christian sects. They have always included drums and sometimes tambourines in their ceremonies, something none of the other sects ever dared do” (pp. 42-43).

Emancipation and Education: The Establishment of Fisk University and the Fisk Jubilee Singers.

After the emancipation of the slaves in 1863, a drive among African Americans and White liberals to educate African Americans led to the establishment of several colleges whose mission was to provide higher education for Blacks. One such college was Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee (Reagon, 1992, p. 12). In an effort to raise money for Fisk University, the school’s treasurer and music teacher George L. White, decided to sponsor a concert tour featuring the Fisk Jubilee Singers (Reagon, 1994, p.12). The Jubilee Singers performed repertoire from the European-Western classical music tradition, such as art songs, hymns, and anthems (Reagon, 1994, P. 12), yet their performances did not generate large amounts of money for the University (Reagon, 1994, p. 12). However, during a performance in Oberlin, Ohio for the Council of Congregational Churches (1871), the choir turned to the performance of traditional African American spirituals. Their audience was so moved by the power of the spiritual
that they responded to their pleas for funding (Reagon, 1994, p.12). It was during this
tour that they raised over twenty thousand dollars for the school (Reagon, 1994, p. 12).
The Jubilee Singers discovered that their audiences appreciated their performances of
songs that stemmed from their cultural heritage, so in an effort to improve their
performances, they reformed the spiritual by applying European choral part voicing,
harmonies, and blended choral tone, thus developing the concert or choral spiritual
(Reagon, 1994, p. 13). It was at this point that African American sacred music was
performed with specific voice parts rather than the traditional improvised vocal parts.

Quartets.

Young (1997) reports that Fisk University also started a male quartet (p.53). The
success of the Fisk Jubilee Singers and the Quartet encouraged other Black colleges to
form choirs or quartets that specialized in performing concert or choral spirituals for the
purpose of raising funds for education (Reagon, 1992, p. 12). These Black college choirs
and quartets had a significant impact on the development of African American
study of gospel music, comments on the wide-spread popularity of these jubilee quartets:

Factory and construction workers, porters, and other employees sang in company
or union affiliated quartets, performing at picnics, parties, dances and other
business or community events. Family members formed quartets. Negro colleges
continued to sponsor such groups, and Baptist and Methodist churches often
formed male quartets to sing sacred music at worship services and evening
programs” (Rubman, 1980, p. 5; Lornell 1988, p. 18).

The music performed by these quartets and quintets was very similar to the music
of the Jubilee Singers. The early quartets and quintets were primarily unaccompanied,
but utilized close harmonies, and sounded very similar to the Jubilee Singers in choral
vocal style (Reagon, 1992, p. 14). Reagon (1992) reports that the early groups, called jubilee quartets, adopted the college repertoire and aesthetic which was characterized by a smooth, restrained, blended voice style of choral singing (Reagon, 1992, pg. 14). Many of these groups performed both secular and sacred music (Dixon, Godrich, & Rye, 1997). According to Funk (1995), the Norfolk Jubilee Singers was one of the nation’s leading Black quartets appearing on the vaudeville stage as well as at church programs (pp. 1-2). It was not uncommon for quartets to switch back and forth from secular to sacred music in order to get engagements (Young, 1997, p. 53). Although, the Norfolk Jazz and Jubilee Quartet is best remembered now as an important religious vocal group, they were also a jazz quartet that primarily recorded the blues.

Pre-1900 Recordings.

One of the earliest known Black vocal groups to record was the Unique Quartette of New York (Brooks, 1994; Young, 1997). This group was formed in 1880 and recorded their first recordings on cylinders for the New York Phonograph Co. in 1890. They were subsequently heard on Edison and New Jersey cylinders. The Standard Quartette of Chicago, formed around 1890, also recorded cylinders for local companies when their touring show passed through various towns. Another group that recorded during this period was the Dinwiddie Quartete of Virginia that was formed around 1898. These and other original cylinders and recordings were transferred to CDs in the 1990s and made available for review by Document Records (Document Records DOCD-5355; Document Records DOCD-5381; Document Records DOCD-5382). These recordings provide examples of the Black stage quartet as performed more than 100 years ago.
Evangelistic Movement.

White American sacred music was performed in many 19th century Black churches. The form that most influenced the early development of African American gospel music was “White gospel hymnody”. Following the Civil War, many White preachers who sought to unite the war torn country, joined with White musicians to run revivals across the United States. The preachers preached a more “compassionate” message versus the traditional “fire and brimstone” message, and the musicians created special music for these revivals, with the intent of offering hope to listeners. In the 1870s Dwight Lyman Moody (1837-1899) and Ira David Sankey (1840-1908) joined forces and became important figures in the evangelistic crusades. Moody would “preach the gospel” and Sankey would “compose and sing the gospel” (Eskew & Downey, 2001, p. 173). During their evangelistic crusades in the United States and Britain from 1872-75, the White Gospel hymn was established as an effective music style for use in Sunday Schools and revival meetings (Eskew, 1980, p. 550). In 1875 they published a hymn book entitled Gospel Hymns and Sacred Songs, to which Ira Sankey, Philip P. Bliss (1838-1874), and Philip Phillips (1834-1895) and others contributed (Southern, 1997. P. 453). It was in these White evangelistic services and through these gospel song books that many African American composers gained exposure and experience with White gospel hymns (Southern, 1997). Other composers who wrote in this style include William B. Bradbury (1816-1868), Robert Lowry (1826-1899), Fanny Crosby (1820-1915), and William Howard Doane (1832-1915).
These songs were hymn-like compositions that contained a text based on conversion, salvation and heaven. Unlike the psalmody and lined hymns with biblical texts and themes, these songs were of a personal nature and dealt with the individual and his relationship to God (Davidson, 1995, p. 136). By 1880 the new gospel hymn emerged that dealt with brotherhood and not just salvation. The php.iupui.edu/-apcarpen/history.htm Website (2001) reports,

... the new hymns have been increasingly songs of human brotherhood, of the redemptive social order rather than the salvation of the individual soul, and of the higher patriotism which looks beyond the nation to mankind. These hymns, therefore, particularly important to Black Christians who were the principal victims of adverse social conditions (paragraph 5).

The song form was a two-part structure of verse and chorus, each of which was eight bars in length. The rhythm was characterized by a predominance of quarter and dotted eighth notes and the chorus was performed in a call and response style (Boyer, 1992, p. 57).

By the 1890s Blacks were composing and publishing songs in this new gospel hymn form. In 1893 William Henry Sherwood, published a book of gospel hymns and other songs entitled Harp of Zion (Boyer, 1995, p.26). The Harp of Zion was the first book to include gospel music by an African American composer (Boyer, 1992, p. 142). In 1893 the National Baptist Convention Publishing Board published one of Sherwood’s Pieces entitled “Mountain Top Dwelling” and revised and published his Harp of Zion as their Baptist Young People’s Union National Harp of Zion. Boyer (1995) writes concerning Sherwood’s music,

Of further significance is the fact that Sherwood was the first African American to publish songs that were decidedly cast in the Negro spiritual, pre-Gospel mode. The melodies, harmonies, and, to an extent, the rhythm, all forecast music that in less than thirty years would be called Gospel. His most famous composition, “The Church Is Moving On,” enjoyed popularity as late as 1927...Sherwood’s songs are limited to a few words, and call and response are written into the song.
In his works the melody is simple but catchy, the harmony includes only three or four chords, and the rhythm leaves space for expansion. While the verses of the song attempt to tell a story, the refrain foreshadows that of a Gospel song, with all of its concomitant parts, as in the refrain of “The Church Is Moving On” (pp. 26-27).

African American composers such as Charles A. Tindley and Thomas A. Dorsey were exposed to and influenced by these White gospel hymns and later adopted this musical form to use in their compositions. This is why Boyer (1992e) writes, “when the history of African American gospel music is written, the first period will extend from 1893 to 1921, a period of radical and successful transition in the traditional Black sacred music from the beloved antebellum spiritual of the rural Black Christian to the modern era gospel music of the urban Black Christian” (p. 81).

Dissention within the Black church – Pentecostal Church Movement begins.

After the Emancipation of the slaves there was a great move among many Blacks toward achieving greater educational and economic freedom. Many were successful in their pursuits of higher education and the development of greater economic means. However, many Blacks who achieved this status tended to look down on those Blacks who retained a worship style that was based upon the African cultural heritage. In fact, they were known to denounce and reject the emotional musical and preaching styles. Harris (1992) writes about Bishop Daniel Alexander Payne of the African Methodist Episcopal Church who as early as the 1870s tried to stop such traditional practices as the singing of slave spirituals and the ring shout (p. 178). Harris (1992) reports that Payne criticized those who adhered to these traditions. Payne (1891) stated,
such persons are usually so because they are non-progressive, and, being illiterate, are consequently very narrow in view of men and things. A strong religious feeling, coupled with a narrow range of knowledge often makes one a bigot (1968, pg. 457).

Southern (1983) also reported an account from Payne's writings entitled *Recollections of Seventy Years* in which he shares his account of an attempt to curtail such traditions.

Payne (1888) wrote,

> About this time I attended a "bush meeting," where I went to please the pastor whose circuit I was visiting. After the sermon they formed a ring, and with coats off sung, clapped their hands and stamped their feet in a most ridiculous and heathenish way. I requested the pastor to go and stop their dancing. At his request they stopped dancing and clapping hands, but remained singing and rocking their bodies to and fro. This they did for about fifteen minutes. I then went, and taking their leader by the arm requested him also to desist and to sit down and sing in a rational manner. I told him also that it was a heathenish way to worship and disgraceful to themselves, the race, and the Christian name. In that instance they broke up their ring, but would not sit down, and walked sullenly away. After the sermon in the afternoon, having another opportunity of speaking alone to the young leader of the singing and clapping ring, he said: "Sinners won't get converted unless there is a ring." Said I: "You might sing till you fell down dead, and you would fail to convert a single sinner, because nothing but the Spirit of God and the word of God can convert sinners." He replied: "The Spirit of God works upon people in different ways. At camp-meeting there must be a ring here, a ring there, a ring over yonder, or sinners will not get converted." This was his idea, and it is also that of many others (Payne, 1888, pp. 233-38, 253-55; Southern, 1983, p. 69).

This belief among some Black preachers and Black denominational churches before the turn-of-the-century caused dissatisfaction among some Black preachers who believed the Black Baptist and Methodist denominational churches were not being true to their church practices, rules, or African cultural heritage. Consequently, some Black preachers who were offended by this decided to leave the Black denominational churches to form Pentecostal churches (Ricks, 1960; Boyer, 1995; Reagon, 1992). In 1895 Charles Price Jones became dissatisfied with the Baptist Church so he started a Holiness convention among a small group of Baptist ministers who were also discontent with the
Baptist Church (Boyer, 1995. P. 21). In 1897 Charles H. Mason and Charles Price Jones, organized the Church of God in Christ. Many Black Pentecostal preachers like Mason and Jones simply desired a freer style of worship in which they could incorporate or return to their African cultural heritage. Whalum, (1973) quotes Pearl Williams-Jones who wrote,

There was and has been, an unquenchable thirst among these people (African Americans) for their own music which could express their innermost feelings about God, and their emotional involvement which was a part of their expression. The music at hand was an idiom with which they were all familiar and it could be created spontaneously. The preacher, the song leader, and congregation all shared equally in those creative moments (Page 353-354).

Reagon (1992) reported,

As other African American denominations moved to a more structured, ordered format, in which the sermon stood as the highest spiritual point of the service and the music was used to set the stage, the new Pentecostal denomination used congregational singing as a way of achieving climactic experiences of spiritual transcendence. These experiences called spiritual possession, shouting, or the holy dance—were considered evidence of the manifestation of God as the Holy Spirit within the individual believer (p. 5).

In 1899, Charles Price Jones of Jackson, Mississippi, like Sherwood, began publishing a type of gospel song that was used within their Pentecostal Churches. Boyer (1995) reports that Jones was a self-taught but prolific composer who wrote more than one thousand songs for his congregation (p. 21). See Boyer (1995) for a description of Jones’ compositions.

Another point of significance concerning Jones’s music was that Jones used no instrumental accompaniment in his church. Although his congregations sang with great enthusiasm, they used no instruments and discouraged excessive emotion (Boyer, 1995, p. 22). Charles Mason was not a musician, however, he would occasionally feel the need to stir his congregation at a crucial moment in the service or a sermon, so he would
compose songs for this purpose (Boyer, 1995, p. 23). Mason’s two most famous songs include the shout song, “I’m A Soldier In the Army Of The Lord” and the chant “Yes Lord” (Boyer, 1995, p. 23). “Yes Lord” eventually became a chant that was used to extend a fast shout song (Boyer, 1995, p. 23). This provides the social and musical context of the pre-1900s in which the new gospel music genre would develop and grow.

The 1900s

Music inside the mainline and traditional Black denominational churches.

By the early nineteen hundreds several African American sacred musical forms evolved that contributed to a musical foundation for African American gospel music. Reagon (1994) wrote that “the main African American sacred musical form performed in African American churches at this time was congregational,” which meant that it was primarily performed by the church congregation rather than a selected group or choir” (p. 36). Such forms as the oral and congregational spiritual and lined and metered hymns were performed by many Black congregations and contained core musical characteristics that were later adopted into Gospel music (Simmons, 1998). Though the various sacred musical forms existed, they were performed differently from one African American church denomination to another. Music played a vital role in the Black church worship experience. However, due to the diversity within the Black community after the Emancipation of the African Americans, worship styles in the Black church spanned from extremely European styles to extremely African styles in their expressions (Simmons, 1998). After the emancipation of the slaves many Blacks remained in the
South, but many Blacks migrated to the northern United States in search of greater social and economic freedom. While some Blacks became highly educated and attained greater social and economic status, other Blacks continued to struggle economically and socially and remained uneducated. The migration of uneducated rural Blacks from the South in combination with the educated Blacks in the North caused even greater diversity within the Black community. There were differences in social and economic levels, levels of education, and the forms of musical and religious expression. Thus, all Blacks did not worship in the same style, they did not attend the same types of churches, and the music performed within their churches though congregational in nature varied from one church to the next.

Some Blacks who were economically advantaged joined conservative denominations such as Lutheran, Presbyterian, and Episcopal Churches (Ricks, 1960, pp. 123-24). Other Blacks also attended conservative Black Baptist Churches as well. Each mainline denomination had its own unique music. Harris (1992b) reports:

Chicago’s old-line Baptist Protestant churches stood as a virtual mirror of their White counterparts in terms of the worship aesthetic. No part of the Sunday morning worship liturgy was more illustrative than the music. At churches such as Olivet and Pilgrim Baptist, two of the largest congregations in Black Chicago, choirs sang the Western European-style anthems and sacred compositions of composers such as Mendelssohn, Mozart, Beethoven, Bach, and Rossini. Ministers in these churches carefully designed worship to control congregational participation, especially its more spontaneous aspects. This meant that they had to avoid the music associated with Traditional Black worship. Black sacred song could be heard only in its Anglicized version, known as the concert or arranged Negro spiritual. More seriously, these ministers had to control their preaching so as not to stir emotions to the point that the congregations would erupt into the jubilation and demonstrativeness of the classic Black church. The effect of these standards of worship was to alter profoundly ethos of upper-crust Black churches to the point that they can be considered Black only in terms of the racial, certainly not the cultural, makeup of their congregations (p. 178).
Many Blacks who attained moderate levels of education and economic access continued with the less conservative Baptist and Methodist churches (Ricks, 1960, pp. 123-24). Boyer (1992) writes the following description of the music in these Traditional Baptist and Methodist churches.

The Baptist "lining hymns," sorrow songs, jubilee spirituals and Protestant hymns had a firm place in the Traditional Black Baptist and Methodist church worship service, but this music lacked the intensity heard and felt during the spirited choruses and refrains heard at the street meetings, in the parlors of Black Christian homes, and in the new storefront churches” (Boyer, 1992, p. 56).

Congregational music was the predominant form of music used within the mainline denominational churches (Ricks, 1960). It was, however, in the Holiness and Pentecostal churches that congregational music evolved into a form that would provide a model and foundation for Gospel music. During the early 1900s, Pentecostal churches sprang up all throughout the north in storefronts, garages, and houses. These storefront churches were so popular that at one time they accounted for 80% of Chicago's Black churches (Eskew, 1980, p. 556). One of the most notable aspects of the Pentecostal church movement was its music. As Southerners migrated to northern cities such as Chicago and Detroit, they brought their music with them and helped to spread the Pentecostal movement throughout the country (Boyer, 1992, p. 56). As E. Franklin Frazier pointed out in The Negro Church in America,

the storefront churches represented an attempt by migrants to re-establish the congenial intimacy of rural worship where members' identities would not be overwhelmed by an impersonal church bureaucracy (Frazier, 1964; Romanowski, 1993; liner notes, p. 1)

The music of the Pentecostal church was lively and filled with emotion, unlike the refined music of the Jubilee Singers (Eskew, 1980, p. 557). Boyer (1995) reports that Gospel music was selected over all other types of sacred musical forms as a mean
through which they could express their theology (p. 19). Boyer (1995) describes the music and performance practices as follows.

When hymns were sung by these congregations they were “Gospelized.” Services were nothing less than ecstatic with forceful and jubilant singing, dramatic testimonies, hand clapping, foot stamping, and beating of drums, tambourines, and triangles (and pots, pans, and washboards when professional instruments were not available). When a piano could be begged, borrowed, or bought, a barrelhouse accompaniment served to bring the spirit to earth. It was not uncommon for a shouting session to last for thirty or forty-five minutes, with women fainting and falling to the floor (where they would sometimes lie for twenty or thirty minutes) and men leaping as if they were executing a physical exercise or running around the church several times (p. 19).

Reagon (1992) reports that call-and-response, jubilee songs, spirituals were reformed into shout songs like “I’m A Soldier In The Army of the Lord” which became the basis of the Pentecostal song service (p. 13). Ethnomusicologist William Dargan describes the kind of songs used most often during “testimony” and “tarrying” services as “Congregational Gospel” (Dargan, 1983; Johnson, 1992). Congregational gospel songs were commonly used within Pentecostal churches to evoke the presence of God. These congregational songs were similar to the music used in the old Praise houses of the 1800s in that they were used as a vehicle through which singers and worship participants could be filled with or possessed by the Spirit. The music “differed from the camp-meeting spirituals and Negro spirituals of the nineteenth-century in that they were designed to capture the essence of the Urban religious experience with its diverse elements of industry, dense population centers, and the integration of the races” (Jones, 1963, p. 40-41; Boyer, 1992; p. 57).

The basic form structure of these songs were 8 or 16 measure songs that consisted of a 4 or 8 measure antecedent and consequent phrase (Randel, 1986, p. 344). This form structure would later be adopted into other gospel music forms. The texts used for these
new gospel songs were also different from the spirituals and songs of the 19th century.

The New Grove (1980) states that,

the message of the spirituals was endurance of trials of this life with the reward of life after death while the message of the Gospel songs was more immediate and optimistic, although the themes are often similar (and many Gospel songs are musically little more than spirituals with a modern beat). Gospel songs brought a message of 'good news, and were called Gospel, according to some preachers, because they stated the “Gospel truth”. The promise of a better life hereafter still pervades the themes of the Gospel songs but their joyousness and extrovert character suggests that happiness can be achieved in this life in preparation for the next (Eskew & Oliver, 1980, p. 557).

These songs also differed because instrumental accompaniment was added. It was in the Pentecostal churches that instrumental accompaniment made its way into the Black church. Romanowski (1993) writes,

that since abandoned storefronts were already virtually on the street, there was a natural interaction with musicians there in an attempt to help induce the rare field communal atmosphere that was necessary in preparation for the descent of the Holy Spirit. All manner of unconventional instrumentation was encouraged and fresh songs were adapted from popular secular sources (liner notes, p.1).

The songs of the Pentecostal church incorporated secular tunes and instrumentation, which brought a new sound to church music. The use of the piano, guitars, and small percussion instruments, that were not welcomed in mainline denomination churches, were introduced and welcomed in most African American Holiness and Pentecostal churches (New Grove, 1980). Reagon (1992b) suggests that these Pentecostal congregational songs and this new singing with instrumental accompaniment was a departure from the Methodist and Baptist congregational styles where the a cappella spirituals and lined metered hymns were predominately performed. “With tambourines and the washtub bass, and later the piano and other instruments moving as percussive forces in the musical compositions, these congregational songs had all the fire and
potential for evoking spirit possession, a crucial ingredient in Holiness worship practices” (Reagon, 1992, pp. 13-14). Eskew & Oliver (1980) reported that preachers in the sanctified and holiness Pentecostal churches would take as their guide Psalm 150 (p. 556). Concerning the instrumental accompaniment Eskew & Oliver (1980) wrote,

the timbrel - tambourines rang with cymbals... Pianos preceded electric organs in church music, but small domestic harmoniums were soon in use. Banjo and guitar playing evangelical singers were brought in from the streets, and a number of churches began to employ trumpet and trombone players (p. 557).

In the New Grove Dictionary, Eskew (1980) suggests,

that with the introduction of instruments, gospel songs tended to become more similar in structure, textual content was reduced and the frequent repetition of lines or fragments of lines became a stylistic feature. Such repetitions, sung against each other, were a modern development of “call-and-response” technique (Eskew, 1980, p. 557).

This more emotional use of spirituals and shouts with accompaniment were the forerunners which paved the way for twentieth-century gospel music (Reagon, 1992a, p.14).

The Evangelistic Movement and Black Hymnody.

The accompanied congregational music of the Pentecostal and Holiness churches along with the spirituals, shouts, jubilees, and lined hymns of the traditional Black denominational churches were not the only sacred musical forms that influenced the development of gospel music. Many Black composers and churches embraced the European hymns and White gospel songs but modified them by applying African American musical aesthetics, such as flattened notes, altered rhythmical pulses, and pentatonic scales (Boyer, 1995). Since the text in most of these hymns emphasized the human condition, to which many Blacks could identify, they were embraced and adopted
for performance within African American churches. By the 1900s, the new gospel hymns composed by Black composers based upon the White gospel hymns style began to find acceptance in the Black denominational churches. The gospel hymns that William Henry Sherwood, Charles Price Jones, Charles Albert Tindley and Lucie Campbell initially wrote prior to the 1920s, contained the basic formal structure for the first gospel songs and provided the foundation and model from which Thomas Dorsey began composing the Gospel blues in the late 1920s (Boyer, 1995).

Charles Tindley (1851-1933), another African American composer, was also influenced by the gospel hymns of the evangelistic crusades. However, Tindley moved away from standard musical form in several ways. Boyer (1992) reports that Tindley concentrated on texts that were of importance to Black Christians such as worldly sorrows, blessing, and woes, and the joys of the afterlife (p. 57). Boyer (1992) also reports that Tindley used the pentatonic scale for many of his melodies and left space within his melodic lines and harmonic schemes for the interpolation of flatted or blues thirds and sevenths (p. 57). In addition Tindley allowed space for the improvisation of text, melody, harmony, and rhythm, that was so characteristic of Black American folk and popular music (Boyer, 1992, p.57).

In 1902, Tindley became pastor of the East Bainbridge Street Church in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This church grew rapidly under his leadership and eventually built a sanctuary in 1924 that was named Tindley Temple United Methodist Church. Tindley composed over 50 gospel hymns for his congregation. Tindley’s hymns became so popular that they were eventually distributed all across the country (Reagon,
Tindley’s music was also very popular and widely used within churches because his songs were very personal in nature (Boyer, 1992, p. 57; Boyer, 1997, p. 28).

Tindley published his first set of eight songs in 1901. Among these songs was “I’ll Overcome Someday” the song whose chorus became the 1960s Civil Rights Protest song “We Shall Overcome” (Reagon, 1992, p. 37; php.iupui.edu/~apcarpen/history.htm website, 2001, paragraph 5). This work represented the first series of forty-five gospel hymns and songs. Some of Tindley’s other noted works were “Stand By Me,” “Leave it There,” “Well Understand it Better By and By,” “The Storm Is Passing Over,” and “Someday” (Beams of Heaven).

Boyer (1992) suggests that these publications by Tindley became the catalyst for the transition from Negro spirituals to gospel music. During this period, Charles Tindley began to incorporate the images, proverbs, and biblical texts into his work inspiring millions of church-goers including Thomas A. Dorsey, the man who would later be called the “Father of Gospel Music” (Boyer, 1992d, p.54). “Tindley’s songs used the musical and verbal language of the poor, struggling, often illiterate Black Christian at the turn of the century” (Boyer, 1992, p. 54). See Boyer (1992d) for a complete description of Tindley’s music. Boyer (1992) noted that Tindley used the verse-chorus or AB form in more than thirty songs and the strophic form in many other songs (p. 63). Concerning the musical aspects of Tindley’s music, Boyer (1992) writes that

the diatonic scale is used for forty-six songs, and the pentatonic scale used for 14 songs. Seventeen songs use gapped scales, which fall into three categories: scales with the seventh tone omitted, represented in ten songs, scales with the forth tone omitted, represented in six songs, and a four-tone scale (1235) used in one song. For the most part, however, many of these songs are essentially pentatonic” (p. 63).
Though a large portion of Black folk music is traditionally written in duple meters, Boyer (1992) notes that the gospel meter of today is 12/8 or other meters using some multiple of three, however, the use of compound meters and triple meter must have been used with gospel music in Tindley’s time because he uses such meters in half of his songs (p. 73).

Boyer (1992) reports that the Traditional Black church music during Tindley’s compositional period called for heavy accents in the dotted-rhythm patterns, with a relatively subtle syncopation or none at all. Tindley’s music was noted to display these rhythmic conventions, as well as employing martial rhythms and even, occasionally, “stopped” rhythms. Concerning tempo, Boyer (1992) writes, the tempo of a gospel performance ultimately determines its classification, although any song may, at any one time or another be performed in one of three tempos: slow to moderate, fast, or “without regular pulse” or “ad lib” (p. 77). It was Tindley’s gospel hymn style that influenced upcoming gospel composers and provided them with a model and form from which gospel songs could be patterned and developed (Boyer, 1992d, p. 51).

In 1905 Tindley joined with three other ministers to form the Soul Echoes Publishing Company in Philadelphia. Boyer (1992) reports that they released their first publication in 1905 under the title of *Soul Echoes: A Collection of Songs for Religious Meetings* (p. 58). Many of Tindley’s hymns were written in hymn form but incorporated African American musical elements, thus making them unique and setting them apart as the first African American gospel hymns (Boyer, 1992d, pp. 57-63).
By 1916 Tindley formed the Paradise Publishing Company with his sons and three other associates. The major function of the company was to publish Tindley’s songs (Boyer, 1992d, p. 58). They published four volumes of songs before Tindley’s death and two volumes in 1934 and 1941 after his death. Thus African American gospel hymns had become an established form of music. Dorsey’s exposure to the White evangelistic hymns and the hymns of Charles Tindley coupled with his training and experience in blues and jazz would later have an impact on the development of gospel music and style.

_Apostolic Hymnody._

When reviewing the literature it is commonly inferred that the music performed within Pentecostal churches was solely congregational songs (Boyer, 1995; Reagon, 1992; Dargen, 1983). However, the music performed within these churches not only included accompanied congregational songs but also gospel hymns. Many Pentecostal preachers were composing gospel hymns, similar in form and style to the White Evangelistic hymns and the gospel hymns of Tindley. These hymns were similar in structural form to the gospel hymns of Tindley and included elements from the African American musical aesthetic, such as syncopated rhythms, call and response choruses, bass lead vocals, and flatted thirds and sevenths. One such collection of hymns created by in the early 1900s by African American composers from the Apostolic Church is entitled the *Bridegroom Songs*. This collection draws its name from a theme found in the Bible. In the Christian doctrine, Christ is expected to return one day for His Bride “the Church” (Matthew 25:1-13), thus He is referred to as the Bridegroom (Zondervan, 1994,
The primary textual theme of the songs within this song collection is the Second Coming of Christ. Many Christians at the turn of the century who believed the Second Coming of Christ was imminent composed songs based upon this theme. This collection is significant because it contains over 90 songs that were written in the traditional hymn or strophic form.

The primary contributor to this work was Garfield T. Haywood, one of the founding fathers and first presiding bishops of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World (Tyson, 1976). Having been inspired by William Seymour and the Azusa Movement, Garfield not only helped to establish the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World but he also composed music which captured the doctrine and philosophies of the Apostolic Church (Tyson, 1976). The Azusa Street Revival of Los Angeles (1906-09), and the Azusa Movement with its emphasis on spirit possession, speaking in tongues, foot washing and emotionalism seemed to provide the perfect worship model for Black Holiness preachers who desired to return to a form of worship that was congruent with their African cultural heritage. Haywood wrote many hymns that have become Gospel standards within Black churches, including “Thank God for the Blood”, “To Be Like Jesus”, and “Jesus the Son of God”, whose chorus, “O Sweet Wonder” has been performed and recorded by countless gospel artists throughout the years. Other composers who contributed to this work (Gladstone T. Harewood, Charles W. Williams, Rosa Johnson, Alex R. Schooler, L.R. Ooton, and E. C. Cheatham) were also founding Preachers, Bishops and musicians of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, which had its base at Christ Temple Church in Indianapolis, Indiana.
**Quartet Music.**

Another factor that influenced the development of gospel music was the music and singing of quartets. Boyer (1997) suggests that community based quartets developed when many of the leaders who were former members of the college male jubilee quartets graduated and returned to their homes (p. 31). Many of the early quartet graduates began to teach and form jubilee quartets in their home communities. In the New Grove Dictionary, Eskew (1980) states that the early gospel quartets were unaccompanied and relied on vocal dynamics, close harmony, and improvised counterpoint (Eskew, 1980, p. 557). However, as the quartets continued to thrive, Reagon (1992a) reports that “the pioneers of the community-based jubilee quartets began to evolve musically, drawing in more elements from the folk church performance tradition” (p. 14). Reagon (1992) reports “that tenors created new lines that leapt out of the chord with bluesy musical curlicues, and basses stretched into unconventional bass runs” (p. 14). Reagon (1992) suggests that these new musical developments paved the way for new intense talented singers (p. 14). Since many recordings were produced of sacred African American quartets in the 1890s, gospel quartets became a popular performing force during the early 1900s and they experienced great popularity among Black churches.

**Blues and Jazz.**

Eskew and Oliver (1980) state that the appearance of gospel music and the rise of the Pentecostal churches coincided with the beginnings of ragtime, blues, and jazz at the end of the 19th century (p. 191). These secular musical forms that developed outside of the Black church greatly influenced Black sacred music. First, many Black musicians
who were raised in the church were also trained in the performance of blues and jazz (Boyer, 1992, pp. 165-82). These musicians often played in the jazz clubs on Saturday nights and then played in churches on Sunday mornings (Harris, 1992, p. 180). These musicians subsequently, brought musical elements from the blues and jazz world with them to the Black church and applied them to the preaching, and accompaniment of Black sacred songs. Secondly, there were many sacred quartets who also performed as Jazz quartets. The notion of mixing the performance of sacred and secular music was not unusual, since many of the Jubilee Quartets of the late 1800's performed both sacred and secular musical styles (Funk, 1995, pp. 1-2). Thirdly, there were many blues and jazz musicians who performed the accompaniment for many of the early sacred and gospel recordings. Romanowski (1993) describes the musical accompaniment as follows.

the accompaniment ranged from the sanctified piano backing on Jesse May Hill’s tracks to Blind Willie Davis’ intense guitar evangelism, from Laura Henton’s use of brass bass and well known jazz artists. Arizona Drane’s instrumental version of the Crucifixion of Christ on piano. Blind Willie Davis was apprehensive about recording, fearing he would be pressured into performing blues. He was a guitar evangelists like Edward Clayborn and Blind Willie Johnson, and all three excelled at a melodic bottleneck guitar technique” (Liner notes, pp. 1-2).

This new accompaniment was the beginning of a new form of piano playing and Black sacred musical accompaniment (Boyer, 1995, p. 36). Fourthly, Eskew and Oliver (1980) report that there were many blues singers who became preachers and Gospel singers (p. 556). When blues and jazz musicians and singers were converted to the Christian faith, they brought their musical elements and performance practices from blues and jazz to Black church preaching and singing (Harris, 1992). Eskew and Oliver (1980) suggest that these factors help to account for the unique emotional performance practices and the stylistic elements of blues that are so evident in many early gospel songs, recordings, and
preaching styles. One such example would be Robert Wilkin's, “The Prodigal Son” recorded on Piedmont Records (PLP 31362, 1964).

The early 1900s offered various sacred musical forms that were eventually synthesized into the new Gospel musical style. Reagon (1992) reports,

that basic gospel song musical structures rest on the sacred music traditions within the Black community: congregational style singing with its call-and-response forms, and slow metered, lined out Protestant hymns. Much of the new style of singing, with its driving rhythms and percussive instrumental accompaniment, was nurtured within the turn-of-the century Black Pentecostal (sometimes called Holiness of Sanctified) church (Reagon, 1992a, p. 5).

The exposure to and experience with sacred and secular musical forms such as hymnody, accompanied congregational songs, quartet music, and blues and jazz helped to prepare both the church and many of the pioneering composers to participate in the development of gospel music that would follow in later years. These factors within the African American community are believed to have provided the components that would later be synthesized by Thomas Dorsey and others into the “Gospel Blues.”

1910s

The ongoing influence of White and Black Hymnody.

Another White musical evangelist who played an important role in the history of Black gospel hymnody was Homer A. Rodeheaver. Rodeheaver began traveling as a song leader with Billy Sunday in 1909 and published the first of his long series of gospel music collections in 1910. Over the years, hymns published by Rodeheaver such as “Brighten the Corner Where You Are” (Charles Gabriel, 1856-1932), “His Eye Is On The Sparrow” (Gabriel), “Yield Not To Temptation” (Sankey) and the “Old Rugged Cross”
(George Bernard, 1873-1958) have gained popularity among Black congregations (Eskew, 1980, p. 551). Since there were laws that supported segregation, many White revivalists and musical evangelists presented “colored nights” in an attempt to convert Blacks to the Christian faith (Jones, 1963, p. 52-55; Southern, 1997, p. 453). Southern (1997) reports that “in 1911 a young Black boy by the name of Thomas Andrew Dorsey attended a Billy Sunday revival meeting on the “Colored Night” and sang in Rodeheaver’s hastily assembled choir” (p. 453). This experience was believed to have made a lasting impression upon Dorsey (Southern, 1997, p. 453).

**Lucie Campbell and the National Baptist Convention.**

Lucie Eddie Campbell followed Sherwood, Jones, and Tindley as a composer of Gospel hymns and became the first major African American woman composer of these early Gospel hymns (Boyer, 1992e, p. 81). Campbell, born April 30, 1885 in Duck Hill, Mississippi, “was the youngest of eleven children born to Burrell and Isabella Wilkerson Campbell; both of whom were former slaves” (George, 1992, p. 118). Boyer (1992e) reports “that Campbell’s interest in music began when she started to learn piano as a child by listening to the piano lessons of her sister in Memphis during the late 1890s” (p. 82). Boyer (1992e) also reports that Campbell was basically a self-taught musician, although she took some music courses and graduated as a liberal arts major from Rust College in Holly Springs, Mississippi, with a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1927 (Boyer, 1992e, p. 82). She became a proficient musician and wrote out her own manuscripts by hand (Boyer, 1992e, p. 82). According to George (1992)
Campbell’s life encompassed the period of American history that gave recognition to the beauty and originality of the spirituals and saw the demise of minstrelsy, the crystallization of ragtime, the emergence of the blues as a genre, the beginning of jazz, the impact of African Americans on Broadway, and the greatest migration to urban areas that ushered in the era of modern gospel music” (p. 118).

Campbell made her greatest contributions through the National Baptist Convention. Midway through this decade in 1915 there was a devastating split in the National Baptist Convention as a result of the concerns over the ownership of the publishing board. While members of the convention were so eager to start the Publishing Board in 1896, they never set up the organization properly with regard to its ownership. Rev. Richard Henry Boyd incorporated the Publishing Board in the state of Tennessee without indicating affiliation with the National Baptist Convention. Boyd copyrighted all publications in his name, found a building, used $1000 of his wife’s inheritance as collateral, and felt that he had ownership rights (Boyd, 1915, 70). George (1992) reports that the issue of ownership led Rev. Boyd and his followers to withdraw from the parent body of the National Baptist Convention to organize as the National Baptist Convention of America, with Rev. E. Perry Jones of Mississippi as President (p. 113). The original convention later became the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.

The organizers of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A. wanted the 1916 convention to be good so that the delegates would not leave and join the other convention. In 1916, Campbell was appointed music director and given the task of preparing good music for the convention (George, 1992, p. 113). George (1992) writes that,
It was under this milieu that Campbell shone. At the annual session of the Congress, she used her music to set a tone and atmosphere of exuberant yet controlled joy and spiritual fervor that was stimulating and satisfying to thousands of delegates. Sunday School and BTU teachers, young people, ministers, Christian Education leaders and workers came to hear, sing, absorb, and take home to their congregations songs of hope, spirit, and inspiration (p. 113).

Campbell copyrighted her first songs in 1919. Campbell’s writings attracted major attention after she premiered her composition entitled “Something Within” at the National Baptist Convention in 1919 (Boyer, 1992e). Boyer (1992e) writes,

As a pioneer Gospel composer, Campbell helped to set the performance style for gospel music. One of her greatest loves was the lined hymn, which she perpetuated in her compositions. Her affinity for slowly paced songs can be traced to this older tradition of congregational performance. In the Baptist church of the 1920s, there was great love for songs performed in the Baptist lining-hymn tradition (p. 84).

George (1992) further describes Campbell’s hymns as

four-part, homophonic compositions that were published in shape-note notation. In shaped note notation a different shape was assigned to each note of the scale. This method that was used by shaped note singers helped non-literate musicians to learn to read music (p. 114).

Campbell’s songs became standards that were sung by people of all races and creeds since she introduced new songs each year at the National Baptist Convention (Boyer, 1992e). Some of Campbell’s popular songs include “Just To Behold His Face,” “He Understands, He’ll Say Well Done,” “Touch Me Lord Jesus,” and “Footprints of Jesus.”

“As a result of Campbell’s leadership and organizational abilities the music department was widely supported and quickly became the most efficient and influential department of the National Baptist Convention” (Jordan 1930, 249; George, 1992, p. 112).
1920s

Campbell’s profession career extended from 1919 to 1962. From the time she was elected music director of the Baptist Training Union Congress in 1916 to her last visit to the National Baptist Convention in 1962, Boyer (1992e) suggests that “Lucie Campbell’s influence was exerted throughout the entire African American church community” (p. 82). Since Campbell was composing during the formative years of the gospel movement she played a significant roll in the development and exposure of the gospel music tradition (Boyer, 1992e, p.83). According to Boyer (1992e), Campbell and her colleagues preferred the music that she wrote and the songs and singing of the new pioneers of gospel music who also shared her same convictions (p. 82). Campbell did not want anything to be presented before the National Baptist Convention that she did not believe was appropriate for the times (Boyer 1992e, p. 83). Boyer (1992e) writes,

Campbell was so important and powerful in the National Baptist Convention that anyone who wanted to sing on the program had to audition for her, singing the same song he or she planned to sing on the program (p. 83).

In fact it was because of Campbell and the National Baptist Convention that many gospel composers got their exposure and that the new gospel music was accepted and spread throughout churches across the country.
The first Gospel hymnals.

Campbell also played an instrumental role in the publication of gospel music as a result of her affiliation with the National Baptist Convention. Campbell was selected to be a member of the committee who was assigned to select music for the Gospel Pearls hymnal. Gospel Pearls was the first hymnal, published in 1921 expressly for the use of Black churches, that used the term gospel in its title (Boyer, 1992e, p. 82). Gospel Pearls contained many of the standard hymns by White gospel composers such as Ira Sankey, William Doane, Phillip Bliss, and Charles Gabriel. It also contained gospel songs by African American pioneering gospel composers such as Charles Tindley, Lucie Campbell, Charles Price Jones, Thomas Dorsey, and Carrie Booker Person. This hymnal signified the beginning of the publication of the new gospel songs. According to Boyer (1995) this hymnal influenced sacred music all over the world for about fifty years (p. 43).

The Gospel Pearls hymn book also played a key role in the exposure, spreading, and acceptance of gospel music into the Black denominational churches across the country. Boyer (1995) reports that by the 1930s, Gospel Pearls had crossed denominational music boundaries and could be found in Baptist, Methodist, and Pentecostal churches (p. 43). Boyer (1995) also reports that while many of the denominational Black churches did not want to perform gospel music because of the emotional element, many churches desired to perform this new music within their churches, especially after it had been so well received through its exposure at the National Baptist Convention. Using the Gospel Pearls hymnbook, many churches could
sing the new gospel songs yet interpret them in a manner that was more “acceptable” with their worship formats (Boyer, 1995, p. 43).

Dinkins (1980) reports that Campbell and E. W. D. Isaac, Jr. published other hymnals such as Spirituals Triumphant Old and New (1927) and Inspirational Melodies No. 2 (n. d.) that were widely used (pp. 27-28; George, 1992, p. 114). These early hymnbooks also contained a significant collection of original songs and arrangements of spirituals written by African American composers such as Edward Boatner, the Works Brothers (John Wesley and Fredrick), Rev. Charles A. Tindley, Thomas A. Dorsey, J.D. Bushell, William Henry Smith, and E.C. Deas, among others. These songbooks were promoted in the National Baptist Congress and became popular throughout the denomination. Dinkins (1980) suggests that these songbooks together with the National Baptist Hymnal set the standard for church music (pp. 27-28; George, 1992, p. 114).

Thomas Dorsey and the name “Gospel Songs”.

Thomas Andrew Dorsey was one of the gospel pioneers endorsed by Campbell who gained great exposure at the National Baptist Convention. Dorsey, born in Villa Rica, Georgia, learned to play the piano at an early age. Although Dorsey was not known as a singer he knew a lot about the Black vocal style, because he was raised and trained in a Baptist church (Boyer, 1992a, p. 145). Dorsey, however, worked as a blues singer and musician who led his own jazz band (Boyer, 1992a, p. 143). Formerly known as the jazz musician “Georgia Tom,” Dorsey was an excellent musician and as a young man accompanied some of the most famous blues singers of all time including Bessie Smith (1984-1937) and Ma Rainey (1886-1939) (Harris, 1992a, p. 149). The reports “though
While attending an annual meeting of the National Baptist Convention, Dorsey first heard the compositions of Charles A. Tindley (1851-1933) (http://www.afgen.com/Gospel1.html website, 2001, paragraph 7). Dorsey was so moved after hearing Tindley’s song “I Do, Don’t You,” that he committed to writing gospel songs on a full time basis (php.iupui.edu/-apcarpen/history.htm website, 2001, paragraph 2; Harris, 1992, p. 68).

Though Dorsey was eventually given the title of the “Father of Gospel Music,” he was not the first African American to write gospel songs. Composers like Tindley and Campbell were composing gospel music and teaching them to the entire National Baptist Convention long before Dorsey decided to become a full-time gospel music composer and conductor (Boyer, 1992e, p. 106). However, Dorsey was the musician who brought together the various musical elements and performance practices of the secular and sacred musical styles of that day to establish the new form of music that would be known as gospel music. Once Dorsey committed to writing gospel songs full time, he combined elements of blues and jazz with gospel hymns and spirituals of the Black church. In the essay, “Rock Church Rock,” Arna Bontemps (1978) states that though Dorsey begin writing gospel hymns, he would occasionally revert to “Georgia Tom” and add jazz rhythms and a blues flavor to his music which resulted in the new type of gospel song (pp. 77-81). Dorsey called these new songs, “gospel songs” (php.iupui.edu/-apcarpen/history.htm website, paragraph 2). Dorsey used this term “gospel” for two reasons. First, he wanted to make a distinction between the various types of sacred music being performed within the Black church at that time (Harris, 1992, p. 151). Second, he
wanted to distinguish his songs from the “gospel songs” of the 19th century revivalist movement (Reagon, 1992, p. 15).

The influence of radio and recordings.

The primary performing entities recorded during the 1920’s were quartets, preacher & congregations, soloists, revival choirs and musicians, and small groups. These artists were exposed through radio broadcasts and the recording industry which also had its beginnings at the same time. Maulsby (1992) reports that the “radio became the major source of entertainment in the 1920s” (p. 24). Though its programming was targeted toward middle-class White Americans, the gospel singing performed in sanctified storefront congregations was heard through the Sunday morning church service broadcasts (Maulsby, 1992, p. 24). According to Maulsby (1992) it was through radio that the listening audience for both gospel and rhythm and blues was expanded (p. 26).

Romanoski (1994) reports that gospel quartets initially performed for Black audiences (p. 4). However, as the gospel sound spread through radio broadcast in the 1920’s, gospel music spread into public arenas that were traditionally reserved for White audiences. Consequently, many record companies began to market Black music to Whites. The Black audiences demand for recordings of quartets, jazz bands and vaudeville blues singers prompted record companies to create separate numerical series to cater to them (Romanowski, 1994, p. 4). In 1921 record companies began releasing “race” recordings (Dixon, Godrich, and Rye, 1997, p. xxiii).
The Excelsior Quartette was among the first Black vocal groups to be marketed for the “race” record audience. Following the success of the Norfolk Jazz Quartet and their first release on Okeh records in 1921, the Excelsior Quartette recorded three vaudeville-styled numbers at their first session for Okeh in late March of 1922. The Excelsior Quartet utilized the close vocal harmony style that had been immensely popular since the 1890s (Romanowski, 1994, p. 4).

Later Okeh Records felt that religious recordings by the Excelsior and Norfolk Quartets would appeal to White and Black audiences, so they recorded some of the standard sacred jubilee quartets songs such as “Nobody Knows The Trouble I’ve Seen,” “Going Up To Live With God” (Golden Slippers), “Walk In Jerusalem Just Like John,” “I Am The King of the Sea, Good Lord I Done Done,” and “Sinners Crying,” “Come Here Lord” (Romanowski, 1994, pp. 4-5).

Williams-Jones (1992) reports that when the recording industry initially began to give attention to African American religious music it focused on gospel quartets like the Norfolk Quartet and the Excelsior Quartet, but it also focused on Black preachers and congregations (p.259). In 1926 Rev. J.M. Gates, a singing preacher, was recorded. Smith (1995) writes,

Gates would also use old songs that would have been old favorites with those who bought the records . . . and this was probably a considerable factor in his popularity (pp. 1-2)

Gospel songs were also performed and recorded by soloists. Romanowski (1993) reports that one of the distinguishing features of the Pentecostal churches was their openness to involve women in key roles. Romanowski (1993) reports that Arizona
Dranes, known for her sanctified piano playing, was probably the first sanctified artist to record (p. 2). Boyer (1995) describes her piano playing as follows.

Her piano playing was a combination of ragtime, with its two beats to the bar feel, octave passages in the left hand, exaggerated syncopation in the right hand, and heavy full and ragged (syncopated) chords of the barrelhouse piano, and the more traditional chords of the standard Protestant hymn. What Dranes brought to the style was what became known as the "gospel beat," emphasizing a heavy accent on the first beat in musical units of the two beats and beats two and four in musical units of four. In addition to the accents on the primary pulses, Dranes filled in the space between the accented beats with octave and single note runs. The right hand playing was characterized by repeated notes and chords and few—but well chosen—single note motives (runs), while the left hand played octaves. Most of her playing was in the center of the keyboard with excursions into the very bottom and top of the keyboard during passages normally reserved for breaks in the music (p. 38).

Dranes was one of the first singers to use a backup group rather than a congregation to accompany her and she recorded more than thirty songs for Okeh Records between 1926 and 1928 (Boyer, 1995, p. 38). Dranes set a high standard for female performers and was followed by vocalist Laura Henton who recorded in 1928 and 1929. Henton’s recording displayed rich powerful vocals set against an instrumental background that was firmly rooted in jazz (Romanowski, 1993, p. 2). According to Romanowski (1993) Henton’s 1929 recording had more of a jazz flavor (p. 2). Henton utilized the well known band leader Bennie Moten on piano, the pioneering guitarist Eddie Durham, and a string bass player named Joe Page (Romanowski, 1993, p. 2).

Small and large gospel groups also recorded during the 1920s. The new gospel music of Tindley would also be spread through the recordings of groups during the 1920s. Tyler (1980) reports that Charles Henry Pace honored Tindley in 1928 by recording three of his songs ("Leave It There," "Stand By Me," and "Nothing Between") with his group the Pace Jubilee Singers along with Hattie Parker (Tyler 1980, 212; Boyer,
Tindley himself also helped in the spreading of his music by encouraging the organization of gospel groups. In 1922, seven male members of Tindley’s church formed the Tindley Gospel Singers becoming the first accompanied gospel male group. Boyer (1992) reports that the largest part of their repertoire consisted of Tindley’s songs (pg. 57). A larger group called the Louisville Sanctified Singers also recorded thus “proving that larger groups could generate as much excitement as the smaller groups” (Romanowski, 1993, p. 2).

Original recordings featuring selections by many of the artists listed above are captured on the CDs entitled Gospel Classic 1927-1931 (DOCD-5190) and Gospel Classics Volume 2 (DOCD-5313). These original recordings have been re-mastered and released on Document Records. More specifically the CDs feature performances by Jessie May Hill, Laura Henton, The Louisville Sanctified Singers, Blind Connie Rosemond, Blind Willie Davis, Rev. P.W. Williams, Rev. Arthur Armstead Gundy, Sister Minnie Pearl Roberts, Clara Hudmon, Sister Cally Fancy, The Lynch Sisters, and other artists.

The early Gospel Quartets: 1920s – 1930s.

It was during the 1920s that the jubilee quartet began to make a transformation into the Gospel quartet as a result of the introduction of new performance practices and the use of instrumental accompaniment. “Swing lead” differed from traditional practice where a soloist usually sang an entire stanza of a verse. Instead a quartet gave each line of a stanza to a different soloist for the sake of variety. This practice called the swing lead was coined by the male quartets in the 1920s (Boyer, 1992, pg. 77).
The Dixie Hummingbirds, a popular quartet, was organized in Greenville, South Carolina in 1928 by James Davis. The original Dixie Hummingbirds, (1920’s) James Davis, Ira Tucker, Beachey Thompson, Howard Carroll, and James Walker, are considered music legends and though the personnel has changed the group continues to perform to date. Over the years, their repertoire and style included spirituals, jubilees, and hymns sung in close-harmony, and a cappella gospel style that reflected the influence of rock music with guitar accompaniment. Southern (1997) reports that most of the music performed by “The Birds” was written by Ira Tucker and James Walker (Southern, 1997, p. 483). Their first successful song entitled “Joshua’s Journey to Jericho” was recorded in 1938 on the Bluebird label (Smith, 1987a, pp. 40-41).

As gospel quartets continued to sing a cappella spirituals and jubilees in close harmony, they began adding instrumental accompaniment and developed unique performance practices. Williams-Jones (1975) suggests that “the two basic sources from which gospel singing derived its aesthetic ideals were the freestyle collective improvisation of the African American church and the rhetorical solo style of the gospel preacher” (p. 5). During the 1930’s quartet solo leads evolved that mirrored the preaching tradition (Reagon, 1992b, p.14).

One of the most popular quartets that was established during the 1930s was the Soul Stirrers (Checker Records LP 10015) led by the great Rebert Harris (http://www.african.com/Gospel1.html website, 2001, paragraph 22). The Soul Stirrers, organized in 1935, is credited with establishing many of the practices of the modern gospel quartet style. The Soul Stirrers were “the first to add a fifth man to the quartet, thus providing four-part harmony support for the lead singer; the first to use guitar
accompaniment; and the first to give concerts consisting solely of gospel music.”

(Southern, 1997, p. 483). Harris and with Sam Cooke were two of their most celebrated members (Southern, 1997, p. 483). According to George W. Stewart of the American Quartet Gospel Convention, “it was Harris who first developed that vocal ad lib using repetitious sounds that Sam Cooke made so famous rather than words” (http://www.afgen.com/Gospel1.html website, 2001, paragraph 22). Stewart also suggested that,

before that innovation, it was just straight quartet style, a variation of the barbershop quartet. . . Harris started training Sam Cooke when Cooke was 10 years old. Cooke joined the group as a teen and became the closest thing gospel had to a matinee idol” (http://www.afgen.com/Gospel1.html website, 2001, paragraph 23).

Another popular quartet organized in the 1930s was the Swan Silvertones. The Swan Silvertones were organized in 1938. The Silvertones, like the Dixie Hummingbirds organized in the 1920s also changed their style over the years. They moved from a traditional quartet style with barbershop harmonies to the sophisticated modern gospel style. The most celebrated member of the Silvertones was Claude Jeter, noted for his falsetto (Southern, 1997, p. 483). The innovative manner in which Jeter used falsetto became a standard within the Gospel industry (http://www.afgen.com/Gospel1.html website, 2001, paragraph 18).

While the quartets developed as a separate style of gospel singing, they greatly influenced the stylistic development and performance practices of gospel music. Maulsby (1992) reports that “some local quartets developed regional and national reputations” that allowed them to become professional gospel artists (p. 21). Lornell (1988) writes, “as regional ‘stars’ in the 1930s they toured while maintaining full-time
jobs, but by mid-1940s, several were touring the country as full time professional musicians” (Lornell 1988, 64-78; Maultsby, 1992, p. 22).

Gospel music becomes a new and distinct genre.

The influence of the Pentecostal songs, quartets, blues and jazz, evangelistic hymns, coupled with the African American song styles of the nineteenth century led to the evolution and development of the new gospel musical style by the end of the 1920s (Reagon, 1992, p. 4). By this time, African American gospel music had become a new musical genre that was to be distinguished from the nineteenth century spirituals and hymns. Southern (1997) states that African American gospel music is distinguishable from spirituals in the following ways.

1.) Gospel texts are subjective and hortative. The poems generally center on a single theme, which is stressed through repetition of phrases. The subjects are wide ranging, such as conversion, salvation, yearning for spirituality, etc. 2.) Gospel songs have instrumental accompaniment, which is as “integral part of the performance as is the singing, and in like manner equally as expressive of the folk.” 3.) Gospel has a characteristic rhythmic intensity because of its marked syncopation and percussive instrumental rhythms, and 4.) Gospel uses strophic forms, with verses and refrains, and, like White Gospel, its songs tend to be sixteen or thirty-two measures in length (p. 459).

Southern (1997) does state however, that these specific musical characteristics apply primarily to the gospel music of the 1920s and `1930s which is the period it was beginning to emerge in the community and in the Black church (p. 460). Though similar forms were adapted from the evangelistic gospel hymns of the nineteenth century, Boyer (1974) reports “Dorsey felt that the 19th century songs created by White evangelists and musicians were more accurately described as gospel hymns since they were composed in the traditional hymn form” (pp. 21-22).
Concerning melody Southern (1997) offers that gospel melodies, with their flatted thirds and sevenths, were related to the blues (p. 460). These distinctions are significant because they demonstrate that though gospel music was influenced by other African American and European-American musical forms, the music developed as a new and distinct style with unique musical characteristics. Although older song forms were adopted by early gospel composers, it was in the 1920s that gospel composers began to develop new musical forms and song styles that were unique to gospel music. One such song style was the Gospel ballad. The gospel ballad was a slow song that tended to fall in the rhythmic pulse of four pulses of four beats to the bar. The text in the gospel ballad shared the composer’s inner thoughts of joy and sorrow aloud with the listener. One example of a gospel ballad is Lucie Campbell’s “Heavenly Sunshine” written in 1923 (Boyer, 1992, pp. 85-87).


Thomas Dorsey, who came to be known as “The Father of Gospel Music,” stands out as a central figure in the development of gospel music. Dorsey was so influential that there was even a period during which all gospel songs were referred to as Dorsey’s (Walker, 1979, p. 151; Boyer, 1992a, p. 142). However, Dorsey realized that there were other composers who had laid the foundation for gospel music. Dorsey once stated in 1942 that “Tindley originated this style of music (gospel), and what I wanted to do was to further what Tindley started” (Bontemps 1967, p. 78; Boyer, 1992d, p. 54). Though other composers were influential in the development of the gospel style, Dorsey stands out for various reasons. Dorsey’s music synthesized many of the elements of African American
sacred music in the early twentieth-century. Dorsey was a prolific composer who composed over five hundred gospel songs. He also wrote jazz and blues songs while serving as band leader and arranger for the great blues legend Gertrude “Ma” Rainey and while working with Hudson “Tampa Red” Whittaker. Dorsey also wrote for his group, Texas Tommy and Friends, with which he recorded in the 30’s (Boyer, 1974, pp. 21-22). Elements of Dorsey’s style appear in almost all gospel music known today (Boyer, 1992a, p.163). Boyer (1992a) states that Dorsey’s style was so captivating and inclusive that “all those who would come after him automatically, whether consciously or unconsciously, borrowed from and added to the concepts and practices he established” (p.142). Morris (1987) stated that “you could always tell a Dorsey song from the time it started to the time it ended” by the way he used rhythm. In addition, Dorsey was the first to extensively use minor chords and seventh chords and introduce them into gospel music (Morris, 1987 in Reagon, 1992c, p. 331). Boyer (1992a) argues that “all gospel choirs and gospel music lovers owe a debt of appreciation to Mr. Dorsey for his courage, vision, musicianship, and integrity at a time when Gospel music did not enjoy the popularity it does today” (Boyer, 1992a, p. 142).
1930s

**Chicago: The Birthplace of Gospel Music.**

All of the songwriters who came into prominence during the 1920s through the 1940s were influenced by Tindley, and given a platform for exposure by Campbell. However, it was in Chicago during the 1930s that gospel music became firmly established as a new musical genre. Some scholars attribute the rise of gospel music in the 1930s to such factors as the Depression, the migration of Southern Blacks to the North, the establishment of Black denominational and Pentecostal churches, along with the departure of musicians from the blues and jazz world to the church (Whalum, 1973; Walker, 1979; Southern, 1997). Scholars suggest that the effects of these events produced a musical environment in which gospel music could thrive and develop (Whalum, 1973; Walker, 1979, Southern, 1997). Whalum (1973) suggests that the church became an outlet for Blacks to express their religious tradition especially when they were faced with the realities of urban life (Whalum, 1973, p. 353).

During this time the center of gospel movement was in Chicago. Since some churches in Chicago permitted gospel choirs to be organized, Chicago produced the most celebrated composers and singers and established so many enduring gospel traditions, thus Chicago came to be regarded as the birthplace of gospel music (Southern, 1997, p. 460).
The new Gospel music and the Black church.

Most of the gospel pioneers moved to Chicago after receiving their initial musical training and exposure to various styles of sacred and secular musical genres in other parts of the country. The city of Chicago drew migrants from all over the country that looked to religion for an outlet for their religious expression. For many people the new gospel music provided that outlet.

While urban centers like Chicago provided an outlet of musical expression for many Blacks during the 1930’s, it should be noted that all Black churches did not accept this new music. Petrie (2001) reports that “many of the so called ‘advanced Negro Churches’ resented Gospel singing in their churches because of the personal theology that was presented and its bluesy content” (php.iupui.edu/~apcarpen/history.htm website, paragraph 9). The http://www.afgen.com/Gospel1.html website (2001) reports that the “old guard” conservatives considered this blending of sacred (spirituals and hymns) and secular (blues and jazz) as “the devil’s music” and shunned it. By its actions the church declared that Dorsey’s brand of Gospel music was unworthy of hearing within sanctuaries of that day (paragraph 8).

Harris (1992) reports that since Dorsey’s music was not accepted in the traditional large churches, he chose to straddle the fence. Dorsey would play for small churches that could not pay him anything on Sunday mornings while playing in bands on Saturday nights in order to earn a living (p. 180).

Some churches rejected gospel music because the development of Gospel choir threatened to replace congregational singing. The php.iupui.edu/~apcarpen/history.htm website (2001) explains,
the transition from congregational hymns to songs for specialized soloists and ensembles had important sociological consequences. While former (congregational singing) united the worshipers through the collective activity of singing and declaring theological and doctrinal commonalities, the new style required the congregation to assume the role of the audience (paragraph 7).

Eric Lincoln (n. d.) further states,

...at best the congregation was to share in those attestations by affirmative “amens,” nodding, humming, clapping, swaying, or occasionally by singing along on the choruses and vamps. One unexpected consequence was that Black worshippers and concert goers often became the audience to a new homiletical Gospel experience (php.iupui.edu/~apcarpen/history.htm website, 2001, paragraph 7).

Gospel music was eventually accepted and established within most Black churches across the nation. Scholars attribute this acceptance to several factors. Firstly, the large number of southern Blacks who migrated to Northern Urban cities and the far West during World War II helped to open the door for gospel music in old-line denominational churches. Secondly, gospel music’s status and acceptance increased within the White world through radio and recording, thus many Blacks became more tolerant and accepting (php.iupui.edu/~apcarpen/history.htm website, 2001, paragraph 9).

Another key factor that influenced the acceptance of gospel music within Black churches was that the National Baptist Convention, which influenced thousands, gave its public endorsement of gospel music in the 1930s. Southern (1997) states that it was at the National Baptist Convention’s Jubilee Meeting held in Chicago in 1930 that the official history of gospel music began (p. 484). During the 1930 convention, the convention’s music director allowed the promotion of gospel songs during the meeting (Southern, 1997, p. 484). George (1992) reports that since 1930 the National Congresses and Conventions have been the primary media for introducing and disseminating new
songs to a national Black audience (p. 118). It was at many of the annual Conventions or Congresses that many leading gospel figures were first “introduced.”

George (1992) reports that Campbell organized pre-Congress and pre-Convention musicals which featured mass choirs made up of thousands of people from all over the country (p. 117). If Campbell chose one or more songs of a composer to be sung at an annual session, gospel songwriters and entrepreneurs would find instant success (George, 1992, p. 118). Since the delegates bought and took back to their churches the anthems, spirituals, hymns, and gospel songs they heard at the convention, gospel composers could gain great exposure for their songs and make a substantial income (George, 1992, p. 113). Thomas Dorsey received his big break when his composition entitled, “If You See My Savior,” was performed at the morning session of the annual National Baptist Convention which convened in Chicago in 1930 (Harris, 1992, p. 180). Dorsey’s song became such a success that he sold over four thousand copies of the song at that convention. Harris (1992) reports that having sold so many copies, Dorsey finally felt that he had reached a level of acceptance for which he had labored for many years (p. 180).

The first gospel choruses.

Rev. J. H. L. Smith, the pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church, one of the old-line churches in Chicago, shared his vision to have a group that could sing the old-fashioned congregational songs that were born in the hearts of the Black forefathers in the south. Since many of the members were recent migrants from the south they were used to those old songs and remembered how they were to be performed (Harris, 1992, p. 181). Consequently, the first gospel chorus was started at Ebenezer Baptist Church in Chicago
in 1931 (Southern, 1997, p. 461; Harris, 1992, p. 191; Walker, 1979, p. 149). On the second Sunday in January 1932, a choir of more than 100 members made its debut at Ebenezer. Thomas Dorsey was the pianist and Theodore Frye was the Director (Southern, 1997, p. 461). Dorsey and Frye later recruited a young pianist named Roberta Martin to accompany the choir, who later became a leading force in gospel music (Southern, 1997, p. 462). Scholars state that Dorsey started another gospel chorus in 1932 at Pilgrim Baptist Church in Chicago (Boyer, 1995, p. 62; Harris, 1992, p. 191). Magnolia Butts, a close associate of Dorsey and Frye, followed Dorsey’s lead and adopted gospel music for her group. Butts served as the director of the youth choir at the Metropolitan Community Church starting in 1928 and eventually changed the name of her choir to the Metropolitan Community Church Gospel Chorus in 1932 (Boyer, 1995, p. 65).

**The first gospel convention.**

Though the National Baptist Convention supported gospel artists, Thomas Dorsey, along with Magnolia Lewis Butts, and Theodore R. Frye, found the need to organize the National Convention of Gospel Choirs and Choruses, Incorporated (NCGCC) in 1932 (Boyer, 1995, p. 60). The purpose of this convention was to train choirs, directors, and soloists throughout the United States in the performance of the new gospel music genre (Boyer, 1995, p. 61). It was through this convention that many choirs first heard gospel music, and were trained to successfully perform the new style of music.

Theodore R. Frye (1899-1963) studied both piano and voice as a child and served as a soloist and choir director in his hometown. Boyer (1995) reports that upon moving
to Chicago, “Frye eagerly sought the camaraderie of musicians in Chicago who not only read music but those who were not afraid to sing with the ‘spirit’” (p. 64). Frye found these qualities in Thomas Dorsey, so he and Dorsey became close friends. With Dorsey as his pianist, Frye developed a reputation as a singer who could “move or arouse the emotions of an audience.” He is more popularly known however as the one who revised “I’m Going to Walk That Milky White Way.” This song would be first recorded by the CBS Trumpeteers quartet in 1948 and made popular again in the late 1980’s by gospel/jazz group Take 6.

Magnolia Lewis Butts (1880-1949), another co-founder of the convention was known throughout Chicago as a great gospel soloist. Butts is most remembered today however as the composer of “Let It Breathe On Me” (1942), a composition that is still being sung today during the call to prayer and meditation in many African American services (Boyer, 1995, p. 65).

Spreading the new gospel style through gospel sheet music publishing.

At the present time, gospel music is most often considered an oral musical genre that is transmitted by rote. However, in the early days of its inception it was primarily transmitted through written scores (Williams-Jones, 1992). The National Baptist Convention and Dorsey’s National Convention of Gospel Choirs and Choruses played a great role in the publication and distribution of sheet music (Southern, 1997, p. 484). Williams-Jones (1992) reports that hymnals such as Gospel Pearls, first issued in 1921 by the National Baptist Convention, were the main vehicles through which gospel composers exposed their new songs to the public. Williams-Jones (1992) writes that,
the harmonies in these hymnals were traditional with standard four-part voicing, however, in the 1940s, gospel sheet music began to replace hymnals like the Gospel Pearls, thus providing an additional means of spreading what was essentially an oral musical tradition. In addition to the words, sheet music provided more elaborate chords and arrangements than found in the Gospel Pearls (p. 259).

Though the basic structure of a song could be written on the sheet music, Dorsey and others realized that a gospel song could not be realized from the written page (Williams-Jones, 1992, p. 264). In addition to promoting his sheet music through the National Baptist Convention and the National Convention of Gospel Choirs and Choruses, Dorsey also promoted his sheet music by travelling across the country with soloists who could perform and demonstrate his music (Southern, 1997, p. 462). Dorsey joined forces with singers such Sallie Martin, Willie Mae Ford Smith, and Mahalia Jackson to promote and sell his music. Gospel music at this time was primarily solo focused, meaning that the soloist or song leader performed the main portion of the song. Mahalia Jackson once said “without the solo there is no song.”

Dorsey’s first music demonstrator, Sallie Martin, was born in Atlanta, Georgia in 1896 but moved to Chicago where she performed for many years. Together, she and Dorsey organized and sponsored more than 500 Baptist gospel groups. Martin later made significant contributions in the area of gospel music publishing (Southern, 1997, p. 462). As a result of Martin’s contributions she was eventually deemed the “Mother of Gospel Music” (Totally Gospel Magazine, September, 1988, p.7).

Another soloist who worked with Dorsey was Willie Mae Ford Smith (Savoy Records 14739), affectionately known as Mother Willie Mae Ford Smith (Heilbut, 1983a, liner notes). Both of her maternal grandparents were slaves so she was able to learn from them some of the oldest Black spirituals, hymns, and shouts. By 1932, she became
associated with Thomas Dorsey and Sallie Martin. Willie Mae Ford Smith is credited with developing the powerful singing style and runs for which gospel music is known. Willie Mae Ford Smith is also credited with having established the tradition of introducing each song with a little sermonette consisting of explications of the text (Southern, 1997, p. 478). Smith had a memorable delivery style. The gestures that she employed when singing were just as dramatic as her shifts in vocal dynamics. Smith was known for swaying, strutting, running, crawling, bouncing, dancing, and being ceaselessly kinetic” (Heilbut, 1983a, liner notes). Heilbut (1983a) states that “Smith always attempted to communicate the fire in her bones” (liner notes).

At the annual meeting of Dorsey’s National Convention of Gospel Choir and Choruses, Willie Mae Ford Smith organized and directed a Soloist’s Bureau in which she taught her singing techniques to hundreds of singers, many of whom later became nationally recognized gospel soloists (Heilbut, 1983a, liner notes). During gospel’s Golden Age she acquired a slew of proteges and imitators. Some of her offspring include Mahalia Jackson who told her in 1942, “I wanna be like you, Willie. I’m gonna leave my beauty shop and become a national singer” (Heilbut, 1983a, liner notes). Roberta Martin so admired Mother Smith’s version of “What A Friend We Have In Jesus” (Apollo Records LP 480; Apollo Records LP 238) that she made it her featured number, with every turn and curlique that Smith employed.
Gospel music publishing.

In 1932 Dorsey opened the first publishing house for the exclusive sale of gospel music by African American composers (Boyer, 1995, p. 60). Many individual composers began to publish and distribute individual copies of their music during the 1930s. Roberta Martin also entered the publishing business.

Martin published approximately seventy songs that included her own compositions as well as the arrangements of other composers such as James Cleveland, Alex Bradford, Willie Webb, Robert Anderson, and Lucy Smith Collier (Williams-Jones, 1992, p. 265). Though sheet music offered another medium through which gospel music could be spread, it did not always allow for an accurate notation of what the performer sang or played. In the case of Roberta Martin, sheet music was unable to capture the performance sounds, and techniques. Williams-Jones (1992) writes,

> The Roberta Martin Singers represented a performance sound, colors, vocal textures, principles of harmonic blending, dynamics, relationships between soloist and background that could not be perceived from the literature, therefore, live performance became the best way to expose or transmit the correct interpretation of a Gospel song (p. 265).

Though gospel music was scored in written notation, due to the limitation of the written score, recreating music by ear eventually won out over purchasing sheet music (Williams-Jones, 1992, p. 265). Thus gospel music became a musical form that was primarily transmitted through the oral tradition.

Dorsey, Martin and others were publishing gospel music during the pioneering days of gospel music, however, it was Kenneth Morris who would come to be considered as the Dean of Gospel Music Publishing (Boyer, 1992c; Boyer, 1995, Southern, 1997). Southern (1997) suggests that gospel music received its second infusion of jazz music
when jazz pianist Kenneth Morris, came to Chicago in 1934 to became an arranger for
the gospel publishing company of Lillian Bowles (p. 482). Dorsey is credited with
providing the first infusion (Southern, 1997, p. 482). Kenneth Morris was born in New
York City in 1917. Morris began taking piano as a young child and began playing in
church for the Sunday School and the BTU (Baptist Training Union) at about the age of
ten or eleven. Boyer (1992c) reports that Morris attended City College of New York for
several years while he was simultaneously receiving musical training in piano,
composition, arranging, and orchestration at the Manhattan Conservatory (p. 309). For
economic reasons Morris left school and began playing the piano in jazz bands and
pickup bands. See Boyer (1992c) for a review of Morris’ early career.

Morris became the first musician to implement the use of an electric Hammond
organ within gospel music while serving as director and organist of the choir at First
Church of Deliverance between 1938 and 1942. The Pastor, Rev. Cobb, wanted an organ
for the church, so he purchased a Hammond organ for eight hundred dollars. Morris, the
first organist for the church, experimented and created new ways of using the organ.
Morris became so proficient on the organ that the local store, Lyon and Healy from
whom the organ was purchased, hired him to demonstrate the organ. Morris (1987)
initially recalled that there was a lot of criticism from the old-line musicians, who thought
it was too jazzy (Reagon, 1992c, p. 338). As with Thomas Dorsey before him, many
church members felt he was bringing the devil’s music into the church. Nevertheless, the
Hammond organ became a staple in the performance of gospel music, thus adding more
significance to Morris’s contribution to the gospel music field (Boyer, 1992c, p. 311).
Because Morris notated his scores in a simplified manner in order to address the ability levels of the people for whom he was writing, many critics dismissed his music; they felt that the composer’s intent should be fully written out in the score (Reagon, 1992c, p. 339). Morris (1987) knew that most of his clientele had not exceeded the third grade, therefore, he could not write music that was too complicated (Reagon, 1992c, p. 339). Southern (1997) reports that “gospel scores were generally written very simple, with only the bare essentials of vocal and piano notation to allow room for extensive improvisation by the performer” (p. 477). In spite of the criticism, Boyer (1992c) reports that Morris eventually became a pioneering scribe, arranger, pianist, organist, composer, conductor, and “Dean of Black American Gospel Music Publishers” (p. 309).

According to Boyer (1992c) Morris had been composing for a while but he only published a few songs with Bowles Music House (p. 314). It was not until he established Martin and Morris music with Sallie Martin in the 1940s, that he copyrighted and published many of his songs and that a specific compositional and musical style could be observed in Morris’s writing (Boyer, 1992c, p. 314). Boyer (1992c) suggests that African American gospel song lyrics come in three varieties.

“First there is the use of scriptural quotes or paraphrases of the Scriptures. (For example, Eyes Hath Not Seen). . . Second, there is the song of praise or adoration of the Savior, found in both the spiritual and gospel song, in which praises are offered to God, the Father, Jesus Christ, the Savior, Son, and the Spirit, the Holy Ghost (For example, King Jesus Will Roll All Burdens Away). . . Third, there is the request of pleading song, in which the singer asks in a straight-forward manner for healing, happiness, assistance in paying bills, or any number of other gifts (For example, Fix My Heart) (pp. 314-316).

Morris’s songs provide examples of all three lyric types. Morris also used the gospel blues form often used by Tindley, Dorsey and others. According to Boyer (1992) “most of these songs are divided into two parts: the verse, which paints the horrible situation,
and the chorus, which describes what it will be like in heaven.” An example of this type of song is Morris’ “Christ Is All” (p. 323). See Boyer (1992c) for a description of Morris’s music.

Musical characteristics and innovations of three early gospel pioneers.

By committing gospel compositions to paper, one could more effectively analyze gospel songs to determine their formal structure and musical style. Williams-Jones (1992) contends that from the early musical scores of Dorsey’s and others one can see the relationship between Dorsey’s compositional style and the hymn structure as well as the influence of the call and response tradition (p. 264). With regard to the musical development and characteristics of early gospel music, Thomas Dorsey, Roberta Martin, and Kenneth Morris played significant roles in the development of the genre during the 1930s. Many of the musical and performance practices that they established have become standard practices for all subsequent gospel singers.

While the improvisational congregational songs which gave impetus to the creation of the first gospel songs continued to be performed, formally composed gospel songs began to develop in the 1930s (NCGCC Website, 2001, paragraph 4). Composers began to develop new and unique forms for gospel music. The early gospel composers employed commonly used forms and they created many new forms as well. Boyer (1992) reports at least three forms used by Dorsey, one of which he credits Dorsey with creating. Most gospel songs are based on the “verse-chorus pattern.” The verse is the section which tells a story or recounts a situation and the chorus is the section which expresses the writer’s own feelings about that situation. Having analyzed hundreds of
Dorsey compositions, Boyer (1992a) reports that Dorsey used this verse-chorus form for 75 percent of his songs (p. 160).

Dorsey also used the “special chorus.” The special chorus is the chorus which has an extra part added to it (p. 163). In contemporary gospel music, the “special chorus” became known as a “vamp,” a special section at the end of a song in which one idea or phrase is repeated over and over. According to Boyer (1992b) “the vamp is the most important stylistic element in contemporary gospel” (p. 285). It is based upon African American aesthetic of repetition and reiteration. As a compositional device Boyer (1992b) argues that the vamp contributes “little to the substance of a song but a great deal to the style of a song” (p. 285).

Dorsey also used the Baptist lining-hymn tradition. In this form songs were performed freely without a strict pulse (p. 163). This free style form can be observed within Dorsey’s composition entitled “Precious Lord Take My Hand” in which the soloist sings each line freely following without a strict pulse of the musical score (Boyer, 1992a, pp. 146, 163).

Dorsey also wrote many songs in a form called the “gospel blues” (Boyer, 1992, p. 163). These songs became known as gospel blues because of their similarities to the secular classic blues form. The classic blues is a three-line poem with a poetic structure of AAB. Each line requires four bars to sing. This results in a twelve bar song. All classic blues use basically the same harmonic progression (Boyer, 1992f, p. 213). An example of the classic blues is Aaron “T-Bone” Walker’s “Call It Stormy Monday” blues.
A: They call it stormy Monday, but Tuesday's just as bad.
B: Wednesday's worse and Thursday's oh so sad (Boyer, 1992f, p. 213).

A gospel blues song is a four-line poem with a poetic structure of AABA. Each line requires four measures of music to perform. This results in sixteen bar song. An example of the gospel blues is Eugene Smith's "I Know The Lord Will Make A Way, Yes He Will."

A: I know the Lord will make a way, Oh yes he will
A: I know the Lord will make a way, Oh yes he will
B: He'll make a way for you, He will lead you safely through
A: I know the Lord will make a way, Oh yes he will
(Boyer, 1992f, p. 214).

According to Boyer (1992a) most gospel blues employed the same harmonic scheme (Boyer, 1992f, p. 214).

Boyer (1992a) analyzed more than 150 Dorsey songs and noted that Dorsey wrote his music in 4/4 but played it in 12/8 (p. 158). This 12/8 rhythmic pattern is often referred to as the "gospel waltz." Lucie Campbell is reported to be the first to purposely use this gospel waltz pattern. For an extensive analysis of Dorsey's music, see Boyer (1992a).

Roberta Martin was born in 1907 in Helena, Arkansas. As a child Roberta would pick out melodies on the piano. However, when she grew older she studied piano with her sister-in-law. In her lessons Martin concentrated on standard piano literature including Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms. At the age of ten Martin's family migrated to Chicago where she was further encouraged in her musical studies by her high school piano teacher, Mildred Bryant Jones (Jackson, 1979, p. 89). Boyer (1992b) notes that, unlike many gospel composers, Martin was not familiar with the gospel music of the
Holiness church, however, in 1933 Martin heard gospel music for the first time and decided that she liked it (p. 275). Soon after hearing gospel music, Martin obtained her first church position as the pianist for the young people’s Choir of Ebenezer Baptist Church (Boyer, 1995, p. 66). She worked with Thomas Dorsey and Theodore Frye, both of whom helped to guide her early career. In 1933, with the help of Dorsey and Frye, Roberta Martin organized the Martin-Frye Quartet with Eugene Smith, James Lawrence, Robert Anderson, Willie Webb, and Norsalus McKissick. By 1936 Martin changed the name of this group to the Roberta Martin Singers (Williams-Jones, 1992, p. 256).

Since Martin had studied classical music, she brought to gospel music her love and knowledge, and performance skill in standard hymns, anthems, spirituals, secular songs, and the master works of Western Europe music that she had studied for many years (Boyer, 1992b, p. 276). Inspired by Thomas Dorsey and Sallie Martin, Martin began composing and arranging songs that author Anthony Heilbut has described as combining “the Baptist moan of her Arkansas childhood with the Dorsey bounce, the sanctified churches’ syncopation, and a smidgeon of semiclassical pretension” (Heilbut, 1973, Williams-Jones, 1992, p. 255). All of these musical forms were eventually reflected in her compositions and the repertoire of her group.

Roberta Martin represents one of the first musicians to incorporate classical music into the new gospel style. Her rare combination of skills soon set her apart from other gospel musicians of her era. Williams-Jones (1992) states,

“not only did she excel as a pianist, composer, arranger, and organizer of groups and choirs, but she went on to found and operate what became one of the largest Gospel music publishing houses in Chicago (p. 255).
Clayton L. Hannah (1979) wrote in his liner notes to the 1979 Savoy album *The Best of the Roberta Martin Singers* (Savoy SGL 7018),

Although Thomas Dorsey is credited as the originator of gospel, and Mahalia Jackson received the highest acclaim, Roberta Martin unequivocally made the greatest contribution. She created and left a dynasty of gospel singers and a portfolio of unduplicated gospel music (liner notes).

The manner in which Roberta Martin uniquely combined various musical elements helped to standardized what has became known as classic gospel music (Williams-Jones, 1992, p. 275). The Roberta Martin sound helped to define an entire musical era. See Boyer (1992b) for an extensive description of Martin’s music and contributions to gospel music.

Roberta Martin and Kenneth Morris were responsible for using harmonic structures currently heard in gospel music (Reagon, 1992c, p. 331). Morris (1987) stated,

Everybody doesn’t want four-part harmony. A trio sounds very good if they are well rounded. Of course, you could tell, generally speaking, if you had any kind of musical training idea at all, you could tell what the bass would be. I mean, you don’t have to have four-part harmony. I wrote with the triad (Reagon, 1992c, p. 331).

This is a significant development because prior to this time most gospel choirs and groups used four-part harmony. It is at this time, through the work of Roberta Martin and Kenneth Morris that the three-part gospel harmony rather than four-part harmony became a standard aspect of gospel music, whether in performance or in printed musical scores. Though many of the female groups included women with low voices, they did not utilize bass singers. This practice helped establish the three-part harmony commonly heard in gospel music (Morris, 1987; Reagon, 1992c, p. 331).
Gospel music gains exposure through radio and recordings.

Gospel quartets became so popular that by the late 30’s, many radio stations began to include live performances of gospel quartets as a part of their station format. Lornell (1988) and Maultsby (1992) report that radio stations began to feature fifteen to twenty minute daily or weekly broadcasts during the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s “in response to the growth of postwar urban African American populations” (pp. 22-26; p. 24). Landes (1987) reports that the Fairfield Four Quartet had a fifteen minute morning radio broadcast on Nashville’s WLAC radio station from 1939-51, which was recorded and syndicated to other stations (p. 68).

Gospel choirs also performed regularly on the radio during the 1930s. One notable group was the Wings Over Jordan Choir (King Records K-502LX). The NCGCC Website (2001) reports that “the weekly network broadcast of the Wings Over Jordan Choir helped to accelerate the widespread recognition of the gospel music style” (paragraph 5). Although the Wings Over Jordan Choir sang gospel songs, unlike most gospel choirs, they were an a cappella choir which also sang many Negro Spirituals. Their singing style was reminiscent of the prepared college choir style of the late 1800s.

Radio performances of gospel music led to the expansion of gospel music recordings. While the recording industry focused on quartets, soloists and preachers in the 1920s, Williams-Jones (1992) reported that it was in the late 1930s that they began to record music featuring the new gospel singers and songwriters (p. 259). One notable solo recording artist was Rosetta Tharpe, who recorded on Decca Records (DE 2243) in 1938. Tharpe recorded one of the first gospel recordings after the war. Maultsby (1992) wrote
that Tharpe’s singing style “showed an affinity between gospel and jazz that all fans could recognize and appreciate” (p. 22).

Large gospel choirs also recorded during the 1930s. The gospel choirs of this period followed the tradition of the Fisk Jubilee Singers, however, their music also used gospel tempos and song structures. One example of a large gospel choir was the St. Paul’s Church Choir of Los Angeles, California. This choir conducted by J. Earl Hines recorded several selections on Capitol Records. Some of their popular songs included “God Be With You” (Capitol 40018), “If We Never Needed The Lord Before” (40033), and “How Sweet It Is” (Capitol 70002), all written by Kenneth Morris (Boyer, 1992c, p. 326).

Gospel singers such as the Gospel Light Jubilee Singers (Bluebird Records BB B8212) also recorded in 1939 but they abandoned the polite singing style of the Fisk Jubilee Singers. The Gospel Light Jubilee singers loosened the form of the songs and extended their singing in counterpoint. Boyer (1995) suggests that the gospel choirs that emerged during this period were greatly influenced by the new Black gospel song writers who used blues elements and the popular vocal harmony styles of secular groups such as the Ink Spots and the Mills Brothers (Boyer, 1995, p. 44).

**Gospel music spreads beyond the Black church.**

The demand for gospel music outside of the Black church led to the organization of some of the first commercial concerts. Southern (1997) reports that Thomas Dorsey sponsored what he called the “battle of song” between the Sallie Martin and Roberta Martin in 1936 (p. 464). This was the first gospel concert for which an admission price
was charged. The concert was held at DuSable High School in Chicago and the price for admission was fifteen cents. Prior to this time the admission to a gospel concert was free, although voluntary offerings were collected. While Dorsey sponsored the first paid gospel concert at a local high school, large commercial concerts featuring gospel artists were sponsored in the late 1930s. One of the first commercial gospel music concerts took place in New York, featuring Sister Rosetta Tharpe, The Kings of Harmony, Georgia Peach, the Thrasher Wonders, and others. Maulsby (1992) reports that jazz critic and record producer John Hammond organized a musical extravaganza at Carnegie Hall entitled *From Spirituals to Swing* (p. 22). This concert featured performances of blues, jazz, spirituals, and gospel music. The Mitchell’s Christian Singers and Sister Rosetta Tharpe were selected by Hammond to render the spirituals and gospel songs (Maulsby, 1992, p. 22). Hammond and Townsend (1981) report that the success of this concert along with favorable reviews by most critics led to the staging of the second *Spirituals to Swing* in 1939 featuring the Golden Gate Jubilee Quartet (p. 231; Maulsby, 1992, p. 22).

Radio exposure and recordings also created a demand for gospel singers to perform outside of the church. Moving gospel music out of the church into the secular world heightened questions about Gospel music’s purpose: was it for religious or entertainment purposes? Throughout the 1930s, gospel music took shape as a musical form and expanded into new markets, but it was during the 1940s that Gospel music spread across the nation and gained national recognition and acceptance.
THE GOLDEN AGE OF GOSPEL (1940s – 1960s)

1940s

Introduction.

So many pioneering gospel composers, musicians, and singers resided in Chicago during the 1940s that Chicago continued to be the major center for the development and growth of gospel music. Though gospel was growing and advancing in Chicago, it was not accepted in all Black churches (Eskew & Oliver, 1980). Since few mainline denominational churches accepted gospel music, many gospel singers chose to promote their music through publishing, radio, recordings, concerts and performances outside traditional Black church settings. The expansion of gospel music during the 1940s eventually led to its acceptance within traditional Black churches.

Music Publishing.

One of the most significant publishing houses to develop in the 1940s was Martin and Morris Publishing. As the only arranger and main writer, Morris felt that he was the only one presenting ideas and felt he was not advancing at Bowles Publishing. Morris decided to leave Bowles Music in 1940. Sallie Martin, who had been working with Dorsey as the primary soloist demonstrating his new music, left Dorsey and combined efforts and talents with Morris (Reagon, 1992, p. 332). The two started a publishing company that they named the Martin and Morris Studio (Reagon, 1992, p. 332).
Unlike Dorsey, Lillian Bowles did not have singers to demonstrate the music, so people would purchase music but not have an idea of how the songs were to be performed (Reagon, 1992c, p. 332). Sallie Martin, having worked with Dorsey as his main singer, committed to singing the songs that she and Morris published, while Morris focused on transcribing, arranging and accompanying. Sallie Martin and her new group, the Sallie Martin Singers (Vee Jay Records VJ 5041), sang the new songs published by Martin and Morris becoming the first female group in gospel (Boyer, 1995, p. 92; Heilbut, 1971, (p. 46).

Morris never thought that he could make a living from music publishing alone so he also taught music lessons, until Martin and Morris introduced his song “Just a Closer Walk With Thee” at the 1944 National Baptist Convention (Reagon, 1992c, p. 333). This song became very popular and was followed by additional successful songs, “Jesus I Love You,” “Yes, God Is Real,” “Christ Is All,” and “Don’t You Care.” Morris’s best-known song, “Yes God is Real,” was eventually translated into twenty-four languages and sung all over the world (Boyer, 1992, p. 323).

Gospel composers at this time were not careful about obtaining copyrights to their songs, because there was not a great demand for their music. Since the cost of a copyright was two dollars and sheet music sold for ten cents per copy, it was sometimes felt that the attainment of a copyright was not worth the cost (Morris, 1987 in Reagon, 1992c, p. 336). However, Morris and other composers began to seek copyrights for their materials after Morris’s composition, “Just A Closer Walk With Thee” was stolen by Winsett, a Southern White publisher, who wanted to put it in his book (Morris, 1987, Reagon, 1992c, p. 336). When Winsett found the song was not copyrighted, he felt he
was free to take out a copyright on the song. He did not change the arrangement, he merely changed the printed score to shaped notes. Once many of the White publishing companies began to show interest in gospel music, Morris and other composers realized that they needed to protect their works with copyrights. From that point on many Black gospel composers began to copyright all of their works (Reagon, 1992c, p. 336).

Martin and Morris began to get clients from all across the country. People would send them songs through the mail or Morris would travel to get them. Morris later traveled to Tennessee to work with William Herbert Brewster, who became one of the greatest composers of gospel music during the 1940s and 1950s. Boyer (1992c) reports that Martin and Morris also published songs by composers including James Cleveland, Alex Bradford, Dorothy Love Coates, Lucie Campbell and Sam Cooke (p. 313). Boyer (1992c) writes,

Morris arranged all of the songs and he even transcribed, arranged and published songs that were not composed by African American gospel musicians but were associated with African American gospel singers such as Oh Happy Day, Peace be Still, and At The Cross, as well as songs for which there is no known author, such as There’s a Leak in This Old Building and Mary Don’t You Weep (p. 313).

The business became so lucrative that they would earn between seventy and one hundred thousand dollars a year. In later years, they would earn as much as one hundred and sixty to two hundred thousand dollars a year (Reagon, 1992c, p. 333).

In the 1960s segregated south, all the stores were White owned and the owners would not order from Black publishers (Reagon, 1992c, p. 333). As a result, the publishing houses set up agents or representatives, from whom gospel musicians could buy music. Morris (1987) reports that at one time Martin and Morris had 326 agents all over the country and in the West Indies and England (Reagon, 1992c, p. 333). It was not
until after 1946 that the Southern White stores would begin to handle their music. Morris (1987) reports that there was such a demand for gospel music that the White stores could no longer ignore it (Reagon, 1992c, p. 333).

In 1948, Sallie Martin moved to California and started a West Coast branch of Martin and Morris Publishing. Sallie Martin met a young writer by the name of Doris Akers who was composing gospel songs at that time. She began working with Sallie Martin on the West Coast and became a member of the Sallie Martin Singers (Reagon, 1992c, p. 332). Morris (1987) recalls that Doris Akers was Methodist and worked mostly in the Methodist churches, while they worked spreading their music in the Baptist churches (Morris, 1987; Reagon, 1992c,p. 332). Kenneth Morris later founded his own publishing company, which by 1980 was the world’s largest and oldest publisher of gospel music.

Gospel music gains exposure through radio and recordings.

Gospel music gained momentum through music publishing during the 1940s, however, it also expanded greatly during this decade as a result of radio airplay and gospel recordings. As in the 1930s, gospel music continued to be heard on weekly broadcasts during the 1940s. The Wings Over Jordan Choir continued their broadcast and influenced the formation of many gospel choirs and choruses throughout the United States (NCGCC Website, 2001, paragraph 5). Rev. Cobb and the First Church of Deliverance Radio Choir (Mercury Records MG 20787) also continued to be heard during the 1940s (Reagon, 1992c, p. 337). This choir was known for presenting the newest gospel songs written and published by Chicago’s gospel composers. Choirs and
choruses across the United States who heard the broadcasts, began to emulate the choir and the musical styles that they performed.

Shortly after World War II, Blacks began purchasing gospel records. This was the first time since the Depression that Blacks purchased recordings in such impressive numbers. The demand prompted many record companies to enter the gospel music field (Dixon, Godrich, and Rye, 1997, p. xxiii). Some of the famous labels that began recording gospel music in the 1940s were Apollo, Gotham, Columbia, Vocolion, Savoy and Specialty (Dixon, 1997, pp. xxxiii–xxxix). Southern (1997) argues that though major record companies had not shown interest in recording gospel singers, when Savoy Records entered the gospel field in 1942, gospel music gained a secure future in recording (p. 485). Maultsby (1992) reports that other record companies such as Peacock, Nashboro, and Vee-Jay later entered the gospel music field and established impressive catalogs of gospel music (p. 27).

**Gospel music continues to spread beyond the Black Church.**

As a result of the widespread exposure of gospel music on radio and recordings, gospel singers began performing in many non-traditional arenas. After making her historic recordings in 1938, Tharpe continued to set new trends for gospel music. Tharpe had already established new trends in gospel music by accompanying herself with guitar and by forming a gospel duet with Marie Knight. Southern (1997) reports that in 1943 Tharpe made her debut at the Apollo Theatre in Harlem, thus making her the first to take gospel music secular venues (p. 485; Maultsby, 1992, p. 23). The [http://www.africanamericanheritage.com/Gospel1.html](http://www.africanamericanheritage.com/Gospel1.html) Website (2001) reports that Tharpe also performed
and recorded with Lucky Millinder and his band (paragraph 15, *Let It Roll*, MCA 1357). As a result of Tharpe’s success John Hammond encouraged other gospel singers, such as the Golden Gate Jubilee Quartet and the Dixie Hummingbirds, to join Tharpe performing gospel music in night clubs (Tallmadge 1974, p. 14; Salvo 1974, p. 62; Maulsby, 1992, p. 23). Hentoff (1963) reports that these performances “were rare among gospel performers,” primarily because “the Black church considered the act of singing in night clubs blasphemous and inappropriate” (p. 46; Maulsby, 1992, p. 23). Nevertheless, Maulsby (1992) reports that the practice of singing gospel music in secular venues continued during the following decades (p. 23).

Southern (1997) suggests that “Mahalia Jackson more than any other single person was responsible for bringing gospel to the attention of the world” (p. 480). “She recorded regularly from 1946 on and toured extensively at home and abroad, making her first European trip in 1952” (Southern, 1997, pp. 480-481). Jackson’s recording, “Move On Up A Little Higher” (Priority Records CS 8804), sold a million copies in 1947 and helped to establish her as an international gospel artist.

The Clara Ward and the Ward Singers, along with Tharpe and Jackson also helped to spread gospel music beyond the Black church and throughout the world. Ward (1981) reports that the Ward singers were linked to the Chicago school of gospel through Dorsey, who, during a visit in Philadelphia, heard them sing on a concert and persuaded them to develop a gospel repertory (liner notes). Shortly thereafter, the Ward Trio began attracting wide attention when they performed at annual meetings of the National Baptist Convention during the 1940’s. In 1947 the group was enlarged to include Marion
Williams and Henrietta Waddy, and its name was changed to the Famous Ward Singers (Ward, 1981, liner notes). Ward (1981) writes,

the Ward singers packed theaters all over the globe, from Las Vegas to Viet Nam, from Paris’s Olympia, To Los Angeles’ Disneyland. . . “we’ve been packing them in at the biggest night clubs and concert halls in the world, have been on every major TV show, and we’re still singing straight Gospel” (liner notes).

Gospel music in the Black Church.

While Tharpe, Jackson and Ward helped to spread Gospel across the nation and throughout the world, there were others who worked primarily within the Black church helping to bring traditional gospel music to its point of acceptance within Traditional Black churches. One such artist was Roberta Martin. Martin made significant musical contributions during the 1930s. However, in the 1940s Martin contributed additional musical elements and performance practices that would become staples in gospel music.

Martin’s most significant contribution was made when she expanded her singing group to include two female singers, Bessie Folk and Delores Barrett Campbell. This was in stark contrast to other gospel groups of the late 1930s and early 1940s, which tended to be all male quartets (with four or five members) or all female choirs and groups, such as the Sallie Martin Singers or the Clara Ward Singers (Southern, 1997, p. 485).

By omitting the bass line identified with quartet singing and older forms of Black choral music, Martin successfully integrated the vocal textures of the female high soprano, second soprano, and alto with the male first and second tenors and the baritone (Williams-Jones, 1992, pg. 258).
Williams-Jones (1992) describes the Martin sound as follows.

The unique harmonic sound created by this particular voicing was mellow and smooth, with dynamic nuances that ebbed and flowed and a timing that was almost imperceptibly “behind” the beat (p. 258).

Through Martin’s original combination of male and female vocal timbres, the Martin singers were one of the first groups to achieve a unique gospel sound and style. Heilbut (1985) contends that it was “Martin’s misty, refined and subdued contralto voice that colored the sound of the group” (p. 10). “The singers listened to one another and assimilated their individual parts in a semi-improvised freedom that belied the strong part-singing that actually took place” (Williams-Jones, 1992, p. 258). Boyer (1979) noted that Roberta Martins’ style was one of refinement (p. 32). “In the philosophical sense, the musical style served the spiritual message by the superior musical offering” (Williams-Jones, 1992, p. 257). For the first time gospel was not just identified by a musical form but a certain sound.

This sound was enhanced and shaped by the piano accompaniment. Irene Jackson (1979) stated that “Martin created a school, a way of playing, singing, and arranging the then-new music called gospel” (p. 140). Williams-Jones (1992) argues that “the unifying element of the Martin piano style was the rhythmic and harmonically colorful chord progressions of Martin and, later, her protege Lucy Smith Collier” (p. 258). In analyzing Martin’s piano style, Boyer (1979) noted that Martin used percussive octaves in the left hand and a less rigid but more complex use of chords (p. 32). The piano playing was the foundation of the vocal parts, underscoring the group’s rich harmonies (Williams-Jones, 1992, p. 258). This method of accompaniment is significant because in later years gospel
musicians would move away from playing the support harmonies of the vocals.

Williams-Jones (1992) writes concerning Martin’s piano playing and states,

The piano did not merely provide background; it was an integral and integrating force in the performance, supplying accompaniment, rhythm, and effects. The pianist could propel the momentum of a song, heightening the drama by tremolos in the bass line or by responding to a call from a singer. Piano introductions usually played while the narrator introduced or “talked up” the songs, set the mood for the singer (p. 258).

Williams-Jones (1992) reports that “the Martin Singers were among the most widely traveled of the major gospel groups in the 1940s and 1950s.” They performed in major concert halls, stadiums, churches, and festivals, and on radio and television in the U.S and Europe. The group was so successful that in the mid 40’s they could earn over three thousand dollars a week for a revival (Heilbut, 1985, xxix). Though the Martin Singers performed in various arenas all over the world, it was their commitment to ministry that helped to establish gospel music and win acceptance for gospel music within Black churches.

Dorsey, the creator and shaper of gospel music, clearly stated that gospel music was much more than a new musical art form. Williams-Jones (1992) reports that Thomas Dorsey once stated,

the term evangelistic song originally described the musical function of the songs now called gospel.” The singers were “singing evangelists” whose purpose was to save souls by declaring the gospel in song (p. 271).

Jackson (1979) reports that Martin had strong feelings about the meaning of her music ministry (p. 126). In an interview with Irene Jackson-Brown, James Austin recalled Martin’s words to her group, “I’m not entertaining the world. I’m singing the gospel just like they preach the gospel and people don’t have to go to the theater to hear the gospel (Jackson, 1979, p. 126). The Roberta Martin Singers were known for maintaining “the

Due to the exposure that gospel music received through live radio, and recorded performances, and the publication of sheet music, gospel music came to be accepted in most Black denominational churches by the mid 1940s (Eskew, 1980, p. 556). Though Lucie Campbell had endorsed gospel music since the 1930s, gospel music was further legitimized when Mahalia Jackson and Theodore Frye co-founded the National Baptist Music Convention as an auxiliary to the National Baptist Convention in 1948 (Southern, 1997, p. 485). This auxiliary was organized specifically to train musicians for the denomination.

The musical contributions of Herbert Brewster.

The National Baptist Convention continued to groom and promote new and upcoming composers who would have an impact on the gospel music field. One composer who made a great impact during the 1940s was William Herbert Brewster. Brewster was born in West Tennessee, east of Memphis in 1897. Brewster received his only formal musical training in the church. Brewster began composing in the 1930s for his congregation and local community, however, in the mid 1940s gospel music companies began to publish his songs (Boyer, 1992f, p. 212). Boyer (1992f) reports that through his shape-note education, his elementary facility at the piano, and his ability to sing, Brewster was able to write over two hundred songs, many of which have become standard repertoire today (p. 212). Brewster also wrote many of the songs that helped to
propel several gospel groups and singers to national prominence during the 1940s and 1950s.

Brewster composed in many gospel styles. Boyer (1992f) reports that Brewster, like Lucie Campbell, favored the Baptist lining-hymn and gospel blues traditions (p. 227). Brewster learned this slow, free, and surging singing style from his grandmother (Boyer, 1992f, 227). Though Brewster favored the Baptist lining-hymn and the gospel blues, he also composed in other song styles and developed new gospel styles. One style in which Brewster composed was the gospel ballad. Boyer (1992f) writes that “a gospel ballad was basically a slow song, with a regular beat, in which one literally expresses his inner thoughts out loud” (p. 220). The tempo is slow, and the song is organized around a verse and a chorus. An example of such a ballad is Brewster’s song entitled “Faith That Moves Mountains” (Boyer, 1992f, p. 221). Another song style that Brewster is credited with developing is known as the gospel recitative and aria. Boyer (1992) describes it as follows.

The recitative, or slow part of the songs, carries the very serious part of the situation, for it tells the story. The aria is generally of a lighter vein, except in Brewster’s songs, where it is still very serious in nature, sometimes continuing the story described in recitative. Recitative and aria songs always come in two or three different tempos. Normally, the first part is a very slow, nonpulsed tempo. Unlike Gospel ballads, which have a slow but rhythmic pulse, these songs are rendered in a chanted reciting style, and in Brewster’s compositions, there are remnants of the old Baptist lining hymns. Brewster loves this pacing and uses this element to open these songs. Here the singer has the opportunity to decorate the tones, alter the rhythms, and hold tones to reveal the true meaning of the lyrics. The composition moves to the next section and to another tempo, the joyous part (Boyer, 1992f, pp. 223-224).
Brewster did not specialize in writing shout songs, however, Clara Ward’s recording of his song entitled “Old Landmark” offers an example of one of his shout songs (Boyer, 1992f, p. 224). One of the most popular Brewster song types is called the vamp or cumulative song (Boyer, 1992f, p. 214). Boyer (1992f) defines a vamp as,

an old technique used throughout African American cultural expression in song, dance, drumming, and storytelling; repetition is used to get the message across and to fire collective intensity (p. 217).

A vamp in former decades denoted a melodic, harmonic and rhythmic section that repeated over and over again in the same manner without change. Boyer (1992f) points out that,

the vamp in this instance denotes a melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic section in which the music remains the same, but the words begin to pile on one another and the element of repetition becomes the strength of the performance (p. 214).

Boyer (1992f) explains that “whenever Brewster found something good, he would stay right there and drive it home” (p. 217). Boyer (1992f) suggests that though vamps are used today, they are not used as creatively as Brewster’s who continually developed the message of the song through the lyrics (Boyer, 1992f, p. 217).

Concerning rhythm, Boyer (1992f) writes that Brewster was at the forefront of establishing 12/8 as a gospel rhythm (p. 227). In 1949 Brewster published his song entitled “Our God Is Able” in 4/4 though it is actually sung in 12/8 (Boyer, 1992f, p. 227, ex. 39). This is another example of how composers simplified the rhythms in their musical scores yet performed the rhythms differently (Boyer, 1992f, p. 227).

Though Brewster excelled at writing in various gospel styles, it was his lyrics that were the strength of his compositions. Brewster’s lyrics were so powerful that Boyer (1992) refers to him as the “Eloquent Poet” (1992f, p. 231). One could easily discern that Brewster was an educated man from his music, sermons, or speaking (Boyer, 1992f, p. 231).
In fact, Brewster received a Bachelor of Arts degree from Roger Williams College in Nashville, which had strong reputation for producing leaders for the early Baptist church. Boyer (1992f) reports that “Brewster had an extraordinary knowledge of the Bible, on which he drew heavily in writing his song lyrics” (p. 211). Boyer (1992f) even contends that,

much of what African Americans know about the Old testament might very well come from Dr. Herbert Brewster’s compositions . . . Gospel music lovers know things about Judea that they wouldn’t have known from reading the bible, for the information he provided was placed in an interesting musical setting (p. 211).

On one hand, Brewster could be very simple and direct, by speaking in common language, but on the other hand, Brewster might also use sophisticated prose such as he did in his “I’m Climbing Higher and Higher” (Boyer, 1992f, pp. 227-231). Boyer (1992f) summarizes the music of Brewster by saying,

When all of the elements are put together, we have a song that is unique, poetry and lyrics that combine folk images, subjects that friends can discuss, using the most noble poetry from the Bible and from ancient history; a melody that is diatonic and easily singable; harmonies that are simple yet beautiful; and rhythms that make the soul want to rock. Those are the elements of a W. Herbert Brewster song (p. 231).

The National Baptist Convention not only advanced gospel music by exposing the pioneering composers of the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s but it also helped to advance gospel musical theater. While Brewster wrote songs such as “Move On Up A Little Higher” and “Surely God Is Able” which sold over 1 million copies and helped to propel Mahalia Jackson and the Clara Ward Singers to national prominence, he also served as a forerunner in gospel musical theater during the 1940s (Wiggins, 1992, p. 245). Wiggins (1992) reports that Brewster’s gospel drama From the Auction Block to Glory presented at the annual meeting of the National Baptist Convention in 1941 crowns him as the
“Father of Gospel Musical Theater,” a genre of Black religious expression that has not been extensively studied (p. 245). The officers and members of the Convention were so impressed with Brewster that they named him head of the Drama department (Wiggins, 1992, p. 248).

The practice of composing a gospel song for a specific occasion was not new because Tindley also wrote specific songs to enhance the sermons he preached in the early 1900s. Brewster, however, was the first to apply this principle to playwriting (Wiggins, 1992, p. 249). Wiggins (1992) states that,

Brewster was able to fashion a new Black religious drama tradition that used the individually written Gospel song instead of the group-composed spiritual for the plot, symbols, and action of a church drama (p. 249).

Community gospel choirs.

The 1940s also saw the development of community gospel choirs. Two community gospel choirs were established in 1948 that are worthy to note. In 1948, Milton Brunson founded a group of young singers called the Thompson Community Singers when he was a senior at McKinley High School in Chicago (Smith, 1988b, p. 30). Collins (1993) writes, “in need of a place to rehearse, Brunson approached the late Rev. Eugene Thompson. It is from Thompson that the choir gets its name.” The young singers were just excited about singing and they wanted to come together to sing spirituals and “everything else.” Brunson stated “we just wanted to sing” (Smith, 1988b, p. 30). Many years later, they would be identified as the oldest community choir in the city of Chicago whose membership was more than 200 voices (Smith, 1988b, p. 29).
This group would stand through many decades and eventually become recognized as one of the nation’s top choirs (Smith, 1988b, p. 29).

Also in 1948, Robert Wooten Sr. formed the Wooten Choral Ensemble in Chicago. Robert Wooten, the director of this group brought another infusion of classical music to Gospel, just Roberta Martin had done in the 1930s. This group was unique from its inception because they performed a varied repertoire of music consisting of a combination of Gospel music and classical music. The Wooten Choral Ensemble began performing a varied repertoire more than 10 years before the Utterbach Concert Chorale, the “first” nationally recognized choir to perform a varied repertoire of music, was established in 1961 (Wright, n. d., liner notes).

Wooten received his B.S. and M.S from Roosevelt University and taught music for 16 years in the Chicago Public School System. Though Wooten vowed to work in the church he wanted to be more than just a “choir director” or “organist,” he wanted to be a Minister of Music. In addition Wright (n. d.) writes that

Wooten wanted to form a choir that could express his creative genius through providing a music ministry, not just singing songs or “having Church” on Sundays, but a choir that could carried the Good News of Christ and His gifts of Love and Life musically to both the young and old through all the musical variations and diversities of the Afro-American experience (liner notes).

In 1948, Robert Wooten established one on the first gospel choirs that performed the total spectrum of African American sacred music (Wright, n. d., liner notes).
Female groups.

Tharpe set another trend in 1946 when she formed a duet with Marie Knight (Southern, 1997, p. 485). This proved to be another successful innovation for gospel music (southern, 1997, p. 485). Boyer (1995) writes the following concerning their concerts.

Sister Rosetta Tharpe and Madame Marie Knight became the rage of the nation. They were able to provide variety on their concerts through several exchanges: Knight would play the piano while Tharpe sang; Tharpe would play the piano while Knight sang; they both stood and sang while Tharpe played the guitar; and Knight would stand as still as a concert artist while Tharpe treated every song as if it were an activity for small children (p. 159).

Boyer (1995) writes concerning their voices.

Their most outstanding recording was “Up Above My Head” from a November 1947 session in which Tharpe provides the call and Knight the response. Although Knight’s voice is darker than Tharpe’s, they made the perfect duet, even on the chorus after Tharpe’s solo interlude where Knight assumes the role of male bass from gospel quartets, essaying her range from the top to the bottom (p. 159).

The Sallie Martin Singers, started in the 1940s, were comprised of all women and they sang with three-part harmony, alto, lead, and coloratura (Boyer, 1995, pp. 92-93). As a woman’s group they did not use bass parts, although Sallie Martin was said to have a very deep voice (Reagon, 1992c, p. 331). The soprano sang the lead or melody, the alto sang a lower harmony part and the coloratura sang the tenor part an octave higher. The innovation of adding a coloratura soprano part above the soprano part later became a tradition within some gospel choirs in the fifties and sixties, once male and female voices were used together in gospel choirs and groups.
Quartets.

The http://www.afgen.com/Gospel1.html Website (2001) reports that “the gospel quartets reigned supreme from the late 1920’s through the 1940’s” and suggests that “they were unrivaled in their mass public appeal” (paragraph 18). The NCGCC Website (2001) suggests that “the unique gospel vocal stylings of the quartets had a far more commercial appeal than did the more church-oriented arrangements of the gospel choirs, soloist, and groups” (paragraph 8). The NCGCC Website (2001) also reports that “most quartets were modishly attired and presented a more flamboyant image than other gospel performers,” therefore, they had more public appeal (paragraph 8).

By adding new musical elements and performance practices, the Dixie Humming Birds, Soul Stirrers, Swan Silvertones, and the Fairfield Four helped to transform the jubilee quartets into gospel quartets during the 1920s and 1930s (Collins, 1999, p. 5). Other quartets organized as well during the 1940s that added new musical elements and performance practices. Noted quartets of this period were the Jackson Southernaires and the Sensational Nightingales. The http://www.afgen.com/Gospel1.html website (2001) reports that Cheeks was the first to leave the stage during performances and walk among the audience where he would shake hands, or act out the song, while the chorus continued to sing the response sections on stage (paragraph 19). Cheek’s goal was to incite the emotions of the crowd. The Staple Singers (Hob Records HBX 2125) also joined the gospel field in 1948. The Staple Singers were another mixed family quartet that eventually crossed over into the field of popular music (Epic Records LN 24132). Southern (1997) reports that their founder Pop Staples, is credited with being the first major figure to use an electronic guitar in gospel music (p. 483). The musical elements
and performance practices established during the 1930s and 1940s helped to establish the core components of the traditional gospel quartet. Maultsby (1992) also suggests that the gospel quartets of the 1930s and 1940s greatly affected American pop culture (p. 27).

**Gospel solo vocal styles develop.**

The mentoring of Willie Mae Ford Smith paid off in the late 1940s as many of her former students rose to prominence within the gospel field. Two of Smith’s students were Brother Joe May (Spirit Feel records SF 1010) and Mme. Edna Gallmon Cooke (Nashboro Records 7068). Brother Joe May, was born in the Mississippi hamlet of Macon. Heilbut (1989) reports that May was raised in one of the early sanctified denominations, the Church of God, where he performed with a church quartet (liner notes). Although May never sang the blues, Heilbut (1989) writes that his idol was Bessie Smith (liner notes). May learned about vocal projection from Bessie Smith’s recordings, he learned about harmony from the quartets, and he learned about moaning and singing with “spirit feel” from his mother (Heilbut, 1989, liner notes). In the early 1940s, May relocated to St. Louis where he met Mother Willie Mae Ford Smith. Mother Smith realized that May was raw potential but under her tutelage May became a dynamic singer (Heilbut, 1989, liner notes). Smith called him “The Thunderbolt of the Midwest” (Heilbut, 1989, liner notes). As a tenor with an European classical operatic vocal quality, May earned this nick-name because of his volume. In 1949, May released his first recording entitled “Search Me Lord.” The recording was such a hit that it established him as the male equivalent to Mahalia Jackson (also a protégé of Smith).
Mme. Edna Gallmon Cooke was another protege of Smith’s, who, according to Heilbut (n. d.a), could “combine the down home sound of rural preaching and moaning with the vocal style of peerless grace and tact” (liner notes). Cooke was born in Columbia, South Carolina to Rev. and Mrs. Eddie Gallmon. She received her first musical experience singing in her father’s congregations where she learned most of the tabernacle hymns and chants she later recorded. Heilbut (n. d.a) writes that “her first hand exposure to the moaning cadences of a cappella music was always at the core of her singing; and the essence of her art was the moan” (liner notes). Cooke became famous for the moan. In addition she became “a mistress of note bending that musicologists call melisma and church folk call “curlicues,” “runs” and “flowers” and “frills” (Heilbut, n. d.a, liner notes). Heilbut (n. d.a) argues that “by using switches in vocal timbre and rap like patterns, Edna Cooke is to be considered the gospel progenitor of rap music” (liner notes).

Another Chicago soloist that exemplified a unique vocal style in the 1940s was Delores Barrett Campbell. Campbell was a coloratura soprano who applied both the European belle canto singing technique and the hard gospel vocal style to gospel music. Campbell sang with Roberta Martin for eighteen years before organizing her own group with her sisters called Barrett Sisters Trio. Southern (1997) writes that their best known songs were “Climb Every Mountain” and “I’ll Fly Away” (I AM Records WR 8428) (p. 483).
Accompaniment.

The gospel sound changed during the 1940s as new instruments became standard accompanying instruments. As previously described, the piano style of Roberta Martin was a major influence, however, there were other advances in accompaniment as well during this time. For example, Pop Staples, founder of the Staple Singers, begin using the electric guitar and Tharpe also sang and accompanied herself with the acoustic guitar and electric guitar (Southern, 1997, p. 483). While Morris began using the Hammond organ with gospel music in the 1930s, it was in the 1940s that the Hammond organ came to be commonly used to accompany gospel music and was dubbed “the gospel organ” (NCGCC Website, 2001, paragraph 23). Since the Hammond “could provide so many tonal effects that were not possible with a Traditional pipe organ, it quickly grew in popularity and rivaled the piano” (NCGCC Website, 2001, paragraph 23).

Kenneth Morris was largely responsible for the Hammond organ coming in to use in the Black church and with gospel music (Reagon, 1992, p. 337). Consequently, Morris paved the way for a whole school of gospel organists all over the country as well as countless jazz organists (Boyer, 1995, p. 221, NCGCC Website, 2001, paragraph 23). Boyer (1995) writes,

When the Hammond and piano were paired, they created the ideal accompaniment for Gospel: one instrument would sustain tones while the other was rhythmically active; one instrument could affect the vibrato of the voice while the other instrument could be struck like the patting of feet; and one instrument could imitate a bass fiddle while the other instrument tinkled the highest keys like a harp being plucked. These two instruments became the standard accompaniment for Traditional Gospel until 1970, when a new style of Gospel, called “Contemporary,” introduced the synthesizer (p. 74).

The Hammond organ and piano became staples in the performance of Gospel music, especially among soloists and choirs (NCGCC Website, 2001, paragraph 24). However,
the Gospel quartets introduced other instruments during the 1940s and 1950s that would become standard accompanying instruments in Gospel quartet music. The Mighty Clouds of Joy quartet was formed in 1959 and Southern (1997) reports that they were the first to used amplified instruments (p. 484). The Jackson Southernaires soon followed the Mighty Clouds of Joy by using amplified instruments such as the guitar and bass along with drums and a keyboard in their stage performance (Smith, 1988, p. 29). Southern (1997) also reports that the Clouds “sang in a style that blended rhythm ‘n’ blues elements with Traditional Gospel” (p. 484).

1950s

The Gospel Highway

The most celebrated gospel artists of the mid-century years came out of the Chicago traditions established by Thomas Dorsey, Sallie Martin, Kenneth Morris and Roberta Martin primarily because Chicago was a major center for gospel music (Southern, 1997, p. 480). Chicago, however, was not the only place where gospel thrived in the early days. “Philadelphia had been an important center from the time of Charles Tindley, and Memphis flourished under the influence of Lucie Campbell and W. Herbert Brewster” (Southern, 1997, p. 480). There were also “thousands of Black churches throughout the South who kept alive the traditions of gospel as handed down from slavery” (Southern, 1997, p. 480). It was during the 1950s however, that gospel music began to expand throughout the country and around the world (Boyer, 1995, p. 169).
From 1945 to 1965, gospel music gained its greatest acceptance, and blossomed into a unique art form. This time period is often referred to as the “Golden Age of Gospel” (Boyer, 1995, p. 187). During this twenty-year span, gospel music gained its acceptance within most Black churches, and gospel artists began to travel around the world spreading the new gospel songs. During this period, the “Gospel Highway” was developed -- a network of churches, schools and other arenas in which the new gospel music was performed and accepted (Heilbut, 1971, p. 29). This gospel highway eventually aided gospel artists in finding receptive places to perform the new gospel music. It also helped them to more easily travel the country as touring gospel artists.

**Milestones in gospel music during the 1950s.**

Three figures stood at the forefront of the developments in gospel music during the 1950s, Joe Bostic, Clara Ward, and Mahalia Jackson. Southern (1997) reports that “the decade of the fifties began very auspiciously for gospel music with the first big all-gospel concert in history” (p. 485). Joe Bostic produced the *Negro Gospel and Religious Festival* at Carnegie Hall in New York in 1950 with Mahalia Jackson as the star attraction (Southern, 1997, p. 495). Boyer (1995) argues that though Hammond produced a gospel concert at Carnegie Hall in the 1930s with Tharpe and the Mitchell Singers, Bostic’s concert was different (p. 168). Boyer (1995) states that Bostic presented a concert of gospel music primarily for Black audiences, who “wept, clapped, shouted and fainted to the music that was rendered not for form and fashion, but for “soul salvation” (p. 169). The festival was so successful that Bostic sponsored a second festival the next year featuring leading gospel figures such as James Cleveland, J. Earle Hines,
Norsalus McKissick (all who performed with Roberta Martin) (Southern, 1997, p. 485). This event was so successful that it became an annual event. By the end of the decade “Bostic opted for even larger concerts, so he moved the event to Madison Square Garden and sponsored his mammoth first annual Gospel, Spiritual, and Folk Music Festival (Southern, 1997, p. 485). Southern (1997) reports that Bostic’s activities as a gospel promoter earned him the title “Dean of Gospel Disc Jockeys” (Southern, 1997, p. 485). Clara Ward and Mahalia Jackson also contributed greatly to the gospel field during the 1950s. Although Ward was an accomplished pianist, writer and arranger, who began recording singles in 1947, it was not until 1950 that she scored a hit with “Surely God Is Able” (Savoy Records DBL 7015). After producing the first million-seller gospel hit in the 1940s, Jackson established a lucrative career in the 1950s. The manner in which Jackson “incorporated a variety of rhythms and styles from innovative hymns to classic spirituals” contributed to her mass appeal (Collins, 1999, p. 7). During the 1950s, she made numerous ground breaking accomplishments. The http://www.afgen.com/Gospel1.html website (2001) reports that Jackson signed a lucrative contract with Columbia Records in the 1950’s, a very powerful company at this time (paragraph 14). However, Jackson’s fame was not limited to her recording appeal (Collins, 1999, p. 7). Collins (1999) reports that “Jackson appeared in films, on stage with the likes of Louis Armstrong and Duke Ellington” (p. 7). In 1950-1952 Mahalia Jackson sang with The Ward Singers at New York’s Carnegie Hall and packed in about 25,000 people at Griffith Stadium in Washington, D.C.

In 1952 Jackson made her first trip to Europe (Southern, 1997, p. 481), gospel singers began appearing on television in the 1950s and Mahalia Jackson was the first

96
Jackson was the first gospel artist to have her own network television show called the
*Mahalia Jackson Show* (p. 485). "The show aired on CBS in September of 1954 and was
responsible for further expanding the exposure of gospel to national audiences while
making a break through in the cultural and commercial segregation of the record
"Mahalia’s flat-footed, singing style helped make her gospel’s first bonified superstar and
her rendition of “His Eye Is On the Sparrow” earned her the title of “The World’s
Greatest Gospel Singer” (p. 7).

*The expansion of gospel music publishing.*

Gospel music publishing continued to expand during the 1950s. Since sheet
music was the primary medium through which gospel music was spread at this time,
many composers developed their own publishing companies to publish and distribute
their music. By the mid-1950’s there were at least ten gospel music publishing houses in
Chicago and several other publishing houses throughout the country (Boyer, 1995, p.
102). Publishing houses outside of the Chicago area all relied on the Chicago publishers
to provide the major inventory, thus making Chicago a major center for gospel music
publishing (Boyer, 1995, p. 102). Gospel music publishers also began to expand their
publications to include training books for religious services. Boyer (1992) reports that
during the 1950s Martin and Morris began to publish guidebooks and pamphlets that
covered almost every area of lay activity in religious service. They published manuals
for ushers, sermons for ministers, poems with welcome addresses and responses, and
guidebooks for choir directors and officers (p. 326).

**The National Baptist Convention appoints a new director of music.**

During the 1950s, the National Baptist Convention continued to promote gospel
music through the publication of songbooks. In the 1950s, Mme. Johnnie Howard
Franklin was appointed as the directress of music for the National Baptist Convention
U.S.A. (Franklin, 1960). Franklin, having grown up in the Baptist tradition was a
formally trained musician and received a Bachelor of Arts Degree from Julliard School of
Music in New York and a Masters Degree from the University of Rome (Urano Itamata
and Libero Monachisto Italian Masters Degree) (Franklin, 1960). Franklin was also
hailed as a great singer who reportedly sang before thousands in America and abroad
(Franklin, 1960). Franklin contributed significantly because she edited a songbook
entitled *Songs of Love and Worship* that reflected her diverse background. This song
book contained new gospel songs by composers such as James Cleveland, Inez Andrews,
Kenneth Morris, Jessy Dixon, E. C. Deas, Shirley Caesar, Dorothy Norwood, and Herbert
Brewster as well as standard jubilees, spirituals, and White Gospel hymns such as
“Amazing Grace,” “Just As I Am,” “What A Friend We have In Jesus,” “We Praise
Thee,” “Oh God,” and “Sweet Hour of Prayer” (Franklin, 1960).
Performance practices and musical innovations.

As previously stated, Roberta Martin is credited with bringing a change in the vocal style and piano technique used in gospel music. Martin also changed the gospel group tradition from an all male or female quartet style group to a mixed group and set a new precedent that effected all gospel singers and choirs that would follow. Martin’s new three-part mixed vocal style was eventually adopted by choirs and spread rapidly, since many of Roberta Martin’s singers formed groups and became noted artist themselves. One such singer was James Cleveland who eventually moved to Detroit and transported the Chicago musical influence (Williams-Jones, 1992).

Gospel musicians such as James Cleveland emulated the piano stylings of Roberta Martin, however, the first musician to master her piano technique was one of her proteges by the name of Lucy Smith (Boyer, 1995, p. 79). Smith, affectionately known as Little Lucy, was born in 1928. Boyer (1995) reports that Smith “showed spectacular musical aptitude from age four when she got on the piano stool and began picking out tunes that she heard in church” (p. 79). Smith’s grandmother the Reverend Lucy Smith (1874-1952), who was the founder and pastor of Chicago’s All Nations Pentecostal Church, sent her to Roberta Martin at the age of ten for piano lessons. Boyer (1995) reports that Little Lucy mastered the gospel style in two years and transferred her piano skills to the organ (p. 79; Savoy Records MG-14056). Martin began to teach Little Lucy music theory and voice and in the mid 1950s Little Lucy organized the Lucy Smith Singers. Her famous composition was “I’ll Never Let Go His Hand,” while the most famous recording for the Lucy Smith Singers was “Somebody Bigger Than You And I” (Boyer, 1995, p. 79). In
the early 1960s' she became the official pianist for the Roberta Martin Singers (Boyer, 1995, p. 79).

Another female gospel soloist that would rise to greatly impact the gospel field during the 1950s was Albertina Walker. Walker, having decided to dedicate her voice to sing for God, organized the Caravans in 1953. Albertina Walker and the Caravans came to be regarded as one of the nations foremost female groups. They, like the Ward Singers, won many awards, gold records, and appeared at some of the nation's top performing venues such as the Apollo Theater in New York, Lincoln Center, and Madison Square Garden (Ware, 1972, liner notes).

Through the Caravans, Walker groomed many young singers who would later develop lucrative solo careers. Some of the singers featured in the Caravans included Dorothy Norwood, Shirley Caesar, Inez Andrews, Cassietta George, Bessie Griffin, and Delores Washington. Musicians who played for the Caravans included Eddie Williams, and James Herndon. Walker also mentored James Cleveland who served as the pianist for the Caravans before becoming a well known gospel composer, choir conductor, producer and soloist (NCGCC Website, 2001, paragraph 12). The personnel of the group changed many times over the years however, since “Albertina was a good writer and arranger she was always able to maintain the same style and sound” (Ware, 1972, liner notes).
The Caravans like the Martin Singers had a unique sound (Boyer, 1995, p. 218). The Caravans were significant, however, because they introduced new performance and musical techniques to gospel music. Boyer (1992d) reports that one practice the Caravans introduced was to change gospel songs to the most comfortable key for the singers, regardless of the original keys in which they were written (p. 74). This allowed any soloist to sing any song, rather than the solo being relegated to the vocal range or part for which it was originally written. Another musical device used by the Caravans was to change the modality of a song. Boyer (1992d) reports that they would intentionally change a song written in the major mode to the minor mode (p. 74). See Boyer (1992d) for a description of Walker and the Caravans.

**Gospel music outside of the Black church: A growing controversy**

Music ministry or entertainment?.

Maultsby (1992) reports that during the 1950s, “many singers became full-time performers, appearing in major concert halls, large theaters, auditoriums, and stadiums before audiences averaging twenty-five thousand or more throughout the United States and in Europe” (p. 22). According to Maultsby (1992) “some performers witnessed their incomes rise from church free-will offerings of unpredictable amounts to actual performance fees of two to five thousand dollars” (p. 22). Gospel artists were invited to perform gospel music outside of the Black church. Consequently, gospel music was exposed and performed for new audiences in new arenas, some of which were controversial. Collins (1999) reports that

Clara Ward and the Ward Singers took Gospel to places it had never been while imparting a glamour that fueled its appeal to mainstream audiences, appearing on TV, on Broadway and even as headliners in Las Vegas (Collins, 1999, p. 7).

In 1957 the Ward Singers had their first introduction to White audiences. They were enticed to move beyond the church and become the first gospel group to sing at the Newport Jazz Festival where they were an immediate success (Southern, 1997, p. 485). They followed this with an extended European tour, then a U.S. college tour, and soon
nightclubs. In the mid 1950s and early 1960’s, Maultsby (1992) reports that Clara Ward, Della Reese, Bessie Griffin, the Dixie Hummingbirds, the Nathaniel Lewis Singers, and Howard Saunders were among the few gospel singers who accepted offers to perform in night clubs and theaters (p. 23). Though criticized by gospel performers and ministers, they defended their positions. Ward (1956) maintained that,

her mission was to evangelize rather than to entertain by saying, “Although perhaps there are many people who would not share my feelings on the subject, I now feel that God intended for his message to be heard in song not solely by those who attend churches, but also by the outsiders who in many cases never attend a house of worship. For that reason the Ward Singers and I have taken our gospel singing into the Apollo Theater in New York. [and into clubs in Las Vegas] (p. 16; Maultsby, 1992, 23).

“Della Reese to the contrary declared that her performances with the Meditation Singers at New York’s Copacabana served only an entertainment purpose” (n. a., 1962, pp. 107-110; Maultsby, 1992, p. 23). Reese stated,

We are not presented as holy singers; we are there to show that gospel music is interesting music. We don’t perform in night clubs to save souls.” She also acknowledged that financial considerations played a role in her decision to perform gospel music in night clubs: “I like a comfortable apartment, a healthy bank account and some good solid real estate. (n. a., 1962, p. 107-110; Maultsby, 1992, p. 23).

In 1958 the Newport Jazz Festival organizers persuaded Mahalia Jackson to sing. Southern (1997) reports that every year thereafter gospel music took its place alongside jazz and blues at the Newport Festivals (p. 485).

Bessie Griffin is credited for being the first gospel singer to perform at a cabaret. Southern (1997) reports that in 1959 Griffin sang a leading role in a show called *Portraits in Bronze* that was produced by Robert “Bumps” Blackwell at the Cabaret Concert Theatre in New Orleans (p. 485). After Griffin’s appearance at the Cabaret Theater other gospel artists started appearing in coffee houses and night clubs (Southern, 1997, p. 485).
Many gospel artists changed their costumes and uniforms and polished their showmanship since they were now performing in environments where they were expected to be not only gospel music ministers but entertainers as well. Southern (1997) reports that the Ward Singers “emphasized showmanship in their concerts and discarded the traditional choir robes for elaborate dresses and hairstyles” (p. 482). Collins (1999) reports “no one could electrify audiences like Clara Ward, who had recruited the likes of Marion Williams, Sarah Vaughan, and Della Reese— at one time or another— into her famed Clara Ward Singers” (p. 7). Alex Bradford, was also known for his flamboyant gestures and wardrobe during the 1950s (Heilbut, 1973, p. 9). Ward and Bradford, along with many of the gospel quartets, were at the forefront of adopting the new uniforms and performance practices during the 1950s and they influenced secular artists such as Little Richard, Ray Charles, Otis Redding, and Aretha Franklin (Hielbut, 1973, p. 9). The practice of wearing fancy dresses, suits, and elaborate hairstyles continues to permeate the gospel world today.

Gospel artists were also encouraged to change their sound in order to gain new audiences. Eskew & Oliver (1980) stated that,

many Gospel artists of the 50's found that by secularizing their material while retaining the Gospel beat and forms of expression they secured a new audience and their songs entered the rhythm-and-blues lists (p. 558).

Though gospel music became popular outside of the church many gospel singers were not drawn to perform outside of the church because they did not believe the artists were truly benefiting (Maultsby, 1992, pp. 23-24). Banks (1974) reports that many gospel artists were not impressed by the glamour and exposure that the music business offered. Banks (1974) writes, “Albertina Walker contended that even though gospel
music became “big business,” it was a good money-making business for everybody except the singer” (p. 74). Though many people and organizations came to the gospel world to capitalize on the marketability and profitability of gospel music, others sought to advance gospel music as a ministry (Maulsby, 1992, p. 22). One such example was Pauline Wells Lewis, who made her radio debut as a gospel announcer in 1959, becoming the first female gospel announcer (Bruce, 1983, p. 3). Lewis began broadcasting on WSID Radio station in Baltimore, Md. She also hosted gospel broadcasts in Washington, D.C. and Annapolis (Bruce, 1983, pp. 3-4). Lewis later became the host and producer of her own television show on Channel 24 in 1969 during the early years of UHF broadcasting. Lewis was affectionately known as “Aunt Pauline,” and Heilbut (1971) reports that she contributed significantly to the advancement of gospel music on the East Coast as a major concert promoter (p. 293). Lewis promoted and introduced many national gospel artists, including Mahalia Jackson, Roberta Martin, The Ward Singers, James Cleveland and others to the Baltimore-Washington area (Bruce, 1983, p. 4).

Gospel artists cross over to perform secular music.

Southern (1997) reports that many talented gospel singers were wooed by the pop-music industry to leave the field of gospel music for rhythm and blues and pop which offered larger audiences and more money (p. 606). Ward (1953) reported that “rather than reinvest in the gospel music field, many record companies capitalized on the popularity of the gospel sound” (n. a., 1953, p. 38; Maulsby, 1992, p. 27). They would offer “gospel singers money and other perks to switch to blues, jazz, and rhythm and blues” (n. a., 1953, p. 38; Maulsby, 1992, p. 27). While Ward and other gospel artists
declined such offers, Maulstby (1992) reports that many gospel artists defected and consequently “transformed gospel music into various popular secular music styles such as rhythm and blues, soul, funk, and other contemporary forms” (Maulstby, 1992, p. 28).

Shearer (1983), writes, “they [gospel singers] and others found the transition from gospel to R&B to be “just a matter of changing the words,” as Lou Rawls noted (Shearer, 1983, radio interview; Maulstby, 1992, p. 28). “All of the components, sound construction interpretive devices, and performance style, that define the gospel tradition are found in its secular counterparts” (Maulstby, 1992, p. 28). Many secular artists and musicians, having been immersed in the African American church culture at a very young age, learned the fundamental musical and performance practices and mastered the aesthetic principles essential to Black music performance (Southern, 1997, p. 517; Maulstby, 1992, pp. 28-29). The trend of being raised in the church singing gospel music and crossing over to use the gospel music style within secular music continued throughout the upcoming decades and enabled gospel singers to influence all forms of pop and secular music throughout the remainder of the century (Southern, 1997, p. 517).

Though many gospel singers left the gospel field, many secular artists entered or returned to the gospel field, even if only temporarily, bringing new musical elements from the secular world to fuse into gospel music and further expand the gospel art form. The gospel style was so influential that even secular artists began to borrow stylistic elements to create new secular musical hybrids (Southern, 1997, p. 517; Eskew, 1980, p. 558).
Though gospel music was expanding and growing, some Black artists and producers argued that some record companies only entered the gospel field for monetary gain. Gospel singer-minister Rev. Cleophus Robinson noted that,

crooked managers, promoters, and record companies exploited the art and its artists for the money, then put very little money back into the art to strengthen it and make it popular” (Banks, 1974b, p. 65; Maulsby, 1992, p. 27).

Though Black music was being heard and performed on radio and in popular arenas, some Black artists felt there was inequality and racism within the music industry. Gospel producer Lawrence Roberts states in an interview with Reagan and Williams-Jones (1992),

There are terms connected with Gospel music today that were developed by disk jockeys and record companies: Traditional, inspirational, Contemporary, easy listening, and raucous. None of these were around when the Martins were making records. These terms came about to separate White Gospel from Black Gospel and to let a DJ have some idea as to the contents of the record without playing it. It was also done for the sake of making awards. It is shameful to say they waited until Mahalia died to give her a Grammy (p. 305).

The refinement of the traditional gospel choir.

One of the most significant developments during the 1950s was the refinement of the traditional gospel choir. While gospel choirs had been established in churches during the 1930s, and some groups and choirs had recorded during the 1940s, it was in during the 1950s that church, community and convention gospel choirs began to record, bringing forth a revolution in Gospel choir performance and recording technique. Although the pioneering gospel composers continued to compose during the 1950s, a younger generation of gospel composers, mentored and inspired by the pioneering composers, began to rise to prominence and revolutionize the gospel choir. This next generation of
composers included Mattie Moss-Clark, James Cleveland, Jesse Dixon, Clay Evans, Doris Akers, Alex Bradford, Raymond Rasberry, and others.

The Church of God In Christ (C.O.G.I.C.) continued to play a significant role in the development of the gospel music style. One of the significant C.O.G.I.C. musicians to make an impact on the gospel field was Mattie Moss-Clark (Southwest, 1959, liner notes). Clark was born in 1928 in Selma, Alabama and raised in a Methodist church where her mother was a singer, musician, and licensed minister (Boyer, 1995, p. 126). Clark came from a large family of singers and musicians and studied piano before attending Selma University and eventually relocating to Detroit (Boyer, 1995, p. 126). In 1959 Mattie Moss Clark came to the forefront of the gospel field as the director of the Southwest Michigan State Choir. In Southwest Michigan alone the Church of God in Christ was represented by more than 130 churches who were under the direct leadership of its presiding Bishop, the Reverend J. S. Bailey (Southwest, 1959, liner notes). In the 1950s, gospel recordings began to grow as the primary medium through which gospel music was spread throughout the country to various churches and singers. Many conventions started the practice of making recordings during the convention week. The success of these recordings was related to how quickly musicians could teach and polish the music within a short period of time. It was in this setting that Mattie Moss-Clark came forth as a leading choir director and composer in the gospel field (Southwest, 1959, liner notes). Liner notes on a Southwest Michigan State Choir album (1959) noted that,

At the state convention in 1959, Mrs. Mattie Moss Clark demonstrated the simplicity of teaching a song to mass voices and within ten minutes, the various choirs present were singing together with astounding beauty and feeling (liner notes).
Clark was soon given the task of directing this Southwest Michigan State Choir. The State choir was organized in 1959, and was comprised of approximately 200 members from various local churches in the greater Detroit area (Southwest, 1959, liner notes). The liner notes from the *Wonderful, Wonderful* (Savoy Record MG-14077) recording (1959) also report that,

Mattie Moss Clark was composer and arranger of the songs on the album and was given the freedom of expression with the choir to produce the inspirational, heart-touching, and soul reaching songs. Her song writing, in general, portrays humility to God, thankfulness to God, jubilant praise to God; and a distinct love of God. The album, Wonderful, Wonderful was record in Bailey Temple Church of God in Christ, in Detroit Michigan. A live audience was present and following the songs there was great rejoicing in the auditorium (liner notes).

Clark also recorded the 1500 member Church of God in Christ Convocation Choir, making the COGIC denomination one of the first to record large convention mass choirs (Boyer, 1995, p. 127). Clark’s role is significant not only as a composer, director and musician, but as a mentor. Boyer (1995) reports,

The importance of gospel singers appearing before audiences at the National Baptist Convention diminished after the death of Lucie Campbell (who made the convention the most important venue for introducing new gospel singers for forty years). The principal denomination for the introduction of new Gospel singers became COGIC through its Midnight Musicals at the annual convention, under the direction of Mattie Moss-Clark. Some of the singers who came to prominence through these musicals include Rance Allen, the Hawkins Family (Edwin, Walter, and Tramaine), Andrae and Sandra Crouch, Beverly Glenn, Donald Vails, Keith Pringle, Gospel Saxophonist Vernard Johnson, the Winans, the Pace Sisters, Vanessa Bell Armstrong, and others (p. 125; Collins, 1998, pg. 9).

While Clark influenced many gospel artists, Collins (1998) reports that her primary showcase was her daughters the Clark Sisters, who would also become major gospel artists in later years (p. 9). Moss through her work with the Southwest Michigan State Choir, helped to refine the traditional gospel choir style and influenced hundreds of church choirs who emulated her style (Boyer, 1995, p. 125). Collins (1998) reports that
Clark was the first to initiate and record a mixed choir that sang in three-part harmony (p. 9). This performing force would become a standard performing force in later years.

James Cleveland would also come forth in 1959. James Cleveland was born in Chicago in 1932, and as a young male soprano, he sang in the same church where Thomas Dorsey was minister of music (Smith, 1987, p. 30). Smith (1987) reports that Cleveland was captivated by the piano playing of Roberta Martin under whom he also studied (p. 30, Boyer, 1992b, p. 286). Cleveland would later become a pianist for many popular gospel artists. In the mid 50’s Cleveland’s music caught the ear of the gospel music community. “Cleveland developed a hard driving piano style while playing behind the Roberta Martin singers along with Eugene Smith” (Smith, 1987, p. 30). Smith (1987) reports that “he combined aspects from singer Robert Anderson, jazzman Louis Armstrong and blues/jazz singer Dinah Washington” (p. 30).

Once Cleveland’s voice changed, he drove himself to sing more and more, which caused his once beautiful soprano voice to fracture into a deep growl (Smith, 1987, p. 30, Boyer, 1995, p. 247). Southern (1997) reports that James Cleveland formed the first of his own groups in 1959, called the Gospel Chimes (p. 482; Savoy Records MG-14067; Savoy Records MG-14052). Cleveland like many of his mentors groomed many other singers who would later go on to make significant contributions to the gospel field. One such singer was Jesse Dixon, an original member of Cleveland’s group the Gospel Chimes, who became a noted composer and choir director in the Chicago area during the 1960s (Southern, 1997, p. 482). Jesse wrote songs such as “God Can Do Anything But Fail,” “There Is no Failure In God,” “He’s Only A Prayer Away” and many others (McDonald, n. d., liner notes).
Boyer (1992b) suggests that the musical lineage of gospel composers is as follows, Tindley influenced Dorsey, Dorsey influenced Martin, Martin influenced Cleveland, and Cleveland influenced a subsequent generation of gospel musicians and composers (p. 276). Cleveland is responsible in part for spreading the Chicago gospel style to Detroit when he moved to Detroit to serve as Minister of Music for the Voice of Tabernacle (Southern, 1997, p. 482). He also spread the traditional gospel choir style to the East Coast when he began recording and performing regularly with the Angelic Choir of Nutley, New Jersey. Cleveland went on to make a great impact within the gospel music field through the many groups, choirs, recordings and organizations he formed in the upcoming decades.

A significant musical characteristic evidenced on gospel recordings of this period was the use of coloratura sopranos. Prior to the 1950s, most choirs were female that used a soprano lead, alto, and high or coloratura soprano part. When the gospel choir first became a mixed group that sang in three parts, many of the high sopranos continued to sing the female vocal part above the sopranos. On many of the early gospel choir recordings coloratura sopranos can be heard singing either the tenor or alto part one octave above. In some cases sopranos would even sing special descants, or hit high notes on cue. This choral vocal technique that uses three part mixed harmony with coloraturas can be heard on the recordings of Mattie Moss-Clark and the Southwest Michigan State Choir of the Church of God in Christ (“I Thank You Lord,” Savoy 14077), and Jesse Dixon & Omega Baptist Church Choir (“I Wouldn’t Take Nothing For God,” Hob 272). Cleveland along with Clark, Evans, Dixon went on to polish both the traditional church and community gospel choir vocal style during the 1950s. By the end of the 1950s,
gospel music had established many performing forces standard musical and non-musical performance practices and had become a big business. The upcoming decades would bring forth many more firsts in the gospel music field.

CONTEMPORARY INFLUENCES IN GOSPEL MUSIC (1960s – 1970s)

1960s

Introduction.

Many of the artists who rose in the 1950s began building bridges to a new era in gospel music through the establishment of new musical forms and performance practices, gospel organizations, recording technology, and more. It was during this decade that the traditional form of gospel music was further refined and brought to its peak. Also during this decade, a new or contemporary style of gospel music emerged (Walker, 1979, pp. 149-153).

Walker (1979) reports that the social and political climate of the 1960s had an effect on gospel music of the 1960s (p. 145). The Civil Rights Movement, with its many protest songs, gave gospel musicians and singers song material that could be adapted and transformed into gospel styles. From the Civil Rights Movement and vietnam protests came a wealth of folk and humanitarian songs that provided both sacred and secular artists with material that could be transformed into gospel or popular styles (Walker, 1979, p. 145).
While gospel artists began to take gospel music all over the world, there was still enormous racism and segregation (Walker, 1979, pp. 141-143). Boyer (1995) reports that while many African American artists were allowed to sing on stages and in major venues, in many areas of the country, they were still made to stay in certain hotels and enter through service entrances and back doors, because of their race (pp. 54-55). In spite of this social and political climate, gospel artists in past decades made great accomplishments. During and after the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s many African American artists gained access to many new environments, and helped to pave the way for other gospel artists to follow. Moreover, when the doors of segregation were opened, many Blacks were afforded the opportunity to be educated within academic settings where they were exposed to musical and social ideas that were eventually incorporated and expressed through their music (Walker, 1979, pp. 135-136).

Gospel music continues to spread beyond the Black church.

Southern (1997) reports that “in 1961 gospel reached the pinnacle of “respectability” when Mahalia Jackson was invited to sing at an inauguration party for President John F. Kennedy” (p. 486). Langston Hughes, an African American poet, also brought gospel music to Broadway when he wrote Black Nativity in 1961. Hughes was influenced by Herbert Brewster who wrote and presented the first gospel musicals in the 1940s (Wiggins, 1992, p. 249). Wiggins (1992) suggests that “Hughes like Brewster clearly saw the potential of Black gospel music as a viable transmitter of the dramatic qualities of traditional Black sermons” (p. 251).
Black Nativity premiered on Broadway in 1963, and it was the first of several gospel musicals that toured both in the U.S. and Europe (Boyer, 1995, p. 228; Southern, 1997, p. 486). In 1963 Hughes wrote another gospel musical Tambourines to Glory, that also premiered on Broadway. Clara Ward was asked to direct the music (Ward, 1981, liner notes). Southern (1997) reports that the success of these musicals led to the production of other Black gospel musicals that ran on and off Broadway or toured the country along what was called the “Chitteriin’ Circuit.” The “Chitterlin’ Circuit,” like the “gospel highway,” was an established network of venues in cities where Black musicals could be successfully presented to Black audiences. Some of the other gospel musicals that followed include God's Trombones, Purlie, Don’t Bother Me I Can’t Cope, and Your Arms Too Short To Box With God (Wiggins, pp. 246-250). Eskew & Oliver (1980) also suggest the combination of popular and gospel music led to the development of rock-gospel shows such as Jesus Christ Superstar and Godspell in the 1970s (p. 558).

In 1963, Mahalia Jackson sang at the famous March on Washington just before Dr. Martin Luther King made his famous “I Have A Dream Speech” ([http://www.aftgen.com/Gospel1.html website, 2001, paragraph 14]). By 1963, Southern (1997) reports that gospel music had its own television show called TV Gospel Time (p. 486). This show was broadcast every Sunday morning to sixty major cities within the nation (Southern, 1997, p. 486). As a result of the popularity of gospel music in nightclubs, more gospel night clubs were established in 1963. The May 18, 1963 and May 24, 1963 issues of Billboard and Time, respectively, reported
that one such club called Sweet Chariot opened in Manhattan. Although the targeted clientele was America’s White teenagers, marketing techniques proved insulting, demeaning, and contradictory to the mores of Black people. Restrooms were labeled Brothers and Sister, and waitresses dressed as angels and served alcoholic beverages during performances of gospel music. Curious patrons nevertheless filled the club to capacity, prompting the owner to announce plans to open similar clubs in Chicago, San Francisco, and Los Angeles (Hentoff 1963, p. 46; Maultsby, 1992, p. 24)

These clubs eventually closed in 1964, however, gospel music had begun to spread beyond the walls of the Black church and effect the entire nation.

Clara Ward and the Ward Singers played an even greater role in the expansion of gospel music outside of the Black church during the 1960s. In 1963, Southern (1997) reports that the Ward Singers were the first gospel group to sing at Radio City Music Hall in New York (p. 482). The Ward Singers were reported to have appeared on more TV shows during the 1960s than most secular singers (Ward, 1981, liner notes). They appeared on the *Flip Wilson Show*, the *Merv Griffin Show*, the *Ed Sullivan Show*, the *Robert Goulet Special*, the *Monkees Special*. and the *Mike Douglas Show* more than 15 times (Ward, 1981, liner notes). The Ward Singers performed twice for President Lyndon Johnson. The Ward Singers also performed at the New Frontier Hotel in Las Vegas. The liner notes of a Ward recording (1981) states that “after their second night of a two week engagement, the hotel’s management, awed by the crowd they were pulling, signed them to a three-year contract” (Ward, 1981, liner notes).

_Gospel music influences secular music._

As gospel music expanded beyond the Black church and gospel community, it had an overwhelming influence on the secular music world. Maultsby (1992) suggests that during the 1960’s
the Roberta Martin piano style, the rhythms of the Black church, along with the harmonic structures and vocal styling of gospel music began to transform rhythm and blues music into a new popular idiom that became known as soul music (p. 31).

Singers like Clara Ward and Alex Bradford who were known for their flash, substance, flamboyant gestures and wardrobe, had a direct effect on soul singers like Little Richard, Ray Charles, Otis Redding, and Aretha Franklin (http://www.africa.com/Gospel1.html website, 2001, paragraph 15; Heilbut, 1973, p. 9).

The contributions of James Cleveland.

In 1963 Cleveland joined with Producer Rev. Lawrence Roberts to start a new trend in the recording of gospel choirs (Boyer, 1995, p. 248). It was in 1963 that one of the first live recordings was produced. Prior to the 1960s, recordings were produced either in a studio or without the presence of an audience. James Cleveland with the help of Lawrence Roberts and the Angelic Choir of Nutley, New Jersey recorded Peace Be Still with a live audience (Boyer, 1995, p. 248; Collins, 1999, p. 7). A live audience allowed singers to perform more energetically by drawing on the energy and responses of the audience. Though Clark’s recording of Wonderful, Wonderful may have been recorded earlier in the presence of a live audience, it was not released until after the Peace Be Still recording (Rasberry, n. d., liner notes).

James Cleveland continued to record with the Angelic Choir throughout the 1960s. These recordings were listed in consecutive volumes. Together Cleveland, Roberts and this choir produced some of the greatest gospel songs of all time. Cleveland’s popularity and fame continued to grow throughout the 1960s and as a result of his success he signed a lucrative contract with Savoy records that enabled him to
record and produce many gospel groups and artists he discovered across the country (Boyer, 1995, p. 257). Singing for James Cleveland became a special honor because gospel artists knew that he had the ability to offer them a record deal with Savoy Records. James Cleveland introduced hundreds of groups on the Savoy Record label and played a large role in making Savoy Records the number one gospel label during the 1960s.

Cleveland’s contributions are not limited to the gospel recording field or the development and refinement of the gospel choir, but he introduced many new musical and non-musical practices that are commonly used in gospel music. Cleveland was a master composer, who could create or perform simple songs that would become instant successes (Boyer, 1995, p. 248). He relied on several older established musical forms such as the call and response style and congregational song form (Boyer, 1995, p. 248). Many of Cleveland’s songs used a four-line song structure similar to the gospel blues form. This form contained 4 lines that were sung within 8 or 16 measures (ABAC). The first two lines formed an antecedent phrase and the last two lines formed a consequent phrase. Cleveland would vary the support harmonies and order of the text. For example the first and third lines of the text could be the same and the second and fourth line would be different (ABAC). Or first three lines of the text could be the same and the fourth line could be different (AAAB). Though Cleveland would vary this congregational and gospel blues form in many ways, the first three lines would always tell a story, state a fact or problem and the last line would offer the resolve or solution.

Cleveland would also use the parody form. Cleveland would take popular songs and change the secular text to sacred text by changing the pronouns that referred to men
and women to words that referred to Jesus, God, and the Holy Spirit. Simmons (1999) called this gospel song form a “transformation” (informal conversation). One of Cleveland’s best examples of this song style is “Jesus Is The Best Thing That Ever Happened to Me” (Savoy Records DBL 7005) which was formerly recorded by Gladys Knight and the Pips as “You’re The Best Thing That Ever Happened To Me” (Buddah Records BDS 5141). Because of Cleveland’s charisma with an audience, he could take the simplest tune or text and stir the emotions of the audience (http://www.african.com/Gospel1.html website, 2001, paragraph 16).

As a pianist, Cleveland began to add new piano riffs to the gospel piano vocabulary that became widely used. Cleveland developed the technique of playing pentatonic runs in the right hand as fillers between chords.

While the vamp had been used as a musical device in music for many years, Boyer (1998) reports that Cleveland refined the vamp in gospel music (lecture demonstration). While Brewster refined the cumulative vamp during the 1940s, Cleveland became a master at improvising and ad libbing above a background group’s vamp (Boyer, 1995, p. 248). One example of this improvisational ad lib over a vamp can be heard on “Peace Be Still,” when the choir continually sings “peace” and Cleveland ad libs above their repetitions (Cleveland, 1962, Savoy Records MG-14076). Cleveland having further developed the vamp expanded gospel songs to a three-part form (Boyer, 1992a, pp. 160-163). Most songs from this point on began to include a verse, chorus and a vamp or special section that contained new material.

Cleveland formed the Cleveland Singers, and sought some of the best soloists and musicians of the day to perform within his group (Boyer, 1995). The trademark of the
Cleveland Singers was their stylized singing and stage presence (Savoy Records MG-14167). The Cleveland Singers sang in three-part harmony and would always add special words or phrases throughout their songs that would stir their audiences. For example, at the end of a phrase they might end with Whoop, or Do, do, do, doop, do, doop (Savoy Records MG-14167). The Cleveland Singers always sang with a range of vocal dynamics and emotions that were tightly controlled by James Cleveland. The group could go from very loud shouts to very soft hums in an instant and they could go from very refined and reserved singers to seemingly frenzied emotional singers in an instant. From the way they stood at the mikes, to their fancy outfits and hairstyle, to their final bows, the Cleveland Singers were a polished group. Some of the former Cleveland Singers include Charles Nicks, Gene Viale, Roger Roberts, Michael Harris, Kurt Karr, Calvin Bernard Rhone, James “Butch” Galloway, Bruce Parham, Billy Preston, Cleo Kennedy, Betty Griffin, Eugene Bryant, Debbie Austin, Kenneth Moore, and Keith Pringle.

The [http://www.afgen.com/Gospel1.html](http://www.afgen.com/Gospel1.html) website (2001) describes Cleveland as follows,

“Cleveland was a charismatic singer who, to use a cliché, held the audience in the palm of his hand. This is ironic since his voice, rough and raspy, could not be considered one of great quality. Nonetheless, he mesmerized his audience” (paragraph 16).

Cleveland was also a master at audience manipulation. Cleveland would stir the audience to great heights by speaking to them in a plain old everyday manner, then tell them to “hush” or be quiet. If Cleveland felt they were getting too loud and would interfere with the story or message he was trying to tell at the given moment he would simply say “shhhhh.” This was his way of calming and manipulating the emotions of the performers
and audience. For a discussion of Cleveland’s music and contributions, see Boyer (1995).

**Gospel music publishing declines.**

Gospel recording expanded during the 1960s and had a great effect on the music publishing business. Kenneth Morris (1987) once stated to Reagon (1992c) that there were two things that happened that hurt their music publishing business, the record business and the advent of the Xerox copier (p. 333). According to Morris the popularity and expansion of gospel recordings in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s and the ability to copy music almost completely cut off the sale of music (Morris, 1987; Reagon, 1992c, p. 333). Music publishing diminished, but it also changed. Many record companies began to publish music to go along with the successful recordings they released. Sheet music was no longer used as the primary medium through which gospel songs were transmitted, but it was used to serve those members of the gospel and music community who did not learn gospel music as easily through oral transmission. Sheet music was now being published for the musically literate.

**The influence of classical music and formal study on gospel music.**

While the traditional gospel choirs and quartets continued to be refined throughout the 1960s, new performing forces and musical movements also emerged. Although many Blacks attended colleges and universities prior to the 1960s, more Blacks began attending colleges and universities during the 1960s where they began receiving
formal training in music (Walker, 1979, pp. 135-136). Many of these musicians borrowed musical elements that they used within their gospel compositions.

As a result of formal musical training, many gospel choirs began performing not only traditional gospel music, but various other forms of African American and European classical sacred music (Walker, 1979, p. 156). One of the first nationally recognized choirs to display such a versatile repertoire was the Utterbach Concert Ensemble, formed in 1961 (Southern, 1997, p. 483). Southern (1997) reports that this choir’s repertoire included gospels, spirituals, anthems, folk music, and popular music (p. 483). The group developed a unique repertoire because of the classical training and influence of the director who also desired to meet the musical taste of a diverse listening audience (Clayton, n. d., liner notes; Walker, 1979, p. 156). This group under the direction of Clinton Utterbach, inspired many community choirs to expand their musical repertoires to included all styles of sacred music (Walker, 1979, p. 157). Due to the versatility of Utterbach’s repertoire, his compositions and arrangements caused formally trained musicians to place him among the list of distinguished African American composers who composed in the standard European art music forms. The Utterbach Concert Ensemble produced a unique choral sound that could change from a polished European choral sound to an authentic gospel sound. As a result of the ensemble’s musical excellence they performed at the New York Town Hall, Carnegie Hall, Randalls Island Stadium, and countless churches and auditoriums throughout the nation (Utterbach, n. d. a, liner notes). Utterbach (n. d. a) maintained that “the fine quality of the group” was due to the fact that each member was selected “through auditions and a careful selection process” (liner notes). The soloists in the ensemble sometimes sang in a European musical style and at
other times they displayed gospel vocal styles. Consequently, the choir brought to the stage “the fervor and excitement of the most spirited revival meeting, however, they also performed with all the dignity of formally trained artists” (Utterbach, n. d. a, liner note).

The success of this great choir was attributed to “Utterbach’s imagination and musical ability and his fine skill as a musician, composer, and arranger” (Utterbach, n. d. a, liner notes). The unique sound that Utterbach achieved with the Concert Ensemble caused them to be emulated by choirs all over the nation.

As a musician, composer, and director Utterbach introduced many new elements to the gospel music field. Roberta Martin introduced the first infusion of classical music, however Utterbach brought another dose of the classical influence to gospel music in the 1960s. Utterbach began using the Roger’s organ in Gospel music; Utterbach would “swing” the pipe organ by playing it in a gospel style whenever he played gospel music (Utterbach, n. d. b, liner notes). This style of organ playing can be heard on his recording entitled Soul Goes to College (CBM Records CBM-151). Utterbach also introduced the “gospel anthem,” a type of song that was part narration and part singing. The gospel anthem was performed in a dramatic style and it included a lot of word painting between the singers and musicians. Utterbach uses this form on his composition “The Ten Commandments” (Vee-Jay Records RS-2010). While most songs are led by individuals, Utterbach also used a trio, often a female trio to serve as the lead voice. The trio would sing the leading parts in harmony. This can be heard on his “It’s Music To Me” recording (Vee-Jay Records RS-2010).
Utterbach’s music was described by Benjamin Jones as follows.

Clinton Utterbach’s melodies follow a modest and conservative line, and they are enhanced by modern imaginative arrangements. Both being complemented by lyrics from a heart borne of religious and moral convictions, as well as the current social conditions. To the basic beats which have long been identified with authentic Negro music, he has superimposed various modern rhythmic patterns and modern chord structures. The result, an infinitely woven fabric, is Clinton Utterbach (Utterbach, n. d. b, liner notes).

Utterbach’s arrangements were so imaginative that portions of his arrangements have been used by many composers that followed. “It Is Well,” a White gospel hymn originally written by Philip P. Bliss in 1876, was arranged by Utterbach. Utterbach’s arrangement of this hymn would stand as source from which other gospel composers and arrangers would borrow. When comparing “It Is Well” as performed by Utterbach (CBM Records CBM-151) with the Benny Cumming’s (Creed Records, 3083) rendition from the 1980s, one will immediately note the same harmonic progressions used within the vocal lines. Utterbach’s “Something Within Me” (CBM Records CBM-151) was arranged in a classical choral style and this sound was later emulated and perfected by James R. Peterson and the Baltimore Fellowship Choir (Mark Records MC-3006). The influence of Utterbach could also be heard in the recordings such as Milton Brunson and the Thompson Community Singer’s “Everything Moves By The Power of God” that was released in the 1980’s (Myrrh Records WC 1805). The Star of Bethlehem Choir’s version of “There Is A Fountain” (Glory Records JC-1045) released in the 1970s is very similar to Utterbach’s version of “There Is A Fountain” (Vee Jay Records RS-2010) released in the 1960s. Utterbach continued to record and influenced gospel musicians through the 1990s (Lection Records, 422-841-190-1; Lection Records, 877-937-1).
Gospel choirs on college campuses.

Utterbach was not the only gospel musician who had been influenced by the classical musical genre. Many other Black gospel musicians attended college for music. However, many Black musicians discovered just as Morris discovered that gospel music was not considered as “serious” music by “formally trained” musicians, especially those within the academic and classical arena (Reagon, 1992c, pp. 338-339). Many gospel musicians were scorned because of their gospel musical roots and encouraged to discontinue performing gospel music because it did not exemplify the musical aesthetic of beauty that was esteemed within most college music departments (Reagon, 1992b, p. 17). Though discouraged from playing and singing gospel music, some gospel musicians were determined to retain the music from their cultural heritage, so they began forming gospel choirs on college campuses throughout the country (Reagon, 1992b, p. 17). Many of the gospel choirs were not official organizations of the school, however, they provided an outlet for students to continue to perform in the gospel music style. Reagon (1992b) reports that,

the first college-based gospel choir was started at Howard University in 1965 by a group of brilliant musicians, Henry Davis, Wesley Boyd, and Richard Smallwood, all music majors who had been forbidden to play gospel music in the university’s music practice rooms (Reagon, 1992b, p. 17).

Reagon (1992b) further reports that,

changes came only after Black students insisted on a curriculum that acknowledged the presence and contributions of African Americans and a revision in the treatment of African and African based history and traditions, including gospel music (Reagon, 1992b, p. 17).

The establishment of the Howard University Gospel Choir led to the formation of many more college and university gospel choirs. Just as the Fisk Jubilee Singers started
a trend for colleges to develop choirs, the Howard University Gospel Choir also started a
trend in college and university Gospel choirs (Walker, 1979, p. 155). Fisk University
even followed the trend and formed The Modern Black Mass Choir in 1969 (Thomas,
1973, liner notes; Creed Records, LP-3040).

The classical influence expands into the gospel community.

As a result of formal musical training and exposure to new musical genres, many
gospel musicians began composing in a new musical style during the 1960s, which
combined and included the elements of classical and traditional gospel music (Reagon,
1992b, p. 17). Many such composers could be found in the Washington, D.C. area.
These composers and musicians would later establish groups during the 1970s that would
record and make a great impact on the gospel field. Robert Fryson, a lyric tenor,
borrowed Beethoven’s “Ode to Joy” for the theme of his composition entitled “Lord of
Heaven” (Glory Records, JC-1025). Henry Davis, a classically trained pianist, regularly
implemented classical music runs, applegios, and cadenzas in his gospel playing. Richard
Smallwood used Rachmoninoff’s “Vocalise” as the basis of his composition entitled
“The Resurrection” (Onyx International Records R 3803) and later combined Bach’s
“Jesu Joy of Man’s Desiring” with the famous hymn “Jesus Lover of My Soul” (Sparrow
Records SPC 1283). Smallwood, a classically trained pianist also demonstrated virtuoso
writes,

Smallwood a pioneer in the contemporary gospel sound, continues the network
begun with Tindley and stretching through the Chicago School, for Roberta
Martin and her protegee Lucy Collier-Smith greatly influenced his gospel piano
style (Reagon, 1992 #120).
In Baltimore, Md. it was the music department of Morgan State University and the Peabody Conservatory of Music that had a major influence on the gospel music community. The development of gospel choirs that sang music ranging from European classical music to hard driving gospel music became a method of winning the acceptance of college music faculty who would otherwise totally disapprove of gospel music. While the groups could perform in the authentic gospel vocal style, they would most often perform gospel music in very polished choral style utilizing more “head voice” singing than throaty “mid-voice” singing (Whithead, 1970, liner notes). Singing gospel music in this manner produced a unique timbre and sound. This is why Clinton Utterbach and his ensemble became such an important and significant role model for gospel choirs during the 1960s.

Andrae Crouch and the seed of contemporary gospel music.

Classical music was not the only genre to penetrate gospel music during the 1960s. Popular music along with rock, jazz, soul, and rhythm and blues began to expand during the 1960s, consequently, many gospel musicians began incorporating musical elements from these styles into their compositions (Eskew and Downey, 1986, p. 258). One composer who stood at the forefront of this movement was Andrae Crouch. Southern (1997) reports that Crouch took “the lead in promoting innovation and experimentation in gospel music, but within the parameters of the church or other sacred venues, and always for Christian audiences” (p. 607). This is significant because many gospel artists who promoted change moved outside of traditional Christian venues to accomplish it. “Crouch combined elements of popular music, rock, country music, and
soul with traditional gospel” and used “both acoustical and electronic instruments, including synthesizers” to accomplish this task (Southern, 1997, p. 608).

Crouch started his musical career as a child playing in his father’s holiness church, the Christ Memorial Church of God in Christ, in San Fernando Valley. Southern (1997) reports that Crouch “sang with a group called the COGIC’s (Church of God In Christ) during his high school years” (p. 607). In 1964 Crouch started a group called the Disciples (Carmichael, n. d., liner notes; Light Records LS-5504-LP). Ralph Carmichael (1965) reports that Crouch won two of the members, Perry Morgan and Billy Thedford, to the group through his personal witnessing, but they did not know they would eventually sing in a gospel group (Carmichael, n. d., liner notes). The original Disciples consisted of Sherman Andrus, lead singer, Billy Thedford, a converted rock and roll singer, Perry Morgan, the tenor of the group, and Ruben Fernandez, a Mexican-American (Carmichael, n. d., liner notes). This unique blend of vocalists helped to create the group’s unique sound. They did not perform with the traditional gospel sound; they brought a “new” sound to gospel music.

The Disciples came to national notoriety, when they were discovered by the president of Light Records, Ralph Carmichael. On the liner notes of their first recording Carmichael writes,

Whether its an original composition by Andrae Crouch or a new treatment of an old song, here is a fresh new sound geared to a new generation. And even more exciting than the music, is the fact that Andrae Crouch and the Disciples are taking the gospel to their own generation in terms they can understand (Carmichael, n. d., liner notes).

Crouch soon became one of the nation’s principal gospel singers who appealed to White as well as Black audiences (Southern, 1997, pp. 607-608). Eskew & Oliver (1980) point
out that the original Disciples included two non-Black singers, and suggests this as a reason for Crouch’s popularity among both Whites and Blacks (p. 554). Audrey Mieir suggests however, that Crouch’s universal appeal was due to the broad appeal of his music (Crouch, 1965, liner notes). Mieir (n. d.) states, “that some songs are exquisite with pathos, others rich in strange harmonies, yet again the whole place “turns on” as the rhythm becomes ecstatic and wild!” (Mieir, n. d., liner notes). James Cleveland expressed it better when he stated,

Andrae Crouch has bridged the gap between Black and White audiences . . . The White audiences are very interested in the more soulful type of gospel . . . In the contemporary sound of gospel music, many Black musicians are now embracing the contemporary sound. There is a great upsurge of White choirs that sing like Black choirs, and Blacks have always tried to excel and perfect performances relating to sound, arrangement and instrumentation. Orchestrations and the like bring us closer to what the White man has been doing all the time . . So they’re coming our way, and we’re going their way. Somewhere in the middle of the road we’re bound to run into one another! (Anderson and North, 1979, p. 7).

As the personnel changed over the years, Crouch later expanded the group to include other male and female singers, such as his twin sister Sandra Crouch, Dannibelle Hall, and Bill Maxwell (Crouch, 1975, liner notes; CGI Records CGD 1135).

The sophistication and versatility of Crouch’s music with the musical versatility that incorporated both the old and new gospel styles, caused Crouch to become a model for many young gospel artists who would rise in later years. Collins (1999) notes that Crouch was “one of the first gospel artists to enjoy commercial success in both the Christian and mainstream arenas,” thus demonstrating not only Crouch’s universal appeal but “the universal appeal of gospel music” (p. 7). Southern (1997) reports that Crouch toured widely with the Disciples, recorded extensively, and wrote numerous songs, some of which became Gospel standards (p. 608).
Due to the turmoil of the 1960s, younger gospel artists and composers attempted to reach a younger audience by using popular musical elements combined with traditional gospel hymns and spirituals. Andrae paved the way for a new period of expansion and growth in Black gospel music as well as Contemporary Christian Music, the White gospel music movement (Eskew and Downey, 1986, p. 259). The relationship that Crouch established with Light Records during the 1960s paved the way for many other contemporary gospel artists to record on Light Records in the 1970s and 1980s which helped to establish Light Records as a major gospel label specializing in Black contemporary gospel music. Andrae Crouch, like Cleveland, produced or presented many soloists and groups on Light Records that later became national gospel recording artists. Singers such as Walter Hawkins and The Love Center Choir, Danibelle Hall, The Winans, Sandra Crouch, Krystal Murden, Tata Vega, the Mccrarry’s (Linda and Howard), and many others came to the attention of gospel music listeners through the efforts of Andrae Crouch.

**New gospel organizations rise in the 1960s.**

By the late 1960s, gospel music had made so many advances that gospel music had not only become recognized as a religious art form but as an American popular art form (Boyer, 1995, p. 5). This musical expansion and growth led to the establishment of new record companies whose intent was to specialize in the recording of Black gospel music.

As gospel music continued to expand the existing gospel music conventions no longer seemed adequate to address all of the needs and concerns of the new emerging
gospel artists. With the death of Lucie Campbell in 1962, the National Baptist Convention no longer promoted gospel music and its artists as it had in past years (Boyer, 1995, p. 125). Furthermore, the National Baptist Convention and the National Convention of Gospel Choirs and Choruses, that was started by Dorsey and others in the 1930s, were primarily aimed at training gospel choir choirs for churches. While Mattie Moss-Clark groomed and exposed many gospel artists at the Church of God in Christ convention, the convention was primarily for those artists who were members of the Church of God in Christ denomination (Boyer, 1995, p. 125). Therefore, a new gospel convention was needed. One such convention would become a unifying force in the gospel music world, the “Gospel Music Workshop of America,” (GMWA) founded by James Cleveland in 1968. Smith (1988f) reports on the origins of the Gospel Music Workshop of America,

in March of 1968, Rev. Cleveland called together gospel musicians from all across the country, thus inaugurating the inception of the GMWA. . . The first meeting was held at the London Inn while services were held nightly at the Prayer Tabernacle Church of Detroit Michigan. The initial convention was in August of 1968 at the King Solomon Baptist Church attracting well over 3,000 gospel music lovers from the greater Detroit area. The main purpose of the workshop is to perpetuate America’s only original art form through training seminars as well as giving aspiring artists an opportunity to perform with some of the top names in gospel music in some of the largest and finest arenas and theaters in the country (p. 16).

GMWA was unique because it was aimed at helping to develop the careers of gospel musicians. Eskew and Downey (1986) reports more specifically that GMWA was "organized to set (and improve) standards of gospel music performance" (p. 259). Since there were no denominational affiliations, GMWA was open to all gospel artists. This convention provided national exposure and training for aspiring professional gospel artists. Though Cleveland was a traditional gospel artist, through his work with GMWA,
he provided a bridge from the traditional form of gospel music to the contemporary form. GMWA also provided Cleveland the opportunity to mentor hundreds of groups, choirs, soloists, and composers, many of whom he would present and record on Savoy records. More importantly, Southern (1997) reports that Cleveland brought thousands of singers and songwriters together each year at GMWA to be trained in the gospel tradition (p. 487).

The convention grew through the establishment of local chapter choirs (Boyer, 1995, p. 248). Many of these choirs eventually became professional recording choirs and brought new musical techniques and performance practices to the convention and the gospel field each year. One such choir was the Voices of Christ, organized in November of 1969. Eventually presented by James Cleveland on Savoy Records, the choir became one of the foremost Traditional choirs in the nation and became one of the most traveled large choirs in America having performed in most of the major U.S. cities, and in Canada, Mexico and South America. The choir was voted the best attired choir in America when they received the “Best Robed Choir Award” at GMWA (Stephens, 1978, liner notes). Helen Stephen director of the Voices of Christ also did pioneering work by establishing the Lighthouse Gospel Singers, an all White gospel group who perfected the African American style of gospel singing.

The convention was also known for the many composers who wrote and presented gospel songs at the yearly conventions that became popular throughout the nation. One composer who was extremely significant was Margaret Douroux (Eskew and Downey, 1986, p. 257). Margaret Pleasant Douroux, the daughter of the late Rev. Earl A. Pleasant, one of America’s greatest gospel preachers, evangelists, and composers,
composed such songs as “Give Me A Clean Heart,” “Don’t Wait Too Late” (Pleasant Records PP-001), “If It Had Not Been For The Lord On Our Side,” “Come Unto Jesus,” “Trees” (Savoy Records SGL-7053), “I Need The Lord” (Pleasant Record PP-001), “He Decided To Die” (Savoy Record DBL 7019). Most of these songs were initially presented at the Gospel Music Workshop of America (Douroux, n.d., liner notes). Douroux started a trend among Black gospel composer during the 1960s for writing “word based” songs. Word based suggests that the songs contained thought provoking lyrics aimed at the transformation of the listener. While Brewster was known for his poetic use of text in gospel songs, Douroux and others such as Andrac Crouch, Robert Fryson, Carol Antrom, and Michael McKay represented members of the younger generation who carried on the tradition started by Brewster. Their texts were so thought provoking that their songs were easily distinguishable.

In later decades GMWA eventually became the largest national gospel organization in the world attracting over 20,000 delegates to its yearly meetings (Smith, 1987, p. 33). Over the years GMWA expanded to include a Religious Announcers Guild (1969), more than 100 Courses (1969-2001), a Youth Department (1973), a Nurses Unit (1974), Usher Board (1974), Men’s Council (1974), and Evangelistic Board (1974), and a Quartet and Business and Professional Guild (1977) (Smith, 1988f, p. 17).

As one of the most prolific and gifted composers of his generation, “Cleveland earned the title the “Crown Prince of Gospel” (Southern, 1997, p. 482). However, his continued work in the gospel field caused many to deem him as the “King of Gospel Music” (Smith, 1987, p. 29). As many of the gospel greats before him, there was nothing in gospel music that Cleveland did not do (Smith, 1987, p. 33). He performed in the
major halls and arenas of this country, appeared on radio, television and film, toured all over the world including Israel, he’s sung before royalty, received a star on the “Hollywood Walk of Fame,” won four Grammy’s, the last of which was awarded posthumously for the album Having Church, and he wrote songs that have become standards in the chronicles of gospel music history (Smith, 1987, p. 33; Boyer, 1995, p. 249; http://www.afgen.com/Gospel1.html website, 2001, paragraph 16).

By the end of the decade traditional gospel music had a secure place, although it lost one of its major contributors, Roberta Martin. Martin’s death along with Dr. Martin Luther King’s death the previous year at which Mahalia Jackson performed in a way signaled the end of and era (http://www.afgen.com/Gospel1.html website, 2001, paragraph 14).

**Edwin Hawkins: The Father of Contemporary Gospel Music.**

In 1969, the gospel music industry took another turn that advanced gospel music and expanded it into more arenas. It was in 1969 that Edwin Hawkins and the Hawkins Singers released “Oh Happy Day” (Pavilion Records BPS-10001) and gospel music received another dose of pop, rock, jazz, and R & B (Jones, 1998, p. 94). “Oh Happy Day” was a nineteenth-century White Baptist hymn, written by Philip Doddridge and Edward Rimbault, that Hawkins rearranged in a contemporary gospel style (Boyer, 1995, p. 5).

The Edwin Hawkins Singers were organized in May of 1967, as the Northern California State Choir and was comprised of young singers from Church of God in Christ churches in Oakland, California (NCGCC Website, 2001, paragraph 14). The group’s
founders were Betty Watson who served as director and Edwin Hawkins who also served as director, pianist, and arranger of every song on their first album (Hawkins, 1969a, liner notes). After recording “Oh Happy Day” the group changed its name to the Edwin Hawkins Singers and the nucleus of the Hawkins Singers were the members of Hawkins’s family (Southern, 1997, p. 608, NCGCC Website, 2001, paragraph 14). The NCGCC Website (2001) reports that the Hawkins were the first gospel artist to achieve “an unparalleled smash hit in the gospel field” with “Oh Happy Day” (paragraph 14). This achievement was significant because “Oh Happy Day” was the first successful crossover gospel recording in gospel music history “that appealed to rock ‘n’ roll, jazz, and folk enthusiast as well as traditional gospel music lovers” (NCGCC Website, 2001, paragraph 14). The recording sold more than seven million copies and earned a Grammy for Hawkins (Jones, 1998, p. 94). While many younger gospel composers experimented with the blending of gospel musical elements with other genres, in “Oh Happy Day,” Hawkins produced one of the “hybrids” of rhythm and blues, gospel, and a Baptist hymn (Southern, 1997, p. 607).

“Oh Happy Day” was one of the first gospel songs to hit the popular charts, consequently, it became controversial among many Black church people (Boyer, 1995, p. 5). It was controversial firstly, because it incorporated secular musical elements (Jones, 1998, p 94). Secondly, its cross-over appeal, caused it to be aired on secular radio stations and cited on pop charts (Jones, 1998, pp. 94-95). This is significant because in 1969, Barry (1969) reported that James Brown was the first Black man in the 30 year history of Cash Box Magazine to be cited as a solo artist on single pop records (p. 56). In this same year “Oh Happy Day” was also cited on the pop charts. Finally, after the
success of “Oh Happy Day,” the Hawkins Singers made their official debut to a packed house at Madison Square Garden (NCGCC Website, 2001, paragraph 14). Following their debut, they toured widely in the United States and abroad (Southern, 1997, p. 608). However, some of the venues in which they performed were nightclubs. All of these factors caused concern about the intention of their music ministry. The Hawkins Singers reported that many Black church members took offense to this, especially those in the Church of God in Christ denomination (Jones, 1998, pp. 94-95).

Though “Oh Happy Day” was surrounded by controversy its release delineated the beginning of a new era in gospel music. It marked a new era of gospel choral singing style and harmonies for gospel choirs. While Crouch laid the foundation for a contemporary group, it was Edwin Hawkins who established the first contemporary gospel choir to gain wide national recognition (NCGCC Website, 2001, paragraph 14). Hawkins wrote most of the group’s repertoire and it was his unique style and versatility that caused this new awakening in the gospel sound (Hawkins, 1969; Southern, 1997, p. 608). Hawkins, like Crouch, was influenced by popular music of the 1960s and began to implement the new sounds of popular music, blues and jazz into gospel music, thus expanding gospel music’s harmonic vocabulary that created the new gospel sound.

Scholars have attempted to describe this new sound. Reagon (1992) stated, “the contemporary style is marked by a blend of classic gospel sound with Euroclassical and jazz ingredients in the accompaniments and voicing (Reagon, 1992b, p. 17). Eskew and Downey (1986) wrote that,

Hawkin’s style was characterized by smooth, vocal sonorities, instrumental accompaniments of orchestral dimension, melodies indistinguishable from those of soul music or even jazz, unusual key (e.g., Db, Gb, E and B), and texts that were often secular (p. 259).
Boyer (1995) suggests that Hawkin’s piano style combined the harmonic variety of a Duke Ellington and the soulful accentuation of a Ray Charles (p. 5). The Hawkins sound was a departure from what had occurred before in that the harmonic vocabulary of gospel music was expanded beyond the basic chords (Jones, 1998, p. 94). In the new musical vocabulary, one could note the use of sevenths, seconds, and dissonance in both the accompaniment and vocal parts. This became a new musical practice for gospel music.

More gospel artists adopt the new gospel style.

The Hawkins Singers also expanded the accompaniment in gospel music by using electronic instruments and synthesizers (Southern, 1997, p. 608). In fact, Edwin Hawkins brought the innovation of using a full rhythm section to accompany gospel choir music. The NCGCC Website (2001) summarizes the new developments that the Edwin Hawkins brought to gospel music in the 1960s with the following:

The Hawkins gospel style represents the syntheses of choral development in gospel music during the sixties because it successfully combines religious lyrics with contemporary “rock” rhythms played by rhythm instruments which are new to gospel—the fender bass and accompaniment, the bass and drums clearly identifies gospel with the popular sounds of the day (paragraph 14).

The release of “Oh Happy Day,” encouraged other gospel choirs and groups who had experimented with the new gospel harmonies to support and participate in the new gospel music. Many of these groups developed a unique blend of the new and old gospel music traditions. One group, the Voices Supreme of Washington, D.C. established by Robert Fryson, combined classical harmonies with traditional hymns and gospel songs to establish a new contemporary male sound (Glory Records, JC-1025). A choir that made a great impact performing in this new combination gospel style was the Institutional
Radio Choir of Brooklyn New York. By the end of the 1960s, they emerged as a leading choir that influenced many choirs across the nation (Simpson, 1967, liner notes). Institutional was known for taking the old Pentecostal shout song form and creating new gospel songs. They recorded many shout songs that became hits on the Atlantic label in the 1960s such as *Grace*, and *Stretch Out* (Atlantic Records, R-008).

1970s

According to Southern (1997) by the decade of the seventies it would seem that gospel artists had achieved all of the milestones that were needed to establish gospel music as an art form (p. 487) Southern (1997) writes,

Gospel had firmly established itself all over the land; its sound was heard in churches of all denominations, in college campuses wherever there was a sizable Black-student population, in concert halls, theatres, and movie houses; and on radio and television. The gospel industry was flourishing; recordings of the famous and the unknown were being produced in quantity; gospel literature no longer confined itself to the anecdotal but included solidly researched articles and books, biographies and discographies and doctoral dissertations of quality. Moreover, the periodic workshops and conventions held nation wide assured the founding elders that acceptable standards of performance would be maintained and important Black traditions preserved (p. 487).

Though this assessment was true for the early traditional gospel music style developed by Dorsey, Martin and others, it was not true for the late traditional style developed by Cleveland and Clark and the newly developing contemporary gospel style that would emerge in a great way during the 1970s. The 1970s brought about great change for the Gospel music field.

The php.iupui.edu/~apcarpen/history.htm website (2001) suggests that the music that evolved from Dorsey’s creative genius soon gave way to a younger generation of
talented gospel artists who created new styles of gospel music (paragraph 9). The traditional gospel style was further developed by artists like James Cleveland, Mattie Moss Clark, Shirley Caesar, Albertina Walker and others, while younger artists like Andrae Crouch, Edwin Hawkins, and Walter Hawkins paved the way for a new contemporary style of gospel music that was strongly influenced by pop, jazz, and classical.

The Gospel Music Workshop of America continued to expand.

As a means of proliferating traditional gospel music and promoting the many new artists that recorded during the 1970s, James Cleveland continued to expand the Gospel Music Workshop of America and impacted the gospel field in many ways. GMWA played a major role in spreading the new musical and performance techniques developed by Cleveland and other traditional gospel artists. Each year, a national mass choir was formed at GMWA that performed and recorded the new music written by gospel composers. Consequently, many composers sought to have their songs performed by the GMWA Mass Choir. As with the National Baptist Convention, songs that were used in this forum were almost sure to be instant gospel successes.

Collins (1994) reports on the impact the Gospel Music Workshop of America had on both nationally recognized and aspiring gospel artists. Collins (1994) writes,

The convention circuit is essential to breaking a record in gospel. It is so powerful because all of the spheres of influence are in place. Your average attendee could be a choir director, gospel announcer, or church pastor with influence over or up to 1000 people or more. Plus at a convention you get 10-20,000 people who can hear you and walk right out to the lobby and buy product. But success is not given. The goal is to get the artists positioned in front of the full body, either at a nightly musical or industry gathering, like an annual awards program or a GMWA Announcers showcase, and that’s not always easy (p. 36).
In 1977 GMWA’s Educational Division was taken over by Dr. Robert M. Simmons in 1977. Under Simmons leadership the Academic Division grew to more than 100 classes, and the academic faculty grew to include more than 100 members. As a result of Simmon’s encouragement, the GMWA faculty continued to pursue advanced musical degrees in order to add to the validity and credibility of the academic course offerings.

Franklin’s recording of *Amazing Grace* provided the ultimate model for traditional gospel soloists and choirs to follow, however, GMWA provided the forum in which traditional gospel music would be promoted and perpetuated. The GMWA produced many composers, musicians and artists who performed and recorded in this refined traditional gospel style during the 1970s. As a result of participating in GMWA many traditional gospel artists rose to prominence.

While many composers came to the convention as experienced composers, the convention also gave exposure to many new composers who came from amongst the convention’s younger delegates. Many of these younger composers began to write in a combination traditional and contemporary style. One of Cleveland’s protegees who followed him in this combination tradition was Keith Pringle and the Pentecostal Community Choir. Keith Pringle helped to keep the Traditional Gospel choir alive into the 1980’s. Keith Pringle learned many of his vocal and performance techniques while performing with James Cleveland and the Cleveland Singers. Pringle later recorded the album *Perfect Peace* (Onyx Internsational Records RO 3784) on the Onyx International Record Label, a subsidiary of Benson Records. This recording was one of the first solo albums produced by Thomas Whitfield on this label and was one of the first traditional
gospel recordings to utilize the contemporary gospel recording technique of recording each musical and vocal part separately in the studio.

Another Cleveland protegee was Charles Fold of Cincinnati, Ohio. Fold and his group the Charles Fold Singers mastered the Cleveland Singers vocal style and helped to preserve and carry the traditional gospel style into the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. Two of their greatest hits were “Jesus is the Best Thing That Ever Happened to Me” and “Can’t Nobody Do Me Like Jesus” on which Cleveland sang the lead (Savoy Records DBL 7005).

The traditional gospel style is further refined.

During the 1970s, “artists like James Cleveland and Edwin Hawkins began to contemporize the work of Dorsey who had dominated the gospel field for 30 years” (php.iupui.edu/~apcarpen/history.htm website, 2001, paragraph 10). The php.iupui.edu/~apcarpen/history.htm website (2001) reports that they both “began to create a new sound that was marketable to a new and younger audience by using other idioms such as jazz, funk, rock, Latin, country-western, and classical to convey the gospel message” (paragraph 10). While Hawkins (Edwin) expanded the musical vocabulary, Cleveland retained the existing Gospel musical elements and further refined the traditional gospel musical style.

This refined traditional style could be heard in the numerous recordings Cleveland produced with the Angelic Choir of Nutley, New Jersey, the Southern California Community Choir, the Cleveland Singers, and the many other groups he produced on the Savoy label. However, the recording that represented the quintessential example of the refined traditional style was Aretha Franklin’s recording entitled Amazing Grace. In this
recording Franklin, with the help of James Cleveland, pulled together all of the traditional gospel innovations and provided a model for traditional gospel soloists and choirs to follow. While Aretha Franklin returned to secular music, this recording helped to further establish James Cleveland as a major figure in the gospel music field. James Cleveland became a leader in taking old gospel songs and spirituals and rearranging them in a new way that was still within the traditional music vocabulary. By maintaining a traditional vocal sound, Cleveland appealed to older listeners; by rearranging the vocals and musical accompaniment Cleveland also appealed to younger audiences. Because of Cleveland’s influence and popularity within the gospel field the traditional gospel music era continued to flourish and Cleveland continued to promote and produce hundreds of traditional gospel artists. As a result of Cleveland’s producing efforts, Savoy Records continued to rise during the 1970s as a top gospel music recording label.

Traditional gospel artists continue to perform.

Traditional artists such as Shirley Caesar, Milton Brunson, Isaac Douglas, Sarah Jordan Powell, Alex Bradford, and Mattie Moss-Clark also continued to perform. It was during the 1970s that artists like Milton Brunson and Shirley Caesar began using gospel music as a ministry tool for evangelism. Caesar has long remained among top performers in gospel and always used her gospel music to enhance her preaching evangelistic ministry. Caesar became known as the “Queen of Gospel” (Swift, 1986).

Alex Bradford founded the Creative Movement Repertory Company during the 1970’s. Bradford, best known for his appearance in Black Nativity (Creed Records 5022)
and his million-copy seller “Too Close To Heaven” (1953), won an Obie Award for his role in the Musical play Don’t Bother Me I Can’t Cope (Heilbut, 1973, p. 9).

Another traditional gospel soloist who made a great impact on traditional gospel solo style was Sarah Jordan Powell. Powell was unique because she was a coloratura soprano who sang gospel music in head voice. Her use of high notes and whistling tones helped to establish a new vocal style for gospel sopranos. Powell’s first recording was presented by James Cleveland on Savoy Records (MG-14278).

Mattie Moss Clark also continued her work with the Southwest Michigan Choir and as the musical director of the Church of God in Christ National Music Department. Clark continued to compose, perform and record in the refined traditional gospel style with the help of her daughters, the Clark Sister who would record during the 1970s and make an impact in the contemporary gospel music style.

While gospel choirs flourished during this period, the gospel quartets continued to sing in the established traditional gospel style. Though quartets were no longer the dominant performing force as in earlier years, traditional quartets, such as the Jackson Southernaires and the Dixie Hummingbirds, continued to sing, perform, record and develop during the 1970s (http://www.african.com/Gospel1.html website, 2001, paragraph 26).

The 1970s also saw the development of teen female quartets like the Steele Family and the Truthettes (Vesa Records CP 80-2091). Though teens and females, these groups performed in the traditional male quartet musical style. The Staple Singers family quartet crossed the lines into the secular market with message music. Totally Gospel (1988) reports of how the Staple Singers “used their strong gospel roots to create music
with mass appeal that resulted in million seller hits like “Respect Yourself” (Stax STS 3002) and “I’ll Take You There” (April, 1988, p. 11).

A new era in gospel music begins.

Though traditional gospel music flourished during the 1970s, the gospel musical vocabulary began to change and expand dramatically during the 1970s thus starting a new era for gospel music. Though artists like Edwin Hawkins, Crouch, Utterbach, Summers, Glenn, and Whitfield began using a wider musical vocabulary in the 1960s, it was in the 1970s that this new musical vocabulary began to be adopted by a younger generation of gospel musicians and composers throughout the country. Collins (1999) reports that “Edwin Hawkjin’s release of the single, ‘Oh Happy Day’ in 1969, was a defining moment in gospel music” (p. 7).

The contributions of Edwin Hawkins.

Edwin Hawkjin’s success earned him the title of “The Father of Contemporary Gospel music.” Like Dorsey who was given the title of “The Father of Gospel Music,” there were others musicians composing in the new style before Hawkins. Hawkins was the first however to gain national recognition and acceptance for performing in the new gospel style.

To retain their cross over appeal the Hawkins Singers recorded inspirational or “message music” aimed at fostering harmony among Americans following the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. They also recorded more “non-gospel” songs and “secular songs” that were rearranged in their unique gospel style. In addition, The
Hawkins transformed popular songs into gospel songs by changing the pronoun references from humans to God (Simmons, 1999). Examples of some of the Hawkins transformed and recorded popular songs include “Blowing in the Wind” (Buddah Records BDS 5054), “I’d Like to Teach the World to Sing” (Buddah Records BDS 5101), and “Ooh Child” (Buddah Records BDS 5054).

Contemporary gospel music finds an audience.

Though the Black church did not initially embrace this new music, the Hawkins’ found an audience. The Hawkins toured overseas, and performed in non-traditional settings, such as night clubs and major arenas. In addition, many community and school gospel choirs that were not affiliated with the churches that did not accept the new musical form embraced the new musical style and performed in this new musical style. More importantly, the Hawkins Singers opened the door for gospel music to become cross-cultural and cross-denominational. Gospel music was no longer relegated to only the Baptist, Methodist or Pentecostal denominations. Though this new musical style was not embraced by all traditional Black Baptist and Methodist churches, it found a home within other settings which caused it to spread beyond the traditional Black church denominations to all denominations. The sophistication of this new musical style, caused gospel music to become more appealing to the non-Black audiences and Black denominations that did not traditionally perform gospel music, such as the Presbyterian, Episcopal, and Catholic denominational churches.

In their attempt to revitalize their worship, many denominations began to use contemporary gospel music. NCGCC Website (2001) reports,
the use of the vernacular in Catholic liturgy and the use of selected hymns tunes and spirituals in addition to the Gregorian Chant; the introduction of folk and jazz masses among some of the Episcopal churches; the use of Black gospel music along with Traditional hymns and anthems among Baptist, Methodist and many other religious denominations. These modifications have become increasingly necessary and they are highly desirable as a means of making religious worship a true expression of today’s people (paragraph 47).

Not only did many churches begin to adopt gospel music in its worship liturgy, but many gospel composers wrote music to be specifically performed in these Mass worship services. One example is Robert Ray’s *Gospel Mass*. This work, written in the 1978, was written in the form of a Catholic mass. However, the music was written in the contemporary and traditional gospel style. This mass incorporated gospel music and performance techniques, such as rocking and clapping, and has been used since its creation to revitalize Catholic Masses. The work eventually came to be performed as a concert work and has been performed at New York’s Carnegie Hall.

Catholic Priests like George Stallings in Washington, D. C. began using gospel music and a gospel choir in his masses as a tool to build his parish. Other interdenominational groups were established that performed this new contemporary gospel music. One such group was the B, C, & M Choir of Nashville, Tennessee.

B. C. & M Mass Choir was comprised of more than sixty young men and woman who came from the Baptist, Catholic, and Methodist Churches of Nashville. This group actually formed in December of 1965 under the direction of James D. Johnson, and Carolyn A. Jennings came together “to sing of the goodness of God” (n. a., 1978, liner notes). This choir appeared on one of the first episodes of *Bobby Jones Gospel* in December of 1976 (n. a., 1978, liner notes). Regina McCrary and Ann McCrary Smith, two sisters who were former members of this group went on to record other albums and
later united with Bobby Jones to sing with the Nashville Super Choir in the 1990s (Whittaker, n. d., liner note).

Contemporary music regularly applied 2nds, added 6ths, and 7ths in the vocal and accompaniment harmonies. In addition it incorporated new progressions and forms that were not as predictable as those found in traditional gospel music. Many of the rhythms came from other musical styles such as rock, jazz, and classical. Other characteristics of the contemporary style are to be found in the accompaniment. The standard accompaniment for gospel music became the piano, organ, bass, drums, and percussion (tambourine) (Southern, 1997, p. 475). In addition many contemporary artists began using orchestral instrumentation and orchestration on their recordings. One such artist was Gabriel Hardeman of Philadelphia (Savoy Records 14396), who combined the big band sound with old and new Gospel songs to created a new contemporary sacred sound (Bronson, 1976).

Classical music continues to influence gospel music.

Many of the young composers in the Baltimore/Washington D.C. area were strongly influenced by the classical and formal musical training they received at Howard University, Morgan State University, and the Peabody Institute of Music. While many of these artists began composing in the 1960s as students, it was during the 1970s that the young composers developed performing groups and choirs that exemplified the new contemporary gospel. One significant composer was Myrna Summers. Summers who was from the Church of God in Christ Denomination, produced a recording entitled Save Thyself which featured the Interdenominational Choir from the Baltimore/Washington
D.C. area (Century Records 35485). After the success of this recording, Myrna Summers
composed and recorded a song entitled “God Gave Me A Song” that was picked up by
Cotillion Records (SD 9023). The song eventually earned Summers a Grammy
nomination (Wilson, 1972, liner notes). The NCGCC Website (2001) reports that the
“unusual chord progressions and modulations” used by Summers were “new to the gospel
idiom and set her work apart” (paragraph 17). Consequently, Summers went on to
become one of the nation’s foremost female composers in the 1970s and 1980s.

Richard Smallwood, one of the founders of the Howard University Gospel Choir,
started The Union Temple Young Adult Choir in the early 1970s at Union Temple
Baptist Church, in Washington, D.C. where his father was pastor. The choir was
organized as a tribute to Smallwood’s father who founded the Union Temple Baptist
Church, and more than thirty different churches throughout the United States (Wilson,
1974, liner notes). Wilson (1974) reports that “the choir’s style was one of an unusual
blend of raw talent and refined skill in the music field” (Wilson, 1974, liner notes).

Many traditional Black churches and musicians did not embrace this new music
during the 1970s because it was still very new and sophisticated. During this time
however, composers like Richard Smallwood wrote songs that would become very
popular in later years. One such song was Smallwood’s “I Love the Lord.” This song,
originally recorded in 1976 by the Union Temple Choir (USR 8656), was also recorded
by Isaac Douglas and the San Francisco Community Choir (Creed Records LP 3081) in
1977; by Donald Vail and Choraleers (Savoy Records SGL 7039) of Detroit in 1980; by
the Richard Smallwood Singers (Onyx International Records R3803) in 1982, and by
Whitney Houston in 1996 on the Soundtrack for the movie the *Preacher’s Wife* (Arista Records 078221895125) at which point it became a huge success.

In the late 1970s Smallwood left the Union Temple Choir and church and formed the Richard Smallwood Singers. This group was originally comprised of about 14 singers but it was later condensed to a group of 6 who recorded their debut album in 1982 on Onyx International Records (R3803).

Wesley Boyd, one of the original founders of the Howard choir, also sang with the Union Temple Choir and performed with the original Richard Smallwood Singers, and later formed the Wesley Boyd Workshop Choir. Boyd’s choir performed all styles of African American and European sacred music and recorded on the Plumbline Record label in the 1980s (Plumbline Gospel Records PLM-7004).

Another classically trained musician in the Washington area was Henry Davis. Davis was also one of the original founders of the Howard Gospel Choir. Davis was known for the manner in which he incorporated classical piano technique into gospel music. Undine S. Moore, Composer, Arranger, Writer, and Lecturer on the Black Man and His Music (1974) writes that, “Henry is an astonishingly gifted young pianist” (liner notes). Davis along with Smallwood, and Mark Payne from Baltimore, Maryland effortlessly incorporated classical cadenzas, appoggiati, chromatic scales, and other classical piano techniques into their gospel piano playing. Davis later established the Calvary Crusaders (Savoy Records 14376) in the mid 1970s, a small Contemporary gospel group for which he composed and accompanied (Davis, 1975). One can hear his virtuostic piano playing on songs such as “I’m Not Ashamed of Jesus Christ,” and “Yes I Know (He’ll Be With Me)” (Savoy 14376). Davis later recorded an instrumental piano
album of sacred and gospel songs that also displayed his classical piano techniques (NR12703-1).

Davis served as the accompanist for the Voice Supreme of Washington, D.C., of which Robert Fryson, was the founder and director. Fryson earned a Masters and Doctorate in Voice. Fryson composed several hit songs that have become gospel standards such as “Give Yourself To Jesus,” which was recorded by Aretha Franklin on her Amazing Grace album (Atlantic Records 2-906-2), “God Is” which was record by James Cleveland and Southern California Choir (Savoy Records SGL 7035), and “God Is A Wonder to My Soul.” Fryson also wrote numerous songs under a category he termed “Contemporary Sacred Gospel Music.” As a trained singer, it was never Fryson’s desire to sing in the hard traditional vocal style, therefore, he wrote music that required the lighter more formal trained singing style.

The Voices Supreme was one of the country’s first contemporary male gospel quartets. The group was formed in 1968 under the direction of Robert Fryson. Though the group consisted of only three singers, the group’s accompanist was considered a key member of the group, therefore, they were considered a quartet. The group, comprised of Robert Fryson, Anthony Christian, Marvin Carmon, and Henry Davis, performed contemporary gospel and sacred music. They did not sing however with the traditional male TTB or TBB voicing, instead they sang with SAT voicing. Robert Fryson was a lyric Tenor who had a wide range. Anthony Christian also had a wide range so he sang alto, while Marvin Carmon sang tenor. The group established relationships and performed with other gospel artists such as Shirley Caesar, James Cleveland, Edwin Hawkins, Harrison Johnson, and Isaac Douglas (Hackett, n. d., liner notes). Because of
their unique sound which was comprised of smooth choral harmonies and belle canto singing rather than hard gospel singing, these four young men received a trophy at the 1971, 1972, and 1973 GMWA convention, as the “Nation’s Number 1 Male Gospel Group” (Forrest, n. d., liner notes). Undine Moore (1974) writes,

Hearing the Voice Supreme was an experience of deep significance for me. These young men sing their message with deep sincerity and their songs are made more poignant because they understand fully the value and economy of movement and dynamic restraint (Moore, 1974, liner notes).

The Voices Supreme paved the way with the new harmonies and smooth singing style for many other contemporary male gospel.

Harvey Lewis Jr. was also a graduate of Howard University and a former director of the Howard Gospel Choir. Lewis was known however, as the director of the Star of Bethlehem Church of God in Christ Youth Choir. This choir, comprised of over 70 youth and young adults performed, music ranging from gospel anthems to traditional and contemporary gospel music. The choir was one of the few choirs that implemented choreography into their musical performances.

The Morgan State University and the Peabody Conservatory of Music in Baltimore, Maryland had the same impact on gospel music in the Baltimore area as Howard University in the Washington, D. C. area. Numerous community gospel choirs were formed that were led by classically trained musicians. Some such choirs include The Baltimore Fellowship Choir, directed by James Peterson. The Majestic Choral Ensemble, directed by William Sydnor, and the Salvation Choral Ensemble, directed by Fernando Allen. Each of these directors studied at the Peabody Conservatory of Music or under Dr. Nathan Carter at the Morgan State University. These choirs would perform excerpts from Handel’s Messiah, or works like Randel Thompson’s “Alleluia,” and other
great anthems as a part of their standard repertoire. All of these choirs used 4 – 8 part harmony in both their gospel and choral repertoire.

Whitehead (1970) reports that The Baltimore Fellowship Choir was hailed as the foremost versatile choir in the world (liner notes). “The choir was trained to adjust themselves to whatever surrounding or environment in which they happened to be, from the street corner to the smallest church, or to the refined and sophisticated atmosphere of the concert stage” (Whitehead, 1970, liner notes). They also performed Broadway show tunes and spirituals (Whitehead, 1978, liner notes). “As a result of extensive training at the Peabody Institute, director James Peterson trained the choir to perform all types of music from repertoires of the great Masters and Composers to the emotional Gospel” (Whitehead, 1970, liner notes).

During the sixties and seventies, gospel music groups in the Baltimore-Washington area were connected with one another. On a typical program one might hear the Calvary Crusaders, Voices Supreme, Union Temple Young Adult Choir, Thornes Trio, Star of Bethlehem Youth Choir, and The Baltimore Fellowship Choir. In Baltimore, there was a musical climate that fostered the development of the new contemporary sound, whether it was influenced by popular secular genres as seen on the West Coast or by classical genres as seen on the East Coast.

In Virginia, “The Annual Hampton Baptist Ministers Conference,” hosted by Hampton Institute, featured a mass choir for Baptist singers, musicians and directors, who performed all styles of African American sacred music. For many years the choir was directed by Roland Carter, a well-respected arranger of choral music and spirituals. The convention choir’s repertoire included anthems and choral works by the great
masters and spirituals and gospel songs by Black composers (RSR-236). Consequently, many traditional Black Baptist church choir directors who attended the Hampton Conferences began incorporating all styles of gospel music and classical music within their worship services and concert presentations.

During the 1970s, more gospel musicians started performing gospel music on college campuses and within academic settings. Since the 1960s the Howard University Gospel Choir has continued to serve as a model for college gospel choirs. The number of gospel choirs on college campuses had grown so large by the 1970s that in 1972, the National Black Gospel College Choir Workshop (NBGCCW) was formed. The NBGCCW presented by Creative Gospel Inc., a non-profit organization, was three-day gospel event that offered college students an opportunity to enjoy learning about and performing gospel music (Collins, 1999, p. 12). Score Magazine (1994) reports that since 1973, when the organization first offered the three-day conference, the NBGCCW has gained national and local community support, attracting over 10,000 gospel fans across the country each Thanksgiving weekend (November/December, p. 34). One of the first college gospel choirs to gain national recognition as a recording choir however, was the Bowling Green State University Gospel Choir. This group under the leadership of Gregory Smith recorded numerous records on the Savoy Record label during the 1970s (Savoy MG-14315).
New contemporary performing forces emerge during the 1970s.

The influence of classical, jazz, soul, and the rhythm and blues groups of the 1960s sparked the development of many small contemporary groups in the 1970s. New performing forces were established during the 1970s such as the contemporary gospel trio, quartet, and small group. The groups were all male, all female and mixed, however, they all explored the new contemporary sound or a combination of the traditional and contemporary sound.

Two notable female trios were the Thornes Trio (Savoy Records 14373) and the Gospel Girls (Savoy Records 14236) both of whom were produced by James Cleveland on Savoy Records. The Thornes Trio from Baltimore, Maryland consisted of three sisters, Elaine, Naomi, and Selena Thornes who sang with three-part harmony (SAT) in both the traditional and new contemporary style. They also performed songs a cappella. They were accompanied by classically trained pianist Mark Payne. The Gospel Girls, another female trio also sang with three part harmony (SAT) in the traditional and new contemporary style. This group was comprised of Annette May, Betty Hollis, and Burma Floyd all of whom were members of Cleveland’s Southern California Community Choir. Both groups toured with James Cleveland as background vocalists.

A notable mixed trio was B C & S. Brenda Water, Carl Preacher, and Shirley Joiner. This group of musically trained musicians and composers from Houston, Texas performed in the new contemporary gospel style. They would also rearrange traditional hymns and gospel songs in a contemporary style combining traditional gospel vocals with jazz harmonies and classical piano accompaniment. This trio also served as co-directors of the Southeast Inspirational Youth Choir. Contemporary gospel soloist Yolanda Adams
came from this choir and began her recording career with this group. Adams can be heard performing lead vocals on their popular song “My Liberty” (Jewel LPS 0172). Preacher and Joiner continued to direct the choir through the 1990s and Brenda Waters went on to record a successful solo album entitled Believers and Friends (Crystal Rose Records CRD0951) in the 1990s for which Donald Lawrence served as one of the producers.

Another small group that emerged during the 70s was the Voices of Tomorrow directed by Donnie Harper, a small mixed group that combined pop, soul, and rhythm and blues musical styles with the new contemporary gospel music harmonies. This contemporary group paved the way for future artists such as Donald Lawrence (EMI Records 7-24382-02512-2) who would combine R & B techniques with contemporary gospel music. Harper, the group’s director later went on to direct the New Jersey Mass Choir and write Gospel hits such as “Oh The Blood of Jesus” and the well known praise song “Praise Him” (Light Records SPCN 7-115-711097).

The musical contributions of the Hawkins Family.

The Love Alive recording propelled the Hawkins Family back to the fore-front of the gospel scene. A tape of the music was brought to the attention of Light Records president, Ralph Carmichael, by Andrae Crouch (Crouch, 1976, liner notes). Love Alive was the first of a series of five Love Alive recordings that featured the compositions of Walter Hawkins as performed by his Love Center Church Choir. These recordings became the quintessential example of the contemporary gospel choir and gospel rhythm section.
The success of *Love Alive* also signified the beginning and rise of the Hawkin’s Family musical dynasty. The Hawkins were a musical family that brought many innovations to gospel music. The Hawkins developed and refined the gospel rhythm section. The initial rhythm section included Edwin Hawkins (brother) on piano, Daniel Hawkins (brother) on organ, Joel Smith (nephew) on drums, and bass guitar. It would later include Jonathan Dubose on rhythm guitar, Tim Essex on percussion, and Kevin Bond on keyboards. This combination of instruments became the standard accompanying instruments for most gospel groups and choirs. The use of live horns and rich orchestration was also a distinguishing element of the Hawkins music (Light Records LS 5770). The instrumental techniques introduced by the Hawkins Family were emulated by gospel musicians all over the nation.

After recording *Love Alive*, The Hawkins family recorded a studio album entitled *Jesus Christ is the Way* (Light Records LS-5705) and introduced more musical innovations, such as the use of big band jazz vocal and music techniques on the song entitled “Strange” (Light Records LS 5705). Walter also produced a ground breaking solo album featuring his wife Tramaine Hawkins (Light Records LS-5760). Tramaine became very popular and her singing style was emulated by gospel soloists all across the country as a result of her classic vocal leads on songs like “Going Up Yonder,” “Changed,” and “He’s That Kind of Friend” from the *Love Alive* recordings (CGI/Light Records 51416-1012-2; and LS 5735). This album helped to set the standard for the contemporary Black gospel solo recording. The album was fully orchestrated by Shelton Kilby, and was produced in the studio. It contained various musical styles that were new to gospel like the African Carribean style exemplified on “I’ll Be With You.”
Following Tramaine’s album, the Hawkins did a string of solo recordings that were innovative. Brother Daniel recorded one of the first instrumental contemporary jazz gospel albums on Light Records (LS 5781) featuring himself and nephew Joel Smith on all instruments, keyboards, synthesizers, bass, and drums. This record served as an example of the full rhythm section that the Hawkins developed and offered a model for gospel jazz instrumentalists to follow in the future.

The gospel record industry expands.

Light Record’s success attracted new record companies to the gospel field in the 1970s. It also caused many established companies to develop subsidiary companies or Black music divisions that focused on Black gospel music. In 1972 Billy Ray Hearn started the Myrr record label for Word records in an attempt to reach people who had never been reached with the then-current music styles. *(Totally Gospel Magazine*, June, 1987, p. 34). Later in 1976, Hearn left Myrr Records to form Sparrow Records because he believed there was a need for a more contemporary christian record label. Hearn later recorded artists such as Deniece Williams, Steve Green, Leon Patillo, and Be Be and Ce Ce Winans on the Sparrow label *(Totally Gospel Magazine*, June, 1987, p. 35).

As the major White gospel labels came to the Black gospel music field, they reintroduced the concept of selling sheet music. Since the clientele for this new contemporary music included musically literate audiences, many record companies also entered the music publishing business, producing songbooks and octavos (4 vocal scores plus piano parts) of their record releases. By the 1970’s, White publishing companies were publishing Gospel sheet music in octavos by African American composers. The
sale of Gospel sheet music also brought Kenneth Morris back into prominence as a music publisher and distributor. By the 1970s, Morris became the first and sole Black music distributor for all publishers of gospel music. According to Boyer (1992c) he began distributing the music of such artists as Andrea Crouch, Edwin and Walter Hawkins, Sandi Patti, Amy Grant, and Bill Gaither (p. 326). There was no gospel music that the Morris Music Company could not provide (Boyer, 1992c, p. 326).

The rising competition among traditional gospel record companies and the contemporary gospel record companies led to new innovations in gospel recordings. Record companies began producing compilation recordings that contained several gospel hits by various artists from past years. Though many recording companies successfully recorded individual gospel groups and artists, they established the practice of releasing recordings that contained the most popular hit songs of several of their artists. Compilations also served as anthologies or collector’s items for gospel music fans and sometimes included the most popular songs of one artist. In the 1990s, a compilation called the *WOW Gospel Series* was introduced and released (Verity Records 0760121591). This compilation was unique because it contained the top gospel hits of major gospel artists from various record labels and was released annually (Collins, 1997, p. 4). By purchasing this recording one could obtain all of popular gospel songs from the previous year.
New possibilities for gospel artists.

By the end of the 1970s, Contemporary music had developed such a following that Edwin Hawkins felt the need to establish another gospel music workshop. Though there were two other major gospel conventions, Dorsey’s National Convention of Gospel Choirs and Choruses and Cleveland’s Gospel Music Workshop of America, Edwin Hawkins started the “Edwin Hawkins Music and Arts Seminar” as a means of supporting the younger more contemporary gospel artists (Christian, 1997, pp. 30-33). In addition this convention included instruction in other arts. Thus the three major gospel conventions had three different focuses. Dorsey’s convention (NCGCC) focused on traditional gospel with a church music focus. Cleveland’s convention (GMWA) focused on traditional gospel with a community and professional choir focus. The Hawkins convention (EHMAS) focused on contemporary gospel music with a community and professional choir focus. In addition the National Baptist Convention continued to convene and they published The New National Baptist Hymnal in 1976 which contained 4 Tindley songs, and the works of other gospel pioneers (Boyer, 1992, p. 57). The Church of God in Christ continued their national conventions at which Mattie Moss Clark and her daughters annually formed and recorded a mass choir.

Traditional and contemporary gospel music spread abroad through a regular television show. Totally Gospel (1987) reports that Bobby Jones started and hosted the Bobby Jones Television Show in 1976 (September, p. 44). This was the first nationally syndicated gospel television show on BET (Black Entertainment Television) that continues to be aired world-wide on the American Christian Television, U.S. Armed Forces Network (Untitled in Totally Gospel, September, 1987, p. 44).
The contemporary era was known for its expansion of the gospel music vocabulary that fostered wider audience appeal. The contemporary era also brought great versatility to gospel music. Crouch, known for writing gospel songs in all musical styles, began planting the seeds for a word/ministry movement in which the words would become the distinguishing factor of gospel music. Crouch also paved the way for gospel music’s versatility by incorporating all musical styles with gospel words or texts without compromising the gospel message. Crouch’s use of the various musical styles along with his mass appeal among non-Black audiences helped to pave the way for Contemporary Christian music, the White gospel genre.

EMERGING TRENDS IN GOSPEL MUSIC (1980s)

1980s

The expansion of the gospel recording industry.

Gospel music evolved dramatically during the 1980s for various reasons. One contributing factor was the enormous expansion of the gospel recording industry that provided greater exposure for gospel music to new audiences and encouraged gospel artists to record music that appealed to various target audiences. Southern (1997) reported that
the popularity of gospel increased at an enormous rate during the last two decades of the century. Responding to the unprecedented commercial success of Black church music, the pop-music industry expanded the number of categories allotted to Black-music genres on the charts—gospel, soul, pop, and spiritual (Contemporary Christian was generally reserved for White gospel). Black gospel artist consistently won places in all the categories on Top 10 lists of the sales charts and top 40 on radio play lists. In addition to touring on the concert circuit, young gospel groups contributed songs to films, television sitcoms, and video soundtracks; provided back-up vocals for albums and live solo concerts; serve as introductory acts for solo concerts by the celebrated; with their own songs; and produced albums (p. 607).

Maultsby (1992) reports that “though major companies largely ignored gospel music during the first four decades after World War II, they joined the gospel bandwagon in the 1980s” (p. 27). This growth is evidenced in the number of new gospel record companies that rose in the 1980’s.

Although several Black gospel record companies were formed in the 1980s, even more White owned labels started Black music divisions. For example, Benson Records started a Black music division called Onyx Records, headed by Gentry Mccrary (Bell, 1983. Liner notes). Onyx Records produced the Richard Smallwood Singers (Onyx International Records R3803), Keith Pringle (Onyx International Records RO 3784), Vanessa Bell (Onyx International Records R3831), Thomas Whitfield (Onyx International Records R3809) and others. Word started a Black Music division called Rejoice Records, that recorded artists such as Shirley Caesar, Douglas Miller, Albertina Walker, Tramaine Hawkins, The Clark Sisters, The Mighty Clouds of Joy, The Richard Smallwood Singers, and Milton Brunson and the Thompson Community Singers (Rejoice RecordsWR 6-8419).

Light Records became the number one record company of contemporary Black gospel music during the 1980s. While national companies like Word, Benson, and
A&M Records followed Light in producing many of the top gospel artists during the 1980s, there were also many independent Black owned labels that started during the 1980s. For example Raina Bundy launched Lection Records in 1989 that was distributed by Polygram Records (Collins, 1999, p. 15). Among her artist roster were Edwin Hawkins, Bass-Baritone Wintley Phipps, Witness, Keith Staten, and Michael Brooks. Bundy also started Fixit Record in 1991. Although Lection and Fixit Records were not successful, Bundy later started Harmony Records in 1997 that became a successful label (Collins, 1999, p. 15).

Though gospel artists were signed to the major national record companies, they were not always treated fairly. In reaction to the mistreatment, James Cleveland ended his long association with Savoy Records and started his own record company called “King James Records” in 1985. Smith (1987) reports that James Cleveland had the vision to start this label so that gospel artists could have their own label, and be involved with every aspect of recording (p. 32). The King James Record Label included artists such as The GMWA Mass Choir, James Cleveland, Cleveland Singers, Southern California Community Choir, Los Angeles Gospel Messengers, Billy Preston, and the Craig Brothers (Smith, 1987b, p. 21).

Maulsby (1992) reported that “independent gospel labels being aware of the cross-cultural popularity of this music and its pervasive influence on popular styles, began to team up with independent companies to record and distribute gospel music” (p. 27). While many independent record companies could produce products of quality, it was the distribution process that kept them from growing to become major national companies (Hastin, 1994, p. 41). The large number of recording companies and artists
led to competition for radio airplay, distribution deals, and sales. This competition however, caused record producers to improve the quality of their recordings as well as the packaging.

Record companies also began producing new products based upon new market needs. Since many of the recordings had become so advanced and complex with orchestration, many of the songs were difficult to perform in a live concert setting, so record companies began producing instrumental tracks for their recordings. These tracks contained only the music from the recordings without the vocals. This allowed both the artists and amateur performers to sing the songs with the same rhythm and orchestral accompaniment used on the recording. The Benson Company for example began releasing Hi-Low Tracks in 1988. They not only produced instrumental tracks of their top selling songs and artists but they produced the tracks in various keys (Smith, 1988a, p. 8).

Gospel expands nationally, and abroad through radio, television, and concert tours.

All of these changes caused gospel music to become a big business and major industry. Maultsby (1992) reports that the expansion of the music field in the 1980s led to other changes for the gospel music field. Maultsby (1992) writes,

Radio, in turn, became a promotional tool for these companies and the growing number of gospel music promoters. Forming a national network, record companies, radio stations, retail outlets, and promoters brought unprecedented exposure to gospel music. The demand for the gospel sound and its beat let to the appropriation of this music by purveyors of popular styles (p. 27).

Since the main objective of record companies was to expose their artists and their products, they began to target radio stations across the country in order to gain exposure
and airplay. In addition to the many local gospel radio shows, many new nationally syndicated gospel radio and television shows began during the 1980s. “In 1980 Chicago celebrated the *Golden Jubilee of Gospel Music* with a series of events through the year, climaxing with *The Roots of Gospel* a pageant that was broadcast on television in November of 1980” (Southern, 1997, p. 604). In 1983, a nationally syndicated gospel radio program, called *inspirations Across America* was started with Burke Johnson as its host. The show continues to air weekly in over 90 markets and features contemporary gospel music.

In television, Deborah Smith Barney also began producing a half-hour show in the 1980s on WDIV channel 4 in Detroit called *Godsounds*, hosted by Darryl Ford (*Totally Gospel*, May, 1987, p. 7). Bass-Baritone Wintley Phipps hosted a gospel magazine styled program called the *Stellar Showcase* (Smith, 1988a, p. 8). *The Bobby Jones Gospel Music Review* which started as a weekly gospel show in 1976 on the Black Entertainment Television Network expanded from a half-hour show to an hour show during the 1980s (Collins, 1999, p. 49). In 1982, a documentary video entitled *Say Amen Somebody* was filmed in Houston, Texas. This film reviewed the growth of gospel in America and featured Gospel pioneers such as Thomas Dorsey, Sallie Martin, and Willie Mae Ford Smith (Wilks, 1986, p. 43).

It was also during the 1980s that two significant gospel trade magazines originated. These magazines were *Totally Gospel Magazine* (1986-1990) of which T. J. Hemphill was publisher, and *Score Magazine* (1989) of which Teresa Hairston was publisher. *Score Magazine* later changed its name to *Gospel Today*. Both magazines
reported the monthly or bi-monthly accounts of developments within the Black gospel music field.

**Gospel artists present major tours and rock style concerts.**

In addition to promoting gospel music via radio, television, and magazines, one performance practice that developed and expanded in the 1980s was the rock style concert. While gospel artists had performed in major arenas all over the world, their performances were primarily gospel concerts, however, during the 1980s, these concerts took on the production qualities of major rock and secular shows. Many artists began to present big concerts with major technical production that included light shows, special effects, big sound, and choreographed movement. Since the recordings had become so musically sophisticated and technically advanced it was necessary for artists to hire sound engineers, extra rhythm and orchestral musicians as well as additional vocalists in order to reproduce their music live and achieve a sound that was equal or better than their recordings. Some of the artists that led in the big rock style concerts were Andrae Crouch, The Hawkins Family, The Winans, and Commissioned.

Commissioned, an all-male contemporary group debuted in the 1980s with original members Fred Hammond, Michael Brooks, Keith Staten, Mitchell Jones, Mike Williams, and Karl Reid. After the release of their second recording, they launched the *Go Tell Somebody Tour*. Smith (1986) reports on a live concert featuring Commissioned.

Commissioned was one of the first groups to use rock star theatrical techniques in their performance. Light show, sequenced and live music, etc. For example, with the stage engulfed in smoke, generated from the fog machines, a mystical voice boomed through the sound system expounding on the subject of evangelism. While this was taking place, the group positioned themselves, waiting for the cue to do what they do best. As the smoke subsided, scream filled the entire building
as Fred Hammond hit the first note of the moving ballad “Who Do Men Say I Am”... The crowd didn’t have a minute to breathe as the group went from one number to the next (pp. 41-42).

The budgets required to produce these large rock style concerts were much larger in comparison to the traditional church concerts or even concerts held in large auditoriums. Gospel artists now had to pay for sound technicians, lighting technicians, road managers, business managers, stage managers, back ground vocalists, soloists, rhythm musicians, orchestral musicians, costumes/uniforms, hair stylists, make-up artists and wardrobe personnel, transportation and lodging, and sales staff. Therefore, artists began to charge large fees for their performances in order to cover their concert expenses as well as honorariums. While some artists managed themselves, most of the top national recording artists began to be managed and promoted by professional management companies rather than by themselves or individuals within their own groups. In order to cover the expense of these grand concerts many artists began charging fees that went up into the thousands of dollars.

**Competition affects gospel music.**

Though artists moved from one label to another, they did not always move to a company that allowed them to retain their former musical style. Vanessa Bell Armstrong’s hit song, “You Bring Out The Best In Me,” was a crossover song that made it to the Billboard Black singles chart (Record Review, in *Totally Gospel*, March, 1988, p. 41). This song was considered spiritually vague, because its lyrics did not overtly express God as the source of the songs message (Record Review, in *Totally Gospel*, March, 1988, p. 41). Many gospel listeners wondered if the song was gospel or R & B
and questioned whether Bell had crossed over to secular music (Record Review, in *Totally Gospel*, March, 1988, pg.41).

After recording two successful albums with the sacred music recording company, Light Records, Tramaine Hawkins signed with A & M Records. Similar to Vanessa Bell’s experience, the production and musical style drastically changed for Tramaine Hawkins from traditional and contemporary music to a disco and R & B style of gospel. The hit songs from *Freedom* (A & M Records), were being played on secular stations and being danced to in discos. And as with the Bell album, the lyrics were also questionable. A Record review in *Totally Gospel Magazine* described the recording as follows.

What direction is Tramaine moving in? The music is great but the lyrics are questionable. They’re not strong enough for gospel and too weak for secular purists. Getting back to the music; if music with a strong beat fits your taste, this album is for you. “Freedom,” “The Rock,” and “Power” can groove with the best of today’s music. “Daniel” is the closest thing to a gospel cut here, showcasing Tramaine’s expressive vocals (Record Review, in *Totally Gospel*, November, 1987, p. 45).

**Gospel festivals, competitions, and commercials.**

The big business of gospel music attracted many large corporations to the gospel field. K-mart, for example, in its attempt to gear a campaign toward the Black consumer, signed BeBe Winans to produce and perform radio advertisements (*Totally Gospel*, May, 1988, p. 12). Other major corporations such as McDonald’s, Kentucky Fried Chicken, Quaker Oats, and Wrigley’s Chewing Gum also sponsored gospel festivals and competitions (*Totally Gospel*, November, 1987, p. 5; *Gospel Today*, March/April, 1995, p. 17; *Gospel Today*, November/December, 1996, p. 2). The competitions were usually divided into one or more preliminary events, culminating in a large concert or
competition. Participants included church, college and university gospel choirs, small independent gospel groups and solo performers. The venues ranged from local churches to New York's Carnegie Hall. The corporate sponsors saw their support of these gospel festivals as a demonstration of their commitment to local African American franchises, and the communities in which they did business (n. a., 1995, pp. 24-28; n. a., 1996, pp. 11-13).

Other individuals and promoters also began sponsoring festivals. Pam Morris, Coordinator of Special Events for the Mayor's Office in Chicago coordinated the Chicago Gospelfest. This two day festival became one of the nation's largest outdoor gospel concerts festivals with attendance rising over 30,000 (n. a., 1995, p. 57). This large festival was reminiscent of the large concerts sponsored by promoters like Joe Bostic and Pauline Well Lewis in the 1950s and 1960s. Gospel artists also began to unite to sponsor festivals for specific causes. For example the Gospel Manufacturer and Artist Coalition (GMAC) and the Gospel Music Workshop of America (GMWA) united on Detroit's Belle Isle in August of 1987 to sponsor G.U.T.S.A.Y. (Gospel Artist United To Save America's Youth). In this mammoth event, leading gospel artists presented a nine-hour gospel music concert to raise funds and take a stand against teen pregnancy, youth drug and alcohol abuse, violent crime, teen suicide and A.I.D.S. Over 50,000 people attended this event (Barney, 1987, p. 12).
The state of gospel music awards.

All of the attention on gospel music opened doors around the world and gospel artists began to receive recognition for their contributions. In 1982 Thomas Dorsey became the first Black musician to be voted into the Gospel Music Association Hall of Fame (Collins, 1993, p. 10). This award was significant since the Gospel Music Association primarily focused on Contemporary Christian music and artists. Collins (2000) reported that James Cleveland was the first gospel artist to receive a star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame in 1981 (p. 7). Also during the 1980s, Totally Gospel (1987) reported that Albertina Walker, was honored by the Black Gospel Association of the United Kingdom with a Lifetime Achievement Award (May, p. 7). Though Black gospel artists were receiving recognition in many arenas, and selling more recordings than ever before, they were not receiving recognition within the overall Christian music field. In spite of the growth of the gospel music industry, many Blacks complained that they were not being recognized by the established musical organizations and awards organizations. Consequently many Black gospel artists accused the music industry of unfairness and racism. This accusation stemmed from many practices. Firstly, since all record companies did not invest as much money into the promotion of Black gospel records many popular Black gospel artists were not as well known to the general population. Concerning the Grammy Awards, Hemphill (1988) questioned,

why hasn't the Thompson Community Choir (probably the hottest choir in the nation) ever won a Grammy, or Vanessa Bell Armstrong, or Thomas Whitfield (his I'm Encouraged album was #1 in Billboard Magazine for 1987)? (p. 4)

Many Gospel artists expressed concerns that secular artists who returned to the gospel field to record gospel albums, won Grammy’s over long time gospel artists who
had quality recordings (Smith, 1988c, pp. 18-19). Where many singers were once compelled to choose between gospel and popular music, they now freely moved between genres and often recorded both gospel and secular music on a single album.

Although long time gospel artist Bobby Jones won a Grammy it was for his 1983 duet with country singing star Barbara Mandrell (Collins, 1999, p. 7). This caused many Black gospel artists to raise questions concerning the fairness of the prestigious awards. These practices angered many long time gospel artists (Hewitt, 1987, pp. 40-43). The fact that well-known secular artists recorded gospel albums and won Grammys over long time gospel artists, caused many gospel artist to believe the politics of the Grammy’s played a larger role in selecting winners than the quality of the music itself (Hemphill, 1988, p. 4). In addition, the gospel portion of the Grammy’s was most often cut from the televised portion of the program and many of the awards were presented before the show aired (Smith, 1988c, p. 18).

In an effort to acknowledge the Black gospel music listening audience’s choices for best artists Totally Gospel Magazine presented a Readers Poll Award (Totally Gospel, March, 1988, pp. 34-37). In addition GMWA who had already started the Gospel Music Excellence Awards in the early 1980s, decided to add additional awards categories (Collins, 1994, p. 11). The 26 different categories acknowledged artists and producers of traditional, contemporary, and urban gospel music (Score Magazine, 1991, pp. 41-42). Through these awards members of the gospel community were able to vote for the gospel artists of their choice. Finally in 1985 the “Stellar Awards” were implemented. The Stellar Awards was a prestigious nationally televised award ceremony for Black Gospel artists that awarded performance in the various style categories, such as contemporary,
traditional, and urban gospel (Collins, 1994, p. 10). The Stellar Awards were similar to the Grammy’s however, the nominations were given based upon record sales and chart listings as well as a voting body. This process gave gospel artists a greater sense of fairness in the awards selection process.

**Historical research, scholarship, and documentation of the gospel art form.**

While the gospel recording industry expanded greatly during the 1980s, gospel music also received additional exposure through scholarly studies that produced educational resources and through the production of new gospel hymnals. The Smithsonian had already begun its documentation of the early history of African American gospel music during the 1970s. This written documentation resulted in the publishing of a book entitled *We’ll Understand It Better By And By* (Reagon, 1992). During the 1980s the Smithsonian used radio programs to introduce wider audiences to gospel composers and their music as recorded by various gospel artists. One such broadcast, hosted by Bernice Johnson-Reagon, explored the stories of various pioneering gospel composers and showcased their music. Throughout the show Reagon provided historical commentaries on each composer and each song and interviewed living gospel artists who played a significant role, recorded or remembered the music of the pioneers of which she spoke. These radio broadcasts resulted in the production of a collection of cassette recordings and a companion text entitled *Wade In The Water*. *Wade In The Water* featured examples of various early African American sacred musical song styles including shouts, lined or metered hymns, oral and concert spirituals, gospel hymns and
gospel songs. The Series was a collaboration between National Public Radio and the Smithsonian and it was published by National Public Radio Outreach (Reagon, 1994).

By the 1980s, many denominations began publishing hymnals which featured early African American sacred musical songs. Boyer (1992d) reports that the United Methodist Church released the landmark publication entitled *Songs of Zion* in 1981 that featured the hymns of Tindley and other gospel pioneers (p. 57). Southern (1997) writes like its predecessor [Gospel Pearls], Songs of Zion made available, for the first time in a single source, all the various religious song-types belonging to the Black tradition – spirituals and jubilees, both folk and arranged; early gospel hymns of Tindley, Campbell, and Dorsey; Contemporary Gospelsongs of Bradford, Cleveland, Crouch, Hawkins, Martin, and Morris, to cite but a few. In addition the hymnal includes the standard and gospel hymns by White writers that over the years have been “transposed and arranged and sung as new songs of Zion” (p. 605).

This hymnal which was released sixty years after the earlier landmark, *Gospel Pearls*, helped to make the songs of the pioneering Black gospel composers more assessable. In addition Southern (1997) writes that this hymnal was significant because this collection of hymns, like Richard Allen’s hymnal of 1801 and *Gospel Pearls* of 1921, cut across denominational lines in its appeal to Black Christians (p. 605). The Episcopal Church also published a hymnal in 1981 entitled *Lift Every Voice and Sing*. This hymnal included the hymns of Tindley and other gospel pioneers (Boyer, 1992d, p. 57).

Southern (1997) contends that “perhaps the biggest event of the 1980’s for scholars of Black church music was the publication for the first time, of an official Church of God In Christ hymnal entitled *Yes Lord*” (p. 605). “The title *Yes Lord*, reflected a practice of Charles H. Mason, founder of COGIC Inc. who in 1896 would pull the congregation together in commitment and spiritual communion by singing the dynamic, tuneful chant whose text repeated the phrase ‘Yes Lord’ a number of times”
(Southern, 1997, p. 605). Southern (1997) argued that Yes Lord was distinctly different from other hymnals of the past in several ways (p. 605). Southern (1997) writes,

In its collection of 506 songs, the handling of the accompaniment, in particular reflects the importance given to instruments and polyphonic textures in the Pentecostal tradition. Except for the old standard hymns (which retain their conventional four-part harmonizations) the accompaniments are lively and imaginative, promising an extra dimension of richness and excitement to the performance of the songs (p. 605).

This hymnal is also significant because the major gospel composers of four generations were represented within the hymnal from Tindley to Dorsey, to Roberta Martin and Kenneth Morris to the generations of Andrae Crouch (Southern, 1997, p. 605).

**New gospel artists rise in the 1980s.**

As the Hawkins Family moved away from choir and small group recordings toward the development of their individual solo careers, other choirs and groups came to the forefront of the gospel music scene to carry the Hawkin’s mantle of contemporary choir and small group singing. One choir was Rev. Milton Brunson and the Thompson Community Singers (affectionately known as “The Tommies”) of Chicago. Though this choir had been singing and recording traditional gospel music for over twenty years, it was in the 1980s, they began producing high quality contemporary gospel choir recordings for the Word Record group. The “Tommies” maintained their status as the number one gospel choir for about 10 years, from early 1980s to the early 1990s. During this time the choir’s musical staff included composers such as Darius Brooks, Percy Bady, and Carlis Moody. Prior to the 1980's other notable gospel artists such as Jessie Dixon, Donald Alfred, and Calvin Bridges served as musical directors and composers for
the Thompson Community Choir. These composers consistently composed number one chart breakers.

The “Tommies” had several distinguishing factors, the most notable being that they further perfected the contemporary gospel choir sound established by Walter Hawkins in his Love Alive recording series. The group usually opened their concerts with a lively up-tempo song that was filled with rhythmic movement and precision choreography. Under the direction and conducting of Tyrone Block the choir offered many energetic performances and set new trends in choreography for gospel choirs. Another distinguishing factor was that Rev. Brunson was committed to ministry. While their concerts were lively and exciting, the end goal was always to evangelize and win converts to the Christian faith (Smith, 1988b, p. 33). The “Tommies” maintained a tight rhythm section, had the big polished choir sound, and incorporated the performance of live horns into their gospel recordings. Though the use of live horns was not new, the “Tommies” set a new precedent for the role that orchestral instruments would play in gospel compositions. The Thompson Community Choir’s use of horn and strings was significant because, prior to this time, orchestration was used as a peripheral enhancement rather than as an integral part of the musical performance. The horns and strings used in the “Tommies” recordings, however, were an integral part of each composition (Myrrh Records WC 1805).

The desire to emulate Brunson’s group and to perform fully orchestrated music, paved the way for the emergence and acceptance of the electronic synthesizer in the late 1970’s and 1980s. Synthesizers could be used to provide the various orchestral voices, thus giving a distinct sound to gospel music. The inclusion of the synthesizer also helped
to give gospel music a unique sound just as the Hammond organ had done during the golden age (Bellinger, 1992).

The “Tommies” not only set a new standard for gospel choirs but they inspired a host of other gospel choirs. In addition many choirs across the country rose to meet the standard of excellence presented by the Thompson Community choir, often using the same vocal stylings and musical instrumentation. Other contemporary gospel choirs that rose during the 1980s were choirs such as Ricky Dillard and the New Generation Choir (Muscle Shoals Sound Gospel Records MSCD 8008), Mark Hubbard and the United Voices for Christ (Tyscot Records 51416-1239-2), Pastor Donald Alfred and the Progressive Radio choir (Sparrow Records SPR 1251), O’lando Draper and Associates (Word Records EK48560), Wilmington-Chester Mass Choir (Sweet Rain Records SR115), and Hezekiah Walker and the Love Fellowship Choir (Sweet Rain Records SR119).

As the Hawkins Family moved toward their personal solo careers in the 1980s Richard Smallwood and the Smallwood Singers rose to perfect and polish the mixed contemporary small group sound. The Smallwood Singers purposely distorted words and used vocal manipulation to create special musical effects. Other distinguishing elements of the Smallwood sound was the manner in which Smallwood combined classical piano technique, polyphonic and contrapuntal singing technique, dissonance and extended chords in the vocal lines, and rhythmic precision, with Traditional soulful singing (Reagon, 1992b, pp. 17-18). The original Smallwood Singers included the singers Lisa Burroughs, Carolene Evans, Dottie Jones, Jackie Ruffin, Wesley Boyd and Richard Smallwood. Their debut album released in 1982 on Onyx International Records, a
division of Benson Record (R3803), took the nation by storm and featured many popular songs including “Call The Lord,” “I Love The Lord,” “Glorify The Lord,” and “The Resurrection.” The Smallwood singers later signed with Rejoice Records, a division of Word, where they recorded their biggest selling record in the 1980s entitled *Textures* (Rejoice Records 7-01-501128-X, 1987) which featured “Jesus You’re The Center Of My Joy.” After the release of *Textures* the Smallwood Singers recorded several CDs and traveled all over the world. The Smallwood Singers were later featured in the touring musical production of *Sing Mahalia, on Handel’s Messiah: A Soulful Celebration* (Reprise Records 9 26980-2), a CD dedicated to Rosa Parks entitled *A Tribute to Mrs. Rosa Parks* (Verity Records J2 3013), and various television and radio broadcasts.

**Traditional gospel music still thrives.**

While the 1980s saw the development and expansion of contemporary gospel music, traditional gospel music continued to thrive during the 1980s. Traditional gospel music had one of its biggest hits during the 1980s; Barnes and Brown’s “Rough Side of the Mountain” (Atlantic International Records AIR CSR-10059). Smith (1986) reports that this album remained on Billboard charts for more than 170 weeks and sold more than 500,000 units (Smith, 1986a, p. 7). With this album, Barnes and Brown sold more recordings than any one artist had in the history of gospel music to that date (Williams, 1988, p. 21). Williams (1988) also reported that “Barnes and Brown also received an award for the “Spiritual Album of the Year” from *Cash Box Magazine* and a 1987 Grammy nomination for “Best Soul Album” for the *Rough Side of the Mountain* album” (p. 23). What made the success of this recording such an anomaly was that with all of the
advancements in technology and recording during the 1980s, this traditional song was recorded with very little accompaniment, and became a classic traditional hit. It demonstrated that there was still a demand for traditional gospel music.

As a result of the demand for traditional music Savoy Record began re-issuing many of its classic traditional albums during the 1980s. Smith (1986a) reports that Savoy offered special pricing to make the recordings available to new audiences (p. 7). They reissued recordings on artist such as the Barrett Sisters, the Williams Brothers, Clara Ward Singers, James Cleveland, Jessy Dixon, Rosetta Tharpe, the Caravans, Roberta Martin and others (Smith, 1986a, p. 7). While many younger gospel performers and listeners embraced the new contemporary and urban gospel styles, many gospel listeners continued to prefer the early traditional style of gospel music. Many gospel artists who recorded in the traditional style during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s continued to record traditional gospel music during the 1980s.

While most of the Caravans developed successful solo careers, Shirley Caesar’s longevity within the gospel field brought her many accolades. Swift (1986) reported that by the 1980s Caesar was awarded numerous awards including the SESAC Lifetime Achievement Award, the NAACP Image Award for her positive influence on the Black community, and five Grammy Awards (p. 33). Caesar, who had been nominated for Grammy’s more times than any other Gospel artist, was the first Black to win a Grammy (Swift, 1986, p. 33). As an evangelist, Caesar started the Calvary Outreach Mission and the Shirley Caesar Outreach Ministry food program through which hundreds are fed during the Thanksgiving and Christmas seasons (Swift, 1986, pp. 32). A portion of the
profits from Caesar’s concerts were used to buy food, clothing, shelter, and to provide other forms of assistance for needy families.

Shirley Caesar along with James Cleveland pioneered a new practice among traditional gospel artists that caused their music to appeal to both older and younger audiences. Though neither artist changed their traditional vocal style, they updated their musical accompaniment so that it was more contemporary. This combination of traditional vocals with contemporary accompaniment appealed to young and older gospel listeners. Both Cleveland and Caesar worked with musicians and groups who were familiar with both the traditional and contemporary musical styles. By collaborating with some of the best and brightest young musicians and choirs Cleveland, Caesar, Walker, Norwood and others were able to adapt their traditional singing for the changing times.

While the contemporary quartets were growing to prominence during the 1970s and 1980s, the traditional quartets continued to perform as well. Smith (1987a) reports that the Dixie Hummingbirds celebrated more than 50 years of singing during the 1980s (pp. 40-41). Many other quartets such as the Jackson Southernaires and the Williams Brother also continued to perform in the traditional quartet style. The Williams Brothers (Malaco Records MAL 4400) however, began to apply the same principles that Caesar and Cleveland applied to traditional gospel music. Though they performed traditional quartet vocals, they adapted their musical accompaniment making it more contemporary.

Not only did the traditional style continue with soloists and quartets but a new performing force, the Mega Mass choir, was developed and refined during the 1980s. While large mass choirs were formed at the various national Gospel music conventions, several states formed statewide mass choirs that would record and perform together on a
regular basis. Choir’s like the Georgia Mass Choir (Savoy Record SGL 7082), Florida Mass (Savoy Records SGL 7034), and New Jersey Mass (Light Records SPCN 7-115-711097) were formed as a result of their participation with the Gospel Music Workshop of America. The Gospel Music Workshop of America sponsored nightly musicals at its annual convention that featured choirs from across the country. In order to consolidate some of the groups, some states started combining their choirs to form statewide mass choirs that could represent the entire state in a single performance. The large choirs also proved to be financially beneficial to recording companies. Milton Biggham, executive producer for Savoy records stood at the forefront of this movement as an organizer and recording producer of most of the initial Mega Mass Choirs in the country. In 1988, Frank Williams, organized and was lead singer for the Mississippi Mass Choir. The http://www.afgen.com/Gospel1.html website (2001) reports that Mississippi Mass Choir’s first live recording (Malaco Records 6003) “was an immediate success with *Billboard* and *Score Magazine* naming it the number one spiritual album of the year” (paragraph 26).

**Gospel music is redefined and a new musical movement emerges.**

By the 1980s, traditional and contemporary gospel music had been refined and accepted within most traditional denominational African American churches and contemporary gospel music had been accepted in many non-Traditional denominational churches. While the contemporary style introduced by Crouch, Edwin and Walter Hawkins was now accepted in most churches, some gospel artists continued to push the limits and expand the boundaries of gospel music by incorporating musical elements of R
& B, rap and hip hop with traditional and contemporary gospel music. This factor produced the greatest change within gospel music during the 1980s and 1990s. Artists that stood at the forefront of this movement were Andrae Crouch, the Winans, the Clark Sisters, Tramaine Hawkins, John Kee, Take 6, and others.

During this period many gospel artists began to affirm gospel music as “the gospel message set to music” (Butler, 1979, p. 11). By redefining gospel music in this way gospel artists laid the foundation for a new movement in gospel music in which the “words” or “text” became the constant or identifying factor for gospel songs instead of the musical characteristics they contained. With such a broad definition, any style of music could be combined with the core African American aesthetic and gospel music elements to create a different style of gospel song. The resulting musical styles created controversy concerning the meaning and identity of gospel music and began a new era in gospel music that would develop and expand through the end of the century (Southern, 1997, p. 608).

Andrae Crouch sows seeds for new musical movements.

This new movement started at the beginning of the decade and Andrae Crouch paved the way to this new urban contemporary music and word/ministry era (Southern, 1997, p. 607). It was in 1980 that Andrae Crouch released a recording entitled Don’t Give Up (Warner Bros. Records BSR 3513). Though Crouch’s earlier recordings Take Me Back (CGI Records CGD 1135), This is Another Day (Light Records LS 5683) and I’ll Be Thinking Of You (LS 5763) exemplified versatility, this recording stood out significantly because Crouch used the current R&B musical elements of the day as well

178
as secular artists to perform them. For this recording, Crouch signed with Warner Brothers, a major secular recording company. Consequently, their goal was to appeal to a more urban audience. This recording caused controversy within the church community to which Andrae Crouch responded, “we are to reach people where they are, therefore our music must be appealing.” This response, based upon the biblically based “great commission,” laid the foundation for two streams of gospel artists that would change the course of gospel music over the next two decades.

The first stream of artists held the belief that the gospel message could be placed within any musical style, and used this rationale to merge many new musical styles with traditional gospel music and the gospel message. By doing this, they believed that they could develop new gospel music styles that would appeal to younger or non-traditional audiences. This practice had occurred throughout the history of gospel music. From the 1920s on, each decade had witnessed the influence of secular styles on gospel music.

Southern (1997) writes that

the modernist, on the other hand, eagerly grasp the opportunity to use “contemporary gospel” as a way to reach wider audiences with its attractive, even seductive, music and message of inspiration (which are sometimes ambiguous about the singer’s relations to humanity of God) (Southern, 1997, p. 608).

As a result of Andrae Crouch’s influence, another family rose during the 1980s that created a musical dynasty similar to the earlier Hawkins dynasty. Andrae Crouch presented and produced the Winans Brothers, a group of four brothers, in their first album on Light Records entitled *Introducing The Winans* (Light Record LS 5782). While their texts were scripturally based, the secular musical influence made their music very appealing to younger audiences. Their first recording took the nation by storm. They
followed up their first recording with several recordings that took them to the forefront of contemporary male quartets. Collins (1999) writes that

The Winans - expanded gospel's boundaries with their R&B fusion-tinged brand of music targeting youth, advancing contemporary music forward with their trademark grooves. Propelled by highly stylized production and secular friendly marketing strategies, they served up a string of successes that lined a celebrated path to the top of the charts (p. 7).

As a result of their success, the Winans were one of the first gospel acts to score platinum success. The Winans' success caught the ears and eye of producer Quincy Jones and they eventually moved from Light Records to Qwest Records, Quincy Jones' record label. Upon making this move, not only did the Winans achieve an unprecedented popular cross-over appeal but their music became more heavily influenced by rhythm and blues, rap, and hip-hop. The Winans became very successful and captured new audiences. Smith (1988d) reports however, that their music was criticized by their long time fans for being too secular especially since it featured secular artists (p. 28). Marvin Winans (1988) argued to the contrary,

> When you need to get a certain group to hear your music then you've got to go get that certain group. If we just wanted gospel people to hear the music, we would have gotten gospel artists... We recognize that fact that because we are gospel artists we're only going to be played on so many stations. In order to change that we needed to get some people to help change that circumstance, not change our music, but make sure other people heard us (Smith, 1988d, p. 28).

Though many of the Winans Family members recorded, Southern (1997) reports that the members who were most influential after the Winans Brothers in establishing successful career and crossover appeal into mainstream audiences were Be Be and Ce Ce Winans (Capitol Records CDP 546883) (Southern, 1997, p. 608). Not only was their music heavily influenced by R & B, but they begin a practice of replacing Traditional Christian words like “God” and “Jesus” with words like “love,” “light,” and “Him.”
Southern (1997) reports that as a way to reach wider audiences, their music even became seductive, and their message became more inspirational than spiritual (p. 608). The messages were often ambiguous so that one could not tell whether the singers relationship was with man or God (Southern, 1997, p. 608). In addition they recorded many songs with secular artist such as Whitney Houston and others. While these practices were marketing tools that won them appeal in mainstream popular markets, the sense of spiritual ambiguity found within their music, caused many of their former gospel listeners to believe they were crossing over to the secular world altogether. This change in text with the incorporation R & B music led some gospel listeners to view Be Be and Ce Ce’s music as some of the first Christian gospel love songs.

An interesting note is that most of these groups who pioneered the crossover R & B music and major rock style gospel concerts approached this new era with a strong commitment to ministry. Aandrae Crouch, the Winans, and Commissioned were known not only for their urban musical sound but for their effective altar calls during which many people were converted to the Christian faith. Though many people questioned their intentions, it was the altar calls that validated and vindicated the artists’ verbal rationale that their secular musical style was only a vehicle to attract young people for ministerial purposes. However, as large secular record companies began to enter the gospel market, many gospel artists were told to compromise their gospel message or omit the altar calls from their concerts.
The influence of rap, hip-hop, and jazz on gospel music during the 1980s.

Rap, Hip-Hop, and Jazz had a strong influence on the new gospel styles that would develop during the 1980s. As a result of the increase of inner city violence, gangs, drug and alcohol addiction, and teen pregnancy, many gospel artists believed that they needed to respond musically to the needs of urban youth. There was the belief that you had to meet the young people where they were, therefore, the urban secular musical styles, became vehicles through which many gospel artists attempted to reach troubled youth. Once Crouch and others opened the door by incorporating popular secular styles of the day many other gospel artists followed.

While rap was growing in the secular market, it was not yet incorporated into gospel music on a regular basis. One of the first gospel choirs to use rap was Benny Cummings and the King’s Temple Choir of New York. This choir, from which 1990s gospel star Donnie McClurkin came, recorded an arrangement of the hymn “What A Friend We Have in Jesus” (New Birth Records NEW-7057) in 1982 which included a rap section.

_Totally Gospel_ (1987) reports on three artists, who broke the ground for Gospel rap music, The Rappin’ Reverend Dr. C. Dexter Wise, Rev. Rhyme, and Michael Peace (Smith, 1987e, pp. 37-43). The Rappin’ Reverend Dr. C. Dexter Wise, was a Harvard Graduate who pastored a 1000 plus member church in Columbus, Ohio. As a result of the plight of the nations youth wise was led to create a rap song entitled “I Ain’t Into That.” Rev. Wise collaborated with his brother, musician Raymond Wise, to produce this recording. This initial recording released on Raise Record (RA-01) became the number one song on the charts in several major cities across the nation. This record was
eventually picked up by major secular label Fantasy Records (D-281) and released internationally on Chrysalis Records after which it became #1 in additional cities across America and #14 on dance charts in the United Kingdom (n. a., 1987a, p. 42).

Rev. Rhyme, also a young gospel rapper, concerned about the plight of the nation’s youth recorded an album entitled the *Gospel According to Rev. Rhyme* (Birthright Records ST-70304). The third gospel rapper was Michael Peace. Peace recorded his initial record entitled *Rrrock it Right* on Reunion Records, however, he incorporated a harder more street oriented sound on his second album. (Smith, 1987e, p. 37-43). These three rappers opened the door and paved the way for gospel rappers who would follow such as A1 Swift, Original Gospel Gangstaz, End Time Warriors, Rev. Run, and Kenny Riley who produced a gospel rap for the Winans

Hip-Hop music was also incorporated into gospel music. The hip-hop culture was not just a musical culture, but a way of speaking and dressing. So as hip-hop came to gospel music, gospel artists adapted their language, dress, and music to appeal to young hip-hop fans. The gospel artist who paved the way for hip-hop gospel was John Kee. Though John Kee was known as a composer of traditional gospel music, his concern over the nation’s youth caused him to change the focus of his music to become more appealing to the younger generation. John Kee picked up the hip-hop culture and perfected a combination of traditional, contemporary and hip-hop music that would start a trend within gospel choir singing. What is significant about Kee is that most of the secular influences in gospel music had been relegated to small groups, and soloists, however, Kee began to bring the secular influence to choir singing, movement, and dress.
John P. Kee was drawn to hip-hop music because of his own past. Though raised in church, his own troubled past helped him to relate to trouble youth. Kee’s father had a gospel choir in the late forties and early fifties called the Southland Gospel Singers who had obtained a record deal in the fifties however, due to prejudices he was unable to fulfil it (Jones, 1998, p. 239). So John in many ways sees his success as the realization of his father’s dream. Kee loved classical music and as a child of eleven or twelve had the opportunity to travel around the country in an opera called the Toymaker. At the age of fourteen Kee graduated from the North Carolina School of the Arts in Winston-Salem, and went to Northern California where he attended the Yuba College Conservatory of music (Jones, 1998, p. 240). Kee (1998) believed that it was his enormous talent that led to his downfall. After graduating and leaving home to live in California, Kee supported himself by playing gigs with noted jazz artists such as Donald Byrd and the Blackbirds, and Cameo. At the age of fifteen, Kee was living alone in California as an adult. Jones (1998) reports that while Kee’s work brought him recognition, the lifestyle “swept him into the fast-paced world of drugs and money” (p. 241). Jones (1998) reported that Kee eventually grew weary of the senseless violence around him that was capped off by the shooting death of a close friend in a drug deal gone wrong (Jones, 1998, p. 242).

Because of his own experience on the streets, Kee turned his focus and thrust on street ministry. One of Kee’s special missions was to reach out to hard-core drug traffickers and other troubled youth in his community to try to dissuade them from such a lifestyle. Consequently, Kee chose to perform music that combined hip-hop and urban sounds with a gospel message (Jones, 1998 #2).
Kee eventually joined with a community choir called the Combination Choir, and began training them in all of the musical techniques he had studied over the years (Jones, 1998, p. 243). During the 1980s the Combination Choir grew into the New Life Community Choir and eventually landed a contract with a major gospel record label, Tyscot. John P. Kee and the New Life Community Choir established and continued to demonstrate standards of excellence for choirs and paved the way for urban hip-hop gospel choirs such as Hezekiah Walker and the Love Fellowship Choir, Kirk Franklin and the Family, and others. His song entitled “Jesus Is Real” was one of the first songs with the hip-hop influence that hit the top of the charts. Subsequently, each recording that followed contained compositions that were heavily influenced by R & B, funk, and hip-hop. Some of the distinguishing musical characteristics of Kee’s music are the use of i - vii chord progressions, compositions that are heavily reliant on the musical accompaniment, extreme vocal manipulation to produce distorted vocal timbres, ostinatos borrowed from R & B artists such as Prince, George Clinton (Casablanca Records NBLP 7084), and James Brown (King Records 1022), and other horn riffs and musical progressions borrowed from James Brown.

It has been said that Kee’s powerful stage persona and charismatic style is reminiscent of the legendary Rev. James Cleveland. In fact Jones (1998) writes that Kee earned the title of “Crown Prince of Gospel,” a title that James Cleveland held until he was renamed the “King of Gospel” (Jones, 1998, p. 235). Kee (1998) states,

every album I have done has been done with the conscious intention of capturing the heart and mind of everyone from the baby to the grandma. . . I want to tear the categorizations apart and then put them back together in a way that creates a new musical common denominator, music that brings people into oneness in worship (Jones, 1998, p. 248).
An artist who was responsible for bringing jazz chords and harmonics to traditional and contemporary gospel music was Thomas Whitfield. Whitfield was not only an innovator with the gospel choir but also a master producer who made significant contributions in the area of gospel solo recording production. Whitfield is significant because of the innovations he brought to gospel music through his strong jazz and blues influence. Through Whitfield’s choir “Company,” and through the various solo recordings he produced during the 1980s and 1990s, contemporary jazz penetrated gospel music and forever changed the vocal and instrumental vocabulary.

Thomas Whitfield was a versatile musician who could perform all musical styles from traditional gospel to classical anthems to blues and jazz. Whitfield a native of Detroit Michigan, started his choir the Whitfield Company in 1976 (Whitfield, 1988, liner notes). Thomas Whitfield along with other musicians from his choir, such as Rudolph Stanfield, and Earl Wright, the Whitfield Company, helped to establish a polished contemporary sound by using various vocal techniques.

During the 1980s, one could began to hear the unique chords, progressions, and performance techniques introduced by Whitfield throughout the gospel industry. Not only was Thomas Whitfield the producer for his own choir, but he was chosen by Benson Records to produce several recordings for national artists such as Keith Pringle (Onyx International Records RO 3784) and Vanessa Bell Armstrong (Onyx International Records R3831) on their new Onyx Label. Whitfield also produced two solo recordings that showcased his genius and musical versatility: Hold Me on the Onyx International Record Label (R3809) and a fully orchestrated project entitled My Faith (Benson Records, 1990). He was also chosen by Sound of Gospel Records in 1987 to produce the
debut album for Yolanda Adams entitled *Wash Me* (Sound of Gospel Records SOG 163). Though Yolanda’s first recording did not gain large national attention it was excellently produced and it gave Yolanda Adams the visibility to gain a contract with Tribute Records, where she recorded several additional recordings that brought greater national recognition.

The production and compositions on these recordings set a new standard and precedent for solo artist recordings. Whitfield, not yet a major national artist, demonstrated that artists who had not yet achieved national notoriety could also produce recordings of high quality. The sound that Whitfield achieved with his choir’s live recordings also set a new precedent for polished gospel singing. The Whitfield Company having been trained to perform classical choral works not only had a unique choral sound but a polished sound (Sound of Gospel Records SOG 180).

Every aspect of Whitfield’s recordings were properly placed. Whitfield’s musical compositions and arrangements were a combination of traditional and contemporary styles. Thomas Whitfield, affectionately known as “Thommy,” achieved an ultimate mix that was neither old nor new. Thommy was a master of taking traditional musical rhythms, songs, and placing non-traditional harmonies on top of them. One can note his unique arrangements on his recording entitled *And They Sang A Hymn* (Sound of Gospel Records, SOG 2D 179).

Whitfield’s recording production and musical arranging provided an example of what solo gospel recording could become. The piano chord progressions and vocal harmonies that were distinctly Whitfield’s began to infiltrate the gospel compositions and arrangements of many new and young artists who admired the Whitfield style (Whitfield,
1999, liner notes). Whitfield died at the age of 38 in 1992, however, many composers and choirs still utilize the musical innovations that he introduced.

While gospel singers have always been known to improvise and ornament their singing, some began to transform gospel solo singing into a virtuoso singing technique. Consequently gospel solo singing began to move away from basic melodic singing with occasional improvised ornaments to a style of singing that was very florid and ornamented. Vanessa Bell Armstrong’s blues and jazz re-arrangement of “Peace Be Still” started a trend in melismatic singing for gospel artists. Daryl Coley’s effortless application of jazz and blues runs and scales started a wave of male vocalist who attempted to emulate his vocal style (Light Records 51416-1071-2). It was at this point that many of the gospel singers emulated this florid singing style and gospel solo singing became laden with vocal tricks and acrobatics rather than straight singing.

While instrumental jazz was not new to gospel, it was during the 1980s that gospel instrumentalists began to receive a level of respect from the gospel music community that helped to bring gospel jazz to greater prominence. Artists such as Ben Tankard (Atlanta International Records AIR 10140), Hubert Powell (CGI Records 51416-5146-2), Arthur Scales (I Am Records 7-01-380086-4), Mike Heyward (I Am Records WR 8384), and Allen and Allen (CGI Records CGD 1077) had studied jazz music and began recording jazz style instrumental arrangements of gospel songs to the gospel community. The gospel instrumentalist of the 1980s laid the foundation for gospel jazz that would rise in the 1990s and gospel jazz instrumentalists began to receive recording contracts from major labels and even gained their own category in the major gospel awards ceremonies.
It was in 1988 that the a cappella group Take 6 released its debut release on Reprise Records (9-25670-2). This contemporary group took male gospel group singing to a new level. Take 6 hailed from Seventh Day Adventist Oakwood College in Huntsville, Alabama. The group combined contemporary jazz chords and progressions with gospel hymns to form a unique style of a cappella music. Their a cappella singing style was reminiscent of the a cappella quartets of the early 1900s and 1950s, although their vocal and harmonic style was different. The new element was that they utilized extended jazz chords and harmonies and assigned a member to sing each part of the chord regardless of how intricate the voicing may have appeared. The four, five, and six note extended chords of Thomas Whitfield's piano accompaniment for traditional choirs was now being sung by Take 6. Not only did they sing the lyrics, but they also sang accompaniment parts, by imitating horns, guitars, drums, and bass guitars. Totally Gospel (1988) writes,

move over Manattan Transfer, here comes Take 6. On their debut album, these six talented singers deliver an album of extraordinary music. There's no instrumentation here, their voices are the instruments. The vocal phrasing and acrobats that this group performs on this disc is amazing. Take 6 has a fresh new sound. Remeniscet of old a cappella quartets of the 20 and 1930s (Record Review, in Totally Gospel, May, 1988, p. 44).

Take 6's debut recording was certified platinum and the album won a Grammy in the jazz category. Take 6 became such a cross over success that their second and third releases were also certified gold (Gospel Today, November/December, 1996, p. 57). The musical and vocal innovations provided by Thomas Whitfield and Take 6 greatly expanded the gospel music vocabulary from which Gospel musicians, singers, and composer could draw.
Gospel music is redefined and a second musical movement begins.

While traditional gospel music and contemporary gospel music thrived, and the seeds for an urban/cross-over gospel style were sown, yet another important movement began during the 1980s that would affect gospel music. This movement was also related to the redefining of gospel music as the gospel message set to music. While some gospel artists used this definition as a rationale for combining numerous musical styles with traditional and contemporary gospel music, other gospel musicians saw this expansion and versatility as an opportunity for greater ministry within gospel music. This produced a second stream or branch of this textual or word based movement, whose focus was on evangelism and transformation. The music that resulted from this movement would be called “Praise and Worship” music and it flourished in the up and coming “mega” or “word” churches.

As American society changed throughout the 1960s and 1970s, many African Americans turned away from the Black church as the social and spiritual center of the community and subsequently there rose a large number of African Americans who had never had a church experience. Jeremiah Wright, pastor of Chicago’s Trinity United Christian Church (1995) pointed out that “there is a generation of African Americans who have not had a church experience at all. We need to teach them their history” (Petrie, 1995, p. 37). Wright (1995) further contends that the old forms of worship could not be used with this group because they did not know them, and this includes the musical forms as well (Petrie, 1995, p. 37). In order to reach this group, a new form of music and worship was used. Gospel artists emerged who seriously believed that gospel musicians should adapt their sound to reach those who were non-Christians while other
gospel artists believed that the versatility in music should be used only as a vehicle for ministry. Artists who used musical versatility as a tool for evangelism were artists like Andrae Crouch and groups like the Winans and Commissioned who became forerunners in this movement. These groups though considered contemporary, produced songs with unquestionably biblical messages. These songs were considered to be very “wordy” and very often they would be taken directly from biblical scriptures. Some of the other noted composers who were known for the creation of these powerful word based gospel compositions were composer’s like Margaret Douroux, Carol Antrom, Michael McKay, Carlis Moody, Percy Bady, Darius Brooks and Raymond Wise. Their poetic use of text is reminiscent of the music of gospel pioneer Herbert Brewster, who was noted for using language (Boyer, 1992f, p. 231).

Many Blacks left Traditional churches in search of a worship experience that would minister to the whole person. They desired a worship style that was not just cultural and emotional, but also spiritual and intellectual. Blacks of all educational backgrounds and economic classes began to leave the Black denominational churches for Mega Word Churches, many of which were predominately White. It was the merging of cultures within these Mega Word churches that would lead to the refinement of yet another gospel musical style. As Blacks moved into these White churches they took their cultural worship aesthetic with them. While there was a thirst among African Americans for spiritual enlightenment that they found in these churches, there was still a desire to retain some of the worship practices of their African American cultural heritage. Consequently, they blended elements from their music and worship style with the more conservative European American worship found in these Mega churches and created new
energized worship formats. The music that resulted from the merging of these two aesthetics was given the formal name “Praise and Worship Music.” This music had the emotional fervor and expressiveness of African American gospel music but the poetic and harmonic style of European sacred music. This music was a natural outgrowth of this movement because many White worshipers sought to worship in the more emotional style while African Americans sought to worship in less emotional style. Thus the energized worship style of African Americans found a place in many of the predominately White Mega churches and the Contemporary Christian music and worship style of White-Americans found a place within the music of African American gospel music.

The praise and worship movement did not take off within many Black Churches until many Black preachers began to form Mega Word Churches and develop cross-cultural congregations. It was then that praise and worship music with its strong emphasis on the word began to cross back over into many traditional Black churches and eventually became a part of the African American worship experience.

The irony of the praise and worship musical movement was that it was believed by many to be a new musical concept that developed within the Word churches, however, it is actually an adaptation and outgrowth of the congregational singing that had been performed since the 1900s in Black churches. Those who sang praise and worship music believed the main purpose of the music was to usher people into the very presence of God, much like late 19th century and early 20th century African Americans who sang congregational or devotional songs and the ring shout with the intent of ushering themselves into the presence of God (Jones, 1963, pp. 40-43). This musical process
however, was not given a formal title until it was adopted and refined in the Mega church worship experience. In addition, the texts in praise and worship songs were primarily based upon biblical scriptures.

While many White artists led in the development of praise and worship during the early 1980s, there were African Americans who recognized the relationship between the congregational and devotional singing of the past and the new praise and worship music. One such artist was Patrick Henderson and the West Angeles Church of God in Christ Choir, who released the Saints in Praise (Sparrow Records SPR 1189) record series which featured praise and worship songs that stemmed from the African American tradition. Donnie McClurkin and the New York Restoration Choir (Savoy Records SC 14799) also released several praise and worship medleys based upon African American congregational music.


1990s

Major labels continue to join the gospel field.

In the 1990s major record labels continued to descend upon the gospel field, when they discovered the marketability and rising profitability of gospel music. Collins (1997) reported that a top Executive from CGI Records stated that “corporations and other entities not normally associated with gospel are finding it profitable to align themselves
with gospel music” (p. 7). The http://www.african-american-music.com/Gospel1.html website (2001) reported that during the 1990s at least seven major recording companies have created and staffed gospel division; independent gospel labels increased 50 percent, and total revenues for gospel music have nearly tripled in the past decade- from $180 million in 1980 to 500 million in 1990 (paragraph 2).

As a result of the large dollars that major labels were bringing to gospel music, they continued to shape and ultimately change the direction and focus of gospel music. This would prove to have both positive and negative effects on gospel music, its composition, performance practices, techniques and artists. As record sales increased and gospel music was exposed to a wider mainstream audience, the focus of gospel music began to change from a music designed for the Black church and gospel community to a music designed to reach those outside of the Black church and gospel music community. The bottom line for many companies was not ministry but money. Consequently, 1990s Gospel artists were commanding large fees for their performances and were performing in major venues for top ticket prices all over the country. Though record sales had risen to record highs, and though successful recordings often led to performances and endorsements, most of the people making royalties from record sales were the record companies, producers and writers.

This change in direction led to practices that concerned many people who worked within the gospel field. Previously, it was the pioneering composers who made the changes in the field however, in the 1980s and 1990s, the record companies, big gospel organizations, and the music industry dictated the direction of the field. The field began to be guided more by economics than evangelism and many recording and management companies treated gospel artists as secular entertainers rather than sacred ministers.
Gospel spreads through new products and marketing strategies.

In the early years of gospel music video production videos were aired on secular music video shows such as MTV and VH1, but eventually gospel artists developed their own music video shows through which they could air gospel videos. Collins (1999) reports that Bobby Jones – Gospel Video became so successful that he was given another half hour show on BET entitled Video Gospel (p. 4). This show featured either concert videos or specially produced music videos by gospel artists for the promotion of their recordings.

In order to compete with the major secular labels that have entered the gospel field, many major gospel labels developed several new marketing strategies. One marketing strategy was to develop partnerships with mainstream distributors and large corporations. Collins (1997) writes that,

with the new alliances gospel labels have forged with mainstream distributors has come more access as well as new channels of exposure and even corporate support from the likes of Nike, Revlon, Coca Cola, Sears, Wrigley, Hunt-Wesson, Gatorade and even Jennie Craig as Gospel executives now employ methodologies all too common place for their secular counterparts (p. 6).

Many credit the rising sales and success of gospel music in the 1990s to the increased radio, television, and print media exposure that the major companies were able to win for gospel music.

The secular sound of gospel music leads to increased radio airplay.

Due to the heightened quality of gospel recordings and the new urban cross-over sound, many radio stations were willing to air gospel music. Collins (1999) reported that more mainstream radio programmers became receptive to gospel music during the 1990s
because they realized that gospel music was not a turn off for their listeners (p. 38).

Demetrias Alexander, Vice President of Atlantic Christian Gospel stated to Collins in the *Gospel Round-Up* (1999), “more young acts are coming to the forefront and changing the face of gospel. Many of them going more to mainstream with songs that appeal to mainstream radio” (p. 38). Collins (1999) reports that “in 1999 Gospo Centric released Gospel Gangstaz, a new rap group that got added to 101 gospel stations as well as non-gospel and Contemporary Christian shows. Their video was also aired on BET, which indicated that gospel rap was finally becoming accepted in mainstream markets” (p. 4).

Syndicated gospel radio stations and television shows began to rise during the 1990s. One such radio show was *Gospel Trax*, a two-hour weekly show, started in January of 1995 on over 65 stations (Collins, 1997, p. 46). *Inside Gospel*, another syndicated radio program, continued to expand during the 1990s. *Inside Gospel* featured gospel news and information, short interviews with gospel personalities, with gospel music as the backdrop. This show, hosted by Lin Woods, was syndicated by Lee Bailey Communications, the producers of Radioscope (Collins, 1997, Gospel Round-Up, p. 46). In addition there were many new 24-hour gospel stations that started during the 1990s and there were many stations that changed their format from secular to all gospel formats. According to Coates (2000) there are over 1000 radio stations in the United States that programed gospel music for all or part of their day. Concerning the format of many stations Collins (1999) reports,

> where the musical mix was once 70/30 in the ratio of traditional gospel to contemporary gospel music being played on gospel formats, it is presently 60/40, with the bulk of the air play particularly during premium day parts going to contemporary and urban gospel cuts (p. 38).
The popularity of gospel music in the 1990s also led to the rise in the development of national and locally-produced television programming. Collins (1999) reports some of the national programs are,


During the 1990s Bobby Jones’ Gospel was one of the top-rated shows on Black Entertainment Television (BET) (Collins, 1999, p. 49). In addition to the nationally syndicated gospel television shows Collins (1999) reported that many large cites had gospel shows during the 1990s (p. 50). Gospel artists also gained exposure on the regular network television stations. Artists like Yolanda Adams, Kirk Franklin, Donnie McClurkin and other appeared on the nightly talk shows such as Tonight Show with Jay Leno and David Letterman Show.

Gospel music continued to be heard in new arenas. Collins (1999) reports that the NFL sponsored a “Superbowl Gospel Brunch” in Miami, Florida in 1998. This event hosted by Wheaties was the first of its kind and featured artists such as Fred Hammond, Gladys Knight and Nancey Jackson (p. 4). Even the Lincoln Center which is known for its classical musical performances sponsored A House Full of Praise a marathon series of concerts devoted to African American gospel music. The final concert, held in Avery Fisher Hall, was a tribute to the 100th (centennial) year of Thomas Dorsey (Collins, 1999, p. 5).

Technology also played a role in the increase of gospel record exposure, promotion, and sales. The rise of midi and computer technology brought a wealth of
musical developments for gospel music such as synthesizers, samplers, music scoring programs, and more. However, the invention of the internet during the 1990s brought a whole new medium through which gospel music would eventually be spread. During the 1990s many gospel labels, radio and television station, organizations, and artists began using the internet to transmit their messages and sell products to the Gospel community worldwide.

The business of gospel music.

In order to capture an even larger portion of the market or to gain wider distribution some of the large gospel record companies merged with other large record companies. This created even greater competition among gospel companies. With the big company mergers, Snyder (1997) questioned how the smaller companies and unsigned and unknown artists could compete (Snyder, 1997, p. 25). When companies felt the profit margin was too low they often discontinued their Black music divisions at which point many of their artist contracts were cancelled or transferred to new owners.

Gospel music had become such a big business that many record companies did not consider their artists as they made major decisions concerning their companies. While gospel music recordings were selling at record highs, many companies were very slow or refused to pay royalties to their artists. Many companies required artist to give up their copyright and publishing rights so that they would not have to pay them mechanical royalties. Meanwhile, other companies who believed that their artists could have a wider cross-over, requested their artist to make changes in their performances, music, or overall image that would down play the spiritual aspects of their ministry.
Some companies required artists to refrain from using traditional gospel words and texts, like God, Jesus, Spirit, in exchange for generic words like love, light, or He. In addition, many companies required artists to refrain from having altar calls or evangelical thrust within their concerts. Other companies required artists to change their physical appearance to become more appealing to cross over audiences. In some cases they required artists to change personnel who did not fit the new image that was being promoted. While these strategies often led to more popular appeal, they also led to problems. Some Gospel artists who made these changes began to lose their traditional gospel music audiences. Many artists were shunned by the church and gospel community for becoming too secular in their presentation of gospel music. With the focus of gospel music no longer on its connection to the church many executives and gospel artists left the major labels and created their own independent labels.

Many of the major labels hired Black executives to run their Black music divisions in the 1980s. Many of the executives were responsible for the marketing successes of the companies Black gospel artists however, they were not being compensated according to the success of their efforts. Consequently, many of these Black executives left the major recording companies, and started their own companies in the 1990s. Equipped with years of experience they started several successful independent record companies (Collins, 1993). Other members of the gospel industry left their long time positions to establish national labels (Collins, 1993).

Many artists, who became tired of earning a small percentage of the profits and giving away their publishing rights and royalties, decided to develop their own record labels by the end of the 1990s. Some artists who started their own companies were Ce Ce
Winans who released her *Alabaster Box* recording on Wellspring Records (SPD 1711) in 1999 and Fred Hammond who would later produced artists on Fred Hammond Music in 2001 (Collins, 1999, p. 34; Collins, 2000, p. 5).

**The effects of a saturated gospel market.**

As one might suspect, new and greater successes for gospel music also brought new and greater challenges and concerns. With the large number of major labels, independent labels, and gospel artists who began to produce recordings, the market became saturated. This saturation led to greater competition for engagements and radio airplay among all of the gospel artists and companies. While the competition led to frustration for many independent and smaller labels, it also led to a higher standard in the production quality of gospel recordings (Collins, 1999). Artists began to understand that radio stations did not play every recording they received, therefore, their product had to stand out in some way in order to be played (Collins, 1999, p. 15).

By the end of the 1990s, record companies determined a method by which gospel artists could record together and consumers could legally purchase the popular music from numerous top gospel recording artists. The solution was the *WOW Gospel Music Series*, although compilations were not new to the gospel field. Collins (1997) reports that the WOW series was the first ever compilation of the top 30 gospel hits (p. 4). The first *WOW* recording was released in 1998 (Verity Records 0760121591). Record companies also released a *WOW Praise and Worship* recording and a *WOW Contemporary Gospel* recording. According to Collins (1999) *WOW Gospel 998* was
certified platinum by the RIAA with over a million units sold (p. 8). The WOW series continued throughout the 1990s and to the present.

**Significant gospel recordings.**

Several collaborative projects came forth during the 1990s. One project was *The Messiah: A Soulful Celebration*. Mervyn Warren, former member of Take 6, collaborated with many national recording artists to produce *The Messiah A Soulful Celebration*. This version of the Messiah was an African American adaptation of Handel’s *Messiah*, which featured artists such as Tramaine Hawkins, Sounds of Blackness, The Richard Smallwood Singers, Daryl Coley, Vanessa Bell, and Chris Willis. It also featured secular artist such as George Duke, Al Jarreau, Tevin Baker, and Patti Austin. The vocal arrangements, orchestration, and production demonstrated Warren was a top-notch producer. Collins (1995) wrote concerning Warren’s abilities,

> Dubbed the “Amadeus of Gospel,” Merv Warren cut his producing teeth as a member of Take 6. Well educated musically, he fully understands the connection between classical to gospel as well as the full scope of gospel’s rich derivatives. His strength is with contemporary gospel styles, vocal or instrumental, even orchestral, and his success with Warner Bros. “Soulful Messiah” confirms it (p. 37).

Warren collaborated with Quincy Jones in this project who served as conductor on the “Hallelujah Chorus.” This collaboration brought more notority to the project, however, it led many people to believe that Quincy Jones was the musical mind behind the project, when in actuality, it was Mervyn Warren. While many gospel groups have incorporated excerpts of Handel’s *Messiah* in their musical selections, it was Warren’s arrangement that serves as the quintessential example of how classical and gospel music can be
combined. The *Soulful Celebration* was released on Reprise Records (9-26980-2) a subsidiary of Time Warner.

Warren’s expertise in classical music and orchestration led to a collaboration with Richard Smallwood. Warren orchestrated and conducted the musical prelude for Smallwood’s popular song entitled “Total Praise.” Total Praise would become a mega hit and greatly influence the gospel field. This piece proved to be significant for both Warren and Smallwood in that it caused the broader gospel community to embrace the classically influenced music of Richard Smallwood and Mervyn Warren, but it also demonstrated yet another musical possibility for gospel music.

As a result of Warren’s work he was also chosen to produce the music soundtrack for various films during the 1990s such as *Sister Act II*, and *The Preacher’s Wife*. In *Sister Act* Warren re-introduced “Oh Happy Day” to a new generation and demonstrated the versatility within gospel musical styles through his arrangement of the classic hymn “Joyful, Joyful, We Adore Thee” (Hollywood Records HR 61562-2). Warren’s gospel arrangements featuring Whitney Houston and the Georgia Mass Choir also proved that gospel music could play a key role in feature films. Though these films were not the first in history to feature gospel music they were among the first to utilize gospel music as an essential part of the of the story’s plot. Since they starred such popular artists as Whoopi Goldberg and Whitney Houston they were more appealing to mainstream audiences which brought greater exposure for gospel music.

Other examples of gospel music in popular films date back to the 1959 film *Imitation of Life* that featured Mahalia Jackson. Gospel music had also been featured in an exaggerated comic manner in the 1980 movie *The Blues Brothers*. Quincy Jones
along with Andre Crouch also used Gospel music in Steven Spielberg's *The Color Purple* (1987) which featured Danny Glover and Whoopie Goldberg. The entrance of major entertainment corporations to the gospel field opened new avenues for gospel music to be exposed within the film and television industry. Since many of the major companies had interests in or owned various media companies within the entertainment field, they could choose to include gospel music within the medium they controlled. An example of such a collaboration between various entertainment groups was the *Prince of Egypt Movie Project*. Collins (1999) reports,

in an unprecedented partnership between the arenas of Gospel, R & B, Country and Pop Music, top recording artists from a variety of genres lent their talents to three separate albums for Dream Work's epic drama "The Prince of Egypt." They present songs that are inspired by themes inherent to the film's story, including love, faith, deliverance and family. In addition to the official soundtrack, there are two albums "inspired by" the movie; one inspiration and one country. For the inspirational album, award winning producers Buster and Shavoni created an album of "all stars," combining forces that have strongly influenced Contemporary music. The line-up of artists included Shirley Caesar, Fred Hammond and Radical for Christ, Boyz to Men, Kirk Franklin, Take 6, Donnie McClurkin, CeCe Winans, BeBe Winans, Trin-I-Tee 5:7, DC Talk, Carmen, Jars of Clay, Brian McKnight, Tyrone Tribbett and Greater Anointing featuring Dave Hollister and Mary, Mary, and introducing, Christian (p. 14).

Collins (1999) reports that "Buster" Brown and Scott "Shavoni" Parker, producers of *Prince of Egypt* later started their own record company called Crusade Records and continued to produced top gospel artists (p. 4). This project became a top selling CD in 1999. The significant soundtracks produced during the 1990s were not limited to films, there were also soundtracks created for television. Though gospel music had been used before on television movies and sitcoms such as *Amen, The Jeffersons*, and *Good Times*, the 1990s brought a movie made for television entitled *A New Song* that featured gospel music and gospel artist Kirk Franklin (Collins, 1999, p. 5). Franklin also composed the
soundtrack for the movie *Kingdom Come* making him the first gospel artist to compose the music for an entire movie soundtrack (Collins, 1999). By the 1990s, the gospel music style could be evidenced within films and commercial that did not have a religious or spiritual theme. One such movie included the Walt Disney animated feature *Hercules* (Walt Disney Records 0-50086-08647-4) and the controversial Budweiser Beer commercial that was aired in the 1990s during a Superbowl game.

**The state of gospel music awards.**

The Grammys consistently recognized the gospel pioneers or the gospel artists that were affiliated with the major labels. For example, the [http://www.afgen.com/Gospel1.html](http://www.afgen.com/Gospel1.html) website (2001) reports that James Cleveland was awarded a Grammy posthumously for the album *Having Church* (paragraph 16). Collins (1993) reports that Thomas Dorsey was honored in 1992 with a special Grammy for lifetime achievement (p. 10). In 1993 Mervyn Warren, former member of Take 6, was awarded a Grammy in the Contemporary Soul Gospel Album category for his recording *Handel’s Messiah – A Soulful Celebration* (Collins, p. 12). Collins (1999) also reports that in 1998 Kirk Franklin became the first to receive 4 Grammy nominations and he won a Grammy for his Nu Nation Project (p. 10). While these awards were significant and well deserved, there were many significant contributions made in the early 1990s by gospel artists on smaller independent labels that went unrecognized.

The belief by many gospel artists that the Grammys are awarded based upon politics versus merit, caused the Stellar Awards and the Gospel Music Excellence Awards to have greater significance to gospel artists. These awards which were awarded
based upon the votes of gospel artists within the field were deemed just as prestigious if not more prestigious than the Grammys. One favorable aspect of the Stellar Awards and Gospel Music Excellence Awards was that they were not slanted in the favor of artists who were signed with big companies or who had large number of members in the National Association of Recording Arts and Science (The Grammy voting body). New Gospel artists could receive awards as well as long standing Gospel artists.

**New gospel support organizations, magazines, and conventions are established.**

The sense of unfairness within the gospel music industry however, prompted the beginning of various organizations and companies designed to serve as an advocate for gospel music and advance its causes within the overall music industry. Since gospel music had become a big business enterprise, many trade organizations developed to help promote, protect, and maintain the gospel art form and its artists as the field continued to grow. One such organization was the United Gospel Industry Council, led by Frank Wilson, who promoted the formal campaign, 1994: The Year of Gospel, to help unify the gospel industry at large and serve as a recognized voice that would champion the causes of that industry (Hairston, 1994). See Appendix C for a list of trade organizations and their missions.

In addition to forming support organizations, the Black gospel music industry developed several trade and serial magazines designed to document the advancements and achievements within the field of gospel music. The significant magazines that began publication in the 1990s include *The Gospel Industry Magazine* which reported on developments within the gospel music industry (Collins, 1997, p. 10), and *The Gospel
Round-Up (1994) which offered an annual review of the achievements in gospel music (Collins, 1994). Score Magazine, that was founded in the late 1980s by Teresa Hairston, later changed its name to Gospel Today in 1995 and became one of the leading serial magazines for the gospel music industry. Other magazines that begin publication during the 1990s include Gospel International, Gospel Industry Today, Gospel Northwest Magazine, Say Amen, and Billboard Online. Gospel artists found other ways to use publications to promote gospel music. For example Collins (1999) reports that Kerry Douglas started a quarterly publication called The Gospel Truth which spotlighted independent record labels and new artists (Collins, 1999, p. 21). Along with the publication Douglas offered a sampler of his music. According to Collins (1999) Douglas started with one client, but his roster eventually grew to more than 13 artists (p. 15). His label generated upwards of 700,000 in sales during 1998 (p. 15). Douglas stated to Collins (1999) that “he found an untapped niche in hardcore quartet music” (p. 15).

As the Gospel music became more specifically defined, more conventions grew that specialized in a specific form or style of gospel music. Although the older conventions such as the National Convention of Gospel Choirs and Choruses and the Gospel Music Workshop of America continued during the 1990s, many of the conventions experienced a loss of leadership due to the death of the pioneering founders. James Cleveland, Charles Nicks, and Ed Smith, the top three leaders in GMWA died, which sent GMWA into transition. However, GMWA continued to expand to become the largest aggregation of gospel singers in the world (php.iupui.edu/~apcarpen/history.htm website, 2001, paragraph 12). This convention became a market
place for talent, record companies, distributors and promoters (php.iupui.edu/-apcarpen/history.htm website, 2001, paragraph 12).

**Preserving and perpetuating the gospel art.**

Thomas Dorsey, the “Father of Gospel Music” and the founder of the National Convention of Gospel Choirs and Choruses died in January of 1993. Mattie Moss-Clark who had been the national music director of the Church of God in Christ since the 1950s died in September of 1994 (Score Magazine, November/December, 1994, p. 12). Gospel music also lost other key gospel musicians, composers, and artists during the 1990s including Robert Fryson (1994), Frank Williams (1994), and innovative musician, composer and producer Thomas Whitfield (1993). In order to preserve the history of gospel music and the contributions of its pioneers, many people and organizations began making historical documents featuring the gospel pioneers, their music, and their contributions to the field.

David Gough, President of DoRohn Records established the Gospel Music Hall of Fame and Museum in Detroit Michigan. GMHFM, a non-profit organization, holds an annual fan-based election and banquet for hall of fame inductees. Gospel music personalities with at least 25 years of contributions to the gospel music industry are eligible for induction. The GMHFM contains gospel music archives, historic recordings, journals, and exhibits that preserve and perpetuate the legacy of gospel music (Collins, 1999, p. 11).

Verity Records released the *New Gospel Legends Series*. This series includes remastered and released recordings of artists from the 1980s, including Thomas Whitfield
(Verity Records 01241-43131-2), Commissioned, Vanessa Bell, and others. Document Records, a company presently based in Vienna, Austria gained possession of hundreds of original recordings, both cylinder and 78's of the first Black quartets, preachers, and sanctified gospel singers dating back to the 1890's. The recordings contained within this collection were transferred to compact disks (Brooks, 1994, Funk, 1995a, Funk 1995b, Romanowski 1993; Smith, 1994, and Smith 1995). This unique collection contains hundreds of recorded African American sacred musical selections dating back to 1893. In addition, this collection includes booklets containing historical information on the various recordings and the artists.

Several books, video collections, and web-sites were developed during this period to help preserve gospel music and provide documentation on key events and innovators in the music's history. Some colleges, universities, and privately owned organizations also offered courses on gospel music. For example, the Gospel Music Workshop of America under the leadership of Dr. Robert Simmons, Dean of the Academic Division, developed a consortium with several Universities across the country in order to offer college credit for the courses it offered at its annual convention. The first university to participate in this program was the University of Utah (Simmons, 1993, p. 4).

In addition to the University supported programs in gospel music, many gospel organizations and artists began to develop training programs and curriculums in gospel music. One such program is Raise Production's Center for the Gospel Arts in Columbus, Ohio (Blackford, 1992).
Secular musical genres continue to influence gospel music.

John Kee who planted the seeds for the hip-hop gospel movement in the 1980s, continued to perform with his New Life Community Choir in the 1990s. Collins (1994) noted, that though Kee’s music was very contemporary his songs were very singable by the average Sunday morning church choir (p. 80). Kee stated to Collins (1994), “for a while people were writing so contemporary that your average church choir couldn’t sing the music” (p. 80). Kee’s music accompaniment was more contemporary, while the vocals were traditional (Collins, 1994, p. 80). An innovation started by Kee during the 1990s was that the instrumental accompaniment did not mirror or play the same parts as the vocals. Since the accompaniment was often so intricate it become difficult for many traditional gospel musicians and choirs to duplicate the songs without the elaborate musical accompaniment. These new musical innovations led to the development of a new musical vocabulary that included original and borrowed ostinatos, non-traditional chords, augmented and diminished chords and intervals, harmonic progressions, and horn and keyboard riffs.

John Kee was the leader in hip-hop gospel music before Kirk Franklin took hip-hop gospel to its peak in the mid 1990s. During the 1990s Kee released several top selling recordings on the Verity Label including *Show Up* (Verity Records 01241-43010-2) and *Strength* (Verity Records 01241-43108-4). Kee credits the success and popularity to the music’s compatibility to today’s choirs and youth. While Kee and New Life performed in an energetic musical style and often dressed in a manner that appealed to younger gospel fans, the gospel message within their music was always clear.
Another group that excelled in the performance of the urban contemporary gospel style was Hezekiah Walker and the Love Fellowship Crusade Choir. This choir that began singing in the 1980s refined their musical style and became a leader in the urban contemporary choir movement. Collins (1993) reports that this Brooklyn, New York based group, incorporated R & B rhythms and spirited harmonies and movement which ignited a whole new generation of church youth (p. 91). Walker stated to Collins (1993) “what I’ve been trying to do is show that we can have just as much fun with gospel as you do with secular music” (p. 91). Walker and the Love Fellowship Choir combined an urban contemporary hip-hop musical sound with energetic singing and movement. Many artists like Walker turned from the traditional major, minor, augmented, and diminished chords. They even moved beyond the extended or altered chords to create chord clusters that created unique timbres. These unique chords were juxtaposed with traditional chords thus creating a unique sound. An example of these chords can be heard in Hezekiah Walker’s song “Power Belongs to God” (Verity Records 01241-43132-2). Walker was known for creating songs from one line textual cliches that are placed over repetitive musical vamps. Some such songs include, “Clean Inside” (Benson Records 84418-2083-2) and “We’ve Got The Victory” (Verity Records 01241-43023-2).

Another choir that entered the gospel scene in the 1990s that performed all styles of music but later developed into an urban contemporary choir was Sounds of Blackness (Perspective Records CD 9006). Sounds of Blackness came to the Gospel scene by catching the attention of secular producers Terry Lewis and Jimmy Jam. Sounds of Blackness won two Stellar Awards and a Grammy. Collins (1994) reports that the group began in 1968 as the McAlister College Choir (p. 80). They performed primarily
freedom songs and spirituals and throughout the years, the choir gained popularity. In 1971, the musical director, Gary Hines, incorporated the entire spectrum of African American music within their repertoire, thus the choir was named, “The Sounds of Blackness” (Collins, 1994, Gospel Round-Up, p. 80).

The figure who would have the greatest impact in developing the urban contemporary musical style and taking it to its peak was Kirk Franklin. Franklin not only refined the urban contemporary sound, but he led the way in the cross over movement for gospel artists in the 1990s. Franklin, born and raised in Fort Worth, Texas began playing the piano at the age of four after being adopted by a distant aunt, Gertrude Franklin. Collins (1993) reported that by the time Franklin was out of kindergarten he had already begun singing and playing in various White churches (p. 8). By age 11 Franklin was appointed the minister of music at the Mt. Rose Baptist Church. Collins (1993) also reported that at the age of 20, Franklin met Savoy Gospel Director Milton Biggham, who offered him a chance to work with and record one of his songs with the Dallas/Fort Worth Mass choir on their debut recording (Savoy Records SCD 7109). In 1992 Franklin organized the Family, a 17 member aggregation of talented vocalists and musicians. Their first album, Why We Sing (Gospo Centric Records GCD2119) was released in June of 1993. Franklin and the Family’s “The Reason Why We Sing” rose to become the #2 song of the year in 1994. Five months later, at the 9th Annual Stellar Awards, Franklin was named “Best New Artist” and received the award for the “Song of the Year.” Franklin’s success made Gospo Centric Records and Vickie Mack major players in the gospel recording industry and sparked great growth among other independent labels (p. 8). Collins (1999) further states.
that Franklin’s album was considered the landmark album of the 90's and it was a determining factor in the explosive growth of gospel leading into the year 2000, launching Franklin onto the music scene and ushering gospel to mainstream.

"Why We Sing” began Franklin’s domination of the gospel scene. Franklin’s highly-charged mix of urban and contemporary gospel stretched gospel music to its outer limits, redefining all but its message through to another generation who while enthralled with hip hop, began to take a closer look at gospel (p. 7).

After the success of Franklin’s initial recordings and prompted by recording companies, Franklin changed his image and became the leader in urban cross over music. Franklin then recorded his hit “Stomp” (B-Rite Music INTD-90093) with a Dallas based group called “God’s Property,” formed in 1992. As a result of the success of their recording Collins (1997) reports that “their debut album won 11 stellar awards, high rotation on urban radio, landmark appearances on a range of mainstream television shows from MTV and BET to Jay Jeno’s Tonight Show, and sales upward of two million units” (p. 80).

The success opened the door for Franklin and other top gospel artists within mainstream music markets. As the top gospel artist, Franklin set new trends in dress, movement, and pushed the limits of gospel music to the point of creating controversy among traditional gospel listeners concerning the identity and purpose of gospel music. Franklin then began to record with various artists and ultimately developed a group called Nu Nation with whom he recorded several projects at the end of the 1990s and in 2000. Two of the recordings with Nu Nation included other top gospel and secular artists; Revolution (Gospo Centric Records 7575-70037-C) and Kirk Franklin presents INC (B-Rite Records 0694903254). While the musical quality of each project was good, using and discarding so many musical groups did not fair well for Franklin and led to legal problems.

Franklin’s troubles led him to record a project on which he returned to his original musical focus and purpose, music ministry.
Another artist who contributed to the urban contemporary style, was Fred Hammond and Radical for Christ (Benson Records 84418-4008-2; Verity Records 01241-43110-2). Hammond, one of the founders of the group Commissioned, demonstrated that urban contemporary music could be word and ministry based. While many artists were compromising their messages to appeal to mainstream audiences, Hammond continued to offer an uncompromising message and maintained a large Traditional gospel audience. Since Hammond was a bass player, his music tended to contain very rhythmic bass ostinatos and intricate rhythm section arrangements.

Non-musical innovations lead to ambiguity concerning gospel music’s identity.

Hip Hop music not only penetrated gospel music but aspects of the hip-hop culture also effected gospel music performance practices. Its effect was most noted in the dress, language/text, and movement used by urban gospel artists. Gospel artists began wearing hip-hop clothing to appeal to younger audiences. Some of the groups like Trin-I-Tee 5:7, Mary, Mary, Kirk Franklin and others wore tight leather outfits, or halter tops. In addition, many groups began incorporating secular dances within their performances. While the movements and dress were appealing to younger audiences, many traditional gospel fans believed that the hip-hop movements and dress were inappropriate and inconsistent with the gospel message. Some gospel artists even began using slang within their gospel songs.

These factors and others led to controversy concerning the secularization of gospel music. Many gospel fans began to question the difference between gospel music and many of the secular styles (Snyder, 1997, pp. 22-27). Since the texts in many Gospel
songs were now ambiguous and since the music sounded the same as secular styles, many wondered what made gospel music distinctly different from other secular styles (Southern, 1997, p. 608).

Boyer (1995) stated “like New Orleans Traditional music (Dixieland), traditional gospel, the kind that Dorsey espoused, will survive as one type, for in the near future there will surely be many types of Black gospel music” (p. 259). There were indeed many different types of Black gospel music by the 1990s. The musical styles had changed and expanded so greatly that they could no longer be categorized as simply Traditional and Contemporary Gospel music. Collins (1994) identified seven different styles of gospel music. Find them below.

1.) Traditional Gospel: Participatory music designed specifically for the Sunday morning church worship experience, lyrically denoting the message of Jesus Christ.

2.) Contemporary Gospel: Good news” music utilizing secular influences, but designed for worship both within and beyond the walls of Traditional church.

3.) Urban Contemporary Gospel: Incorporating street beats and Urban influences. Urban Contemporary Gospel may have a place in our spiritual lives, but not in the Traditional church worship experience.


5.) Inspirational: Songs that are spiritually inspired or uplifting, but don’t necessarily convey the good news of Jesus Christ.

6.) New Traditional: Gospel music utilizing today’s technology for its updated rhythms, but rooted in the vocal and lyrical execution of Traditional Gospel music.

7.) Praise and Worship: Participatory “Call and response” music designed to provide worshippers with a mechanism to praise within the church experience. (p. 7)
Gospel artists began performing in specific gospel styles.

The debate concerning what is a gospel song and what is not was not new for it was debated during the 1930s and 1970s (Ward, 1956; Maultsby, 1992; Jones, 1998). The artists and other experts who revisited this debate in the 1990s were able to examine historical patterns in gospel music to help answer the question. Yolanda Adams reports to Collins (1994) in the Gospel Round-Up,

as Albertina Walkers said, they (The Caravans) were on the cutting edge when they started out... Now, they’re what we call traditional gospel. I’m glad to be one of the so-called pioneers of what’s going on now for kids who are coming up. My music will definitely be traditional music for them (p. 6).

One thing that this recurring debate achieved in past years was the heralding of newly developing eras within the gospel music field, such as “The Golden Age” or “The Contemporary Era.” During the 1990s however, the debate not only helped to define a new musical era, but it caused many gospel artists to evaluate their personal role within the gospel music industry. Many gospel artists having experimented with various musical styles determined that they would be most effective performing traditional gospel while others chose contemporary, praise and worship, or even urban contemporary styles.

Some Black artists found a home in the predominately White Contemporary Christian market. Although artists such as Ce Ce Winans (Wellspring Records SPD 51826) and Anointed (Myrrh Records 080688585327) maintained a following within the Black gospel field, their main musical base remained within the Contemporary Christian Market. Some artists, such as Tramaine Hawkins, experimented with the urban cross over styles and returned to traditional or contemporary gospel. While Tramaine was once shunned for her secular sounding recordings, the recordings foreshadowed what was to come almost twenty years later. As a pioneer in contemporary gospel music, Tramaine
was one of the first gospel superstars after Mahalia Jackson. Tramaine also became one of the first soloists to record on Columbia Records since Mahalia Jackson in the 1960s. As a tribute to Mahalia Jackson, and through the power of technology, Tramaine recorded "I’ve Found the Answer," that featured Mahalia Jackson on the song (Columbia Records CK 57876). Hawkins also performed a selection on the Grammy and Dove Award winning Handel’s Messiah A Soulful Celebration project.

Vickie Winans, who also experimented unsuccessfully with urban contemporary music, returned to her traditional gospel style and found success. Winans recalled in an interview with Collins 2000,

They say controversy sells, but mine didn’t. Not only was I hurt, but after hearing so much flak, I went to the studio and recorded an apology tape. I made 1500 copies and sent them to radio stations. . . . They slapped me down so hard that when I went down I was contemporary, but I got up traditional singing “No Cross No Crown.” I was criticized for asking people to forgive me, but now, I’m on top of the world . . . It’s amazing to see the acceptance of what I was ostracized for just six years ago. . . . I just don’t think gospel was ready. But Kirk Franklin, Mary, Mary, and Hezekiah Walker, they’re all on time (pp. 4-5).

Not only did she record several solo albums on light record, but she also recorded a comedy album entitled Share the Laughter (CGI Platinum Records 015095533420).

Though urban contemporary artists have found a home among mainstream audiences, the pressure from the traditional gospel audiences causes many urban contemporary artists to include at least one traditional gospel songs on their recordings that will appeal to traditional audiences in Black churches. The artists realize that when all is said and done, their real audience is in the Gospel and church community.
Gospel music gains cross over and cross cultural appeal.

All the changes within gospel music made it more appealing to mainstream audiences and led to a major cross over movement. Because so many gospel singers were crossing over to the secular world and singing inspirational songs, many secular artists also felt comfortable crossing over to the gospel world to record in this new more urban gospel style. It was now easier for secular artists to record and perform gospel music alone or with established gospel artists. Some secular artists that began recording gospel during the 1990s were Gladys Knight, Aaron Neville, Brian McKnight, Boys To Men, Oleta Adams, Helen Baylor, Ron Kenoly, and Whitney Houston. Rev. John Sussewell, Vice President and General Manager for CGI Records and Intersound stated to Snyder (1997)

as for the question asked by Jet Magazine (April 7, 1997) Is Gospel and R&B Merging? . . . “yes,” but not the way people might assume. It is merging in the fact that it is a music for all people. If there are 33 million Blacks in this country, why is gospel only four percent of the market?” (p. 24).

Gospel music is becoming a musical genre that is not only connected to the Black church but to the recording industry. Consequently, the record industry is treating it as any other style of music. Oleta Adams suggests in an interview with Petrie (1997) this is why many R&B Artist are coming “home” to gospel, because they can now sing and have a contract and career (p. 35).

Not only did African American secular artists return from the secular field to record and perform gospel music, but non-African American artists began to perform and record in African American gospel musical styles. White artists such as Gary Oliver and Clint Brown are leading in urban praise and worship styles, while Phil Driscoll performs gospel jazz and artists like Angelo and Veronica, Gene Viale, Jon Gibson, Crystal Lewis,
Dan Willis and The Pentecostals, and the Brooklyn Tabernacle Choir perform in the traditional and contemporary African American gospel styles. Consequently, gospel music became cross-cultural.

**Traditional gospel music still thrives.**

In spite of all of the changes, new innovations, and new artists that came to gospel music, the traditional and contemporary styles of gospel music established in the 1930s through the 1970s continued to be performed. The Gospel Music Workshop of America released a recording featuring its Women's choir entitled *Its Our Time* - GMWA Women of Worship (Aleho International Music TYSD 3006). This recording contained the traditional gospel hit song "Order My Steps" featuring soloist Mimi Redd. *Score Magazine* (1994) reported that this recording released on Aleho International Record rose to number 1 on the top forty charts (November/December, p. 57). The Georgia Mass choir also continued to perform in the traditional gospel music style. This mass choir founded in 1985 by Rev. Milton Biggham, was known for their hard-core gospel singing and maintained a string of hits during the 1980s that were charted on Billboard. In 1996, Georgia Mass was featured as the backup choir for Whitney Houston in the Touchtone film release, *The Preacher's Wife*. This film soundtrack became a platinum seller. The gospel quartets also continued to sing in the traditional gospel style. Traditional quartets that rose to the top of the charts were the Canton Spirituals (Blackberry Records BBD-1600), The Christianaires (Marxan Records MXD 2004), Luther Barnes (Atlanta International Records AIR 10278), and others.
Many of the gospel artists who lived and performed across several musical eras continued to adapt their musical styles to fit the times. They maintained their traditional vocal technique while updating their musical accompaniment. Traditional artists such as Dorothy Norwood (Malaco Records MALD-4476), Albertina Walker, and Shirley Caesar (Myrrh Record 080688605025) were among those who continued to produce top selling records.

New Traditional: A combination of traditional and contemporary styles. Several younger gospel artists who lived and performed throughout several musical eras, were influenced by the various contemporary gospel pioneers, who performed in a variety of styles. The styles frequently combined the traditional, contemporary, and urban styles. The new style was sometimes classified as “New Traditional.” “New traditional” artists included Donald Lawrence, Richard Smallwood, and Kurt Karr.

Donald Lawrence and The Tri-City Singers achieved a contemporary blend of traditional and urban music. Though Donald Lawrence grew up in the church, he began his musical career in secular music. Collins (1993) reports that Lawrence served as the musical director for Stephanie Mills, and a vocal coach for En Vogue for five years (p. 90). Though Tri-City was formed in 1981, they had several directors before Lawrence took leadership of the group in 1992. Collins (1993) believes that “Lawrence’s versatile rhythms and arrangements and distinct take on church music coupled with savvy vocal flair has elevated the genre of “new Traditional Gospel” to a whole new stratosphere” (p. 90). Donald Lawrence and the Tri-City Singers had two successful recordings during the
1990s; *A Songwriter’s Point of View* (Gospo Centric Records GCD2117) for which they received a Stellar award, and *Bible Stories* (Sparrow/Crysal Rose Records SPD1480).

In the 1990’s Richard Smallwood’s recording with Vision, produced such hits as “At The Table” and “Healing.” Following this recording, Smallwood, along with music director Steven Ford and musical arranger Darrin Attwater, produced yet another recording that demonstrated a unique and excellent collaboration between classical and gospel music. Smallwood’s music was very sophisticated and combined traditional, contemporary and classical music techniques.

Another artist who excelled in the performance of many gospel styles was Kurt Karr. Karr a native of Connecticut, was first introduced to the national gospel music community as the accompanist for Rev. James Cleveland. Karr majored in music (conducting) at the University of Connecticut. As a minister of music for First Baptist Church of Hartford, one of Hartford’s largest Black churches, Karr was exposed to traditional gospel music, however, Karr was also influenced by the music of the Hawkins family. Jones (1998) reports that “Karr is known for his diverse musical style that incorporates everything from jazz and classical to hip-hop grooves” (p. 26). Though Karr’s compositions reflect many styles, they were often thought to be too sophisticated for traditional gospel audiences. Karr reported to Jones (1998) concerning his complex musical style,

> I remember once James Cleveland told me that my gospel music was too complex, because most gospel music is pretty basic and simple. . . he said, people can’t understand it, they’ve gotta have something they can feel” (p. 34).

In response to Cleveland’s comments Karr stated to Jones (1998), “but I was trying to incorporate all of my training in my music” (p. 34). Karr continued to incorporate
various musical styles and during the 1990s recorded several recordings with his group the Kurt Karr Singers that propelled him to the top as one of gospel’s finest composers and performers (Gospo Centric Records GCD2138, Gospo Centric Records 06949-0747-2). On each recording one can hear music in the traditional, contemporary, word/ministry, and urban/cross-over styles.

Andrae Crouch, pioneer in versatility within gospel music, released several recordings during the 1990s that contained a mixture of musical styles. After a long departure from the gospel scene, Crouch recorded *Mercy* (Qwest/Warner Records 9-45432-2) and *Pray* (Qwest/Warner Records 9-45924-2). Crouch also released his first Christmas CD entitled *The Gift of Christmas* (Qwest/Warner Records 9-47091-4).

**Choirs thrive as a performing force.**

With all of the diversity the choir remained the top performing entity within the gospel community. Collins (1999) argued, “the mass appeal of choir music lies mainly in its participatory nature, the success of it seemingly to rely heavily upon how easily the music can be duplicated out into the nation’s churches” (p. 78).

Rev. Milton Brunson and the Thompson Community Singers continued to be one of the top gospel choirs during the 1990s. In fact, Collins (1997) reports that the group celebrated 50 years of singing in 1998 (p. 4). Brunson like other long time gospel performers, realized the challenge of maintaining a traditional gospel style with a ministry focus in the midst of all of the changes within the gospel music field. Brunson (1993) stated about the conflict for maintaining the gospel style,
sometimes I have to sit down and tell the guys, hold it, you’re getting a little bit too jazzy and I don’t want to lose sight of God in my songs. “That’s why it’s a problem for us to get played on R & B stations because to say I love you is fine as long as you don’t say I love you Jesus. But I’m gonna say Jesus. He’s the one who brought me. (Collins, 1993, Gospel Round-Up, P. 84).

After Brunson’s death in 1997 the Thompson Community Choir continued to sing and record. Ironically, their new CD entitled The Tommies was heavily influenced by R & B music. This recording was designed to make the group more appealing to urban youth.

One choir that rose to the top during the 1990s was O’lando Draper and the Associates. This Memphis based group formed in 1986 covered all bases with regards to its musical influences, particularly jazz, classical and R & B. Their first break came in performing background vocals for Shirley Caesar on her highly acclaimed I Remember Mama album (A & M Records WR 8447). The hit song was entitled “Just Can’t Stop Praising The Lord.” Caeser who had recorded a previous recording with the Thompson Community Choir decided to turn to a lesser known choir for this recording. She chose Orlando Draper and the Associates. After recording with Shirley Caesar, the group landed a contract with Word records for which they recorded many additional recordings. Each recording was versatile and included many gospel styles (Word/Epic Records EK 48560). The choir was known for its polished choir sound, dynamic lead vocalists, and Draper’s animated directing style. The group became one of the leading choirs as Milton Brunson and the Thompson Community Singers began to decline in popularity. The choir continued to sing until Draper’s unexpected death in 1998. Several years following Draper’s death, the choir recorded a CD entitled All About Him (MCG Records MCG 7016-2) under the direction of Patrina Smith.
A choir that performed and excelled in the urban hip-hop, contemporary and traditional style was Ricky Dillard and New Generation Chorale (Muscle Shoals Sound Gospel Records MSCD 8008). Collins (1993) believes that Ricky Dillard’s flamboyant style of directing earned him top accolades and propelled his choir to the top of gospel charts (p. 87). Dillard who started directing at the age of three was introduced to the national gospel community in 1990 when he and the choir appeared on the PBS gospel TV special Going Home To Gospel which starred Patti Labelle.” Dillard landed a record contract for his group and also landed the role of the choir director in Paramount’s 1992 film release, Leap of Faith that starred Steve Martin (Collins, p. 87). The New Generation Chorale is known for its powerful chest vocal style that is colored by a lot of vibrato. The energy with which the choir performed help to establish a new model for movement within Gospel choirs.

A Pennsylvania based choir that came forth in the 1990s was the Wilmington-Chester Mass Choir. Though this group had been singing for many years, Collins (1993) reports that it was not until 1991 that they caught the attention of the gospel community with their successful album He’s Preparing Me (Atlanta International Records AIR 10162) which featured Daryl Coley on lead vocals. This group was founded and directed by Ernie Davis, who also passed in that same year. This group was very polished and became known for the meticulous nature in which they performed the musical phrasing within their songs. Wilmington-Chester had a traditional gospel delivery style yet they had a contemporary musical sound (Collins, 1993, Gospel Round-Up, P. 92).

Not only did the gospel choir rise to become the most prominent performing force, but the big Mass Choirs grew as a popular performing force. The
The http://www.afrgen.com/Gospel1.html website (2001) reports that the mass choirs and choruses replaced the quartets in terms of overall popularity during the 1990s although quartets maintained popularity and continued to sing. Ironically the most popular choir in the 1990s, Mississippi Mass Choir, was founded and directed by a quartet member, Frank Williams. According to Collins (1993) Mississippi Mass was conceived by Williams in a dream (p. 88). Collins (1993) also reports that Mississippi Mass became known as Gospel music’s “Cinderella success.” Within six years of its inception Mississippi Mass had become the most popular traditional choir in gospel music. Mississippi Mass along with several other choirs were rising as Milton Brunson was declining in popularity. Their debut album topped Billboard charts for more than 50 weeks and earned them five stellar awards. According to Hairston (1994) their song entitled “Your Grace and Mercy” featuring Frank Williams became the #1 song of the year in 1994 (p. 39).

Other performing art forms rise in popularity and are combined with gospel music.

The 1990s also saw the acceptance of the performing arts within many churches. Though this was not a new practice, the arts were being fused with gospel music and incorporated into traditional worship services and gospel concerts. Though the arts had been performed before the 1990s they were now becoming accepted as a form of religious expression and worship. The php.iupui.edu/~apcarpen/history.htm website (2001) reports that “today there is gospel mime, comedy, liturgical dance, coffeehouses, chat rooms on the internet and 24 hour gospel radio in every major urban center in America” (paragraph 12). Gospel musicals and plays also rose in popularity and began to travel across the country featuring top national artists.
Conclusion.

To summarize the events of the 1990s, Collins (1999) editor of the Gospel Round-Up writes,

A decade of planting coupled with the cultivation of a commercial crop of new artists and explosive sales paving the way to a greater commercial acceptance, while helping to shore up new avenues of exposure, made for an abundant harvest in 1999. Some of the top moments in gospel music this decade have revolved around the tremendous sales strides made by a new cadre of gospel artists who with their uncompromising lyrics, unparalleled professionalism and upscale imaging have propelled gospel to even greater heights redefining the boundaries as they go. Though never forgetting the church and that the music is just as clearly ministry. (p. 6).

Phil Petrie (2001) writes,

Gospel music is the 20th century spiritual and the hope of Black people, transmitting meaning in the turn of events that have held them hostage to a hostile society. It evokes a call and response from its listeners and sends a message of hope, joy, suffering and pain. The music expresses the empirical knowledge, eschatology and worldview of Black people (php.iupui.edu/-apcarpen/history.htm website).

These two views capture the essence of what occurred during the 1990s within the Gospel music field.

2000

Gospel enters the new millennium.

Gospel music entered the new millennium as one of the fastest growing genres in the country. The Recording Industry Association of American’s latest figures show that Christian/Gospel music with a 4.3% market share, was the sixth most popular style of music in the United States, behind rock, country, urban contemporary, pop, and rap, but...
ahead of classical, jazz, and new age (Synder, 1997, p. 22). By 2000, Verity Records rose to become the #1 gospel label with the slogan “Verity Records… the Power of truth for a new millennium” (Collins, 1999, 9). Synder (1997) also reported that the interest in gospel music rose to an all time high, including attention from news media, secular recording artists, movie companies and secular labels. Consequently, gospel songs routinely crossed over into mainstream radio (p. 22). Collins (1999) credited Kirk Franklin’s landmark urban contemporary albums of the 1990s, as a major determining factor in the explosive growth of gospel music in the year 2000 (p. 7).

The literature suggests several factors contributed to gospel music’s expansion into mainstream markets. First, gospel music was no longer confined to the Black Church. The http://www.aphen.com/Gospel1.html website (2001) states that

once narrowly defined as religious, gospel has transcended those limits to become a profound force in American music and popular culture. Fueled by major recording companies, it has leaped over its traditional religious walls and is now more than just church music (paragraphs 1 and 2).

Reagon (1992) writes, composers and performers are charting a new course for gospel music, pushing the boundaries of secular and sacred song, exploring new ways to create blends of African-based and European-based musical elements, and achieving access to widening audiences beyond worship congregations (p. 18).

Because gospel music was no longer confined to the Black church, Gospel music record sales expanded into mainstream music markets. While the urban contemporary gospel styles were most accepted in the mainstream markets, the traditional styles of gospel were also experiencing high volume record sales in traditional gospel markets. Though the gospel market was flooded with hundreds of talented singers and musicians and sales were at record highs, the php.iupui.edu/~apcarpen/history.htm website (2001)
reports that “only a few profit from this great Black idiom” (paragraph 13). The php.iupui.edu/-apcarpen/history.htm website (2001) also reports that many gospel artists who created this music and have paid their dues for many years still do not earn the money that pop, rock and classical artists earn” (paragraph 13).

Has gospel music gone too far?

As Gospel music moves beyond the church and becomes a popular mainstream musical genre, many gospel listeners still ask the question in 2000, has gospel music gone too far? As contemporary gospel groups attempt to reach the youth and non-Christians market, and as religious labels adopt “secular” promotion methods, the question posed by Boyer (1979) still remains unanswered, “Is it possible that one day gospel music will no longer belong to the church?” (p. 6). In some regards gospel music has become so similar to secular musical genres that it has become difficult for many people to distinguish the difference between gospel music and other secular musical genres. Recording artist John Kee reported to Jones (1998),

that when watching the recent Stellar Awards telecast it was a bit unsettling. I couldn’t pinpoint anything to individualize us. I understand the contemporary sound, I have one myself. But now-a-days, I’ve started to ask myself questions about where the industry is going. We used to have much more commitment to each other and the ministry (p. 250).

Others may ask however, is gospel going too far or is it simply treading new territory in 2000 as the gospel pioneers of old did in the 1930s and 1960s? As previously reported gospel pioneer Albertina Walkers believed that her group the Caravans were on the cutting edge when they started out (Collins, 1994, p. 6). Their style which was on the cutting edge in the 1940s and 1950s is now called Traditional, however, Yolanda Adams
reports, to Collins (1994), “I’m glad to be one of the so-called pioneers of what’s going on now for kids who are coming up. My music will definitely be Traditional music for them” (p. 6). The http://www.afgen.com/Gospel1.html website (2001) suggests that “as gospel music moves beyond its incubator—the church—it is imperative to understand where it is, where it has been, and where it is going” (paragraph 6). Though the mainstreaming of gospel music has built bridges to new audiences outside of traditional Black church audiences, the main concern for many is not related to its expansion and growth but its purpose and function.

The continuation of gospel eras.

Since Thomas Dorsey, there has been a continual line of gospel artists who have combined old music styles and techniques with new musical elements to develop new styles of gospel music. Many of the traditional gospel styles will continue as long as the protegees of gospel music’s pioneers continue to perform. Though gospel lost many of its founding pioneers in the 1990s, many gospel pioneers from various eras continue to perform and record in the year 2000. Artist such as Albertina Walker, Shirley Caesar, Dorothy Norwood, Inez Andrews, Delores Barrett & Barrett Sisters, and others adapted their musical styles throughout the years, while maintaining their traditional vocal styles in order to remain current. Traditional artists continued the Cleveland vocal and choir tradition and several contemporary artists continued to explore the boundaries of contemporary music in 2000. Many of the traditional gospel quartets that started in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s were till singing in 2000. The modern quartets who began singing in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s continue to carry the quartet tradition in the year
2000. There were a number of successful praise and worship artists and gospel jazz musicians performing in the year 2000.

The mantle of musical versatility established by musicians like Andre Crouch and Thomas Whitfield has been taken up by new artists and they continued to compose and perform in 2000. Even the hymns and early gospel songs of composers like Charles Tindley, Garfield Haywood, Thomas Dorsey, Lucie Campbell, Kenneth Morris, Roberta Martin, and Herbert Brewster are being rearranged and revived for new and younger gospel audiences. As gospel enters the 21st century, it is not in danger of becoming obsolete. Reagon (1992b) writes, “today gospel music can either be appropriated from a hymn or spiritual by a well-versed performance or it can be composed as a new song and performed in a variety of gospel styles” (p. 4). As long as composers keep looking back to older gospel songs as a musical source and continue adding new musical elements, both old and new gospel musical styles will continue.

The future of gospel music.

The early pioneers such as Dorsey and Morris were criticized for the “jazzy” sound of their music, and the Hawkins and the Clark Sisters were criticized for their crossover music. Many of their songs that were criticized later gained acceptance by traditional gospel music listeners. History suggests that what is controversial today may be accepted tomorrow. An example of this are two songs recorded by Tramaine Hawkins in the 1980s. Ironically Tramaine’s “Fall Down” and “Wake Up Singing Hallelujah” (A & M Records, 1993) were both re-recorded in 2000 without any major musical rearrangement (Kelli Williams, Fall Down 2000, Myrrh Records 7012671262). In
comparison to the urban contemporary music of the 1990s and 2000, they fit perfectly with other songs recorded by urban contemporary artists. Another example is Andrae Crouch’s music from his 1980 recording entitled *Don’t Give Up* (Warner Bros. Records 2-3513) that was controversial then but fits perfectly today. Even artists like Richard Smallwood, and Kurt Karr whose music was thought to be too sophisticated, was later embraced and accepted by audiences many years later, especially as gospel has moved into the academy and across cultures. Many of their songs composed in the 1970s, and 1980s, fit well with the contemporary sounds of the 1990s and 2000. It points to the forwardness of these composers and shows that they were indeed ahead of their time. Pastor George Bloomer was asked by his young congregants, why the church considered some urban contemporary gospel styles to be “worldly?” Bloomer (1997) responded by stating,

I believe it has to do with a paradigm. The way we view things, we don’t like change. Each generation has to contend with the traditions of the old generation. The real answer to the question is that rap speaks to the generation of today, and many church folks are afraid of anything new. You see, the church is twenty years behind the world. We are yet embracing the old paradigms which once brought victory; still waiting for the old fashioned Holy Ghost revivals to rekindle (p. 30)

This helps to explain, why songs that were criticized 20 years ago, are accepted today. Perhaps the gospel trailblazers of the 1990s and 2000 are simply charting a path for future gospel artists to follow. Therefore, it is important to recognize the historical pattern of how gospel music has developed as a basis for its future expansion and growth rather than seeing any change as a threat to the genre. Though gospel music permeates other cultures and religious denominations and is crossing over into mainstream markets,
history confirms that it has and will remain connected to the Black church as its initial and primary audience.
CHAPTER 3

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Gospel Music and 20th Century Definitions.

African American gospel music, a relatively young art form, has changed and developed significantly since its early years. Though the major developments of gospel music have been documented through scholarly and popular sources, the history of gospel music has not been documented within one comprehensive source. Burnim (1980), who surveyed a number of scholarly and popular sources on gospel music, also acknowledged that there was no single source from which information on the historical development of African American gospel music could be reviewed (p. 63).

Chapter 2 highlighted the significant events and musical developments that shaped African American gospel music. In order to understand the musical and social factors that led to the early years of gospel music, a review of influential events from the late nineteenth century was necessary. Therefore, this study’s review of literature considered literature from scholarly and popular sources from the pre-1900s through 2000. A definition that encompassed the developmental periods and emerging styles of 20th century gospel music was formulated and reported in subsequent chapters.
A review of music dictionaries and other scholarly references reveals three distinct definitions for gospel music. Davidson (1975), Anderson and North (1979), and Randel (1986) refer to a form of Christian music from the first century that contained the gospel message of Jesus Christ and any subsequent song containing such a message. An example of this definition is as follows.

"that the musical expression of a personal religious experience, the singing of the good news of Christ, is as old as Christianity itself. The apostle Paul records the singing of the Gospel by the early Christians (Ephesians 5:19). From the eighth century, John Mason Neale drew the hymn of Christ's compassion by Stephen and Sabite, "Art Thou Weary, Art Thou Languid." Further in hymnody, the Gospel is seen in hymns of the Moravian Brethren and Isaac Watts, to mention a few. Many of Charles Wesley's hymns were used in the Wesleyan revival during the 1700's, leading many persons to Christian commitment. Thus, throughout the history of Christian song the singing of the Gospel is everywhere present, not being relegated to any particular type of song" (Davidson, 1975, p. 136).

A second definition refers to a form of White Hymnody created in the 1800s during the Evangelistic Movements (Davidson, 1975; Eskew, 1980; Randel, 1986; Oliver, Harrison, and Bolcom, 1986; and Sadie, 1994). A sample definition for this form of gospel music would be as follows.

a type of song that developed out of the Great Awakening and Great Evangelistic Movement of the early 19th century (Davidson, 1975, p. 136).

The third definition describes gospel music as a form of music created and performed within the African American church (Eskew, 1980; Randel, 1986; Oliver, Harrison, and Bolcom, 1986; and Sadie, 1994). An example of this definition is as follows.

Black American Protestant sacred singing and an associated 20th century sacred genre; also Gospel music, Gospel song. In this style vocalist radically embellish simple melodies and in full and falsetto voice, they shout, hum, growl, moan, whisper, scream, cry. By adding florid melismas and tricky syncopations, altering given pitches with blue notes and glissandos, and interpolating formulaic phrases ("Lord have mercy," "well, well, well"), they freely extend or repeat and fragment the text. Spontaneous or choreographed dancing, clapping, and stomping may accompany the singing. . . . Accompanying instruments, if present are piano,
Hammond organ, or guitar, alone or with bass, drums, and tambourine. Performances may include open-ended ostinatos, in which a soloist’s improvised comments alternate with a repeated phrase of text. Many “Gospel songs” (exemplified by the compositions of Thomas A. Dorsey) have 16-bar antecedent and consequent tonal schemes” (Randel, The New Harvard Dictionary of Music, 1986, p. 344).

Although African American gospel music is related by text and musical form to the gospel music styles described in the first and second definitions, the third definition specifically describes African American gospel music, the focus of this study (Randel, 1986). The New Harvard Dictionary of Music (Randel, 1986) provides a descriptive definition of African American gospel music, however, it does not offer insight or details concerning its origin (Randel, 1986). Therefore, additional definitions were examined to account for the origin of African American gospel music. Heilbut (1971), Walker (1979), Reagon (1992), Boyer (1995), and Southern (1997), scholars on the music of African Americans, offer details on the origin of African American gospel music and provide descriptions of the performance styles, such as the definition below.

During the late 1920's Thomas Dorsey, a former jazz and blues musician, began to turn to the church and its music. He began adapting blues and jazz rhythms to the writing of sacred verse and coined the term "Gospel" to differentiate the new song form from what was the current sacred music repertoire being performed in African American churches (Reagon, 1992, p. 15).

Although writings by these African American scholars provide greater insight, they do not account for the numerous stylistic variations that have evolved within gospel music. Perhaps the identity of African American gospel music has become ambiguous and is continually debated because the definitions written to date do not adequately account for what Gospel music was in past years or what it has become. Since most definitions are static, describing the origins or specific musical components, may not account for the changing nature of the music.
The research questions were examined through an assessment of the literature. The results of this analysis are presented in Chapter 4. The chapter culminates with a comprehensive definition of 20th century African American gospel music. The definition evolved from an assessment of literature presented in Chapter 2 of this study and an examination of video and audio recordings of key recorded music examples from each historical period.

**Materials and Resources.**

In order to examine the stylistic developments that occurred in 20th century African American gospel music, audio and video recordings were examined in addition to printed resources. Two extensive recording collections were available for review. One collection was the Pauline Wells Lewis Collection. Pauline Wells Lewis was a pioneering gospel radio announcer during the late 1950s and 1960s, and a gospel concert promoter in Baltimore, Maryland and along the East Coast. During her career she promoted concerts featuring the major gospel artists of the “Golden Age of Gospel” as well as those of the contemporary gospel era of the 1970s and 1980s. As a promoter of gospel artists, she served as an East Coast liaison for many nationally recognized West Coast and Mid Western gospel artists, sponsoring major concerts and events from the 1960s through the 1990s. In addition, she was one of the original board members of the Gospel Music Workshop of America (GMWA) and one of the founding members of its Radio Announcer’s Guild. Her work as a gospel music radio announcer and promoter allowed her to develop an extensive collection of gospel recordings.
Upon her death more than 1000 recordings dating back to the 1950s were made available to me. This collection included the first recordings of contemporary artists such as Andrae Crouch, Edwin Hawkins, Tramaine Hawkins, and original recordings of the great Gospel pioneers including Roberta Martin, Clara Ward and the Ward Singers, Alex Bradford, Marion Williams, Bessie Griffin, The Raymond Rasberry Singers, James Cleveland, Mahalia Jackson and others. In addition to the recordings, among the Pauline Wells Lewis Collection were personal artifacts that belonged to her and her sisters. These artifacts included photographs, programs, flyers, posters, and ticket stubs from various gospel events she promoted and participated in over the past 50 years. The sisters of Pauline Wells Lewis (Thelma Morris, Sylvia Person, and Lucille Geyton), having been musically literate musicians, also possessed an extensive collection of sheet music dating back to the 1920’s. Within this collection was an original copy of “Gospel Pearls”, the first hymnbook to include the word “gospel” in its title created in 1921. There was also sheet music from gospel pioneers like Thomas Dorsey, Kenneth Morris, Sallie Martin, and Roberta Martin that dated back to the 1920s and 1930s. The materials within this collection provided primary artifacts including written and recorded music examples that could be examined for evidence.

Another collection of original recordings and artifacts available for review was the Robert M. Simmons Collection. This collection, housed at Trinity Lutheran Seminary in Columbus, Ohio, was donated by Robert M. Simmons, former Professor of Sacred Music, who served as the Dean of the Academic Division of the Gospel Music Workshop of American from 1977 to 2000. This collection contains extensive original gospel, jazz, and blues recordings (LPs and 78s dating back to the 1930s), original sheet
music and hymn books (dating back to the 1800s), books, articles, journals and other personal artifacts. The primary artifacts helped to verify many of the historical accounts reported within various scholarly and popular sources that were reviewed.

Compilation and Organization of the Sources.

The sources used for this study were examined. Recordings were organized chronologically by the publication dates and record company serial numbers. Key examples were selected and analyzed to identify core musical characteristics and to determine the artists who first applied the core musical characteristics. Most of the sheet music reviewed contained copyright dates, however, sheet music and artifacts that were undated, were cross-referenced with other listings of compositions and publications to determine dates of origin. Based on the information provided in each source, I then sorted all of the materials by decade, beginning with the pre-gospel era decades and continuing with each decade through the year 2000.

The significant social, political, and musical events and innovations that occurred within each time period were considered. The sources were organized into categories starting with the pre-gospel years, and proceeded chronologically from 1900 through 2000. The following topics were used to organize the data.

Musical Influences and Innovation
- Rendetions (Forms, Genres)
- Non-Gospel Musical Influences (Secular and Sacred)
- Innovations

Performance Practices
- Performing Forces (Solo, Duet, Trio, Quartet, Small Groups, Choirs, etc.)
- Improvisation
- Movement (Rocking, clapping, foot stomping, choreography, etc.)
- Dress/Uniform
Text Retentions and Innovations

Black Church Influence

External Influences
  Political
  Social

Major Performers and Composers
  Singers
  Instrumentalists
  Composers
  Recording Artists

Gospel Music Education
  Conventions, Training
  Historical Research, Documentation
CHAPTER 4

THE ASSESSMENT OF LITERATURE

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to review the development of 20th century African American gospel music in order to provide a comprehensive definition of the music. The study began with an examination of the historical and musical development of African American gospel music as evidenced in scholarly and popular sources. The literature review began with the pre-gospel era (ca. 1860 – ca. 1920), and culminated with the year 2000. By documenting and reviewing the history of 20th century gospel music, it was my goal to distinguish the characteristics of African American gospel music from other musical styles that are also referred to by the name “gospel music,” identify the core musical elements of African American gospel music, and provide a comprehensive definition of African American gospel music based on the music’s significant historical and stylistic developments throughout the 20th century.
WHAT DISTINGUISHES AFRICAN AMERICAN GOSPEL MUSIC FROM OTHER MUSICAL STYLES THAT ARE ALSO REFERRED TO BY THE NAME “GOSPEL MUSIC?”

Though people tend to categorize all sacred songs containing the gospel message of faith, hope, and assurance as gospel songs, it should be noted that all gospel songs are not the same. The distinctions can be observed by reviewing the three recurring definitions of gospel music that appear within the literature. According to these definitions, gospel music includes texts from the biblically base “gospel message” (Davidson, 1975; Butler, 1979); a form of hymnody developed by White composers during the Evangelistic Movement of the 1800s (Davidson, 1975; Eskew, 1980, Southern, 1997); and music developed in the Black church by African Americans during the late 1920s (Walker, 1979; Reagon, 1992; Southern, 1997). Writers who use the latter description to define gospel music also state the music combined elements of blues and jazz with hymns and spirituals.

Some listeners may believe all songs heard in African American churches are examples of gospel music. Examples are listed in Table 4.1. The table includes the titles of songs frequently heard in African American churches, the composer or arranger’s name and racial identity, the time period in which the songs were composed, and music characteristics of the song. Although the songs listed in the table show links to the definitions cited in this study, close examination shows that some songs are not examples of African American gospel music. For example, “What a Friend We Have in Jesus” is a 19th century European American gospel hymn. However, this song as recorded by James
Cleveland (Savoy Records SCD 7111) uses African American performance characteristics such as pentatonic scales, flatted thirds and seventh, call and response, and no strict tempo. Clearly, the song as performed on the Cleveland recording has been adapted and performed in the African American gospel tradition and includes characteristics described by Walker (1979), Reagon (1992), and Southern (1997). Songs such as the Contemporary Christian song “We Shall Behold Him” and the early European Hymn “Amazing Grace” are not examples of African American gospel music. However, when a performance of these songs is adapted to included elements of the African American gospel music tradition, the song’s origin is confounded. In Table 4.1, origin and classification of songs composed and performed in the African American gospel music tradition are distinctively clear. Analyses and descriptions presented in Chapter 2 of this study show the most significant distinction of African American gospel music is the presence of core musical elements from the African American musical aesthetic. The core elements include pentatonic scales, flatted thirds and sevenths, 12/8 rhythms, call and response, tempos ranging from fast to no strict tempo, instrumental accompaniment, vocal techniques, syncopated rhythms, and improvisation (Ricks, 1961; Butcher, 1970; Eskew, 1980; Boyer 1992; Reagon, 1992; Williams-Jones, 1992; Southern, 1997).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song Title</th>
<th>Composer(s) and Arranger</th>
<th>Composer's Racial Identity</th>
<th>Compositional Time Period</th>
<th>Musical Classification and Characteristic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“We’ll Understand it Better By and By”</td>
<td>Charles Tindley</td>
<td>African American</td>
<td>1905</td>
<td>African American Gospel Hymn. Written in the strophic form (with a verse and chorus) Uses a pentatonic melody.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Precious Lord”</td>
<td>Thomas Dorsey</td>
<td>African American</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>Early Gospel Song. Performed with no strict tempo or with a tempo. Written in strophic hymn form. Uses a diatonic scale, although the 3rds and 7ths may be bent or flattened in performance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Surely God Is Able”</td>
<td>Herbert Brewster</td>
<td>African American</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>Traditional Gospel Song. Written in the 12/8 Gospel waltz rhythm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Stomp”</td>
<td>Kirk Franklin</td>
<td>African American</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Urban Contemporary Gospel Song, which uses hip-hop musical elements.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1: Distinguishing Characteristics among African American and Non-African American Gospel Songs
The second conclusion that can be drawn from the historical data is that African American gospel music can be distinguished from other African American sacred musical styles. Though people tend to categorize all African American sacred songs as either spirituals or gospel songs, it should be noted that all African American sacred songs are not the same. According to Simmons (1998), gospel music is one of six distinct African American sacred musical styles. Although Simmons includes psalmody—a style adapted by early African Americans—as a style of African American music, only lined hymns, spirituals, gospel hymns, and songs composed in the standard classical form are representative examples of African American sacred music. Simmons identifies four types of spirituals (see table 4.2). Chapter 2 of this study shows the spirituals were precursors to African American gospel music. Moreover, the different types of spirituals are distinctly different from one another. For example, the oral spiritual was created and performed by slaves usually without accompaniment and with improvised vocal parts. The concert spiritual requires specific vocal parts and is performed with European classical vocal techniques. The congregational spiritual is performed with instrumental accompaniment, and the gospel spiritual is performed with or without accompaniment in the gospel vocal style (Dargen, 1983; Reagon, 1994; Boyer, 1995, Southern, 1997, Simmons, 1998).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>African American Sacred Musical Genres</th>
<th>Song Example</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Time Period of Composition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.) Lined or Metered Hymns*</td>
<td>“A Charge to Keep I Have”</td>
<td>Composer unknown</td>
<td>1700s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.) Spirituals</td>
<td>“I’ve Been Buked”</td>
<td>Composer unknown</td>
<td>1700s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oral</td>
<td>“Deep River”</td>
<td>Harry T. Burleigh</td>
<td>1800s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concert</td>
<td>“I’m A Soldier In The Army of the Lord”</td>
<td>Charles Mason</td>
<td>1900s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congregational</td>
<td>“Plenty Good Room”</td>
<td>James Cleveland</td>
<td>1950s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gospel</td>
<td>“I’m Happy in Jesus Alone”</td>
<td>Charles Price Jones</td>
<td>1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.) Gospel Hymns</td>
<td>“Walking Up The King’s Highway”</td>
<td>Thomas Andrew Dorsey</td>
<td>1940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.) Gospel Songs</td>
<td>The Ordering of Moses (oratorio)</td>
<td>Robert Nathaniel Dett</td>
<td>1937</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note that while African Americans performed psalmody, line hymns, and composed gospel hymns, and sacred music in the European classical style, they did not develop these genres. They adopted them from European Americans and transformed them into a unique African American genre by applying an African American performance style.

Table 4.2: African American Sacred Musical Genres
Although African American sacred music styles share common musical elements, texts, and performance practices, they can be distinguished as unique art forms by their dates of origin, the use of core elements, text, and the application of specific performance practices. Thus, the data indicate that African American gospel music is distinctly different from other African American and non-African American sacred music also known as “gospel music.”

WHAT ARE THE CORE MUSICAL ELEMENTS OF AFRICAN AMERICAN GOSPEL MUSIC?

In summary of the research of gospel music from its beginnings to the present, there are three significant observations that will help to identify the core gospel musical elements and reveal the stylistic developments that have occurred within African American gospel music during the 20th century.

Historical Pattern

From the summary of the research presented in chapter 2 of this study, a historical pattern or cyclical recurrence of events enables one to clearly divide the history of gospel music into distinct Gospel Music Eras from which several Gospel Musical and Performance Styles emerged. Table 4.3 identifies the stylistic eras identified from the review of literature. While many authors identify specific style periods in gospel music (Walker, 1979; Dargen, 1983; Reagon, 1992; Boyer, 1995; Southern,
1997), the eras identified in this study should help to further delineate the major stylistic developments of gospel music throughout the 20th century.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gospel Music Eras</th>
<th>Approximate Time Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Congregational Era (Pre-Gospel Era)</td>
<td>1900s – 1920s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional Era</td>
<td>1920s – 1960s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contemporary Era</td>
<td>1960s – 1970s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry Era</td>
<td>1980s – 1990s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crossover Era</td>
<td>1990s – 2000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.3: Table of Gospel Eras and Time Periods.

Within each Gospel Music Era, one can note the use of new musical elements, performance practices, or performance environments that were distinct to that period. However, one can also observe how innovative composers and musicians began to adapt and use the core musical and non-musical elements of gospel in new ways. By combining the old with new compositional and performance trends, influential gospel composers and performers paved the way for new trends in gospel music performance. Each style is named for either the significant or dominant musical or performance
characteristics that were used by the gospel artists or for the external influences on the
gospel composers and artists of that time. Based upon the historical and musical
evidence provided in this study eleven Gospel Musical and Performance Styles emerged
from the five Gospel Music Eras. Table 4.4 identifies the five Gospel Music Eras and
the eleven Gospel Musical and Performance Styles, and notes the composers/performers
who emerged.

The most significant historical pattern observed within each era includes the
following: the ongoing interaction between sacred and secular music. Because of the
close connection between sacred and secular African American music and the continual
borrowing of musical elements between both types of music, a pattern involving the
rejection, acceptance, and promotion of a new gospel musical style or era has continued.
The summary of research in this study shows the entrance of a new style often expands or
pushed the boundaries of gospel music beyond acceptance in the Black church. While a
song in the new style may not find initial acceptance in the Black church, the song is
often embraced by mainstream popular audiences. The promotional efforts of record
producers and others and the resulting profit from these efforts increases the music’s
familiarity an ultimate acceptance among members of the Black church community.
Meanwhile, gospel artists continue to blend new contemporary musical elements with
traditional elements, often achieving a balance of the old and new music styles.
Throughout the era, the music is further refined and taken to its peak by other gospel
artists. The cycle repeats when new music is presented with strong secular musical
influences.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hymn Style</strong>&lt;br&gt;William Sherwood,&lt;br&gt;Charles Price Jones&lt;br&gt;Charles Mason,&lt;br&gt;Garfield Haywood,&lt;br&gt;Charles Tindley&lt;br&gt;Lucie Campbell</td>
<td><strong>Early Classic Gospel Style</strong>&lt;br&gt;Thomas Dorsey&lt;br&gt;Charles Henry Pace&lt;br&gt;Sallie Martin&lt;br&gt;Doris Akers&lt;br&gt;Theodore Frye&lt;br&gt;Magnolia Butts&lt;br&gt;Willie Mae Ford Smith&lt;br&gt;Kenneth Morris&lt;br&gt;Herbert Brewster</td>
<td><strong>Total Style</strong>&lt;br&gt;Robert Wooten&lt;br&gt;Clinton Utterbach&lt;br&gt;James Peterson&lt;br&gt;Fernande Allen&lt;br&gt;William Sydnor</td>
<td><strong>Contemporary Jazz &amp; Blues Style</strong>&lt;br&gt;Thomas Whitfield&lt;br&gt;Elbernita &quot;Twakie&quot; Clark&lt;br&gt;Vanessa Bell&lt;br&gt;Daryl Coley&lt;br&gt;Ben Tankard&lt;br&gt;Take Six&lt;br&gt;Mervyn Warren&lt;br&gt;Kim Bernell</td>
<td><strong>Urban Style</strong>&lt;br&gt;John Cece&lt;br&gt;BeBe and Ce Ce Winans&lt;br&gt;Yolanda Adams&lt;br&gt;Kirk Franklin&lt;br&gt;Fred Hammond&lt;br&gt;Mary, Mary&lt;br&gt;ToneX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Quartet Style</strong>&lt;br&gt;Dixie Hummingbirds&lt;br&gt;Ravine Singers</td>
<td><strong>Late Classic Gospel Style</strong>&lt;br&gt;Robert Martin&lt;br&gt;Kenneth Morris&lt;br&gt;Albertina Walker&lt;br&gt;Herbert Brewster&lt;br&gt;Chaza Ward&lt;br&gt;Mahalia Jackson&lt;br&gt;Raymond Rasberry&lt;br&gt;Alex Bradford&lt;br&gt;James Cleveland&lt;br&gt;Jessie Dixon&lt;br&gt;Mattie Moss Clark&lt;br&gt;Shirley Caesar</td>
<td><strong>Classical Style</strong>&lt;br&gt;Richard Smallwood&lt;br&gt;Henry Davis&lt;br&gt;Wesley Boyd&lt;br&gt;Robert Pryson</td>
<td><strong>Word Style</strong>&lt;br&gt;Andre Crouch&lt;br&gt;Winans&lt;br&gt;Commissioned&lt;br&gt;Donald Lawrence&lt;br&gt;Kurt Carr</td>
<td><strong>Praise and Worship Style</strong>&lt;br&gt;Patrick Henderson&lt;br&gt;Ron Kenoly&lt;br&gt;Carlton Pearson&lt;br&gt;Rodney Posey&lt;br&gt;Judith Christie-McAllister</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.4: Gospel Music Eras and Gospel Musical and Performance Styles
When considering the different gospel musical and performance styles, one observes that though a composer/performer is influenced by and seemingly prefers a particular style, the musical product is a result of the composer’s or performer’s exposure to and influence from various gospel musical and performance styles. The resulting product either leads to the development of a new style or to an eclectic style which incorporates musical elements from several gospel musical and performance styles.

When considering the significant musical innovations and social factors of each era one will conclude that a specific musical process occurred within each era to advance the development of gospel music. In addition, one will conclude that each era served a specific purpose and function in the overall growth and development of the African American gospel music genre. Table 4.5 provides an assessment of the overall musical processes, functions and purposes of each Gospel Music Era.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gospel Music Eras</th>
<th>Gospel Musical and Performance Styles</th>
<th>Pioneering Composers and Artists</th>
<th>Primary Performing Forces</th>
<th>Primary Venue for Training and Exposure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900s-1920s</td>
<td>Quartet Style</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Created</td>
<td>1920s-30s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>Late Classic Gospel Style</td>
<td>Herbert Brewster, Mahalia Jackson, Clara Ward, Robert Martin, Albertina Walker, James Cleveland, Mattie Moss-Clark, Alex Bradford, Raymond Rasberry, Jesse Dixon</td>
<td>Groups and Quartets</td>
<td>Church of God In Christ Midnight Musicals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shared and Accepted</td>
<td>1940s-60s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gospel Music Workshop of America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shared</td>
<td>Classical Style</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Edwin Hawkins Music and Arts Seminar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970s</td>
<td>Contemporary Style</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry</td>
<td>Contemporary Jazz and Blues Style</td>
<td>Thomas Whitfield, Vanessa Bell, Daryl Coley, Take 6, Andre Crouch, The Winans, Commissioned, Donald Lawrence, Patrick Henderson, Judith Christie-McAllister</td>
<td>All performing forces (congregational, soloists, groups, quartets, choirs)</td>
<td>Various Church Conventions and Pre-existing Gospel Music Conventions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Versatility-Expressed</td>
<td>1980s-90s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crossover</td>
<td>Urban Style</td>
<td>John Koo, Hezekiah Walker, BeBe and CeCe Winans, Yolanda Adams, Kirk Franklin, Fred Hammond, Mary, Marv, Tonex</td>
<td>All performing forces</td>
<td>Bobby Jones Gospel Explosion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popularized</td>
<td>1990s-2000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Congregational Era (1900s – 1920s – present)

While scholars date the beginnings of African American gospel music to around 1930, the preceding thirty years were crucial in preparing the way for the entrance of gospel music into the Black church (Southern, 1997; Boyer, 1995). Horace Boyer wrote, “when the history of African American gospel music is written, the first period will extend from 1893 to 1921, a period of radical and successful transition in the traditional Black sacred music from the beloved antebellum spiritual of the rural Black Christian to the Modern era gospel music of the urban Black Christian” (1992). During these early years, several sacred and secular musical genres were developed and were eventually merged by pioneering gospel composers to form gospel music. In this study, the first era in the history of gospel music is called the Congregational Era. Scholars acknowledge that the music of the Black church during this period was primarily performed by the church congregation rather than by a selected group or choir (Reagon, 1994; Dargen, 1983). Though the worship styles in the Black church spanned from the extremely European style to the extremely African style in their aesthetic expressions, congregational music was vital to music and worship in the Black church (Simmons, 1997).

The literature shows that while various congregational musical forms were being performed concurrently within African American churches, it was in the Holiness and Pentecostal churches that congregational music evolved into a form that would provide a model and foundation for gospel music. It was also in these churches that instrumental accompaniment made its way into the Black church. Reagon (1992) states that these Pentecostal songs and ‘this new singing with instrumental accompaniment was a

251
departure from the Methodist and Baptist congregational styles” where the *a cappella* spirituals and lined metered hymns were predominately performed” (p. 13). “With tambourines and the washtub bass, and later the piano and other instruments moving as percussive forces in the musical compositions, these congregational songs had all the fire and potential for evoking spirit possession, a crucial ingredient in Holiness worship practices. Thus, twentieth-century gospel had found its spiritual nurturing ground” (Reagon, 1992, pp. 13-14).

In the early 1900s, the migration of many southern Blacks to northern cities led to the development of various Black church denominations. Consequently, significant musical developments occurred such as the performance of European Hymnody, the development of Black Hymnody within traditional Black denominations, the addition of instrumental accompaniment to hymns and congregational spirituals in the Holiness and Pentecostal denominations, the Jubilee Quartets, and the development of blues, jazz, and ragtime (Rick, 1960; Whalum, 1973). Two significant factors caused blues and jazz to penetrate the African American church. The fact that many Black preachers were former blues singers before converting to Christianity led to the inevitable introduction of blues singing techniques such as flattened notes and pentatonic scales within the Black church. The other significant factor was that many blues and jazz musicians were also part-time church musicians, who played in clubs and juke joints on Saturday night and in church on Sunday morning. These factors within the African American community are believed to have paved the way for the “Gospel blues” that Thomas A. Dorsey would later develop and introduce.
The Gospel Musical and Performance Styles that rose during the Congregational Era include the *Hymn Style* and the *Quartet Style*. Tables 4.6 and 4.7 outline the significant musical characteristics of the Gospel Musical and Performance Styles that developed during the Congregational Era.

Though the Congregational Era occurred prior to the beginnings of gospel music, the musical developments that occurred during this period are both significant and crucial to understanding the gospel blues that Dorsey would later develop. Therefore, this study includes the Congregational Era with the overall history of African American gospel music, making it the first era in the history of African American gospel music.
| Purpose/Rationale | HYMN STYLE  
Musical Characteristics | Composers and Performers |
|------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| As early as 1890s African Americans were beginning to compose Hymns. These hymns became the predecessors to Gospel music. | The main distinction between these hymns and the White hymns of the 1800s was the incorporation of African American rhythms and musical elements. The white hymns were modified by applying pentatonic, scales, flatted notes, seventh chords, and bouncy or marchlike rhythms with up beat tempos. In addition Blacks transformed the words to be relevant to their situation. Some Black Gospel hymns were in strophic form (one part) and others were in two-part form with a verse and chorus. The A section would tell a story or situation and the B section would emphasize the theme or moral. The chorus would often be sung first becoming the A section. Some hymns were call and response choruses with bass lead vocals. Other hymns were lined or metered hymns. Song tempos were slow to moderate, fast, or “without regular pulse” or “ad lib.” The songs in the Baptist lining-hymn tradition, were performed freely without a strict pulse. The White hymns were also modified by the use of altered rhythmical pulses. Duple Meter, Compound Meter and Triple Meter (12/8, 9/8, 6/8) | Williams Sherwood  
Charles Price Jones  
Charles Mason  
Garfield T. Haywood  
Charles Tindley  
Lucie Campbell |

Tindley’s music used heavy accents in the dotted-rhythm patterns, with a relatively subtle syncopation or none at all, martial rhythms, and “stopped” rhythms. Hymn melodies were simple but catchy. The harmony in hymns included only three or four chords. Black Hymns were primarily performed in African American churches, although White Protestant hymns were also performed in Mainline denominational churches. Early Black Gospel hymns were performed by soloists who traveled the country demonstrating these new Hymns and early Gospel songs. The hymns of these pioneering composers have been used throughout the history of Gospel music as a source from which composers have borrowed melodies, harmonies and text.

Table 4.6: Gospel Musical Development Chart – Hymn Style
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose/Rationale</th>
<th>QUARTET STYLE</th>
<th>Composers and Performers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quartets were established as a performing force after the civil war. The success of the Fisk Jubilee Singers and Quartet encouraged many communities to start quartets. Most quartets were all male groups with four or five men. The early quartets were all male a cappella quartets. Mixed quartets that sang in the male quartet tradition emerged. All Female quartets emerged that sang in the male Gospel quartet style. Later Contemporary Gospel Male Quartets developed. Quartet music was one of the musical genres that provided the musical and vocal stylings that led to the development of Gospel music.</td>
<td>The first quartets recorded in the 1890s and performed both sacred and secular repertoire. During the 1920s the a cappella Jubilee Quartet transformed into the Gospel Quartets and added instruments. The electronic guitar was introduced in Gospel Quartet music and Quartets started using guitar accompaniment. In later years quartets began using amplified instrumental accompaniment such as the guitar and bass along with drums and a keyboard in their performances. The quartets sang spirituals, jubilees, and hymns a cappella in close harmony, style. Some quartets also sang slow and moderate Gospelized hymns. Quartets sang with a smooth retrained, one-voice style of choral singing like the Fisk Jubilee singers. Quartets used vocal dynamics, close harmony and improvised counterpoint. Quartet singers began using powerful falsetto singing and the use of male falsetto singing became a standard within quartet and Gospel Singing. Quartet tenors created new lines that kept out of the chord with bluesy musical curlicues and basses stretched into unconventional bass runs. Soloists mirrored the preaching tradition. Quartets who were influenced by secular music in later years began blending rhythm ‘n’ blues elements with Traditional Gospel music.</td>
<td>Dixie Hummingbirds Ravizee Singers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Traditional Era (1920s – 1960s – present)

After the Congregational Era, gospel music developed as a specific musical style. This period, which spans from approximately 1930 to the mid 1960s, is often called the “Historic Period”, “The Traditional Period” or “The Golden Age of Gospel Music” (Walker, 1979; Warren, 1998; Reagon, et al., 1992). In this study, the period is referred to as the Traditional Era, because it is during this era that the “traditional style” of gospel music was established. The music from this period served as a foundation from which all subsequent gospel styles were developed.

The Traditional Era began around 1930, the year that the National Baptist Convention officially endorsed gospel music. During this period the first gospel choirs, female groups, and conventions, were established. Gospel soloist technique was perfected and the Jubilee quartets that primarily performed a cappella music began adding accompaniment and established the vocal styling that transformed the Jubilee Quartet into the Gospel Quartet. The establishment of a mixed group by Roberta Martin and the use of piano accompaniment and vocal harmonies made the mixed group vocal format standard within the gospel music style. These musical innovations helped to establish a new standard in the performance of gospel music.

The mixed group format was further refined when it was applied to the gospel choir format by James Cleveland and Mattie Moss-Clark. Though numerous gospel choirs had been previously established by Dorsey and others, it was James Cleveland and Mattie Moss Clark who helped to usher in a new era in which the “gospel choir” would be perfected and reign. Though Clark and Cleveland continued to perfect the Traditional choir style, it was when the next generation of musicians and composers began to mix
classical, jazz, and soul musical elements with gospel music that a new era began to emerge. However, the *Traditional Era* served to develop the gospel art form and establish a network throughout the African American community in which it could further develop and grow.

The Gospel Musical and Performance Styles that emerged during the Traditional Era include the *Early Classic Gospel Style* and the *Late Classic Gospel Style*. Tables 4.8 and 4.9 outline the significant musical characteristics of the various musical and performance styles that developed during the Traditional Era.
| Purpose/Rationale | EARLY CLASSIC GOSPEL STYLE  
Musical Characteristics | Composers and Performers |
|-------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| This performers of this style  
were the pioneers of Gospel  
music who established the  
classic Gospel art form. These  
pioneers, not only developed a  
new musical form, but also a  
new musical sound and style.  
They also developed the gospel  
highway through which they  
exposed this new music to the  
African American community. | Gospel music was primarily solo focused. However, the Gospel choir developed that  
replaced congregational singing. Gospel music made a transformation from  
congregational singing to singing for specialized groups and soloists. Early Gospel choirs  
followed the Fisk Jubilee Singers vocal style but used Gospel tempos and song structures.  
Other Gospel groups abandoned the polite Jubilee singing style and loosened the form of  
the songs and extended their singing in counterpoint. A Gospel performance sound was  
developed comprised of various timbres, vocal textures, principles of harmonic blending,  
dynamics, relationships between soloist and background. Call and Response was used in  
either the piano or voices that allowed for continuous motion throughout the song.  
Singers often responded by humming during the main part of the song and providing  
textual punctuation such as “oh yes” or “ooh whoo” at the end or middle of the verse. The  
electric Hammond organ was introduced to Gospel music. Active melodies were placed  
over the basic three chords to give the perception that the harmonies were changing.  
Blues and jazz rhythms and musical progressions were used in the instrumental  
accompaniment. The harmonic vocabulary was expanded by using additional chords in  
the vocals and instrumental accompaniment. Five or six versus three basic chords were  
used. Three-part Gospel harmony rather than four-part harmony became a standard aspect  
of Gospel music, whether in performance or in printed scores. In the Baptist lining-hymn  
tradition songs were performed freely without a strict pulse. A 12/8 rhythmical pattern is  
used although songs are written in 4/4 timing. 9/8 for 3/4 and 6/8 for 2/4. Cumulative  
vamp is established. The Gospel waltz and Gospel ballad song forms are established. | Thomas Dorsey  
Charles Henry Pace  
Sallie Martin  
Doris Akers  
Theodore Frye  
Magnolia Butts  
Willie Mae Ford Smith  
Kenneth Morris  
Herbert Brewster |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose/Rationale</th>
<th>LATE CLASSIC GOSPEL STYLE</th>
<th>Composers and Performers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| This performers of this style were the second generation of Gospel artists who were mentored by the original Gospel pioneers of the 1930s, who further refined the Traditional Gospel music vocal and accompaniment style in the 1950s and 1960s. Performers of this style took the musical forms, accompaniment and vocal techniques already established for soloists and small groups and transferred them to choirs and began to pave the way to a period where the Gospel choir becomes the predominant performing force. | The total chordal and harmonic spectrum is used (I, ii, iii, IV, V, vi, vii). Non-harmonic tones, single, double and chromatic passing tones, secondary dominants and diminished seventh used. Strophic, binary and ternary (vamp) forms in time signatures like 12/8, 9/8, 6/8 or fast shout beats in 4/4 are used. The song narrative form was refined (The practice of telling narrative stories before songs, above musical accompaniment). Gospel spirituals and the Reprise of Songs established. Polyphonic Vamp is refined. Open-ended repeats (Any section repeated as desired). Repetition is used as a form or stylistic trait. Repeated choruses and verses. Repeat or turn around of the tag (the last word phrase of the song). Vamps modulate and repeat one part at a time (soprano, alto, tenor). The role of the piano is elevated from background accompaniment to an integral force in the performance, supplying accompaniment, rhythm, and effects. Piano accompaniment applies rhythmic bass lines, colorful and complex chord structures, and instrumental improvisation (runs, appoggiaturas, passing or transitional chords, alternative fill-in chords and rhythms). Vocal filling in (do’s, wo’s, ooh’s, doop’s). Holding notes. Gospel artists started changing songs to the most comfortable key for the soloist regardless of the original key in which the song was written. Singers changed the original tempos to create new arrangements. Three part mixed vocal style is used by choirs and groups. Stylized singing (Word snatches, scooping). Singers would bend or soften the bright degrees of the scale (3, 5, 6, 7) and change the mode of the song from major to minor. Soloists began to perform melismatic runs on words or syllables that were intended for one note. Singers would articulate many tones on one word to carry a melody to an emotional peak. Many vocal timbres used. Male Falsetto, coarse voice, raspy tone, lots of vibrato, loud sound, throaty voice, growls, hums, screams, shouts, squeals. Powerful chest tones, mid voice and head voice singing. Coloratura sopranos would sing a vocal line above the three part mixed choir vocals. Coloraturas would sing special descants or hit high notes on cue. | Thomas Dorsey  
Robert Martin  
Albertina Walker  
Clara Ward  
Mahalia Jackson  
Raymond Rasberry  
Alex Bradford  
James Cleveland  
Jesse Dixson  
Mattie Moss-Clark  
Jesse Dixson  
Shirley Caesar |

Table 4.9: Gospel Musical Development Chart – Late Classic Gospel Style
The Contemporary Era (1960s – 1970s – present)

Scholars concur that the next distinct music period in gospel music history occurs around 1970. In this study, the period is identified as the *Contemporary Era* (See Table 4.3). This era is generally reported to have begun in 1969 with the release of Edwin Hawklin’s song “Oh Happy Day.” However, since major players in the “contemporary” movement began introducing new musical progressions, vocal harmonies, and performance techniques in the early sixties, the starting date could be considered to be approximately 10 years earlier than 1969.

In the 1960s, on the heels of the 1954 Brown vs. Board of Education Supreme Court decision, the Civil Rights Movement unlocked greater education and social opportunities for African Americans who became exposed to new musical forms. In 1961, Clinton Utterbach started his nationally recognized choir and later, in 1964, Andrae Crouch and the Disciples produced their first recording on Light Records. Because of their formal training, Utterbach’s music showed strong influences from Western European classical music traditions while Crouch’s music included new harmonies and progressions from the emerging contemporary popular music styles. Students at Howard University started the first college gospel choir (1965) and the Voices Supremes began (1968). When listening to the early musical recordings of all of these groups one can hear the use of new chordal progressions, particularly the use of sevenths, seconds, dissonance and resolution, which were not previously used in gospel music. Recordings of these groups also demonstrate the early influences of soul and rhythm and blues on gospel music.
In addition to soul music and rhythm and blues influences the inspirational and thought provoking music of White folk groups of the 60s (e.g., the Birds, Peter, Paul and Mary) introduced Black gospel artists to new musical forms that were adopted and incorporated into gospel music. By the end of the decade, the release of “Oh Happy Day”, with its crossover appeal, signaled the nation’s awareness of a new gospel music era. The combination of social factors and the musical developments that started in the early 1960s enabled “Oh Happy Day” to become a success.

The Gospel Musical and Performance Styles that emerged during the Contemporary Era include the Total Style, the Classical Style, and the Contemporary Style. Tables 4.10, 4.11, and 4.12 outline the significant musical characteristics of the various Gospel Musical and Performance Styles that developed during the Contemporary Era. Although gospel composers and performers of the Total Style and Classical Style may be trained in the Western European musical tradition, members of the Total Style tend to perform music that is representative of all eleven Gospel Musical and Performance Styles while performers of the Classical Style do not.

The predominate performing force during this Era was the choir, however, even the small groups established during this period made use of the fresh new contemporary style. Sevenths and seconds as well as dissonant chords with resolutions were added to the traditional gospel harmonies and the instrumental accompaniment was expanded during the period. The Hawkins family became leaders in this regard, by adding bass and drums as a standard part of the gospel rhythm section. In addition to traditional African American musical aesthetic elements such as pentatonic scales, flatted notes and syncopated rhythms, the Hawkins and others added new musical elements to their music.
| Purpose/Rationale | TOTAL STYLE  
Musical Characteristics | Composers and Performers |
|-------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| This performers of this style were Gospel artists who were trained or skilled in more than one cultural or musical tradition. These Gospel pioneers performed in all African American and non-African American sacred musical and performance styles. This group performed a varied repertoire that included Spirituals, Anthems, Hymns, Congregational, Traditional, Contemporary, Word, and Crossover Gospel music. | Since the musical repertoire of this performance style is so diverse, the descriptive characteristics reflect the attributes of the performers more than the characteristics of their music. Western European and African American sacred music repertoire, vocal, and instrumental technique is used. Sacred music from other cultures is also performed. Members of this style may perform in all eleven Gospel musical and performance styles. Due to the musical versatility of the performers of this style, performers of this style often perform in a variety of arenas (secular and sacred). Their musical repertoire allows them to sing all kinds of music and appeal to various audiences. Their recordings usually contain all musical styles. Singers learn music by note and by rote. Singers are said to have the “learning” and the “burning.” Members of the Total Style generally have a polished choral sound and use of a lot of head tone (belle canto) singing although mid and chest singing is used. They apply the refined choral tone to Gospel songs. Four to eight part harmony (SATB-SSAATTBB) is used within Gospel music. Bass voices are used as a distinct part and not as a soprano part performed an octave lower. A wide range of musical phrasing and dynamics are used. There is a strong emphasis on diction and articulation and a strong usage of vocal manipulation to create the various vocal timbres. Gospel anthems were composed in European anthem style but performed in both the European and Gospel vocal styles. | Robert Wooten  
Clinton Utterbach  
James Peterson  
Fernando Allen  
Williams Sydnor |

Table 4.10: Gospel Musical Development Chart – Total Style
| Purpose/Rationale | CLASSICAL STYLE  
Musical Characteristics | Composers and Performers |
|-------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| This performers of this style were Black Gospel artists who were trained in the European classical tradition. These Gospel pioneers incorporated classical musical elements and performance practices within African American Gospel music in various ways. Though trained in more than one musical tradition, the performers of this style do not perform in all Gospel musical and performance styles. | The style is known for its use of Western European vocal and instrumental technique. Strong emphasis on vocal health and bel canto singing (lyric tenors, coloratura sopranos, contraltos, baritones) Classical musical excerpts or performance techniques interwoven into Gospel music vocals or accompaniment. Classical passages may appear as counter melodies. Any classical passage may be performed in the Gospel vocal style. Classical performance technique can be applied to any Gospel song to give it a classical feel (broken chords, appoggiaturas, ornaments). Complex music structure, form, harmonies, phrasing, counterpoint, fugues, etc. Florid piano accompaniment that uses cadenzas, appoggiaturas, trills, turns, etc. Use of unpredictable chord progressions and unique harmonies within the vocals and accompaniment. Polyphony is used within the vocal and instrumental parts (fugues, canons, counterpoint). Fugues often used as song introductions, transitional bridges, or endings. Choral vocal technique is applied to singing (phrasing, diction, articulation). Purposeful distortion of words for effect. Strong use of vocal manipulation to create a refined choral timbre. High notes are usually performed in head tones. Four to eight vocal parts are used. Basses and baritone are used. Strong emphasis on blend and balance. Repertoire may includes music from the European classical art forms (anthems, oratorios, cantatas, choral music, choral spirituals, hymns, etc.) or Gospel music that has been strongly influenced by classical musical elements. Wide range of vocal dynamics. | Richard Smallwood  
Henry Davis  
Wesley Boyd  
Robert Fryson |

Table 4.11: Gospel Musical Development Chart – Classical Style
| Purpose/Rationale | CONTEMPORARY STYLE  
Musical Characteristics | Composers and Performers |
|------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| This performers of this style used fused contemporary jazz, soul, pop, and R & B musical elements with Traditional Gospel music in the 1960s. | Elaborate introductions, musical transitional passage or bridges, instrumental interludes, tags, and special endings are used (vocal or instrumental). Counter point, polyphonic fugues, repetition as form, asymmetrical song forms due to the repetition of the last line of the text. (5. 7, and 9 measure phrases). Repeated vamps with modulations, choral part inversions, dynamic level changes, and various tempi. Use of chromatic and whole tone scales. Vocal ornamentation (trills, turns, pentatonic runs). Horn and synthesizer runs, riffs, licks, counter melodies. Use of 2nds, 6ths, 7ths suspensions, dissonance and resolution, complex chords within the vocal and piano harmonies (quartal chords, extended and altered chords). I iv7 vi7 progression. IV7 iii7 ii7 IV/V I progression. IV V/IV I, V7/IV I progression. Jazz vocal used. Open and closed harmony used. Four to eight part vocal harmony used. Four of five parts rather than three parts used in upper voices to create dissonance and added notes, while the root of the chord is most often played by an accompanying instrument and occasionally sung by a vocalist. Key modulations and vocal choral part inversions. Unexpected endings/cadences (Picardy third). Stylized singing. Purposeful text distortion. Polished choral tone, head tones and chest tones. All tempos and rhythms. New rhythms (Latin, calypso, swing, big band, etc.). Use of full rhythm section (piano, organ, bass, drums, percussion). Gospel rhythm section grooves developed. Complex orchestration is used as a filler or background accompaniment. Juxtaposition of older hymn text or cliches within original Gospel songs. Secular songs adopted and words are transformed to sacred lyrics. The Choir is the primary focus of the song. Traditional male TTBB choirs change to SATB with males singing soprano and alto. Solo styles include powerful tenors, belle cante sopranos, soulful chest tone sopranos, rich contraltos, and soothing baritones. | Andrae Crouch  
Edwin Hawkins  
Walter Hawkins  
Myrna Summer  
Beverly Glenn  
Walter Hawkins  
Bobby Jones |
The Contemporary Era is noted for the implementation of new harmonies within gospel music that had never before been applied to gospel music. This more sophisticated music found a home in the less emotional denominations such as the Catholic, Presbyterian, and Episcopal churches. As this era developed it peaked with the release of Walter Hawkins’ (the younger brother of Edwin) *Love Alive* series in the mid-seventies.

During the Contemporary Era, gospel music expanded beyond the Black church and was introduced to the world. By the end of the 1970’s African American gospel musicians and artists, especially those on major White-owned record labels, began to record one part at a time in the studio, in contrast to the live gospel recordings that were produced in the early 60s. This recording technique allowed gospel artists to produce recordings that were similar in sound quality to gospel and secular artists on the major national recording labels. With the improvement in recording techniques, gospel music was about to take another turn and Andrae Crouch became a leader of yet another era.

**The Ministry Era (1980s – 1990s - present)**

Exposure to various styles of music, as well as the development of many new forms of African American music, led to new hybrids in gospel music. Just as “Oh Happy Day” blended musical elements of gospel, jazz, and rhythm and blues in the 1960s, gospel composers and performers began experimenting with other musical styles in the 1980s such as rap, R&B, soul, and pop. As gospel artists moved away from a style of music that was based upon the traditional gospel musical elements, they also initiated what can be described as the *Ministry Era.* The significance of this era is that the “words” or “text” became the identifying factor for gospel music.
One stream of artists purposed to clarify and convey the gospel message in a way that would lead gospel music listeners not only to an emotional response but also to a spiritual transformation. Andrae Crouch was at the forefront of this group. This focus on the Word gave rise to the development of the Ministry Era.

A new musical style, "Praise and Worship" emerged within Black and White Mega churches. This new music combined elements from the African American music and worship style with the worship styles of the White Word churches creating a new music and worship style. Thus the emotional worship style of African Americans found a place in many White Mega-Churches and the folk and pop musical styles of White Americans found a place within African American gospel music.

While Praise and Worship developed as a folk style of music, more African American gospel musicians recognized the parallel and commonality between the purpose of Praise and Worship Music of the 1980s and the Congregational or Devotional music performed by African Americans in the Pentecostal church during the early 1900s. Therefore, many African American gospel musicians began to transform the Euro American praise and worship style back into an African American form, by applying the African American musical aesthetic to the Psalms and praise and worship texts.

African Americans adopted some of the White praise and worship songs, as well as composed new praise and worship songs to implement within their worship services. The praise and worship style eventually peaked and was refined by Judith Christie McAllister whose recording *Send Judah First* successfully combined praise and worship texts with traditional and contemporary African American gospel musical elements.
A second stream of gospel artists adapted their musical sound to reach those who were non-Christians. Groups like the Winans and Commissioned became forerunners in the Ministry Movement. By producing gospel songs that combined biblical messages with contemporary secular rhythms, they believed they could convert non-Christians to the Christian faith. A third stream of gospel artists having also acknowledged the importance of the gospel text, believed that they could place the gospel message within any musical style. This rationale was used to explore the numerous new musical styles that could be merged with traditional and contemporary gospel music. Among this group were artists like Thomas Whitfield who masterfully combined elements of contemporary jazz and blues, with traditional and contemporary gospel music to create a new sound that would appeal to younger gospel listeners.

All three movements of the Ministry Era were centered upon the Bible texts. Since the intent of these new songs was to appeal to the thoughts of the listener, the song texts became very “wordy,” meaning that they were not simple texts that could be easily learned with one hearing. Song texts were carefully crafted poems that were biblically based. Tables 4.13, 4.14, and 4.15 outline the significant musical characteristics of the three Gospel Musical and Performance Styles that developed during the Ministry Era.
| Purpose/Rationale | CONTEMPORARY JAZZ AND BLUES STYLE  
Musical Characteristics | Composers and Performers |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| This performers of this style used fused contemporary jazz and classic blues elements with Traditional and Contemporary Gospel music during the 1980s. Many members of this school studied and performed Jazz music during the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. Artists were influenced by Jazz and Blues artists such as Duke Ellington, Ella Fitzgerald, Nancy Wilson, Oscar Peterson, Art Tatum, Quincy Jones, Miles Davis, John Coltrane, Charlie Parker, etc. | This style mixes contemporary jazz and classic blues musical elements with both Traditional and Contemporary Gospel music during the 1980s. Extended and secondary dominants, extended chords, altered chords, I ii chords, 6ths, 7ths, 9ths, 11ths, 13ths, quartal chords, and innovative progressions are sung and played. Vocalists use melismatic runs, vocal scats, and extreme vocal ornamentation (glissandos, baby talk, bent notes, etc.) Virtuoso Gospel organist and pianist began applying florid pentatonic scales and runs throughout accompaniment. These scales and runs are performed by also vocalists. Gospel solo singing becomes a virtuoso singing technique. Gospel singers move away from melodic singing with occasional improvisation and ornaments to a style of singing that is primarily ornamented. The slow blues style Gospel ballad is refined in which extreme vocal ornamentation is used. Vocalists scat and emulate instruments with their voices. Left hand chords, tri-tone substitution, ornamental transitional or passing chords, and polytonality are used. Jazz and Blues musical instrumental interludes are incorporated. The saxophone is used as a primary accompaniment instrument. Call and response between the saxophone and soloist is commonly used. Jazz instrumental artists and groups apply jazz rhythms, scales, and harmonies to Gospel songs to create “Gospel Jazz” (swing, big band). | Thomas Whitfield  
Elberinita “Twinkie” Clark  
Vanessa Bell  
Daryl Coley  
Ben Tankard  
Take 6  
Mervyn Warren  
Kim Burrell |

Table 4.13: Gospel Musical Development Chart - Contemporary Jazz and Blues Style
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose/Rationale</th>
<th>WORD STYLE</th>
<th>Composers and Performers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| This performers of this style defined Gospel music as "the Gospel message set to music." The words or text became the most important identifying aspect of the Gospel song. This new rationale allowed them to merge all secular and sacred musical styles with Gospel music. The primary rationale was to effect greater ministry. | This performers of this style incorporated all kinds of sacred and secular musical forms with Gospel texts (rock, pop, disco, reggae, jazz, R&B, classical, etc.). Gospel music was greatly diversified by the artists who performed in this style during this period. Gospel musical accompaniment was expanded through the use of synthesizers, sequencers, samplers, and drum machines. Popular versus live recording technique leads to a more polished Gospel sound quality. Orchestration became an integral part of the composition and not just a background or filler accompanying element. Small groups, all male and female groups are the dominant performing forces. Texts are borrowed and juxtaposed within original songs. Song texts are wordy rather than simple. | Andrae Crouch  
The Winans  
Commissioned  
Donald Lawrence  
Kurt Carr |

Table 4.14: Gospel Musical Development Chart – Word Style
| Purpose/Rationale | PRAISE AND WORSHIP STYLE  
Musical Characteristics | Composers and Performers |
|------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| This performers of this style used Gospel music as a tool of worship and praise. Furthermore, they aimed to use this music to bring cohesiveness to congregations and thereby allow them to enter the presence of God. This music is reminiscent of the old Pentecostal and devotional hymns of the Black church. | The musical style incorporated Psalm and Praise texts with Black and White Gospel music and developed a style that could be used for worship within Black and White churches. The texts are the main focus of the music. Texts are Praise based (Thank God for what He has done) or Worship based (Thank God for who He is). Some song texts are very simple and easily learned, while other texts are scripture based and not as easily learned. The Psalms of the Bible are often used as a source for texts although original texts are also created. Many songs are in strophic or binary form. Containing antecedent and consequent phrases over 4, 6, or 16 measures (like the early Pentecostal devotional songs). Melodies are very simple and vocal parts contain lots of unison singing. Harmony parts are often improvised spontaneously. Call and response is often used as a compositional device. Music ranges from White folk, pop, and Contemporary Christian music to African American traditional and contemporary Gospel music. Tempos range from slow ballads or love songs to God to fast and up-tempo songs. Praise songs are designed to evoke corporate emotion and physical response while worship songs are designed for personal intimate worship and reflection. Accompaniment ranges from guitar accompaniment, to full rhythm section, to full orchestral accompaniment. | Patrick Henderson and West Angeles COGIC  
Ron Kenoly  
Carlton Pearson  
Rodney Posey  
Judith Christie-McAllister  
Gary Oliver  
Clint Brown* |

*White Praise and Worship artists who affected African American Praise and Worship music.

Table 4.15: Gospel Musical Development Chart – Praise and Worship Style
The overall purpose of the Ministry Era was to diversify gospel music by adopting and fusing non-gospel musical styles with gospel music texts, thus enabling gospel music to fit in non-traditional and non-African American settings and reach new audiences. National White-owned major labels as well as the smaller independent labels produced recordings that were heavily based upon the “Word,” Praise and Worship, and the various new African American gospel music styles. Consequently, gospel music became one of the most versatile styles of music in the world. The historical evidence indicates that Andrae Crouch contributed significantly to the development of the versatility that presently exists within African American gospel music. Crouch’s influence caused Black and White musicians to unite through music and ministry. Moreover, Crouch helped to pave the way and establish the Contemporary Era, the Ministry Era, and the next Gospel Era that would follow.

Crossover Era (1990s – 2000 – present)

The sound of gospel music continued to change and gospel music became more diverse during this period. While some gospel musicians adopted the practice for ministry purposes, others adopted it for musical purposes or monetary gain, and the resulting music was so appealing and popular to young people that it led to another era, the Crossover Era. The literature suggests that this new era developed during the 1990s with the urbanization of gospel music (Collins, 1999). This term, “urbanization,” is appropriate because many gospel musicians concerned themselves with the plight of urban youth and developed styles of music that appealed to urban youth. The styles that appealed to urban youth were also appealing to mainstream music audiences, therefore,
many of these urban influenced songs crossed over into secular markets where they became popular songs.

By the 1990s many gospel artists followed Crouch's lead and began to mix secular musical forms with gospel music in an attempt to reach urban youth. Gospel artists began incorporating secular music forms such as rap, hip-hop, funk, house, reggae and R & B within gospel music, thus paving the way for the new Crossover Era. Artists like John Kee and Hezekiah Walker incorporated hip-hop, funk, and R & B musical arrangements with choreographed movement, while Be Be and Ce Ce Winans performed R & B style ballads. Anointed developed an urban contemporary sound, and Kirk Franklin brought all of the elements together with the release of God's Property's recording of "Stomp", and the Nu Nation song entitled "Revolution." Though gospel artists incorporated elements from some of the same secular musical styles in past years, the musical elements did not become the primary musical foundation of gospel songs. However, during this Era, secular musical stylistic elements became the primary musical foundation of many gospel songs.

Since the Crossover Era has continued into the 21st century, only one Gospel Musical and Performance style has been identified to date. However, new crossover Gospel Musical and Performance Styles may develop in the coming years. The Gospel Musical and Performance Style that emerged during the Crossover Era was the Urban Style. Table 4.16 outlines the significant musical characteristics of the Urban style.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose/Rationale</th>
<th>URBAN STYLE</th>
<th>Musical Characteristics</th>
<th>Composers and Performers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| The performers of this style incorporated rap, hip-hop, and R & B musical elements with Contemporary Gospel music. These secular musical elements were used as the basic musical foundation of Gospel compositions. The goal was to reach a younger audience with the Gospel message and introduce Gospel music to mainstream audiences and non-traditional Gospel listeners. | The school incorporated rap, hip-hop, and R & B musical elements with Traditional and Contemporary Gospel music. Hip-hop grooves and drum rhythms are prominent within this music. Heavy emphasis on the bass guitar and drums. Sequenced drums often replace real drummers and provide a constant dance-like pulse. Tempos are usually from 110 to 120 beats per minute. Funk rhythm grooves, horn licks, and bass ostinatos from secular artist such as James Brown, Prince, Morris Day, George Clinton, and Stevie Wonder are used as the bases of many urban Gospel songs. The vocoder computerized vocals introduced by Roger Troutman is used for Gospel vocals. Rap become an integral part of Gospel songs. Many urban songs feature raps performed by soloists or choirs. Music technology plays a major role in the music of this school. Music sequencing, synthesizers, samplers, drums machines, and computers enable musicians to created basic rhythm patterns, musical accompaniment tracks, computerized vocals, as well as transpose songs into various keys. The texts within these songs often replace traditional sacred words like Jesus and God with words like “He,” “Light” or “Love.” Text become more inspiration. Lots of colloquial phrases are included within the texts. Diction is purposely distorted for effect. Stylized singing (cotton mouth sound). Vocal acrobatics are performed by entire groups rather than soloists. Use of call and response (Solo calls and choir repeats the same phrase). The music is the primary focus of the song. Many urban songs can not be performed effectively without the musical accompaniment. Musical accompaniment does not mirror the vocal parts. In most instances musical accompaniment plays an entirety different part. Use of parallel chord progressions (I vii° I iii). Use of non-chords (tone clusters), altered chords, polytonality, quartal chords. Rhythmic accents and breaks. Melodic piano playing is not used. | John Kee  
Hezekiah Walker  
Be Be and Ce Ce Winans  
Yolanda Adams  
Kirk Franklin  
Fred Hammond  
Mary, Mary  
Tonex |
A primary factor that led to the development and existence of this era was the record-breaking sales of gospel artists such as Kirk Franklin, Fred Hammond, John Lee, Donnie McClurkin, and Yolanda Adams. The overwhelming success of Kirk Franklin’s debut album *Kirk Franklin and the Family* which contained the popular song entitled “Why We Sing” caused many national labels and distributors to once again realize the popularity and profitability of African American gospel music. National secular labels developed Black gospel music divisions, with the expressed purpose of marketing this music to a mainstream audience. Subsequently, many gospel songs crossed over into popular music categories and began to be charted on popular radio stations. In the mid 1990s, major secular recording companies encouraged gospel artists to push the limits of versatility that brought some of the more controversial innovations to gospel music.

The performance practices resembled those of secular artists, with popular dancing and choreographed movement taking preeminence over traditional rocking and swaying. Some gospel artists incorporated secular performance practices to such an extreme that it was difficult to distinguish them from secular artists. A trend that was commonly used was the replacing of words like “God” and “Jesus” with personal pronouns such as “he,” “you,” “light” or “love.” In so doing, the gospel message was not as apparent and gospel music became more appealing to secular music audiences. It was at this point that the identity of gospel music began to become ambiguous. Due to the secular nature of the music and texts, gospel artists were accused of “selling out” for profit and diluting the gospel message in their songs in order to gain fame or wealth. Therefore, many gospel artists recognized the need to record at least one traditional song on their recordings that would appeal to the traditional church and gospel community.
Preacher style narration with singing became more popular. This practice is a sort of twentieth-century example of lined or metered hymn singing in which the presenter speaks the text and the group sings what has just been spoken. This narration was not just “call and response” or “lead and repeat” where both portions are sung. Since one part is spoken and the other part is sung, it appears to be a new type of “lined singing.” Though this technique was applied during the traditional era by James Cleveland and during the Contemporary era by Michael McKay, it was applied during this era by Kirk Franklin on “The Reason Why We Sing”, and Donald Lawrence on “I’ve Never Seen the Righteous Forsaken.” This speaking song style increased in popularity and became a characteristic of the music from this era.

During the Crossover Era gospel music was popularized and presented in a form that enabled it to enter mainstream music markets to reach urban youth and the masses for both ministry and money (profit). While some gospel artists recorded gospel versions of secular songs by slightly changing the lyrics, other gospel artists like Shirley Caesar, Fred Hammond, John Kee, and the Thompson Community Singers, incorporated secular music styles but did not change the gospel message. In addition, gospel music continued to be used during this Era as a ministry tool to reach the masses, and particularly young people through Christian ministry.
The Continual Line of Core Musical Elements

Having examined the history of African American gospel music throughout the 20th century, it becomes apparent that African American gospel music can be distinguished from other musical styles known as gospel music. It is also apparent that there are many distinctions within the overall African American gospel music genre. We have shown how these musical distinctions help to separate African American gospel music into separate Eras and Gospel Musical and Performance Styles.

For many years, it has been the goal of gospel music composers, performers, scholars, and listeners to accentuate the differences among the African American gospel music styles. However, the literature reviewed in this study shows gospel artists have not sought to develop totally new African American sacred styles, but they have sought to remain connected to the previously existing African American gospel music styles. The musical distinctions that exist within gospel music should be viewed as innovations that are added to the existing musical practices, whether related to the text, music, or performance practices. While the acknowledgement of the differences among gospel musical styles has been important, the existence of these differences has led to division among the members of the gospel music community. The debates concerning the perceived differences center around the implementation of secular musical styles, non-traditional performance settings, and ambiguous texts.

An examination of 20th century African American gospel music shows continuity can be found within the core elements that exist within the music of all Gospel Music
Eras and Gospel Musical and Performance Styles. These core elements are both musical and non-musical. Regardless of the new and innovative musical elements and practices added to gospel music, there has always been a set of core elements that remain constant within gospel music. The way these core musical elements are utilized may vary from one Gospel Music Era or Gospel Musical and Performance Style to the next, nonetheless, the core musical elements that are common to all gospel songs remain.

What are the common musical and non-musical elements that connect gospel songs from the past with gospel songs of the present? The literature demonstrates that the musical characteristics of the various eras and styles can be divided into several categories: Form (Song Types), Rhythm (Instruments and Accompaniment), Harmony, Melody (Scales), Pitch (Timbre), Improvisation, and Non-Musical Characteristics (Text, Performance Practices, Movement, performing Forces, Uniform-Dress). One can also observe that each Gospel Musical and Performance Style modifies the preceding gospel musical forms to create a new musical style. Consequently, the significant musical developments within 20th century African American gospel music have occurred due to an artist’s exposure to other musical genres or an artist’s personal creativity. Tables 4.17 presents the core musical elements based on this study’s summary of evidence that have been retained throughout gospel music’s history in the 20th century.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Afio American Aesthetic</th>
<th>Song Forms/Types</th>
<th>Instruments</th>
<th>Melody, Scales, Harmony</th>
<th>Vocal Techniques</th>
<th>Rhythm and Accompaniment</th>
<th>Improvisation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Candid Emotion</td>
<td>Antecedent</td>
<td>Bass Guitar</td>
<td>Chromatic Scale</td>
<td>Chest Singing</td>
<td>Bass Ostinatos</td>
<td>Ad Lib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celebrative</td>
<td>Consequent</td>
<td>Drums</td>
<td>Close harmony</td>
<td>Coloratura Soprano</td>
<td>Filling in</td>
<td>Audience Inspired</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>Phrase</td>
<td>Drum Machines</td>
<td>mainly in thirds</td>
<td>Creative and dramatic</td>
<td>Freedom</td>
<td>Conductor or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Through unique symbols, signs</td>
<td>Assymetrical Phrases</td>
<td>Drum Machines</td>
<td>and fourths</td>
<td>use of dynamics</td>
<td>Fast Shouts</td>
<td>Leader Dominated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collective Group</td>
<td>Binary Form</td>
<td>Elaborate music tracks</td>
<td>Diatonic Scale</td>
<td>Dark timbre</td>
<td>Improvisation</td>
<td>Continuos Vocal or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooperation – Sameness</td>
<td>Call and Response</td>
<td>Electric Piano</td>
<td>Gapped Scales</td>
<td>Female Tenors</td>
<td>Kinesis</td>
<td>Instrumental movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Director centered</td>
<td>Gospel Blues</td>
<td>Foot stomping</td>
<td>Melodies related to</td>
<td>From Belle canto to</td>
<td>No Strict Pules</td>
<td>Instrumental Repetition (Open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Energetic</td>
<td>Gospel Ballad</td>
<td>Hammond Organ</td>
<td>the blues with</td>
<td>Harsh tones</td>
<td>Percussive</td>
<td>ended repeats)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom</td>
<td>Lead/Repeat</td>
<td>Human Beat Box</td>
<td>flatted 3\textsuperscript{rd}s, 5ths, and 7ths</td>
<td>Growls</td>
<td>Ragtime piano style</td>
<td>Variation (Melodic,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Functional</td>
<td>Lined Singing</td>
<td>Intricate hand clapping</td>
<td>Melodies with close</td>
<td>Loud</td>
<td>Syncopated rhythms</td>
<td>Form, Harmonic,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Griots (Story telling)</td>
<td>Overlap/Overlay</td>
<td>Lead Guitar</td>
<td>range</td>
<td>Male falsetto</td>
<td>Tempo (no pulse to</td>
<td>Tempo,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improvisation</td>
<td>Polyphony</td>
<td>Piano</td>
<td>Minor Pathos</td>
<td>Male Sopranos and</td>
<td>very fast shout)</td>
<td>Embellishments,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leader dominated</td>
<td>Polyphonic Vamp</td>
<td>Small Percussion instruments</td>
<td>Mixolydian Scale</td>
<td>Altos</td>
<td>12/8 Gospel Rhythm</td>
<td>ornaments, grace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oral Transmission</td>
<td>Recitative and Aria</td>
<td></td>
<td>Non Harmonic tones</td>
<td>Melismatic Singing based upon</td>
<td>6/8, 9/8 Rhythm</td>
<td>notes, passing tone,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practical</td>
<td>Repetition as form</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pentatonic Scale</td>
<td>Simple Melodies</td>
<td>Gospel Waltz</td>
<td>modulations)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Affection</td>
<td>Song Narrative</td>
<td>Sequenced music instruments</td>
<td>Spontaneous</td>
<td>Moans</td>
<td></td>
<td>Vocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repetition</td>
<td>Strophic Form</td>
<td>Synthesizers</td>
<td>Improvised</td>
<td>Purposeful text</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacred-Secular</td>
<td>Vamp</td>
<td>Tambourines</td>
<td>harmony</td>
<td>distortion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compatibility</td>
<td>Verse Chorus</td>
<td>Orchestral Instruments</td>
<td></td>
<td>Screams</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.17: Core Musical Elements evidenced within African American Gospel music throughout the 20\textsuperscript{th} century.
Since new eras and old eras exist simultaneously, gospel composers, singers, and musicians are exposed to and often borrow core musical elements from different eras. Each generation may borrow musical elements from the preceding generations as well as add to or expand the musical and textual elements so that they are relevant to their own contemporary time. This overlap of eras helps to create a continual line of core musical elements throughout the history of gospel music and this continual musical line connects gospel songs from one era to gospel songs of another era.

The musical line is also perpetuated by reviving or rearranging old gospel songs, borrowing melodies of old hymns, or changing popular song texts to gospel texts. For example, many of the Mega Mass choirs took old hymns and "jazzed" them up with "contemporary beats." Though gospel listeners from younger generations believed these songs to be new, older gospel listeners could remember the original versions or hymns from which they were taken. For example, the White gospel Hymn "What A Friend We Have in Jesus," originally written in the nineteenth century, has been adopted and rearranged by gospel artists for over one hundred years. By changing musical and performance elements such as the rhythm, tempo, melody and harmonies this hymn has been arranged in numerous gospel styles. The recordings cited within Table 4.18 offer examples of the various gospel arrangements of this hymn.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Song Title</th>
<th>Composer or Arranger/Artist</th>
<th>Era and Musical Style</th>
<th>Recording Information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>“What A Friend We Have in Jesus”</td>
<td>Joseph M. Scriven (Text), Charles C. Converse (Music)</td>
<td>Pre-Gospel Era White Gospel Hymn</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>“What A Friend We Have in Jesus”</td>
<td>Roberta Martin</td>
<td>Traditional Style</td>
<td>Apollo Records LP 238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970*</td>
<td>“What A Friend We Have in Jesus”</td>
<td>James Cleveland</td>
<td>Lined Hymn Style with no strict pulse</td>
<td>Savoy Records SCD 7111, (1993)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>“What A Friend We Have in Jesus”</td>
<td>Aretha Franklin</td>
<td>Traditional Style with the 12/8 gospel rhythm</td>
<td>Atlantic Record 2-906-2 (1972)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>“What A Friend We Have in Jesus”</td>
<td>Benny Cummings</td>
<td>Contemporary Jazz &amp; Blues Style with Rap</td>
<td>New Birth Record NEW-7657 (1982)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>“What A Friend We Have in Jesus”</td>
<td>Mary, Mary</td>
<td>Urban Contemporary R &amp; B style</td>
<td>Columbia Records CK 63740 (2000)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Though the Cleveland version was originally recorded in the 1970s and re-released in 1993, it is performed in the Lined Hymn style of the early 1900s with no strict pulse.

Table 4.18 Table of An Entire Song that has been Performed in Various Gospel Styles throughout the various Gospel Music Eras
The Continual Line of Non-Musical Elements

In addition to the core musical elements within gospel music, there are also core non-musical elements. Elements within this category include song Texts and Performance Practices such as Emotion, Repetition, Improvisation (ad lib, conductor, audience interaction), Movement (Rocking, clapping, foot stomping, hand waving, choreography), Performing Forces (solos, duets, trios, quartets, choirs), and Uniform (Robes, Gowns, Tuxedos, Suits, Dresses, Hairstyles, Hip-Hop Clothing, Black and White color schemes). Tables 4.19 presents a chart containing the core non-musical elements that have been used and retained throughout gospel music’s history in the 20th century.

Textual Retention

A continual line can also be evidenced through the texts of gospel songs. Texts can be borrowed from hymns, spirituals, congregational songs, Old and New Testament biblical texts-literal and paraphrased, popular cliches, popular gospel songs, or other borrowed texts (sacred poems, songs, colloquial phrases). Since these texts have been used throughout the history of gospel music they help to connect gospel songs of the past with gospel songs of the present (See Table 4.19).

Performance Practices

Gospel music utilizes a core set of non-musical elements that fall under the category of performance practices (See Table 4.19). These performance practices such as movement, emotion, repetition, and ad lib can be further categorized. Table 4.20 describes these identifying components.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Performance Practices</th>
<th>Movement</th>
<th>Performing Forces</th>
<th>Uniform – Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Afro-centric</td>
<td>Ad lib</td>
<td>Audience Participation</td>
<td>All male group</td>
<td>Black and White color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biblical text</td>
<td>Anointing</td>
<td>Bouncing</td>
<td>All female groups</td>
<td>scheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Hymn</td>
<td>Commanding (Voice, Posture)</td>
<td>Choreographed movement</td>
<td>Children’s Choirs</td>
<td>Choir Robes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christocentric</td>
<td>Emotion</td>
<td>Clapping</td>
<td>Choirs</td>
<td>Coordinated outfits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colloquial Phrases</td>
<td>Kinesis</td>
<td>Gestures</td>
<td>Church Choirs</td>
<td>Elaborate gowns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evangelical</td>
<td>Loud</td>
<td>Hand Waving</td>
<td>Community Choirs</td>
<td>Fancy Dresses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folk Images</td>
<td>Memorization</td>
<td>Holy Dancing</td>
<td>Congregational singing</td>
<td>Hip Hop Clothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imagery</td>
<td>Narrations or sermonettes</td>
<td>Physical movement</td>
<td>Contemporary Quartet</td>
<td>Jeans and T-Shirts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methaphoric</td>
<td>Powerful</td>
<td>Rocking</td>
<td>Duets</td>
<td>Suits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Original Lyrics</td>
<td>Purposeful distortion of text</td>
<td>Running</td>
<td>Gospel Quartet</td>
<td>Tuxedos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personification</td>
<td>Stylized diction</td>
<td>Sanctified Jerk</td>
<td>Instrumentalists</td>
<td>Wigs, Fancy Hairdos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poetic/Rhythmic Prose</td>
<td>Walking among audience</td>
<td>Spontaneous movement</td>
<td>Jubilee Quartets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pleading Songs</td>
<td></td>
<td>Strutting</td>
<td>Mega Mass Choir</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preaching style</td>
<td></td>
<td>Swaying</td>
<td>Mixed Groups and Choirs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proverbs</td>
<td></td>
<td>Walking into the audience</td>
<td>Professional Choirs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacred poem</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Small Groups</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scriptural Quotes or paraphrases</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Soloist</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Focus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Trios</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spirituals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Story Telling</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Hymnody</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.19: Core Non-Musical Elements evidenced within African American Gospel music throughout the 20th century.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identifying Component</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sound</td>
<td>Overall timbre of the music (European vs. African American Aesthetic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Style</td>
<td>The application of Core Elements and Gospel technique in a specific manner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spirit</td>
<td>The performer or listener’s belief in the presence of anointing in performance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.20: The Three Identifying Components of Gospel Music

These three components cause one to focus on the artist. By considering the different components a listener can determine if an artist is performing gospel music based upon the African American gospel music aesthetic.

Though the first two elements suggest musical characteristics they are closely related to the gospel performance style. What is meant by the gospel sound and gospel style? The gospel sound refers to the core musical elements that are used to create the overall timbre used to perform gospel music. Recordings of gospel artists demonstrate different gospel sounds based upon the type of singers used and the style of singing performed. The types of singers used varied, and included hand-picked choirs comprised of all good singers, choirs with limited vocal ability, “church choirs” with mixed age-
groups of singers, "powerful" choirs who sang in full chest voice, or classically trained singers who apply the European classical vocal aesthetic to their singing (light, controlled vibrato, soft, bel canto singing style).

From an assessment of recorded examples of gospel music, gospel music is generally sung using the African American gospel vocal aesthetics (See Table 4.17). The type of singers and the vocal style will effect the overall timbre or sound of the group. Authentic gospel music utilizes the vocal style based upon the African American gospel aesthetic.

The gospel style refers to the unique manner in which the core musical elements are used within gospel music. When determining the gospel style, one can note a unique way of using the core gospel music elements that help to distinguish it as the gospel style. For example, pentatonic runs, ad libs, flatted 3rds, 5ths, and 7ths, and instrumentation may be used by two composers; one composer may consistently apply them within the vocal arrangement, while another applies them within the instrumental arrangements. Nonetheless, the unique manner in which a composer applies the core musical elements leads to the development and recognition of a unique gospel musical style.

The third component of gospel music is Spirit. Spirit is more directly related to the performance presentational style. This study reveals that gospel music has been performed throughout its history by African Americans, as a means of evoking the presence of God. The level of emotion and energy released by gospel performers in such a pursuit has also caused gospel music to become known for the level of energy released by its performers during a performance. Those outside of the gospel community may refer to this type of energized singing within gospel music as emotional release.
However, those within the gospel community refer to this type of energized singing as "Spirit" or "Anointing." Many performers of gospel music believe that based upon one's religious convictions, a performance of gospel music can be overshadowed by the presence or "Spirit" of God. This presence is referred to as the "Anointing." Therefore, the objective of gospel artists is to not only achieve the correct sound and style, but to also perform with "Spirit."

**Peak Forms**

An analysis of several gospel songs reveals the emotional peaks of gospel songs are not haphazard as one might suspect. Gospel composers and artists purposely compose or perform their songs in a manner that will lead to specific emotional effects. Repetition and improvisation are key to these "peak" forms. The "Peak Forms" described in this study are designed to produce a peak emotional response within a listener at a specific part of a gospel song. The peak of a song may come at the beginning, middle or end of a song. Silence and dynamic variations also are used to add to the emotional affect. Some of the music examples identified in this study use at least one of three specific peak forms: the explosion, bow tie, or mountain. See Figure 4.1. Gospel songs are functional in that they aim to get the listener to do something: participate in the music (audience interaction), be converted (evangelical), or be transformed (make a change in their life). The affect of the song works to move the listener and performers to some form of action, either internal or external. The song's emotional peak plays an important role in eliciting a response from the listener.
EMOTIONAL PEAK FORMS

Explosion Peak Form
In the Explosion Peak Form a song will either start at a slow or moderate tempo and accelerate to a fast tempo, start at a soft dynamic level and crescendo to a loud dynamic level, starts at a low range or key and modulate to an extremely high key or range, or incorporate all of the various musical elements to build in intensity from a low level through to the ultimate peak and emotional explosion of the song.

Musical Example(s)
“Bless His Name”
Performed by Raise Mass Choir.
Composed by Raymond Wise
Raise Records (RA-06)

Bow Tie Peak Form
In the Bow Tie Peak Form a song starts in a very loud and exciting manner to attract the listener, then calms down to share the message or theme of the song, then moves to an exciting vamp or chorus that is repeated at a loud dynamic level.

Musical Example(s)
“Jesus Rose” and “Over and Over Again”
Performed by Milton Brunson and the Thompson Community Singers
Composed by Darius Brooks. Word Records
(FK 67641)

Mountain Peak Form
In the Mountain Peak Form a song will start in a slow, soft or refined manner to attract the listener. Then build to a emotional peak in the middle of the song, then return to the more refined style at the song’s conclusion.

Musical Example(s)
“Oh Happy Day”
Buddah Record (BPS-10001)

There are many other Emotional Peak Forms that are not presented within this study.

Figure 4.1: Emotional Peak Forms.
Gospel Artists and their Protegees

Since gospel music is less than 100 years old, this study shows that although many gospel artists lived through several eras, they continued to perform in their original style. In addition, many pioneering gospel artists trained students who helped to preserve and promote the older gospel styles.

Other gospel pioneers learned to successfully adapt to the current trends by maintaining their traditional vocal techniques while altering their musical arrangements and accompaniment. Pioneers such as James Cleveland, Shirley Caesar, and Edwin Hawkins accomplished this goal by mastering new gospel elements of surrounding themselves with younger musicians who were proficient at performing both the older and newer gospel styles. The younger musicians often changed the musical accompaniment, while the artist retained his or her original vocal and singing style.

Though the personnel changed, many of the quartets and quintets that began in the early 1920s retained the same names and have continued to perform their popular songs in the original musical style. Other quartets that started in the 1960s and 1970s updated their musical sound to appeal to younger audiences. In addition, new artists such as Keith “Wonderboy” Johnson, learned and performed in the traditional quartet style into the year 2000.

The literature examined in this study shows the continual line of artists and their protegees has helped to provide a connection between the various eras and gospel musical and performance styles. This process has enabled gospel composers and artists to share the distinct musical elements of their era with composers and artists from preceding and future generations. Consequently, younger musicians have had the
opportunity to be exposed to gospel pioneers in order to learn their music style and techniques first hand.

The continual line among artists and their proteges also exists because of the foresight of gospel musicians and composers who composed gospel songs in innovative gospel musical styles years before the style became a popular trend within gospel music. Andrae Crouch’s 1980 recording, Don’t Give Up, served as a forerunner to the Crossover gospel music of the 1990s and 2000. Tramaine Hawkins’ 1980s recordings, “Fall Down” and “Wake Up Singing Hallelujah in the Morning Time,” provided a source for Crossover gospel artists who re-recorded these same songs in the year 2000. These artists provide a musical connection to the past for Crossover gospel artists who now successfully perform in the gospel styles that they pioneered.

Table 4.21 presents a listing of the Pioneering Gospel Artists (composers, musicians, singers) by their Eras and Gospel Musical and Performance Style along with their proteges who continued performing in the various musical styles throughout the 20th century.

(Note: Due to space limitations, the following Urban artists were not included in an individual column within the chart. Although most of them are cited under different Gospel Musical and Performance Style categories, these artists also form a continual line from the 60s through the year 2000. (Crouch, Hawkins, Clark Sister, Benny Cummings, Winans, Commissioned, Witness, Rappin’ Reverend, Take 6, Be Be and Ce Ce Winans, Yolanda Adams, John Kee, Hezekiah Walker, Kirk Franklin, Winans Phase 2, Mary, Mary, Natalie Wilson and SOP, Tones)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>Hymn</th>
<th>Quartet</th>
<th>Early Classic</th>
<th>Late Classic</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Classical</th>
<th>Contemporary</th>
<th>Contemporary Jazz and Blues</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Praise &amp; Worship</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>Sherwood</td>
<td>Unique Quartet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Jones</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Campbell</td>
<td></td>
<td>Campbell</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pentecostal Churches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Dorsey</td>
<td>Dixie Humming birds</td>
<td>Dorsey</td>
<td>Dorsey</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dorsey</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>R. Martin</td>
<td>Soul Stirrers</td>
<td>R. Martin</td>
<td>R. Martin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>For Smith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>Brewster</td>
<td>Sensational Nightingales</td>
<td>Brewster</td>
<td>Brewster</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>Morris</td>
<td>Jackson Southernaires</td>
<td>Morris</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M. Jackson Ward</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ward</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Staple Singers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Continued*

Table 4.21: Continual Line of Gospel Artists and their Proteges (Composers, Musicians, and Singers)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>Hymn</th>
<th>Quartet</th>
<th>Early Classic</th>
<th>Late Classic</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Classical</th>
<th>Contemporary Jazz and Blues</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Praise &amp; Worship</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>Evans</td>
<td>Clark</td>
<td>Utterbach</td>
<td>Crouch</td>
<td>Crouch</td>
<td>Crouch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Evans</td>
<td>Rasberry</td>
<td>Evans</td>
<td>Clark</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mighty Clouds</td>
<td>of Joy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Black Churches</td>
<td>Williams Brothers</td>
<td>Dixon</td>
<td>Dixon</td>
<td>Utterbach</td>
<td>Crouch</td>
<td>Myrna Summerson</td>
<td>Crouch</td>
<td>Crouch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bradford</td>
<td>Bradford</td>
<td>Howard University</td>
<td>Crouch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>R. Fryson</td>
<td>R. Fryson</td>
<td>R. Fryson</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>Canton Spirituals</td>
<td>Caesar</td>
<td>Caesar</td>
<td>Baltimore Fellowship Choir</td>
<td>H. Davis</td>
<td>M. Payne</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T. Whitfield</td>
<td>Al Green</td>
<td>Biggharn</td>
<td>Star of Bethlehem</td>
<td>T. Whitfield</td>
<td>T. Whitfield</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Continued*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>Hymn</th>
<th>Quartet</th>
<th>Early Classic</th>
<th>Late Classic</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Classical</th>
<th>Contemporary Jazz and Blues</th>
<th>Contemporary Word</th>
<th>Praise &amp; Worship</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Barnes and Brown</td>
<td>Walker</td>
<td>Bigness</td>
<td>Benny Cummings</td>
<td>M. Brunson &amp; Thompson Community</td>
<td>Vanessa Bell</td>
<td>Wise</td>
<td>Wise</td>
<td>Patrick Henderson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Timothy Wright</td>
<td>R. Wise and C.E.B.</td>
<td>R. Wise and R. Wise and Raise</td>
<td>Winans</td>
<td>Daryl Coley</td>
<td>M. McKay</td>
<td>Take 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Norwood</td>
<td>James Moore</td>
<td>M. McKay</td>
<td>Take 6</td>
<td>Take 6</td>
<td>Take 6</td>
<td>V. Winans</td>
<td>M. Warren</td>
<td>Take 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Steven Ford</td>
<td>Shun Pace</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shun Pace</td>
<td>Shun Pace</td>
<td>John Kee</td>
<td>J. Kee</td>
<td>Ricky Dillard</td>
<td>D. Brooks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Y. Adams</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>H. Walker</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Continued*
Table 4.21: Continual Line of Gospel Artists and their Protegees (Composers, Musicians, and Singers) – *Continued*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>Hymn</th>
<th>Quartet</th>
<th>Early Classic</th>
<th>Late Classic</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Classical</th>
<th>Contemporary Jazz and Blues</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Praise &amp; Worship</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>McClurkin</td>
<td>Christianaires</td>
<td>Style can be heard in some Black churches. Some artists are still living and performing in classic style</td>
<td>Ricky Grundy</td>
<td>R. Grundy</td>
<td>Olanda Draper</td>
<td>K. Franklin</td>
<td>Ce Ce Winans</td>
<td>Helen Baylor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Orlanda Draper</td>
<td>Raise Mass Choir</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>K. Franklin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Men of Standard</td>
<td>James Hall</td>
<td>Allen and Allen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mississippi Mass</td>
<td>Darren Attwater</td>
<td></td>
<td>Virtue</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hubert Powell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dottie Peoples</td>
<td>Donald Lawrence</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tri-City D. Lawrence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Angela Christie</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Connection to the Black Church

In addition to the continual line of core musical and non-musical elements, and the gospel artists and their protegees, a continual line has been established through gospel music’s relationship or connection to the Black church. From its beginnings, gospel music has struggled to maintain a place of acceptance within the Black church. Since gospel music has served an evangelistic and ministerial function and purpose, the Black church came to expect gospel music to continue to fulfill this function and purpose. Though gospel artists within each era pushed the boundaries of gospel songs by recording in new and non-traditional gospel styles, they also recorded gospel songs that appeal to the traditional Black church audience. This suggests that gospel artists recognized a need to retain their gospel roots and desire to maintain their connection to the Black church.

A connection to the Black church also exists because it continues to be a preferred place to perform gospel music, where the gospel music and African American aesthetic is generally valued, and the spiritual elements are embraced and practiced. This research shows that when gospel music is taken outside of the Black church environment, the artists must consider and appeal to the values of the listeners for whom the music is being performed. This study has shown that when gospel moved beyond the walls of the Black church for non-evangelistic purposes the music, text, performance practices, and its primary function were compromised. This can be observed when gospel music is taken into mainstream or secular musical arenas where its purpose is to make money and serve an entertainment function rather than a ministerial function. Burnim (1980) once stated that “gospel music is the single existing genre of Black music still being produced and performed primarily for and by Black people themselves” (p. 68). Though this statement
does not ring true in 2002, it does reveal a key factor about the identity of gospel music, which is that gospel music remains connected to the Black church. History has demonstrated that no matter how far from the church gospel music extends, it always finds its way home to the Black church, primarily because of the function and purpose that it continues to perform within the Black church; evangelism and transformation. From its beginnings, it was believed that gospel music could convert its listeners to the Christian faith or transform the listener to a place of renewed hope, faith, love, peace, and joy.

It is apparent that many of the contemporary gospel songs and the developments within the gospel music industry have a link to the past. Although gospel music changed significantly during the 20th century, the literature reveals that all African American gospel songs are connected by continual through lines of core gospel musical and non-musical elements, gospel artists and their protegees, and a connection to the Black church. Throughout gospel music’s development, old elements have been retained while new innovations contributed to the development of new musical forms and styles.

Core Elements of Gospel Music

As African American gospel music moved beyond the boundaries of the Black church and crossed over into the mainstream music industry it became increasingly difficult to identify or describe African American gospel music. However, the components needed to help identify African American gospel song have been revealed
from the research evidence in this study. These core musical and non-musical elements can be used to identify examples of African American gospel music.

First, one must consider the core musical elements. Then, one must consider the unique performance practices and African American aesthetic upon which they are based. This research shows that many gospel songs composed in the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000, use fewer traditional African American gospel music progressions, chords, scales, and performance practices that are commonly found in traditional African American gospel music. Instead, many African American gospel songs borrow music elements and performance practices from other sacred or secular musical genres.

When asking most people what makes a song gospel, they often reply that it is the “text” that contains the gospel message (Davidson, 1975). Without this message a song can not be considered gospel. What happens however, when the text becomes ambiguous as it has in recent years? Other components must be used to help identify African American gospel songs. Since gospel music was originally composed by African Americans for African Americans to perform within African American churches, the “relationship” or “connection to the Black church” must also be an important identifying factor (Burnim, 1980).

When taking gospel music beyond the walls of the Black church, this study shows many gospel artists do so based upon an intent and motive to fulfill the ministerial and evangelical function and purpose of gospel music. Therefore the “intent of the composer or performer” to fulfill this purpose, can also help to identify the ministerial properties of African American gospel music (Jones, 1998). Since gospel music has crossed over into mainstream music markets, whose primary purpose is entertainment rather than ministry,
the intent of a composer or performer may not always be visibly apparent. Table 4.26 presents a paradigm containing the core properties of 20th century African American gospel music.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Musical and Performance Properties</th>
<th>Function and Purpose Properties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>MUSIC</strong> (Core Musical Elements)</td>
<td><strong>TEXT</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PERFORMANCE PRACTICES</strong> (Based upon the African American Aesthetic)</td>
<td><strong>CONNECTION TO BLACK CHURCH</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>INTENT OF COMPOSER/PERFORMER</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Includes gospel songs from the Congregational, Traditional, Contemporary, and Word/Ministry Eras as well as songs that are "gospelized" or transformed into the African-American gospel style.

4.22: Paradigm for identifying African American Gospel Songs
How To Use The Paradigm

The research shows all African American gospel songs contain at least one key component from each core property. One must analyze the song “as it is written, recorded, or performed” to first identify the Musical and Performance Properties.

1.) Music (Core Musical Elements)

2.) Performance Practices (African American Aesthetics)

The music must be related to or derived from other music that is indisputably African American gospel music. Specific core musical elements and performance practices from the African American aesthetic must be identified in the performance of the song.

Because the musical and performance practices may not be enough to identify the song as an African American gospel song, the song must be examined to identify its purpose. The song’s function and purpose must be tested to determine if it meets at least one if not all three of the elements in the Function and Purpose category.

1.) Text

2.) Connection to the Black Church.

3.) Intent of the Composer/Performer

The text should overtly state or covertly infer the gospel message of faith, hope and assurance. The song should bear a connection to the Black church in that it serves its functional purpose of evangelism, service, or worship. The research also indicates that the composer or performer’s intent, whether apparent or unknown, should be to transmit the gospel message to the listener. Based upon which properties are present or absent within a song, one can determine if it is indeed an authentic African American gospel song.
Note that some gospel songs will contain all of the core properties, while some gospel songs, due to the extreme musical stylistic variations found among examples of gospel music, may only contain one core element from each category. Since some gospel songs contain musical elements and performance practices that are common to other African American music, and since the song’s purpose may be difficult to observe, an additional process should be added. When questions remain concerning the identity of a gospel song, one should be able to establish a Continual Line. Additional factors that tie the song, composer, text, or artist in question to other aspects of gospel music or the gospel community must be identified. This process is especially recommended for controversial gospel songs that contain only one component within each category. If these criteria are met, then a song can be categorized as an African American gospel song.

Testing the Paradigm

By testing a song to uncover these elements within the paradigm, one can readily identify gospel songs, even though the song may include an ambiguous text or secular musical sound. With this paradigm one should be able to identify songs as African American gospel songs, non-African American gospel songs, or secular songs written in the gospel style. Table 4.23 lists examples of songs from various musical eras and styles that will be used to illustrate the paradigm’s use.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SONG TITLE</th>
<th>COMPOSER</th>
<th>DATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Precious Lord”</td>
<td>Thomas Dorsey</td>
<td>1932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Oh Happy Day”</td>
<td>Edwin Hawkins</td>
<td>1969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Stomp”</td>
<td>Kirk Franklin</td>
<td>1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“From Zero to Hero” from Disney Movie “Hercules”</td>
<td>Alan Menker (music) David Zippel (Lyrics)</td>
<td>1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Budweiser Beer Commercial”</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>199?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“We Shall Behold Him”</td>
<td>Dottie Rambo</td>
<td>1980</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.23: Songs of Various Musical Eras and Styles to be Tested by the Paradigm.

Researchers acknowledge Thomas Dorsey’s “Precious Lord” is a standard within the gospel music repertoire. A continual line was easily established because this song was one of the first gospel songs composed by Dorsey during the early years of gospel music’s history. The song was analyzed to determine if it possessed core components from the musical and performance properties category, and it was shown to possess both the musical and the performance properties identified in this study (See Table 4.22). The song was then assessed for its function and purpose. The song’s text contained the gospel message of hope and encouragement. The song was connected to the Black church through its functionality, the intent of the composer was to share the message of faith,
hope, and assurance. Thus “Precious Lord” as a traditional or standard gospel piece contained all of the core components and was clearly identifiable as an African American gospel song.

By testing a secular song written in the gospel style it could be determined if the paradigm would identify these songs as African American gospel songs. For this test two songs were evaluated. One song entitled “From Zero to Hero” came from the Disney animated feature Hercules. In this song, the background singers performed in the African American gospel style but the texts were not based upon gospel themes. The second song chosen was the controversial “Budweiser beer commercial” that was aired in the 1990s during a Super Bowl game. The music in this commercial featured a gospel choir and musicians singing about beer in the African American gospel music style. The results of this test can be seen within Table 4.24.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Musical and Performance Properties</th>
<th>Function and Purpose Properties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MUSIC (Core Musical Elements)</td>
<td>NOT APPLICABLE (N/A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERFORMANCE PRACTICES (Based upon the African American Aesthetic)</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Includes African-American and non African American secular songs written in the gospel style.

Table 4.24: Paradigm Model for Secular Songs written in the African American Gospel Music Style.

Both songs were shown to contain both core components from the musical and performance properties category, however, they did not contain any of the core components from the functions and purpose properties. Since they did not contain core components from both categories, they were not considered to be African American gospel songs though they borrowed some of the performance and musical characteristics of African American gospel music.

Since the musical elements and performance practices used within African American gospel music are also used—though differently—in other African American
musical genres, other African American genres may share characteristics and core components from the musical and performance properties of the paradigm. However, a song that utilizes common musical and performance properties may not possess the function or purpose properties that are unique to gospel songs.

William McDaniel, Professor of Jazz Studies at The Ohio State University, frequently speaks of the noun-verb analogy as a phenomenon that occurs within jazz music. McDaniel (1999) explains that certain pieces in their original form contain jazz musical elements, thus they are jazz pieces. This is jazz music in the noun form. McDaniel also speaks of a process by which a person could take the essential musical elements of jazz music and apply them to any song and create a "jazz version" of that song, this is jazz in the verb form. This same concept has also been discussed by other scholars (Jones, 1963; Reimer, 2000). The research shows that this same phenomenon occurs within gospel music; songs can be performed in the gospel style, contain many of the music and performance properties yet not be considered to be examples of African American gospel music.

A gospel song may contain certain core musical elements that make it a gospel song. This is gospel music in the noun form. However, African American gospel musical elements and performance practices have been applied to non-gospel secular songs by changing the words. Others have applied this principle to non-African American sacred songs by changing the musical elements and performance properties to create a gospel version of the song. These two examples describe cases in which a song is "gospelized." "Gospel," in this instance, is in the verb form. Note that the musical elements can be used to create a new version of a sacred song, as demonstrated with the
hymn “What A Friend We Have In Jesus” or just to perform a secular song in a gospel style. When the later occurs, the song will be played in the African American gospel music style without containing any of the function or purpose properties. Thus the songs from the movie Hercules and the Budweiser beer commercial are examples of secular songs that were “gospelized” and performed in the African American gospel style. While these songs contain the musical and performance properties of gospel music, they do not contain the function or purpose properties.

This “gospel music as verb” phenomenon also occurs when non-African American singers and musicians emulate African American gospel music instrumental and vocal technique and when African Americans transform sacred and secular songs into gospel songs by applying the core musical and performance properties. Examples of White artists who perform secular music in the African American gospel style include Michael McDonald, and Michael Bolton. Examples of White artists who perform in the African American gospel style are Dan Willis and the Pentecostals, Gene Viale, and Angelo and Veronica. Examples of African Americans who have “gospelized” sacred songs by applying the African American gospel music and performance properties include Richard Smallwood, who rearranged Bill Gaither’s song “Jesus You’re the Center of My Joy” and Thomas Whitfield who rearranged Dottie Rambo’s song “He Look Beyond My Faults And Saw My Need.” Countless White hymns and gospel songs have been transformed into the African American gospel song style by applying the core musical elements.

Next, songs were tested to determine if the paradigm could distinguish White gospel and other non-African American gospel songs from African American gospel
songs. Several White gospel songs that were not African American in their musical form were tested. One such song entitled “We Shall Behold Him” as performed by Sandi Patti was selected. Though many White gospel artists utilize common musical and performance practices, they do not always apply them based upon the African American aesthetic. Therefore, it is the application of the unique African American musical and performance properties that distinguishes the two forms. Table 4.25 presents the results of this test.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Musical and Performance Properties</th>
<th>Function and Purpose Properties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>TEXT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CONNECTION TO BLACK CHURCH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>INTENT OF COMPOSER/PREFORMER</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Includes White Gospel Hymnody, Contemporary Christian music, Southern Gospel, as well as some songs from the Word/Ministry Era including some Praise and Worship songs.

Table 4.25: Paradigm Model for White Gospel and non-African American Sacred Gospel Songs.
A test of other examples of White gospel songs will likely reveal that White gospel, and other non-African American and African American sacred music, may contain only core elements from the function and purpose properties of the paradigm. Tests for White hymns and sacred classical music, as well as sacred songs composed by African Americans in European musical styles should reveal similar property differences.

An examination of African American gospel songs that were controversial at various periods throughout gospel music’s history, “Oh Happy Day” (1969) arranged by Edwin Hawkins and “Stomp” (1997) composed by Kirk Franklin found both songs contained all of the core elements from each property category, though various questions could be raised about the degree to which certain core elements were present or absent. Without question, “Oh Happy Day” contained core musical elements, performance practices, text, a connection to the Black church, and intent of the composer as found in the research. However, during the time of its original release its connection to the Black church was questioned since it was aired on secular radio stations and performed in secular venues (Jones, 1998). Since “Oh Happy Day” became a popular musical success during a period when many social and political movements emerged, it was widely performed by non-Christians. However, some 30 years later, the song has become a standard in the gospel music repertoire. Kirk Franklin’s “Stomp,” recorded in the 1990s, also proved to be questionable in spite of the fact that it passed the test as an authentic gospel song. Like “Oh Happy Day,” it contains all of the core components; however, the degree to which many of the properties are present has caused some to question its classification as a gospel song.
Can a song that passes the paradigm test as an African American gospel song still be considered controversial? While a song may contain evidence of each core component the degree to which the core component is present may be so small that one may still question its identity. The research reviewed in this study shows there are some gospel songs whose core components did not reflect the African American gospel music style so they appeared to be secular songs. Songs that have been controversial included questionable functions of purposes, performance practices (dance, sensuous movement), or musical characteristics. Table 4.26: presents some of the components of controversial songs. These are the Gospel songs that led to controversy within the Black church and gospel community.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Musical and Performance Properties</th>
<th>Function and Purpose Properties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SECULAR MUSIC (Borrowed from secular genres)</td>
<td>NO GOSPEL TEXT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SECULAR PERFORMANCE PRACTICES (Dance, Dress, Language)</td>
<td>PERFORMED OUTSIDE THE BLACK CHURCH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PERFORMER’S OR COMPOSER’S ACTIONS CONTRADICT MESSAGE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.26: Gospel songs that do not reflect the core musical and performance properties or function and purpose properties

Although the music within these songs may utilize some traditional gospel musical elements, it utilizes more secular musical elements. Though the performance practices are emotionally charged, they incorporate secular dances and sensuous movement. The text may not state the gospel message of other biblical references as the central theme of the song. In addition, the style of the song would not necessarily fit within the traditional Black church worship experience. This was the case with Franklin’s “Stomp.” Franklin has expressed his intent to appeal to youth through this song on numerous occasions, and many young people have claimed to receive the message of faith, hope, and assurance
through this song. Though one might question the function or purpose of the song or view it as a controversial borderline gospel song, it is nonetheless a gospel song.

**Conclusion**

When comparing all of the songs that were tested by this paradigm, one will conclude that what makes a song “gospel” is that it contains musical elements and performance properties such as the core musical elements and performance practices. In addition its function and purpose is apparent in the text, its connection to the Black church, and the intent of the composer or performer (See Table 4.27). These characteristics together can be found in all gospel songs. Perhaps anomalies will arise that do not fit the paradigm, however, the research suggests that this paradigm, as presented, can be used to help identify gospel songs of various styles. In addition it can serve as a model for gospel composers and performers to consider when composing and performing gospel music.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song Title</th>
<th>Music (Core Musical Elements)</th>
<th>Performance Practices (African Aesthetic)</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Connection to Black Church</th>
<th>Intent of Composer/Performer</th>
<th>Results</th>
<th>Classification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Precious Lord</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Applied</td>
<td>Gospel Theme</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Gospel</td>
<td>African-American Gospel Song</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oh Happy Day</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Applied</td>
<td>Gospel Theme</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Gospel</td>
<td>African-American Gospel Song</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stomp</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Applied</td>
<td>Gospel Theme</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Gospel</td>
<td>African-American Gospel Song</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hercules Video</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Applied</td>
<td>Non-Gospel Theme</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Not Gospel</td>
<td>Secular song written in the style of an African-American Gospel Song</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budweiser Commercial</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Applied</td>
<td>Non-Gospel Theme</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Not Gospel</td>
<td>Secular commercial written in the style of an African-American Gospel Song</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We Shall Behold Him</td>
<td>Not Present</td>
<td>Not Applied</td>
<td>Gospel Theme</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Not African American Gospel</td>
<td>Contemporary Christian Gospel Song</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.27: Paradigm Test Results. What constitutes an African American Gospel Song?
A comprehensive definition of African American gospel music based on the music’s significant historical and stylistic developments throughout the 20th century

African American gospel music is a multifaceted musical genre that can and must be viewed from multiple perspectives in order to reveal its identity. By viewing gospel music from many perspectives we can conclude that it is a cultural, spiritual, textual, and musical product simultaneously. African American gospel music is cultural because it is a specific musical genre that developed within the African American church that applies the African American music and performance aesthetic. Gospel music is spiritual because it is a type of sacred music related to the Christian religion. Some believe the music is designed to edify the listener who is presently a Christian, as well as, convert listeners through evangelism. Gospel music is textual because its lyrics whether obvious or inferred are based upon the gospel message of faith, hope, and assurance and related themes found in the Bible. Gospel music is musical because it not only utilizes distinct core musical elements from the African American musical aesthetic but it applies them in a specific fashion to create its distinct musical sound and style.

African American gospel music is one of several African American sacred musical genres that developed in the early 20th century. Gospel music emerged as a result of various sacred and secular musical genres such as White and Black hymnody, Quartet Singing, Pentecostal Congregational Singing, and Blues and Jazz, that were also developing during the same historical period. The culmination of various musical elements from these emerging musical genres by early gospel composers led to the
development of African American gospel music. From its beginnings gospel music was intended to serve a ministerial and evangelistic function within the Black church.

Though gospel music has changed significantly since its beginnings, African American gospel music contains core musical and performance properties that have been retained, altered, or expanded throughout its history. The alteration and expansion of these core musical and performance properties has produced a variety of gospel musical and performance styles, many of which developed as a result of the exposure to and influences of non-gospel sacred and secular musical genres. These core properties can be observed within all authentic African American gospel songs. The core components include the core musical elements (e.g. pentatonic scales, flatted notes, and syncopated rhythms) and the performance practices (hand clapping, foot stomping, movement, improvisation, emotion) which are based upon the African American gospel aesthetic.

African American gospel music also contains core ministerial function and purpose properties observed in texts that overtly or covertly project the gospel message of hope, faith, and assurance. Although gospel music is performed outside of the Black church, its primary ministerial purpose function connects it to the Black church. Whether performed in a sacred or secular setting, by African Americans or non-African Americans, generally, composers and performers of gospel music intend to spread the gospel message of hope, faith and assurance either through the compositional aspects of the song or through the performer's mode of presentation. Together, these components identify African American gospel songs.
CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS OF THIS STUDY, AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Summary and Discussion

As gospel music has moved beyond the boundaries of the Black church and crossed over into the mainstream music industry it has become increasingly difficult to identify. The fact that many gospel artists are now crossing over and performing secular music and many secular artists are crossing over or returning to perform gospel music, it has become increasingly difficult to identify gospel songs. Since gospel music incorporates elements from so many other musical genres and since the texts have become less overtly based upon the Gospel message and Christian theme, it has become challenging to determine what songs are indeed gospel songs. Therefore, gospel music must be defined in a manner that considers its changing stylistics characteristics from its beginnings to the present. The underlying premise of this study is that African American gospel music has not been comprehensively defined, because its entire history has not been comprehensively documented in one source to date. By documenting the significant historical and musical events of 20th century African American gospel music, this study
revealed the elements needed to form a more comprehensive definition for African American gospel music and clarify its identity.

Upon examining the history of 20th century African American gospel music, it becomes apparent that gospel music is to be distinguished for other sacred musical styles also known as "gospel music." In addition, the literature also reveals that there are many distinctions within the overall African American gospel music genre. These distinctions allow the history of African American gospel music to be divided into five Gospel Music Eras and eleven Gospel Musical and Performance Styles. While gospel music composers, performers, scholars, and listeners emphasize the different African American gospel music styles, it is also important to emphasize the commonalities that connect the various Gospel Music Eras and Gospel Musical and Performance Styles of the past with the Gospel Music Eras and Gospel Musical and Performance Styles of the present. It is in the commonalities rather than the distinctions that the core identifying components of African American gospel music are revealed.

Since gospel music has changed so significantly throughout its history and become so diverse, one might believe that there is no continuity within African American gospel music from one era to the next. Furthermore, one might conclude that gospel songs from one era are not connected to gospel songs of another era. This study suggests, to the contrary, that there are common threads that run throughout the entire history of 20th century African American gospel music, which provide both continuity and stability to this evolving and versatile art form. The continuity and stability is found within the core musical and performance properties. Regardless of the new and innovative musical elements or performance practices added to gospel music, there has always been a set of
core elements that remain constant throughout the development of African American gospel music. The way these core musical elements are utilized may vary from one era or performance style to the next, none-the-less, there are still core musical elements that are common to all gospel songs.

When examining the historical and musical data it becomes apparent that the musical elements and practices established in a particular era do not end when a new era emerges. Since gospel music is such a young musical form, less than 100 years old, the eras overlap. The literature reveals that Gospel Music Eras continue because many of the pioneering composers and artists of the various eras are still living in the year 2000. Consequently, many gospel pioneers still perform in their original musical styles and have trained protegees to perform in their original gospel music styles, thereby helping to preserve and continue the various Gospel Music Eras throughout the 20th century. This interaction between older and younger artists enables the legacy of pioneering gospel artists, the Gospel Music Eras, and the Gospel Musical and Performance Styles to continue.

Since new and old eras exists simultaneously, gospel composers, singers, and musicians are exposed to and may borrow from or mix core musical elements from any era. Each generation may borrow musical elements, text, performance practices, or entire songs from the preceding generation as well as add to or expand the musical and textual elements so that they are relevant to their own contemporary time. This overlap of the Gospel Music Eras helps to create a continual musical, historical, and textual line throughout the history of 20th century African American gospel music, thus connecting gospel songs from one era to gospel songs of another era. The continual musical line is
perpetuated by rearranging old gospel songs for a new generation, borrowing melodies from old hymns or popular songs, borrowing sacred texts, changing popular texts to gospel texts, or simply re-introducing an old song to a new generation. By changing musical and performance elements such as the rhythm, tempo, melody, or harmony, African American gospel songs and hymns have been arranged in numerous gospel styles. Therefore, what makes a song “gospel” is not the new musical elements that are added but the old elements that are retained. The new innovations create new musical forms and styles, but the old elements help to maintain the overall stability within the musical style and thereby continue the musical, historical, and textual line.

From its beginnings, gospel music has struggled to maintain a place of acceptance within the Black church where it has been used to edify, inspire, encourage hope, exalt God and the listener, evangelize and convert. From the time gospel music was initially accepted by the Black church, it has served an evangelistic and ministerial function and purpose. In fact, the Black church has come to expect gospel music to fulfill this function and purpose. Therefore, the Black church has served as a gatekeeper of the gospel music art form by helping to assure that as gospel music changes over time, it maintains its primary function and purpose and remains usable and appropriate for traditional African American Sunday morning worship services.

Though gospel artists push the boundaries of gospel music by recording in new and non-traditional gospel styles, gospel artists recognize the need to retain their gospel roots and maintain their connection to the Black church. Consequently, a connection can be observed between gospel music and the Black church, its’ members, and its theology. When gospel artists expand gospel music beyond the Black church, they must consider
and appeal to other aesthetic values if gospel music is to be accepted. Furthermore, when taking gospel music outside of the Black church environment, many believe that the music, text, performance practices, and its primary function are compromised. Therefore, the Black church is the one place that gospel music can be performed as originally intended without compromise. The Black church is also the place where the African American gospel music aesthetic is generally accepted and valued and the spiritual aspects of gospel music are embraced and practiced.

The core components of gospel music revealed within this study help to identify gospel music and clarify the identity of gospel songs. Certain songs should be categorized as gospel songs because they possess specific music and performance properties (core musical elements and performance practices) and ministerial and motive properties (text, connection to the Black church, and the intent of the composer). By analyzing a gospel song, one should be able to readily identify the presence of these core properties. When these properties are evident and a continual musical, historical, or textual line can be revealed, the identity of an African American gospel song can be revealed.

The results of this study show that African American gospel music is one of several African American sacred musical genres that developed in the early 20th century. Gospel music emerged as a result of various sacred and secular musical genres such as White and Black hymnody, Quartet Singing, Pentecostal Congregational Singing, and Blues and Jazz, that were also developing during the same historical period. The culmination of various musical elements from these emerging musical genres by early gospel composers led to the development of African American gospel music. From its
beginnings gospel music was intended to serve a ministerial and evangelistic function within the Black church.

Though gospel music has changed significantly since its beginnings, African American gospel music contains core musical and performance properties that have been retained, altered, or expanded throughout its history. The alteration and expansion of these core musical and performance properties has produced a variety of gospel musical and performance styles, many of which developed as a result of the exposure to and influence of non-gospel sacred and secular musical genres. These core properties can be observed within all authentic African American gospel songs. The core properties include core musical elements (e.g. pentatonic scales, flatted notes, and syncopated rhythms) and performance practices (hand clapping, foot stomping, movement, improvisation, emotion) which are based upon the African American gospel aesthetic. African American gospel music also contains core ministerial function and purpose properties that can be observed in texts that overtly or covertly project the gospel message of hope, faith, and assurance. Although gospel music is performed outside of the Black church, its primary ministerial purpose and function connects it to the Black church. Whether performed in a sacred or secular setting, by African Americans or non-African Americans, generally, composers and performers of gospel music intend to spread the gospel message of hope, faith and assurance either through the compositional aspects of the song or through the performer’s mode of presentation. Together, these components identify African American gospel songs.
Implications of This Study

The purpose of this study was to define African American gospel music by tracing its historical and musical development throughout the 20th century. Having examined the historical and musical development of African American gospel music throughout the 20th century, recurring historical patterns could be observed. A continual relationship between African American gospel music and secular musical forms could be observed. The influence of non-gospel sacred and secular music genres on African American gospel music could be observed. The incorporation of secular music and performance practices within gospel music could also be observed. The performance of gospel music outside of the Black church within secular arenas has also been evident throughout each Gospel Music Era. By becoming aware of the recurring historical patterns that occur within African American gospel music, the perspectives from which people view gospel music will be broadened and African American gospel music will be seen as a constantly evolving musical art form rather than a static art form. Thus, the definitions for African American gospel music will continue to evolve in the future.

This study has presented a new paradigm for understanding the history of African American gospel music, identifying the core musical and performance practices utilized in African American gospel music, and the functions and purposes of African American gospel music. These findings can provide historical, musical, and spiritual insight for members of the gospel and scholarly community who desire to perform, research, or listen to gospel music.

This study raises an issue concerning the direction African American gospel music will take in the future. Throughout the history of African American gospel music,
it has been used to fulfill a ministerial function and purpose within the Black church, although in recent years it has been used increasingly outside of the Black church as a form of musical entertainment. Since gospel music has proven to be such a popular and profitable art form in recent years, many individuals and organizations have sought to steer gospel music in new directions and take it into new arenas. Although gospel music has been and can be performed in many arenas, every arena in which it is performed may not place a priority upon maintaining its ministerial function and purpose. Therefore, as members of the African American gospel music community explore new directions for gospel music, they must also strive to remain true to the music's primary function and purpose.

Although many of the original gospel pioneers have died, many gospel pioneers are still living in the year 2000. If the original gospel musical and performance styles are to be preserved for future generations, younger gospel artists and scholars must begin or continue to work with gospel pioneers who are still living to document their musical and historical contributions. By studying and mastering the musical and performance techniques of the early gospel pioneers, younger gospel artists will be able to preserve and perpetuate the traditional gospel music styles in the future.

Finally, the study demonstrates that African American gospel music has evolved significantly since its beginnings and will probably continue to evolve in the future. The historical data reveals that when members of the Black church and gospel music community believe gospel music has become too "secular" or "worldly," the evolutionary process by which new eras and styles emerge has begun. Therefore, gospel artists should learn to recognize this pattern and focus on how new gospel styles can be used to expand
and continue the African American gospel art form while remaining true to the ministerial purposes and functions of gospel music. By viewing African American gospel music as a music whose identity is in constant flux, gospel composers and performers will be liberated to explore new trends as well as maintain the essential characteristics of African American gospel music.

Recommendations for Further Research

Having divided the history of 20th century African American gospel music into overall Gospel Music Eras and distinct Gospel Musical and Performance Styles, further research can be performed to provide more insight for each Gospel Music Era and Gospel Musical and Performance Style. Having examined hundreds of African American gospel songs to reveal the core components, it has become apparent that African American gospel music must be further analyzed and documented in order to compile a text on gospel music theory. By further understanding the general musical characteristics and performance practices of each Gospel Music Era and the distinct musical characteristics and performance practices of each Gospel Musical and Performance Style, gospel artists and non-gospel artists will be able to trace their musical lineage and influences as well as learn the techniques needed to effectively perform in various Gospel Musical and Performance Styles.

Though this study is large in its scope, it does not present all of the significant contributions that African American gospel artists have made since the beginnings of gospel music. There is a wealth of information about African American gospel music that has not been researched or documented within scholarly literature. Much of this
information remains within the minds and memories of gospel artists. Until this knowledge and insight is articulated and documented, gaps in the historical account of gospel music will continue to exist. Perhaps, this study may direct scholars to specific individuals, groups, or organizations within the gospel music field who may become the source or focus of future scholarly research. It is my hope that scholars will seek to document additional portions of the history of Gospel music, and especially focus on lesser known artists who have contributed significantly to the history of gospel music.

The new paradigm presented within this study to identify African American gospel music has the potential to lend insight into the identity and definition of 20th century African American gospel music. However, this paradigm must be made available to those who are participating in such debates. Therefore, the results of this study must be disseminated in both scholarly and popular formats, within secular and sacred environments, so that members of both the scholarly and gospel communities may have access to the study and its conclusions that are relevant to their specific groups.

Finally, since an historical overview of African American gospel music is the 20th century has been documented within one source, maybe gospel scholars, musicians, composers, reporters, and listeners will continue to collaborate to compile a more extensive document or text, and create an archive for gospel music history from which future generations can study the past history of gospel music, document the present history, and prepare for the future of gospel music.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS


ARTICLES IN EDITED TEXTS


THESES AND DISSERTATIONS


---

**JOURNAL ARTICLES AND SCHOLARLY PUBLICATIONS**


**GOSPEL TRADE MAGAZINE ARTICLES**


Bits and Pieces(1994). *Score, November/December, 12.*


329


POPPULAR MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPER ARTICLES


Blackford, D. (1992, Issue Date). Dancing and Singing, all in the name of God. The Columbus Dispatch, pp. 8H.


RECORDING LINER NOTES


MUSICAL SCORES AND HYMNALS


Fryson, R. (1972). Give Yourself To Jesus (pp. 16). New York, N.Y.


Monroe, C. (1950). My Life Is In His Hand (pp. 3). Norfolk, VA.


ELECTRONIC SOURCES AND WEBSITES


PERSONAL INTERVIEWS, COMMUNICATIONS, AND TELEVISION BROADCASTS


OTHER HISTORICAL ARTIFACTS, PROGRAM, SOUVENIR BOOKS, ETC.


APPENDIX A

DISCOGRAPHY OF GOSPEL AND SECULAR RECORDING

REFERENCED WITHIN THIS STUDY
African American Gospel Recording Artists referenced within this study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Artist</th>
<th>Song/Album Title</th>
<th>Record Label</th>
<th>Catalog Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>A-1 Swift</td>
<td>Turn Yourself Around</td>
<td>Gospo Centric Records</td>
<td>G4 1H 7575 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>72125 4 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Adams, Yolanda</td>
<td>Just As I Am</td>
<td>Sound of Gospel Records</td>
<td>SOG 163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Adams, Yolanda</td>
<td>Through The Storm</td>
<td>Tribute Records</td>
<td>7-90133-097-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Adams, Yolanda</td>
<td>Mountain High . . . Valley Low</td>
<td>Elektra Records</td>
<td>62439-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Alfred, Donald</td>
<td>Rain On Us</td>
<td>Progressive Productions</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Alfred, Donald</td>
<td>Break Forth Into Praise</td>
<td>Sparrow Records</td>
<td>SPR 1251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>Allen and Allen</td>
<td>Allen and Allen</td>
<td>CGI Records</td>
<td>CGD 1077</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Allen and Allen</td>
<td>Love Sweet Love</td>
<td>AAMG Record</td>
<td>AAMG 8-07971-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>00012-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Anointed</td>
<td>Anointed</td>
<td>Myrrh Records</td>
<td>080688585327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>B, C, &amp; S</td>
<td>I Am Stepping Out in Jesus Name</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>14350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. d.</td>
<td>B. C. &amp; M Mass Choir</td>
<td>Draw Me Closer</td>
<td>Creed Records</td>
<td>3014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. d.</td>
<td>Babb, Morgan</td>
<td>Keep Faith In God</td>
<td>Nashboro Records</td>
<td>7012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Barnes, Luther and the Red Budd Gospel Choir</td>
<td>So Satisfied</td>
<td>Atlanta International Records</td>
<td>AIR 10135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Barnes, Luther and the Red Budd Gospel Choir</td>
<td>Someone to Lean On</td>
<td>Atlanta International Records</td>
<td>AIR 10212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Barrett Sisters</td>
<td>Live! Nobody Does It Better</td>
<td>I AM Records</td>
<td>WR 8428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>Becton, William and Friends</td>
<td>Broken</td>
<td>Web Records</td>
<td>CDK 9145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Artist/Group</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Label</td>
<td>Catalogue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Bell-Armstrong, Vanessa</td>
<td>Peace Be Still</td>
<td>Onyx International Records</td>
<td>R3831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Bell-Armstrong, Vanessa</td>
<td>Chosen</td>
<td>Onyx International Records</td>
<td>RO3825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Bolden, Alfred</td>
<td>We Shall Overcome</td>
<td>Atlantic Records</td>
<td>SD R-019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>Bowling Green State University Gospel Choir</td>
<td>One of the Ones</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>14315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Bradford, Alex</td>
<td>The best of Alex Bradford, A Memorial</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>DBL 7023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Brunson, Milton and the Thompson Community Singers</td>
<td>Miracle - Live</td>
<td>Myrrh Records</td>
<td>WC 1805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Brunson, Milton and the Thompson Community Singers</td>
<td>The Tommies</td>
<td>Myrrh Records</td>
<td>080688601829</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Burrell, Kim</td>
<td>Everlasting Life</td>
<td>Tommy Boy Records</td>
<td>TBCD 1249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Butler, Moses</td>
<td>The Bridegroom Songs</td>
<td>Jambalaya/ Tyscot Records</td>
<td>TYSD 4111-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. d.</td>
<td>Caesar, Shirley</td>
<td>Stranger On The Road</td>
<td>Hob Records</td>
<td>HBX 299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Caesar, Shirley</td>
<td>Shirley Caesar Her Very Best</td>
<td>Rejoice Records</td>
<td>WR 8365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Caesar, Shirley</td>
<td>Shirley Caesar Live in Chicago</td>
<td>Word/Epic Records</td>
<td>EK 47743</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Caesar, Shirley</td>
<td>I Remember Mama</td>
<td>A &amp; M Records</td>
<td>WR 8447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Caesar, Shirley</td>
<td>You Can Make It</td>
<td>Myrrh Records</td>
<td>080688605025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Cage, Byron and Purpose</td>
<td>Transparent in Your Presence</td>
<td>Atlanta International Records</td>
<td>AIR10223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>Calvary Crusaders</td>
<td>The Calvary Crusaders</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>14376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Canton Spirituals</td>
<td>Live in Memphis</td>
<td>Blackberry Records</td>
<td>BBD-1600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Christianires</td>
<td>Thank You</td>
<td>Marxan Records</td>
<td>MXD 2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Christie, Angela</td>
<td>Hymn and I</td>
<td>World Entertainment</td>
<td>078221895125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Clark Sisters</td>
<td>You Brought The Sunshine</td>
<td>Sound of Gospel Records</td>
<td>SOG 132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Clark Sisters</td>
<td>Heart and Soul</td>
<td>Rejoice Records</td>
<td>WR 8346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Clark Sisters</td>
<td>Bringing It Back Home</td>
<td>Word Records</td>
<td>WR 8449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Cleveland, James</td>
<td>Rev. James Cleveland: A Tribute To The King</td>
<td>Malaco Records</td>
<td>MALC 2009</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

343
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Artist</th>
<th>Album Title</th>
<th>Label</th>
<th>Catalog #</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Cleveland, James</td>
<td>The Best of Rev. James Cleveland and the Gospel Music Workshop of America Mass Choir</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>SCD 7111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. d.</td>
<td>Cleveland, James and introducing the Gospel Girls</td>
<td>James Cleveland and introducing the Gospel Girls</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>14236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. d.</td>
<td>Cleveland, James and the Angelic Choir</td>
<td>Sunday Service Volume 1</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>14059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. d.</td>
<td>Cleveland, James and the Angelic Choir</td>
<td>Sunday Service Volume 2</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>14063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Cleveland, James and the Angelic Choir</td>
<td>Peace Be Still</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>14076</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>Cleveland, James and the Charles Fold Singers</td>
<td>Can’t Nobody Do Me Like Jesus</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>DBL 7005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. d.</td>
<td>Cleveland, James and the Cleveland Singers</td>
<td>The Sun Will Shine After While</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>14085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. d.</td>
<td>Cleveland, James and the Cleveland Singers</td>
<td>I Walk With God</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>14167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Cleveland, James and the Cleveland Singers</td>
<td>Especially For You</td>
<td>King James Records</td>
<td>KJ 8503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. d.</td>
<td>Cleveland, James and the Gospel Chimes</td>
<td>There Is No Failure In God</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>14052</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Cleveland, James and the Southern California Community Choir</td>
<td>It’s A New Day</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>SGL 7035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. d.</td>
<td>Cleveland, James and the Voices of Christ</td>
<td>Somehow I Can Sing</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>14269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. d.</td>
<td>Cleveland, James and the Voices of Tabernacle</td>
<td>The Love of God</td>
<td>Hob Records</td>
<td>LP 233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Cleveland, James and the Voices of Tabernacle</td>
<td>God Has Smiled On Me</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>14352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Coley, Daryl</td>
<td>I’ll Be With You</td>
<td>Light Records</td>
<td>51416-1071-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Cooke, Sam with the Soul Stirrers</td>
<td>Sam Cooke with the Soul Stirrers</td>
<td>Specialty Records</td>
<td>SPCD-7009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Craig Brothers</td>
<td>God Is Blessing Me Right Now</td>
<td>King James Records</td>
<td>KJ8505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Crawford, Beverly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Crouch, Andrae</td>
<td>I’ll Be Thinking Of You</td>
<td>Light Records</td>
<td>LS 5763</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Crouch, Andrae</td>
<td>Don’t Give Up</td>
<td>Warner Bros. Records</td>
<td>BSR 3513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Artist(s)</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Label</td>
<td>Catalog Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Crouch, Andrae</td>
<td>Pray</td>
<td>Qwest/Warner Bros. Records</td>
<td>9-45924-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Crouch, Andrae</td>
<td>The Gift of Christmas</td>
<td>Qwest/Warner Bros. Records</td>
<td>9-47091-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. d.</td>
<td>Crouch, Andrae and the Disciples</td>
<td>Take the Message Everywhere</td>
<td>Light Records</td>
<td>LS-5504-LP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Crouch, Andrae and the Disciples</td>
<td>Live At Carnegie Hall</td>
<td>Light Record</td>
<td>LS 5602-LP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>Crouch, Andrae and the Disciples</td>
<td>Take Me Back</td>
<td>Light CGI Record</td>
<td>CGD 1135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Crouch, Andrae and the Disciples</td>
<td>This Is Another Day</td>
<td>Light Records</td>
<td>LS 5683</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Crouch, Sandra and Friends</td>
<td>We Sing Praises</td>
<td>Light Records</td>
<td>LS 5825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Cummings, Benny and Singers</td>
<td>God’s Will God’s Way</td>
<td>Tomato Music Company</td>
<td>TOM-7038G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Cummings, Benny and Singers</td>
<td>Lord Make Me Over</td>
<td>New Birth Records</td>
<td>NEW-7057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. d.</td>
<td>Cummings, Benny and the King’s Temple Choir</td>
<td>God’ Music Is My Life</td>
<td>Ambassador Records</td>
<td>ACR-207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Cummings, Benny and the King’s Temple Choir</td>
<td>In Times Like These</td>
<td>Creed Records</td>
<td>3071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Cummings, Benny and the King’s Temple Choir</td>
<td>Now</td>
<td>Creed Records</td>
<td>3083</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Dallas/Fort Worth Mass Choir</td>
<td>Another Chance</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>SCD 7109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Davis, Henry M.</td>
<td>Henry McKenzie Davis Instrumentally Speaking</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>(NR12703-1).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Dillard, Ricky and New Generation Chorale</td>
<td>The Promise</td>
<td>Muscle Shoals Sound Gospel Records</td>
<td>MSCD 8008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Dixie Hummingbirds</td>
<td>The Dixie Hummingbirds Live</td>
<td>ABC Peacock Records</td>
<td>PL-59231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Dixie Hummingbirds</td>
<td>Smooth Sailing</td>
<td>Atlanta International Records</td>
<td>AIR-10078</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Dixie Hummingbirds</td>
<td>Our 60th</td>
<td>Atlanta International Records</td>
<td>AIR-10141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. d.</td>
<td>Dixon, Jessy and the Chicago Community Choir</td>
<td>Stretch Out</td>
<td>Gospel Records</td>
<td>MG-3073</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. d.</td>
<td>Dixon, Jessy and the Chicago Community Choir</td>
<td>Open Our Eyes</td>
<td>Gospel Records</td>
<td>MG-3086</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Douglas, Rev. Isaac &amp; The San Francisco Community Singers</td>
<td>Special Appearance</td>
<td>Creed Records</td>
<td>LP 3081</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Artists/Choirs</td>
<td>Album/EP/Title</td>
<td>Label</td>
<td>Catalog Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Douglas, Rev. Isaac &amp; Wilmington-Chester Mass Choir</td>
<td>They Shall Be Mine</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>SL-14665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Draper, O'Landa and the Associates</td>
<td>Do It Again</td>
<td>Word/Epic Records</td>
<td>EK 48560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. d.</td>
<td>Draper, O'Landa Associates</td>
<td>All About Him</td>
<td>MCG Records</td>
<td>MCG 7016-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Essence</td>
<td>Sinner Man</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>14494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. d.</td>
<td>First Church of Deliverance Choir</td>
<td>Songs of Deliverance</td>
<td>Mercury Records</td>
<td>MG 20787</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Florida Mass Choir</td>
<td>Come Let's Reason Together</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>SGL-7034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. d.</td>
<td>Franklin, Aretha</td>
<td>The Gospel Soul of Aretha Franklin</td>
<td>Checker Records</td>
<td>LP 10009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Franklin, Aretha</td>
<td>Amazing Grace</td>
<td>Atlantic Records</td>
<td>2-906-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Franklin, Aretha</td>
<td>One Lord One Faith One Baptism</td>
<td>Arista Records</td>
<td>AC8497</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Franklin, Kirk</td>
<td>Kirk Franklin presents 1NC</td>
<td>B-Rite Records</td>
<td>0694903254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Franklin, Kirk</td>
<td>The Rebirth of Kirk Franklin</td>
<td>Gospo Centric Records</td>
<td>75775-70037-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Franklin, Kirk and Nu Nation</td>
<td>The Nu Nation Project</td>
<td>Gospel Centric Records</td>
<td>60949024123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Franklin, Kirk and the Family</td>
<td>Kirk Franklin and the Family</td>
<td>Gospel Centric Records</td>
<td>GCD2119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Full Gospel Baptist Fellowship Mass Choir</td>
<td>Bow Down and Worship Him</td>
<td>Gospel Centric Records</td>
<td>INTD-90176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>Garden State Choir</td>
<td>In Time</td>
<td>Atlantic Records</td>
<td>R010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Georgia Mass Choir</td>
<td>Yes He Can</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>SGL-7082</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. d.</td>
<td>Glenn, Beverly and Concert Chorale</td>
<td>Just Believe</td>
<td>Cross Records</td>
<td>LPS 336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. d.</td>
<td>Gospel Chimes</td>
<td>Learn How to Wait</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>MG-14067</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Gospel Chimes</td>
<td>Father I Stretch My Hands To Thee</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>MG-14055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>Gospel Light Jubilee Singers</td>
<td>What Are They Doing In Heaven Today?</td>
<td>Bluebird Records</td>
<td>BB B8212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Gospel Troubadours</td>
<td>All You Need</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>14346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Haddon, Deitrick and the Voices of Unity</td>
<td>Live the Life</td>
<td>Tyscot/CGI Records</td>
<td>51416-1268-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Hall, James and Worship and Praise</td>
<td>God Is In Control</td>
<td>Intersound Records</td>
<td>CDK 9131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Hall, James and Worship and Praise</td>
<td>King of Glory</td>
<td>Intersound Records</td>
<td>CDK 9163</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Year | Artist | Title | Reference | Label | Catalogue
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Hall, James and Worship and Praise</td>
<td>According to James Hall – Chapter III</td>
<td>CGI Records</td>
<td>1278</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Hammond, Fred and Radical for Christ</td>
<td>The Inner Court</td>
<td>Benson Records</td>
<td>84418-4008-2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Hammond, Fred and Radical for Christ</td>
<td>Pages of Life</td>
<td>Verity Records</td>
<td>01241-43110-2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>Hampton Minister’s Conference Choir Directors and Organist Guild</td>
<td>The 1975 Sacred Concert: Choir Directors and Organist Guild</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>RSR-236</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Hardeman, Gabriel</td>
<td>I Want To Go Where The Lion And Lamb Can Live Together In Harmony</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>14396</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Hawkins, Daniel</td>
<td>Daniel Hawkins</td>
<td>Light Records</td>
<td>LS-5781</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Hawkins, Edwin</td>
<td>Imagine Heaven</td>
<td>Lection Records</td>
<td>LN-1-501</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Hawkins, Edwin and the Hawkins Singer</td>
<td>Let Us Go Into the House of the Lord</td>
<td>Buddha-Pavilion</td>
<td>BPS-10001</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. d.</td>
<td>Hawkins, Edwin and the Hawkins Singers</td>
<td>Children Get Together</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
<td>BDS 5086</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. d.</td>
<td>Hawkins, Edwin and the Hawkins Singers</td>
<td>I’d Like To Teach the World to Sing</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
<td>BDS 5101</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Hawkins, Tramaine</td>
<td>Tramaine</td>
<td>Light Records</td>
<td>LS-5760</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Hawkins, Tramaine</td>
<td>The Joy That Floods My Soul</td>
<td>Sparrow Records</td>
<td>SPR 1173</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Hawkins, Tramaine</td>
<td>The Search Is Over</td>
<td>A &amp; M Records</td>
<td>Not available</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Hawkins, Tramaine</td>
<td>Tramaine Hawkins Live</td>
<td>Sparrow Records</td>
<td>SPD 1246</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>Hawkins, Tramaine</td>
<td>To A Higher Place</td>
<td>Columbia Records</td>
<td>CK 57876</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Hawkins, Tramaine</td>
<td>Still Tramaine</td>
<td>Gospo Centric Records</td>
<td>757517003627</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Hawkins, Walter</td>
<td>I Feel Like Singing</td>
<td>Light Records</td>
<td>E1-60038</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Hawkins, Walter and the Love Center Choir</td>
<td>Love Alive IV</td>
<td>Malaco Records</td>
<td>MAL 6007</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Artist(s) and Choir</td>
<td>Title/Album</td>
<td>Label/Producer</td>
<td>Catalog/ID</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>Hebrew Boys</td>
<td>Hebrew Boys</td>
<td>Buddah Records</td>
<td>Not available</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Heyward, Mike</td>
<td>My Cup Is Overflowing</td>
<td>I Am Records</td>
<td>WR 8384</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Hobbs, Darwin</td>
<td>Mercy</td>
<td>EMI Gospel Records</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Hubbard, Mark and the United Voices For Christ</td>
<td>He’s Up There</td>
<td>Tyscot Records</td>
<td>51416-1239-2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Institutional Radio Choir</td>
<td>Gospel Blessed With Soul</td>
<td>Atlantic Records</td>
<td>R-008</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>Jackson, Henry and Company</td>
<td>The Henry Jackson Company</td>
<td>Gospel Truth Record</td>
<td>GTS 2719</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>Jackson, Mahalia</td>
<td>Mahalia Jackson’s Greatest Hits</td>
<td>Priority Records</td>
<td>CS 8804</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>Jackson, Mahalia</td>
<td>Mahalia Jackson’s Greatest Hits</td>
<td>Columbia Records</td>
<td>CK 37710</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Jakes, Bishop T. D. and the Potter’s House Mass Choir</td>
<td>Live From the Potter’s House</td>
<td>Integrity Music</td>
<td>13192</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Johnson, Harrison and the Los Angeles Community Choir</td>
<td>The Harrison Johnson Los Angeles Community Choir is Here</td>
<td>Creed Records</td>
<td>3026</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Johnson, Keith “Wonderboy”</td>
<td>Send A Revival</td>
<td>World Wide Gospel</td>
<td>WWG-30182</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Johnson, Vernard</td>
<td>Take Your Burdens To The Lord</td>
<td>Glory Records</td>
<td>JC 1042</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Jones, Bobby and New Life</td>
<td>There’s Hope For This World</td>
<td>Creed Records</td>
<td>3095</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Jones, Bobby and New Life</td>
<td>Soul Set Free</td>
<td>Myrrh Records</td>
<td>MSB-6693</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Jones, Bobby and New Life</td>
<td>Come Together</td>
<td>Myrrh Records</td>
<td>701673806X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Jones, Bobby and the Nashville Super Choir</td>
<td>Just Churchin’</td>
<td>Gospo Centric Records</td>
<td>INTD-90211</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Karr, Kurt and the Kurt Karr Singers</td>
<td>No One Else</td>
<td>Gospo Centric Records</td>
<td>GCD2138</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Karr, Kurt and the Kurt Karr Singers</td>
<td>Awesome Wonder</td>
<td>Gospo Centric Records</td>
<td>06949-0747-2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Kee, John and the New Life Community Choir</td>
<td>Wash Me</td>
<td>Verity Records</td>
<td>J2-3004</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Artist and Choir</td>
<td>Album Title</td>
<td>Label</td>
<td>Catalogue Number</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Kee, John and the New Life Community Choir</td>
<td>Strength</td>
<td>Verity Records</td>
<td>01241-43108-4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Kenoly, Ron</td>
<td>Sing Out</td>
<td>Integrity music</td>
<td>IND 0239</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Lawrence, Donald and The Tri-City Singers</td>
<td>Bible Stories</td>
<td>Sparrow/Crystal Rose Records</td>
<td>SPD1480</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Lawrence, Donald and the Tri-City Singers</td>
<td>A Songwriter’s Point of View</td>
<td>Gospo Centric Records</td>
<td>GCD2117</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Lawrence, Donald and the Tri-City Singers</td>
<td>Tri-City 4.com</td>
<td>EMI Gospel/Crystal Rose Records</td>
<td>7-24382-02512-2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Lawrence, Donald and the Tri-City Singers</td>
<td>Go Get Your Life Back</td>
<td>EMI Gospel/Crystal Rose Records</td>
<td>7243-8-20360 EGD 20360</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Luther Barnes</td>
<td>Come Fly With Me</td>
<td>Atlanta International Records</td>
<td>AIR 10278</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. d.</td>
<td>Martin, Roberta</td>
<td>What A Friend We Have In Jesus</td>
<td>Apollo Records</td>
<td>LP 238</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. d.</td>
<td>Martin, Roberta and the Martin Singers</td>
<td>The Original Roberta Martin Singers</td>
<td>Apollo Records</td>
<td>LP 480</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Martin, Roberta and the Martin Singers</td>
<td>God Is Still On The Throne</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>MG-14031</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Martin, Roberta and the Martin Singers</td>
<td>Try Jesus</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>MG-14039</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Martin, Roberta and the Martin Singers</td>
<td>The Best of The Roberta Martin Singers</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>SGL 7018</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Martin, Roberta and the Martin Singers</td>
<td>Grace</td>
<td>Savgos Records</td>
<td>RI 5002</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. d.</td>
<td>Martin, Sallie and the Martin Singers</td>
<td>God Is Here</td>
<td>Vee Jay Records</td>
<td>VJLP 5041</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Mary, Mary</td>
<td>Thankful</td>
<td>Columbia/C2 Records</td>
<td>CK 63740</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Mass Choir of the Fellowship Missionary Baptist Church of Chicago</td>
<td>What A Fellowship</td>
<td>Fellowship Records</td>
<td>LP-503</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Matthew Sisters</td>
<td>Edwin Hawkins Presents the Matthew Sisters</td>
<td>Birthright Records</td>
<td>BRS-4006</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>McAllister, Judith Christie</td>
<td>Send Judah First</td>
<td>Judah Music</td>
<td>808933-000124</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>McClellan-Akers Singers</td>
<td>The McClellan-Akers Singers of Greater Kansas City</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>14290</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>McClendon, Clarence</td>
<td>Shout Hallelujah</td>
<td>Integrity Music</td>
<td>16872</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Artist</td>
<td>Album Description</td>
<td>Label</td>
<td>Catalog Number</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>McClurkin, Donnie and the New York Restoration Choir</td>
<td>I See A World</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>SC 14799</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>McClurkin, Donnie and the New York Restoration Choir</td>
<td>Thank You Jesus</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>SC 14811</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Mighty Clouds of Joy</td>
<td>Memory Lane – Best of</td>
<td>Word Records</td>
<td>EK 57289</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Miller, Shirley</td>
<td>I’m Standing Here</td>
<td>Light Records</td>
<td>SPCN 7115-709-440</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Mississippi Mass Choir</td>
<td>The Mississippi Mass Choir Live</td>
<td>Malaco Records</td>
<td>6003</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Murden, Kristle</td>
<td>I Can’t Let Go</td>
<td>Elektra Light Records</td>
<td>E1-60079</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>New Jersey Mass Choir</td>
<td>Look Up And Live</td>
<td>Light Records</td>
<td>SPCN 7-115-711097</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>New York Community Choir</td>
<td>New York Community Choir</td>
<td>RCA Records</td>
<td>APL1-2293</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>New York Community Choir</td>
<td>The New York Community Choir</td>
<td>RCA Records</td>
<td>APL1-2293</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Norfolk Jazz and Jubilee Quartets</td>
<td>Norfolk Jazz and Jubilee Quartets – Complete Recorded Works in Chronological Order – Volume 1 – 1921-1923</td>
<td>Document Records</td>
<td>DOCD-5381</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. d.</td>
<td>Norwood, Dorothy</td>
<td>The Denied Mother</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>MG-14140</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. d.</td>
<td>Norwood, Dorothy</td>
<td>Johnny and Jesus</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>MG-14083</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. d.</td>
<td>Norwood, Dorothy</td>
<td>The Old Lady’s House</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>MG-14093</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Norwood, Dorothy</td>
<td>Shake the Devil Off</td>
<td>Malaco Records</td>
<td>MALD-4476</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Pace Jubilee Singers</td>
<td>Take Your Burdens To The Lord (Leave Them There)</td>
<td>Bluebird Records</td>
<td>BB 5477</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Pace, Joe</td>
<td>Let There Be Praise</td>
<td>Integrity Music</td>
<td>18442</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Pearson, Carlton</td>
<td>Azusa Praise</td>
<td>Atlantic Records</td>
<td>83399-2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Pentecostal Ambassadors</td>
<td>Touch Me</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>14470</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Peoples, Dottie</td>
<td>God Can and God Will</td>
<td>Atlanta International Records</td>
<td>AIR 10250</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>Peterson, J. R and the Baltimore Fellowship Choir</td>
<td>Sing</td>
<td>Mark Records</td>
<td>MC 3006</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Artist/Group</td>
<td>Album Title</td>
<td>Label</td>
<td>Catalog No.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Phipps, Wintley</td>
<td>Lord, You Are My Music</td>
<td>Lection Records</td>
<td>LN-1-502</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>Posey, Rodney</td>
<td>Donald Lawrence Presents Rodney Posey Live in Praise and Worship with the Whitfield Company</td>
<td>Crystal Rose Records</td>
<td>84418-4076-2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Powell, Hubert</td>
<td>Keep Pressing On</td>
<td>CGI Records</td>
<td>51416-5146-2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Powell, Sara Jordan</td>
<td>James Cleveland Presents Sara Jordan Powell</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>14278</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Powell, Sara Jordan</td>
<td>The Best of Sara Jordan Powell</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>SGL-7073</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Powell, Sarah Jordan</td>
<td>Affectionately Sarah</td>
<td>Powerhouse Records</td>
<td>1002</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>Preston, Billy</td>
<td>Gospel in My Soul</td>
<td>Peacock Records</td>
<td>PLP-179</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Pringle, Keith</td>
<td>Perfect Peace</td>
<td>Onyx International Records</td>
<td>RO 3784</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Pringle, Keith</td>
<td>True Victory</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>SGL 7053</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Pringle, Keith and the Pentecostal Community Choir</td>
<td>When All God's Children Get Together</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>SL 14656</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Pringle, Keith and the Pentecostal Community Choir</td>
<td>I Feel Like Going On</td>
<td>Hope Song Records</td>
<td>HS 2001</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Pringle, Keith and the Pentecostal Community Choir</td>
<td>No Greater Love</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>SAV 14/88</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. d.</td>
<td>Rasbery, Raymond and the Rasberry Singers</td>
<td>Deliverance Will Come</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>MG-14080</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. d.</td>
<td>Rasbery, Raymond and the Rasberry Singers</td>
<td>I Couldn't Find No Satisfaction</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>MG-14132</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Rhodes, Shun Pace-</td>
<td>He Lives</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>SCD 14807</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Rhyme, Rev.</td>
<td>Rev. Rhyme According To Rap</td>
<td>Birthright Records</td>
<td>ST-70364</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Roberts, Thomas</td>
<td>God Knows</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>14452</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. d.</td>
<td>Robinson, Cleophus</td>
<td>Nothing But God's Word</td>
<td>Nashboro Records</td>
<td>7102</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Robinson, Cleophus</td>
<td>The Best of Rev. Cleophus Robinson, World Famous Preacher and Singer</td>
<td>Nashboro Records</td>
<td>7113</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Slaughter, Alvin</td>
<td>Rain Down</td>
<td>Hosanna Music</td>
<td>16742</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Smallwood, Richard and the Smallwood Singers</td>
<td>The Richard Smallwood Singers</td>
<td>Onyx International Records</td>
<td>R3803</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Smallwood, Richard and the Smallwood Singers</td>
<td>Psalms</td>
<td>Onyx International Records</td>
<td>RO3833</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Artist/Group</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Label</td>
<td>Catalog/Other Information</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Smallwood, Richard and the Smallwood Singers</td>
<td>Vision</td>
<td>Rejoice Records</td>
<td>WR-8406</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Smallwood, Richard and the Smallwood Singers</td>
<td>Testimony</td>
<td>Sparrow Records</td>
<td>SPC 1283</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>Smith, Harold and the Majestics</td>
<td>Lord Help Me to Hold Out</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>MG-14319</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>Smith, Little Lucy</td>
<td>Gospel Organ Solos</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>MG-14056</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Smith, Willie Mae Ford</td>
<td>I'm Bound for Canaan Land</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>SL 14739</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>Soul Stirrers</td>
<td>The Best of The Soul Stirrers</td>
<td>Checker Records</td>
<td>LP 10015</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>Soul Stirrers</td>
<td>Resting Easy</td>
<td>Checker Records</td>
<td>LP-10021</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>Sounds of Blackness</td>
<td>Africa to America; The Journey of the Drum</td>
<td>Perspective Records</td>
<td>CD 9006</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Southeast Inspirational Choir</td>
<td>10th Annual Praise and Rededication Concert</td>
<td>Jewel Records</td>
<td>LPS 0172</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>Southeast Inspirational Youth Choir of Houston, Texas</td>
<td>Look How Far The Lord Has Brought Us</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>14318</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>Southwest Michigan State Choir of the Church of God in Christ</td>
<td>Wonderful, Wonderful</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>MG-14077</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>St. Paul's Church Choir</td>
<td>God Be With You</td>
<td>Capitol Records</td>
<td>40018</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>St. Paul's Church Choir</td>
<td>If We Never Needed The Lord Before</td>
<td>Capitol Records</td>
<td>40033</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>St. Paul's Church Choir</td>
<td>How Sweet It Is</td>
<td>Capitol Records</td>
<td>70002</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>Staple Singers</td>
<td>Gospel Gold</td>
<td>Hob Records</td>
<td>HBX 2125</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>Staple Singers</td>
<td>Amen</td>
<td>Epic Records</td>
<td>LN 24132</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Star of Bethlehem Youth Choir</td>
<td>The Star of Bethlehem Youth Choir</td>
<td>Glory Records</td>
<td>JC 1035</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Star of Bethlehem Youth Choir</td>
<td>He's The Greatest</td>
<td>Glory Records</td>
<td>JC-1045</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Artist and Performers</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Label</td>
<td>Catalog No.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Summers, Myrna and the Interdenominational Youth Choir of Washington, D. C. and Maryland</td>
<td>Save Thyself</td>
<td>Century Records</td>
<td>35485</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Summers, Myrna and the Interdenominational Singers</td>
<td>Now</td>
<td>Cotillion Records</td>
<td>SD 060-0398</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>Summers, Myrna and the Interdenominational Youth Choir</td>
<td>God Gave Me A Song</td>
<td>Cotillion Records</td>
<td>SD 9023</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Take 6</td>
<td>Brothers</td>
<td>Reprise Records</td>
<td>9 46235-2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Take 6</td>
<td>Take 6</td>
<td>Reprise Records</td>
<td>9 25670-2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Tankard, Ben</td>
<td>All Keyed Up</td>
<td>Atlanta International Records</td>
<td>AIR 10140</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Tankard, Ben</td>
<td>Keynote Speaker</td>
<td>Tribute Records</td>
<td>7-90113-141-1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Taylor-Brown, Kathy and Favor</td>
<td>Taylormade</td>
<td>Aleho International Records</td>
<td>ALD 0908</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>Tharpe, Rosetta</td>
<td>Rock Me</td>
<td>Decca Records</td>
<td>DE 2243</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>Thornes Trio</td>
<td>More About Jesus featuring The Thornes Trio</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>MG-14373</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Tonex</td>
<td>O2</td>
<td>Verity Records</td>
<td>0 12414-31772-8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Union Temple Young Adult Choir</td>
<td>Look Up And Live</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>DM 84515A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Union Temple Young Adult Choir</td>
<td>Give Us Peace</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>USR 8656</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. d.</td>
<td>Utterback Concert Ensemble</td>
<td>It's Music To Me</td>
<td>Vee Jay Records</td>
<td>RS-2010</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. d.</td>
<td>Utterback Concert Ensemble</td>
<td>Soul Goes To College</td>
<td>CBM Productions</td>
<td>CBM-151</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Utterback, Clinton and the Praisers</td>
<td>Sing A New Song</td>
<td>Lection Records</td>
<td>877-937-1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Utterback, Clinton and the Praisers</td>
<td>Prayers</td>
<td>Lection Records</td>
<td>422-841-190-1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Vails, Donald and the Choraleers</td>
<td>In Deep Waters</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>14421</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Artist</td>
<td>Title/Compilation</td>
<td>Label</td>
<td>Catalogue</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Vails, Donald and the Choraleers</td>
<td>He Would Not Come Down From The Cross Just to Save Himself</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>DBL 7019</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Vails, Donald and the Choraleers</td>
<td>Yesterday, Today, and Forever</td>
<td>Sound of Gospel Records</td>
<td>SOG-2D149</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Vails, Donald and the Choraleers</td>
<td>If You Move Yourself, Then God Can Have His Way</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>SGL 7039</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Various Artist</td>
<td>Rejoice – Twelve Gospel Greats</td>
<td>Rejoice Records</td>
<td>WR 6-8419</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Various Artists</td>
<td>Black Nativity</td>
<td>Vee Jay Records</td>
<td>5022</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Various Artists</td>
<td>Mother Smith and Her Children</td>
<td>Spirit Feel Records</td>
<td>SF 1010</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Various Artists</td>
<td>Great Golden Gospel Hits</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>MG-14262</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Various Artists</td>
<td>Come Together</td>
<td>Creed Records</td>
<td>23079</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Various Artists</td>
<td>The Legends</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>SL-14742</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Various Artists</td>
<td>The Earliest Vocal Groups – Complete Recorded Works in Chronological Order</td>
<td>Document Records</td>
<td>DOCD-5355</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Various Artists</td>
<td>A Tribute to Mrs. Rosa Parks</td>
<td>Verity Records</td>
<td>J2 3013</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Various Artists</td>
<td>The Living Legends of Gospel</td>
<td>CGP2005VD</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Virtue</td>
<td>Virtue</td>
<td>Verity Records</td>
<td>J2 3020</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voices Supreme</td>
<td>To The Glory of God</td>
<td>Mark Records</td>
<td>MC-8993</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Voices Supreme</td>
<td>We Can Make It Together</td>
<td>Glory Records</td>
<td>JC-1025</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Walker, Alberta and James Cleveland</td>
<td>Please Be Patient With Me</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>SL 14527</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Walker, Hezekiah and the Love Fellowship Crusade Choir</td>
<td>I'll Make It</td>
<td>Sweet rain Record</td>
<td>SR119</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Walker, Hezekiah and the Love Fellowship Crusade Choir</td>
<td>Live In Toronto</td>
<td>Benson Records</td>
<td>84418-2083-2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Artist/Group</td>
<td>Album Title</td>
<td>Label</td>
<td>Catalog Number</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Ward Singers</td>
<td>The Best of the Ward Singers</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>DBL 7015</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Waters, Brenda</td>
<td>Believers and Friends</td>
<td>Crystal Rose Records</td>
<td>CRD0951</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Wesley Boyd Workshop Choir</td>
<td>The Wesley Boyd Workshop Choir</td>
<td>Plumbline Gospel Records</td>
<td>PLM-7004</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>West Angeles Choir of God in Christ Mass Choir and Congregation</td>
<td>Saints In Praise Volume 1</td>
<td>Sparrow Records</td>
<td>SPR 1189</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Whitfield, Thomas</td>
<td>Hold Me</td>
<td>Onyx International Records</td>
<td>R3809</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Whitfield, Thomas</td>
<td>My Faith</td>
<td>Benson Records</td>
<td>Not available</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Whitfield, Thomas</td>
<td>The Best of Thomas Whitfield</td>
<td>Verity Records</td>
<td>01241-43131-2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Whitfield, Thomas and the Whitfield Company</td>
<td>And They Sang A Hymn</td>
<td>Sound of Gospel Records</td>
<td>SOG 2D179</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Whitfield, Thomas and the Whitfield Company</td>
<td>Brand New</td>
<td>Sound of Gospel Records</td>
<td>SOG 086</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Whitfield, Thomas and the Whitfield Company</td>
<td>Things That We Believe – Volume 2</td>
<td>Sound of Gospel Records</td>
<td>SOG 095</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Whitfield, Thomas and the Whitfield Company</td>
<td>I'm Encouraged</td>
<td>Sound of Gospel Records</td>
<td>SOG-2D151</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Whitfield, Thomas and the Whitfield Company</td>
<td>The Annual Christmas Services of Minister Thomas Whitfield and the Whitfield Company</td>
<td>Sound of Gospel Records</td>
<td>SOG 180</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Whitfield, Thomas and the Whitfield Company</td>
<td>And They Sang A Hymn</td>
<td>Sound of Gospel Records</td>
<td>SOG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Wilkens, Robert</td>
<td>The Prodigal Son</td>
<td>Piedmont Records</td>
<td>PLP 31362</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Williams Brothers</td>
<td>Blessed</td>
<td>Malaco Records</td>
<td>Mal 4400</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Williams, Deniece</td>
<td>So Glad I Know</td>
<td>Sparrow Records</td>
<td>SP 61121</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Williams, Kelli</td>
<td>Fall Down 2000</td>
<td>Myrrh Records</td>
<td>7012671262</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Artist and Choir</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Label</td>
<td>Catalog Number</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. d.</td>
<td>Williams, Marion</td>
<td>The Great Gospel Voice of Marion Williams, Accompanied by the Stars of Faith</td>
<td>Epic Records</td>
<td>LN 24175</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. d.</td>
<td>Wilmington-Chester Mass Choir</td>
<td>Victory Shall Be Mine</td>
<td>Sweet Rain Records</td>
<td>SR115</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Wilmington-Chester Mass Choir</td>
<td>He's Preparing Me</td>
<td>Atlanta International Records</td>
<td>AIR 10162</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Wilson, Natalie and the S. O. P. Chorale</td>
<td>Girl Director</td>
<td>Gospo Centric Records</td>
<td>606949-03-5723</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Winans</td>
<td>Introducing The Winans</td>
<td>Light Records</td>
<td>LS 5782</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Winans</td>
<td>A Long Time Coming</td>
<td>Light Records</td>
<td>LS 5826</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Winans</td>
<td>Tomorrow</td>
<td>Light Records</td>
<td>LS 5853</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Winans</td>
<td>Let My People Go</td>
<td>Qwest Records</td>
<td>1-25344</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Winans</td>
<td>Decisions</td>
<td>Qwest Records</td>
<td>9-255110-2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. d.</td>
<td>Winans</td>
<td>Return</td>
<td>Qwest Records</td>
<td>261612</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Winans Phase 2</td>
<td>We Got Next</td>
<td>Myrrh Records</td>
<td>70126082669</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Winans, Be Be</td>
<td>Love and Freedom</td>
<td>Motown Records</td>
<td>0121594052</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Winans, Be Be and Ce Ce</td>
<td>Be Be and Ce Ce Winans Greatest Hits</td>
<td>Capitol Records</td>
<td>CDP 546883</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Winans</td>
<td>Be Be and Ce Ce Greatest Hits</td>
<td>EMI Records Sparrow Records</td>
<td>CDP 537048</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Winans, Ce Ce</td>
<td>Alabaster Box</td>
<td>Wellspring Music</td>
<td>SPD 1711</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Winans, Ce Ce</td>
<td>Ce Ce Winans</td>
<td>Wellspring Music</td>
<td>SPD 51826</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Winans, Vickie</td>
<td>Be Encouraged</td>
<td>Light Records</td>
<td>7-115-72001-0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Winans, Vickie</td>
<td>Share the Laughter</td>
<td>CGI Platinum Records</td>
<td>01509533420</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Wings Over Jordan Choir</td>
<td>Wings Over Jordan Choir</td>
<td>King/Gusto Records</td>
<td>K-5021X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Wise, Dr. C. Dexter Rappin' Reverend</td>
<td>I Ain't Into That</td>
<td>Raise Records</td>
<td>RA-06</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Wise, Dr. C. Dexter Rappin' Reverend</td>
<td>I Ain't Into That</td>
<td>Fantasy Records</td>
<td>D-281</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>Wise, Raymond and Family</td>
<td>Familiar Songs and Saying</td>
<td>Sound of Gospel Records</td>
<td>SOG 214</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Wise, Raymond and Raise Mass Choir</td>
<td>It's Time To Go</td>
<td>Raise Records</td>
<td>RA-06</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Wise, Raymond and Raise Productions Choir</td>
<td>New</td>
<td>Sound of Gospel Records</td>
<td>SOG 195</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. d.</td>
<td>Woods, Maceo and the Christian Tabernacle Baptist Church Choir</td>
<td>Hello Sunshine</td>
<td>Volt Records</td>
<td>VOS 6009</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Wright, Rev. Timothy</td>
<td>I'm Glad About It</td>
<td>Savoy Records</td>
<td>SAV 14804</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Non-African American Gospel Recording Artists referenced within this study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Artist/Choir</th>
<th>Album</th>
<th>Label</th>
<th>Catalog Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Brooklyn Tabernacle Choir</td>
<td>You’re My Praise</td>
<td>Myrrh Records</td>
<td>SPCN-7-01-680106-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Oliver, Gary</td>
<td>More Than Enough</td>
<td>Integrity Music</td>
<td>17242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Oliver, Gary and the Higher Dimensions Sanctuary Choir</td>
<td>High Praises Volume I</td>
<td>Star Song Records</td>
<td>SSD 8227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Oliver, Gary and the Higher Dimensions Sanctuary Choir</td>
<td>High Praises Volume II</td>
<td>Star Song Records</td>
<td>SSD 8250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Patti, Sandi</td>
<td>The Finest Moments</td>
<td>Word/Epic Records</td>
<td>EK 47739</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Pentecostals of Chicago featuring Rev. Dan Willis</td>
<td>Stand</td>
<td>Tyscot Records</td>
<td>TYSO 4059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Shea, George Beverly</td>
<td>Moments, Volume 1</td>
<td>Star Song Records</td>
<td>SSDO 101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Secular Recording Artists referenced within this study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Artist</th>
<th>Album</th>
<th>Label</th>
<th>Catalog Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Brown, James</td>
<td>James Brown Live at the Apollo</td>
<td>King Records</td>
<td>1022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Earth, Wind, and Fire</td>
<td>The Best of Earth, Wind, and Fire Volume I</td>
<td>ARC/Columbia Records</td>
<td>CK 35647</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Earth, Wind, and Fire</td>
<td>The Best of Earth, Wind, and Fire Volume II</td>
<td>ARC/Columbia Records</td>
<td>CK 45013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Foreigner with New Jersey Mass Choir</td>
<td>I Want To Know What Love Is</td>
<td>Agent Provocateur - Atlantic Records</td>
<td>A281999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Houston, Whitney</td>
<td>The Preacher’s Wife Movie Soundtrack</td>
<td>Arista Records</td>
<td>078221895125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Howard, Miki</td>
<td>Love Under New Management</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>02445559</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>Knight, Gladys and the Pips</td>
<td>Imagination</td>
<td>Buddha Records</td>
<td>BDS 5141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>Mills Brothers</td>
<td>The Mills Brothers Great Hits</td>
<td>Dot Records</td>
<td>25,157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Parliament</td>
<td>Funkentelechy vs. The Placebo Syndrome</td>
<td>Casablanca Records</td>
<td>NBLP 7084</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Prince</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Warner Bros. Records</td>
<td>075992372022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>Staple Singers</td>
<td>Be Altitude</td>
<td>Stax Records</td>
<td>STS 3002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Troutman, Roger</td>
<td>ZAPP</td>
<td>Warner Bros. Records</td>
<td>075992346320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Artist(s)</td>
<td>Album Title</td>
<td>Label</td>
<td>Catalog Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Various Artists</td>
<td>Motown Comes Home</td>
<td>Motown Records</td>
<td>MOTD 0400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Various Artists</td>
<td>An Officer and a Gentleman</td>
<td>Island Records</td>
<td>042284271523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Various Artists</td>
<td>Hercules</td>
<td>Walt Disney Records</td>
<td>0-50086-08647-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Wonder, Stevie</td>
<td>Stevie Wonder at the Close of a Century</td>
<td>Motown Records</td>
<td>012153992-2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that for some recordings there are no publication dates (n. d.). Prior to 1972, the year when the copyrighting of sound recordings was established, many recording companies did not include publication dates on their recordings. Other instances where no date or catalog numbers are available may reflect independently produced recordings that were not given a catalog number.

For some recordings record companies and catalog numbers were unavailable due to the fact that many of these companies are no longer in business or the recordings are out of print.
APPENDIX B

THE RECURRING HISTORICAL PATTERN THROUGHOUT GOSPEL MUSIC HISTORY

The literature reveals that an historical pattern or recurring cycle of events can be evidence throughout the history of African American Gospel music. Whenever these events occurred throughout the history of Gospel music a new Gospel Music Era emerged. The following tables present the significant recurring events within each Gospel Era along with the Gospel artists who played significant roles.
THE HISTORICAL PATTERN

The Historical Pattern within the Congregational Era

<p>| Introduction of new style by Composers | William Sherwood, Charles Price Jones |
| Early Songs | “Mountain Top Dwelling,” “Happy In Jesus Alone” |
| Recognized Leader/Composer | Charles Mason, Garfield Haywood |
| Innovative Songs | Accompanied Congregational Songs and Hymns, “I’m A Soldier in the Army of the Lord,” “To Be Like Jesus” |
| Sacred Musical form influence | Spirituals, White Hymns, Baptist Lining Hymns |
| Secular Influence | Blues, Jazz, Ragtime |
| Sells Large Number of Recordings/Music | N/A |
| Gospel not accepted by Black Church | Seen as too emotional and unsophisticated |
| Gospel Spread outside Black Church | Performed in Pentecostal churches |
| New Gospel Style Refined by composer(s) (Balance of old and new styles) | Charles Tindley, Lucie Campbell |
| New style taken to its peak | “Leave It There,” “Stand By Me,” “Something Within Me” |
| Church accepts the new style | Accompanied Black Gospel hymns accepted by Traditional Black denominations |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Historical Pattern within the Traditional Era</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction of new style by Composer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Song</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recognized Leader/Composer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innovative Songs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacred Musical form influence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secular Influence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sells Large Number of Recordings/Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gospel not accepted by Black Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gospel Spread outside Black Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Gospel Style Refined by composer(s) (Balance of old and new styles)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New style taken to its peak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church accepts the new style</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction of new style by Composer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Songs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recognized Leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innovative Song</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacred Musical form influence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secular Influence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sells Large Numbers of Recordings/Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gospel not accepted by Black Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gospel Spread outside Black Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Gospel Style Refined by composer (Balance of old and new styles)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New style taken to its peak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church accepts the new style</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Historical Pattern within the Word/Ministry Era</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Introduction of new style by Composer</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Early Songs</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Recognized Leaders/Composers</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Innovative Songs</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sacred Musical form influence</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Secular Influence</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sells Large Number of Recordings/Music</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gospel not accepted by Black Church</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gospel Spread outside Black Church</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>New Gospel Style Refined by composers (Balance of old and new styles)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>New style taken to its peak</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Church accepts the new style</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### The Historical Pattern within the Urban Contemporary Era

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Introduction of new style by Composer Or Artists</th>
<th>John Kee, Tramaine Hawkins</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Early Songs</td>
<td>“Jesus Is Real,” “Fall Down”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recognized Leader/Composer</td>
<td>Kirk Franklin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>innovative Song</td>
<td>“Stomp”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacred Musical form influence</td>
<td>Contemporary Gospel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secular Influence</td>
<td>Hip-Hop, Rap, R &amp; B, Pop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sells Large Number of Recordings/Music</td>
<td>Sells millions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gospel not accepted by Black Church</td>
<td>Seen as too secular and worldly. Incorporates too many secular performance practices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gospel Spread outside Black Church</td>
<td>Performed in auditoriums, theaters, major concert tours, television and cable in U.S. and abroad. Embraced by urban youth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Gospel Style Refined by composer (Balance of old and new styles)</td>
<td>Fred Hammond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New style taken to its peak</td>
<td>“We’re Blessed,” “Glory to Glory,” “Let The Praise Begin,” “Your Steps Are Ordered”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church accepts the new style</td>
<td>Accepted by Traditional and non-Traditional Black denominations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX C

GOSPEL TRADE ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR MISSIONS
## GOSPEL TRADE ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR MISSIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trade Organization/Group</th>
<th>Mission/Purpose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The African American Religious Connection (AARC)</td>
<td>To empower the African American church.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c/o Fellowship Baptist Church 45th Place 7 Princeton Ave.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago, IL 60609</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(773) 548-1423</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Gospel Quartet Convention</td>
<td>To increase the professionalism of the artists, while bettering the production</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contact: George Stewart</td>
<td>and presentation of the music. Attended by some of the biggest names on the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.O. Box 311214</td>
<td>quartet scene. The confab also makes for an extensive networking resource to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birmingham, AL 35231</td>
<td>those quartets aspiring for success in gospel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(205) 798-4093</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago Gospel Music Association:</td>
<td>To provide professional service to the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contact: Andre L. Brown</td>
<td>gospel artist with a focus on enhancing their overall inspirational (spiritual)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2501 S. 15th Avenue</td>
<td>and practical (financial) success in the gospel Music industry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broadview, IL 60153</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(708) 216-0323</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gospel Announcers Guild</td>
<td>Representative of more than 25% (450) of the nations gospel announcers as well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contact: Al Hobbs</td>
<td>as major gospel manufacturers. The goal is to address common concerns facing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127 W. 22nd Street</td>
<td>today’s gospel programmer, while working to assist on the standardization of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indianapolis, IN 46202</td>
<td>the gospel industry at large.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(317) 925-1802</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>Mission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gospel Music Association (GMA) Christian Music Trade Association</td>
<td>To provide education and resources for the spiritual and artistic development of singers, musicians, songwriters and others: To nurture spiritual values and ministry opportunities through Christian music: and to preserve the history and perpetuate the legacy of gospel music.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contact: Frank Breeden</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1205 Division Street</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nashville, TN 37203</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(615) 242-0303</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gospel Music Workshop of America (GMWA – Cleveland Convention)</td>
<td>To preserve the heritage of Gospel music in America, while providing a forum for the development of excellence in the presentation of Gospel music. Further, to increase opportunities for the perpetuation of Gospel music throughout other industries, arenas, and the world.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contact: Sheila Smith</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3908 W. Warren Avenue</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit, MI 48208</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(313) 898-6900</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GMWA Quartet Division</td>
<td>To raise the standard of professionalism on today’s quartet music scene through the dissemination of information and showcase opportunities for those looking to break into Gospel’s thriving quartet scene.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contact: Tyrone Porter/Esther Wooten</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2103 Pipeline Lane</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sontag, MS 39665</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(601) 835-2810</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heritage Music Foundation</td>
<td>To nourish, preserve and perpetuate gospel music. Additionally to erect a shrine in Los Angeles to be called “The Gospel House.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contact: April Parker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.O. Box 3247</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thousand Oaks, CA 91359</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(310) 673-7730</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music and Arts Love Conference (Edwin and Walter Hawkins Music and Arts Seminar)</td>
<td>To instruct, inspire and encourage through gospel music medium, while also providing a source of exposure for untapped gospel talent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contact: Anita Hubbard</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.O. Box 27107</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oakland, CA 94602</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(510) 264-1766</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>Contact Information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musicians in Action</td>
<td>Jacque Malone 9726 7th Avenue Inglewood, CA 90305 (323) 777-3213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Religious Broadcasters (NRB)</td>
<td>NRB Information Center 7839 Ashton Avenue Manassas, VA 20109 (703) 330-7000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Black College Choir Workshop (NBGCCW)</td>
<td>Connie Stodgehill c/o Creative Gospel, Inc. P.O. Box 4274 Decatur, GA 30303 (770) 593-6754</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Conventions of Gospel Choirs and Choruses (NCGCC – Formerly known as the “Dorsey Convention”)</td>
<td>Bishop Kenneth Moales Int'l. Pres 1243 Stratford Avenue Bridgeport, CN 06607 (800) 854-0027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Council of Churches</td>
<td>475 Riverside Drive New York, NY 10115 (212) 870-2228 (800) 762-0968</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
United Gospel Industry Council (UGIC)

Contact: Demetrus Alexander
P.O. Box 293143
Nashville, TN 37229
(615) 214-1401

To champion the existence of gospel music in American; establish unity and foster its artistic and economic growth; to act as a bridge in effective communicating between the Christians and secular music industries; and serve as the legitimate/credible voice of the gospel music industry in all of its various facets.

Victory in Praise (VIP – John Kee’s Convention)

Contact: Jeanett Taylor
6407 Idlewild Road #101
Charlotte, NC 28212
(704) 537-9119

To attract young people into the ministry and the gospel industry via the word of God.