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Kathryn Kinney

*Washington University in St. Louis*

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WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY IN ST. LOUIS

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Upon This Rock: American Evangelical Spirituality and Jesus Music, 1969-1976

by

Kathryn Kinney

A dissertation presented to  
The Graduate School  
of Washington University in  
partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree  
of Doctor of Philosophy

May 2019

St. Louis, Missouri

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Katie Kinney

*Washington University in St. Louis*

*May 2019*

Dedicated to the Jesus people

## **ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION**

Upon This Rock: American Evangelical Spirituality and Jesus Music, 1969-1976

by

Kathryn Kinney

Doctor of Philosophy in Historical Musicology

Washington University in St. Louis, 2019

Professor Patrick Burke, Chair

This dissertation studies the music of the Jesus movement and its role in shaping American evangelical spirituality. I begin by analyzing the emergence of Jesus music in the contexts of the economic systems of evangelicalism and mass media. Next, I examine how anti-rock critics and Jesus music artists differed in their beliefs about the theological functions of music. The second half of the dissertation analyzes how through Jesus music and pop worship Jesus movement participants developed and distributed a new evangelical spirituality based on ‘feeling’ or experience. This aesthetic embrace of experiential, musical spirituality allows for people with varying levels of church involvement, theological stances, and activism to claim a common label of evangelical. I argue American evangelicalism is as much a spiritual culture of experience built on musical consumption as it is of a theological heritage. This spiritual culture is built not on symbolism or functional ritual but on consumer identity and its accoutrements. Evangelicals built their own edifices of meaning around the experiential, physical aspects of Jesus music, crafting a new rubric for Christian worship with lasting social, political, and theological implications: how they process information (their epistemology), how they discern authority and authenticity (their phenomenology), and how they establish truth (their theology).

Artists and figures examined include Larry Norman, Love Song (Chuck Girard, Fred Field, Tommy Coomes, John Mehler, and Bob Wall, and Jay Truax), Phil Keaggy, Selah (Joy Strange and

Cynthia Young), Blessed Hope (Bill Bradford, Dave Rios, David Burgin, Don Kobayashi, and Jim Golden, DeGarmo and Key (Eddie DeGarmo and Dana Key), the Maranatha Singers, Andrae Crouch, Keith Green, Charlie McPheeters, David Noebel and Bob Larson.

## Chapter 1 Introduction

“For it is written: “Be holy, because I am holy.”

1 Peter 1:16, NIV

*I want the people to know that he saved my soul,*

*But I still like to listen to the radio.*

*They say rock 'n' roll is wrong, we'll give you one more chance.*

*I say I feel so good I gotta get up and dance.*

*I know what's right, I know what's wrong.*

*I don't confuse it.*

*All I'm really trying to say is*

*Why should the devil have all the good music?*

Larry Norman, “Why Should the Devil Have All the Good Music?,” *Only Visiting this Planet* (1972)

The debate appeared to have been about propriety. But the musical arguments made by early Christian rock artists, their supporters, and their detractors tell a more complicated story. At the end of the 1960s, prominent American evangelicals railed against rock music, citing the political, moral, and physiological degradation it inflicted upon young listeners. Simultaneously, evangelists and musicians in southern California weaponized rock in the spiritual battle for converts from the dying counterculture. Jesus music spread, radiating out of the streets into youth services, Christian record labels, and, eventually, Sunday morning services. Those who adopted Jesus music in their services probably largely agreed with the anti-rock critics regarding anti-communism, a mistrust or at least paternalistic disrespect of racial minorities, and the value of Christian sexual ethics. Yet, they still found something of worth in this form of musical expression. It was a lure for unbelieving youth at a time churches were beginning to feel the post-Baby Boom slowdown in membership growth. But was that enough for evangelical gatekeepers to break with tradition, risking the infiltration of rock ‘n’ roll culture into the sacred body of the church? I argue that by building onto instead of denying an aesthetic of freewheeling sensuality, the musical components of rock and popular music were made to contain an aesthetic of evangelical spirituality. Evangelicals built their own edifices of meaning

around the experiential, physical aspects of Jesus music, crafting a new rubric for Christian worship with lasting social, political, and theological implications. Scholars are only beginning to articulate how this rubric operates upon evangelical values.

### *Historical Background: The Jesus Movement*

Theologically conservative, radical Christianity reverberated through American society in the early 1970s. An unlikely point of contact between 1960s counterculture and an emergent conservatism provided a seedbed for the Jesus people movement or Jesus movement that radiated out of southern California. “Street Christians” ran soup kitchens, coffee houses, and communes, sometimes with the support and guidance of established evangelical churches such as Calvary Chapel of Costa Mesa, CA, First Presbyterian of Hollywood, and Calvary Temple of Fort Wayne, IN. Their presence permeated into the national consciousness through coverage in major news outlets and magazines and even allusions in popular music.<sup>1</sup> Some of these Jesus people such as preacher Lonnie Frisbee, the members of the early Christian rock band Love Song, and musician Barry McGuire were converts to Christianity from the far edge of the counterculture. Others were thoroughly church-ed and assumed the language and dress of the counterculture to facilitate

---

<sup>1</sup> Many songs at the turn of the 1970s referenced spirituality, sometimes using specifically Christian terminology. Some examples include George Harrison’s “My Sweet Lord” (1970); Norman Greenbaum’s “Spirit in the Sky” (1969); The Byrds’ “Turn, Turn, Turn” (1965); and Cat Steven’s “Morning Has Broken” (1971). For more on the use of spiritual language in popular song, see Michael J. Gilmour, *Gods and Guitars: Seeking the Sacred in Post-1960s Popular Music* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2009). Some used the slightly pejorative “Jesus freak” to reference the surge in roaming evangelizers on the streets of L.A. and San Francisco. See Elton John’s 1971 “Tiny Dancer” (“Jesus freaks out in the streets/handing tickets out for God”); and Black Sabbath’s 1972 “Under the Sun” (“I don’t want no Jesus freak to tell me what it’s all about”). Generally, the term “street Christian” was used within the movement, though Jesus freak was later reclaimed as a title of pride in the 1990s when Christian hip-hop/rock group DC Talk released “Jesus Freak,” an aggressive, grunge-meets-hip-hop hybrid whose album charted at 16 on the Billboard Top 200 and that took the 1995 GMA Dove Song of the Year award. The album was followed by a book authored by DC Talk and an organization that raises awareness and support for imprisoned and persecuted Christians around the world, *Jesus Freaks: Stories of Those Who Stood for Jesus, the Ultimate Jesus Freaks* (Tulsa, OK: Albury, 1999), a collection of stories about historical and contemporary persecuted and martyred Christians. The popular Christian rock band the Newsboys began covering the track in 2009.



relationships outside of established evangelicalism<sup>2</sup>. These included evangelist Arthur Blessitt and contemporary soul artist Andrae Crouch. And some came from a mix of these options having been raised in the faith yet also at home from an early point in secular music and culture. Larry Norman, the oft-called father of Christian rock, for instance, was raised in a Baptist home and never wavered in his Christian identity throughout his journey from People!, a secular band signed with Capitol Records, to his solo career as a Jesus music artist releasing albums on Christian private labels such as One Way and Solid Rock.<sup>3</sup>

The Jesus movement, then, was not a simple conversion between hippie and evangelical cultural resonances. It was less a two-way street than it was a body of crosscurrents casting unpredictable ripples and sometimes unforeseeable waves into generally separate vectors of American society. It can be difficult to judge, at times, where aspects of the phenomenon or revival came from. Did the physicality of worship arise from hedonistic hippie explorations or from Pentecostal engagements with the spirit? Were trends for Christian communal living and discipleship programs inspired by socialist politics and new age gurus or by the example of the early church in the book of Acts? Was the appeal of an emphasis on dramatic personal conversion based on self-oriented philosophies of spirituality or on the individualistic nature of faith in orthodox evangelical theology?

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<sup>2</sup> “Churched” is a term used within the American Christian community meaning assimilated to church culture, if not also currently participating in a church community. It means having knowledge of and the ability to act within the social expectations of the relevant religious context. It may mean familiarity with ritual and doctrine and/or broader social mores and allusions. Related is the term unchurched, which means lacking exposure to church culture and therefore being unassimilated to the social expectations. Dechurched is an active rejection of the social expectations or religious teachings of a given church community.

<sup>3</sup> People! formed in 1965. Norman left the band in 1968 and released his first solo Christian album with Capitol Records, *Upon this Rock*, in 1969. Norman was dropped from Capitol and established One Way Records in 1970. In 1974, he established Solid Rock Records. In 1980, Norman established Phydeaux Records.

Many narratives created by scholars and memoirs created by witnesses of the movement focus on the conversions of notable celebrities, the activities of individual ministries, and the documentation of individual voices. The central texts documenting the Jesus movement and its music by Larry Eskridge, Mark Allan Powell, and David Di Sabbatino, have created meticulously curated systematic records of what happened and who did it.<sup>4</sup> They spend relatively little space discussing how the music affected evangelical culture. David Stowe's work comes closer to cultural analysis by attempting to analyze how "Christian pop music helped graduates of the Jesus Movement lay the groundwork for the reorientation of American society, politics, and religious culture that began in the seventies."<sup>5</sup> While his work falls short of comprehensively supporting this broad claim, it does direct the conversation toward the cultural effects of pop music in Christian contexts. This project joins Stowe in attempting to narrate how musical style catalyzed social and cultural developments within evangelicalism. I direct my narrative toward the spiritual culture of evangelicalism whereas Stowe was oriented toward the political. The spiritual and the political, however, dovetail. Where a spiritual culture instructs practitioners in emotive persuasion, individualistic ethics, and commercial models of influence and authority, it also shapes their political motions.

Both evangelical and secular sources—from the period and those produced since—tend to contrast an evangelical establishment against influences, aesthetics, and figures of the mainstream. For example, June Carter pulls Johnny Cash out of addiction and into salvation.<sup>6</sup> Billy Graham's

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<sup>4</sup> Larry Eskridge, *God's Forever Family: The Jesus People Movement in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Mark Allan Powell, *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Christian Music* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2002); David Di Sabbatino *The Jesus People Movement: An Annotated Bibliography and Resource Guide* (Lake Forest, CA: Jester Media, 1999).

<sup>5</sup> David W. Stowe, *No Sympathy for the Devil: Christian Pop Music and the Transformation of American Evangelicalism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 9.

<sup>6</sup> This narrative has been acknowledged and countered by several recent biographies and studies of Johnny Cash and of June Carter Cash including: Leigh H. Edwards, *Johnny Cash and the Paradox of American Identity*,

endorsement of Richard Nixon polishes to the career politician's image.<sup>7</sup> Ministers endorse the use of popular musics (aesthetically external to evangelical culture) to entice youth into the church and out of the wider culture.<sup>8</sup> While the assumption of an inside/outside paradigm supports the thinking presented in evangelical publications, perhaps particularly at this moment around the turn of the 1970s, when the "mainstream" was rapidly fragmenting into taste, age, and identity niche markets, the borders of mediated Christian identity were highly unstable. The Jesus movement and the advent of Jesus music was both the outside culture infiltrating established evangelicalism and an evangelical adaptation, or "taming" in the words of one scholar, of countercultural commercial appeal.<sup>9</sup> These models understood in tandem underscore the internal turbulence the movement unleashed within the evangelical community. While Christian music has been charged with being derivative, a cheap knock-off of mainstream popular music, it has simultaneously been a significant spiritual frontier of American evangelicalism.

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(Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2009) and Michael Streissguth, *Johnny Cash: The Biography*, (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2006).

<sup>7</sup> Graham spoke at Nixon's inauguration and also conducted the first service when Nixon instituted worship services in the White House. See Randall Balmer, *God in the White House: A History: How Faith Shaped the Presidency from John F. Kennedy to George W. Bush* (New York: Harper Collins, 2008), 64.

<sup>8</sup> A trope of being inside versus being outside appears throughout the history of evangelicalism. The city on a hill—clearly demarcated boundaries—surrounded by wilderness is an early image in the American religious imagination. Nineteenth-century apocalyptic cults would have members gather in a certain building or within certain geographic bounds for the anticipated moment of rapture. Common currency metaphors for salvation include being tossed in a stormy sea and rescued by a ship (Calvinists stress Christ's role in casting out the life ring. Arminians stress the importance of reaching out to grab it, a personal choice.) The inside/outside language is even in scripture: to be in the body of Christ.

While a cliché that circulates in Christian circles reminds the faithful that "the church is not a building," church buildings nevertheless sustain a representation of faith as a shelter. (Anyone who has sung "A Mighty Fortress is our God" inside a particularly impressive church building may relate to this.) When Jesus people conducted services outdoors, they, challenged or widened this model of spirituality even if unintentionally. How does Jesus people use of outdoor services or services outside of churches map onto this idea of being inside? Does using the ocean instead of a baptismal font speak to the meaning of the baptism ritual? Likewise, what does it mean to receive communion while sitting in a coffeehouse instead of pews? One answer is that it breaks down the dichotomy between the world and the church. Situating conviction and decision within the believer instead of a community represented by consecrated space allows the believer to more freely carry faith into spaces/places of non-sacramental life.

<sup>9</sup> See John Haines, "The Emergence of Jesus Rock: On Taming the African Beat," *Black Music Research Journal* 31 no. 2 (Fall 2011), 229-260.

Despite drawing on the historicity of their faith for inspiration, American evangelicals spent the twentieth century re-negotiating their identity.<sup>10</sup> At the time of the Jesus movement, evangelical Christians had just demonstrated in the 1950s and 1960s an ability to redirect their political allegiances and channel their economic power while maintaining a veneer of continuity.<sup>11</sup> Prior to that, military service hymnals of World War II had popularized ecumenical bodies of religious repertoire, displacing the prominence of denominationally controlled and oriented hymnals. Also, in the mid-1940s, Billy Graham's crusades supplied a long awaited inheritor to Billy Sunday's turn of the century campaigns. Graham shaped the message of evangelical Christianity for transmission by television, updating the message for new technological media. Despite preservationist calls for conventional dress and traditional hymnody, ministers had ample models of entrepreneurial, innovative forebears. Change was not unexplored territory.

Due to this context, the decision made by many ministers to adopt Jesus music in their services is less surprising. Christian record labels, likewise, found flexibility in their brand to produce and market new genres. Despite calls for the preservation and cultivation of existing musics among prominent anti-rock critics, evangelicalism had historically been a utilitarian musical culture that adopted the styles and technologies of its time. While most of the 1970s writing on Christian music used in this project—both by those for and against the use of Christian pop—addressed the

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<sup>10</sup> Mark Noll in *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind* discusses the fallout of late nineteenth-century populism and evangelicalism. Mark Noll, *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind* (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans, 1994).

<sup>11</sup> See work by Darren Dochuk and Lisa McGirr on shifting political and economic alliances. Randall Balmer and George Marsden also chronicle the genealogy of divisions between mainline, fundamentalist, and evangelical Protestants. Darren Dochuk, *From Bible Belt to Sunbelt: Plain-Folk Religion, Grassroots Politics, and the Rise of Evangelical Conservatism* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2011). Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001). Randall Balmer, *Evangelicalism in America* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2016). George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

practical function of music (i.e. what behaviors or modes of comportment does the music facilitate?), the music also fed a future-oriented evangelical spirituality.<sup>12</sup>

### *Definitions and Frameworks*

Authors have used several terms to describe the Jesus movement and its participants. I refer to it as the Jesus movement and not the Jesus people movement because it is more concise, but also because I wish to emphasize that many primary actors within the movement were not necessarily the Jesus people preserved in media reports—long-haired, street preachers in the attire of the counterculture. When I refer to Jesus people, I attempt to consistently be referring to those who fit the image of Christian hippies.<sup>13</sup> In many places I call those involved in the Jesus movement simply participants. Jesus movement participants could be found living in suburbs across America and roaming the bohemian quarters of San Francisco evangelizing to addicts. They were teenagers and were middle-aged, had long hair and short hair. They include high schoolers who purchased Larry Norman’s albums and passed out “Jesus Loves You” stickers at school. And they included music industry professionals who made space for a new genre, Jesus music.

The Jesus movement included both new converts to Christianity and well-established Christian ministries. Some radically re-ordered their lifestyle as part of their involvement, joining communes and employing themselves in the production and proliferation of countercultural

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<sup>12</sup> See Noll *The Scandal*. Twentieth-century evangelical writing does not generally delve into intellectual analyses of the world. I would argue, however, that those missing analyses are experienced in evangelicalism as a lived religion. In this case, music plays a social role of revitalizing the worship experience. A church service becomes for a time less familiar ritual and more of a conveyor of new material. As the new forms/ordos become familiar, still more new forms are embraced. In this way, evangelical networks (and other Protestant and Catholic Christian networks) construct a visceral, consumer relationship with their service music.

<sup>13</sup> Not to be confused with Jesus People, International (JPI) or Jesus People U.S.A. (JPUSA). These organizations, in Los Angeles and Chicago respectively, were founded during the movement and borrowed common language of the day in their names. It is possible Duane Pederson, founder of JPI is the originator of the term “Jesus people.”

Christian materials. Others maintained a suburban, middle-class, evangelical lifestyle while consuming Jesus movement culture often in the form of Jesus music albums and performances. Though style could be used as a boundary for the movement, I find it obscures how the movement occurred both inside and outside of the established church. The boundaries of the movement, like those of many social phenomena, are vague. For instance, Campus Crusade for Christ, International (CCCI) pursued the evangelization of youth, but also maintained an image of middle-class respectability replete with collared shirts and men with neatly trimmed hair. They also, however, published books of folk-rock songs including some by mainstream artists like Bob Dylan and Cat Stevens and others by Jesus music artists such as Larry Norman and Andraé Crouch. Campus Crusade's subsidiary group at U.C. Berkeley, the Christian World Liberation Front (CWLF) led by Jack Sparks, was decidedly countercultural in their dress and rhetoric.<sup>14</sup> Neither CCCI nor CWLF publically advertised their institutional connection with one another. The answer to whether they

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<sup>14</sup> Jack Sparks was a CCCI missionary when he established CWLF in Berkeley in April 1969. The connection between CCCI and CWLF weakened gradually. It severed completely in the first few years of CWLF's operations, which included street evangelism and an underground newspaper, *Right On!* Sparks and CWLF turned their attentions to documenting and disputing claims made by groups they considered "spiritual counterfeits" including transcendental meditation practitioners and the local church movement, a Chinese Christian movement led by Watchman Nee that CWLF and other evangelical organizations suspected of cult practices. (The local church movement is now global. Several major evangelical organizations have recanted their previous condemnations including a statement by Intervarsity in 2009.) Nee's associate Witness Lee was active in Berkeley at the same time as CWLF. It is possible competition for Berkeley adherents between CWLF and the local church undergirded some of the suspicion CWLF leaders felt for the local church. In 1975, Sparks attempted to convert CWLF into a church. The attempt split the organization. Some followed Sparks founding the New Covenant Apostolic Order (NCAO). The others continued anti-cult work as the Spiritual Counterfeits Project, which continues in operation today. In the late 1970s, Sparks and other former CWLF associates published anti-cult books condemning Nee, Lee, and others. The popularity of the books was amplified by the November 1978 Jonestown tragedy. The books were used by Chinese government authorities to pursue the persecution of local church adherents in China. Human rights groups reported over two thousand were arrested and some executions took place. The local church in the U.S. took Sparks and others to court for libel in 1980 and won the largest libel award in American history at the time, damages in the amount of \$11.9 million. Several evangelical institutions have conducted investigations into local church theology and opinions remained split over its orthodoxy. It should be noted that the current leading critics of the local church such as the editorial board of the *Christian Research Journal* were also among the early critics. In 2006, Fuller Theological Seminary initiated a panel of faculty including President Richard Mouw to investigate charges made against the local church and determined the local church was a non-heretical Christian movement wrongly accused. *Christianity Today* reviewed the panel's procedures and confirmed the panel's findings in the same year.

were protecting the reputation of CCCI or CWLF is probably that they were protecting both. All in all, Campus Crusade's work frequently engaged with the Jesus movement while also maintaining a stylistically conservative identity.

Jesus music, the music created within and associated with the Jesus movement, is the primary artifact informing this study.<sup>15</sup> Produced roughly between 1969-1976, Jesus music creators coupled pop music styles with lyrics that espoused a Christian worldview. Moreover, the artists of Jesus music consistently testified to their own faith and their intention to be Christian artists. During the same period, there are examples of pop music artists referencing Christianity or Christian spirituality but not necessarily intending to cultivate a distinct Christian worldview among listeners. In fact, scholar Michael J. Gilmour argues the period marks not only a spiritual-musical revolution within American Christianity, but also a significant historical moment for the use of the sacred by secular music artists.<sup>16</sup> Musical examples include "Jesus is Just Alright" by the Doobie Brothers, "Spirit in the Sky" by Norman Greenbaum, and "My Sweet Lord" by George Harrison.<sup>17</sup> Musicals such as *Jesus Christ Superstar* and *Godspell* sit uneasily on this divide. Such works give lengthy presentations of overtly Christian themes, but their writers and composers were not motivated by Christian evangelism or the edification of a Christian community. Throughout this study, the term Jesus music references a more narrowly defined set of artists and works. Other musical stage works

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<sup>15</sup> I use the term Jesus music instead of Jesus rock to acknowledge the variety of vernacular genres that sonically clothed the Jesus movement. My use of the term Contemporary Christian music (CCM) refers to Christian pop produced in the later 1970s and since. By that time, approximately around the time of Amy Grant's debut album in 1977, an industrial infrastructure largely located in Nashville became a guiding force in the content of Christian pop. The industry turned production and distribution towards feeding an existing Christian market rather than the outwardly oriented evangelistic thrust of the Jesus movement.

<sup>16</sup> Michael J. Gilmour, *Gods and Guitars: Seeking the Sacred in Post-1960s Popular Music* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2009). Musicologist Oliva Mather also presented on the topic of Christian spirituality in American popular music: "Jesus is Just Alright": The Jesus Movement and the Counterculture in 70's Rock," Paper presented at the Society for Christian Scholarship in Music, Trinity Christian College, Palos Heights, IL, February 21, 2014.

<sup>17</sup> "Oh Happy Day" (1969) by The Edwin Hawkins Singers was a runaway hit. It is notable here for its religious content and also its origin in a religious context. If imagined on a line between spiritually inflected secular songs and Jesus music, "Oh Happy Day" sits in the middle.

produced by Christians for Christian purposes such as *Good News* (1967) and *Tell It Like It Is* (1969) would fall within my constraints for the term.<sup>18</sup>

The most important aspect of evangelical consumption for the purposes of this study is how evangelicals “musicked.” Christopher Small’s term opens deep and fruitful investigations of musical culture. As an inclusive sphere of participation, musicking brings all agents of musical activity into frame. Musicians musick and so do audiences, consumers, producers, critics, reporters, distributors, and others. Small explains the significance of this perspective:

The act of musicking establishes in the place where it is happening a set of relationships, and it is in those relationships that the meaning of the act lies. ... [T]hey model, or stand as metaphor for, ideal relationships as the participants in the performance imagine them to be: relationships between person and person, between individual and society, between humanity and the natural world and even perhaps the supernatural world.<sup>19</sup>

I will use the relational musical mechanism Small describes to explore the social-spiritual world of evangelicals in the early 1970s. In a religious context, musicking gains an additional vector. Evangelicals’ relationship to their own spirituality drives (or is driven by) musical activity. The sphere of American evangelicalism cannot be fully captured through a definition of evangelical theological identity. Defining them instead as a niche consumer market adds much nuance to the how and why of their tastes, politics, and values.<sup>20</sup> However, while an evangelical cultural silo may be observable, focusing on this aspect of evangelical identity construction can obscure the role of how their spiritual practices are a lived religion that knits into place an embodied practice of identity. Evangelical spirituality in lifestyle, prayer, speech, and song exceeds the capacity of written description. Yet the disruptions and conflicts, continuities and unities of evangelical spirituality offer

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<sup>18</sup> For more information on Christian youth musicals of this era, see William Robert Bishop, “Christian Youth Musicals, 1967-1975” (DMA Dissertation, New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 2015).

<sup>19</sup> Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performance and Listening* (Hanover; London: Wesleyan University Press, 1998), 13.

<sup>20</sup> i.e. How accurately can we define white evangelicals as consumers of CCM, inspirational movies, farmhouse-chic home décor, and the original chicken sandwich?



a route into understanding the substantial cultural shifts experienced by evangelicals since the mid-century.

Ethnomusicologist Thomas Turino also offers a helpful model for considering how music is a mechanism people use to engage, create, confront, and negotiate culture. He complicates the Western notion that music is a text that can be physically reproduced and distributed whether through recording technology or notation. This emphasis on the consumable, copyrighted good has much to do with the interests of the mass music industry. While Turino primarily uses non-western examples to illustrate alternatives to the idea of music as text, non-commercial, Christian music also challenges this notion. While DJs replace live music in clubs, churches retain the expense of live musicians. Turino offers the model of participatory v. presentational performance:

*Participatory performance* is a special type of artistic practice in which there are no artist-audience distinctions, only participants and potential participants performing different roles, and the primary goal is to involve the maximum number of people in some performance role. *Presentational performance*, in contrast, refers to situations where one group of people, the artists, prepare and provide music for another group, the audience, who do not participate in making the music or dancing.<sup>21</sup>

Jesus music effectively combines aspects of both participatory and presentational performance. Its performance sites and modes of distribution mirror the physical performer-audience divide of presentational music. Overlaid with Small's concept of musicking, however, Christians engaging in musically mediated worship are musicking and are participants in the process. They are not only consumers of the music, but creators of the desired function of the musical activity: spirituality. The recognition and incorporation of the spiritual in addition to the more commonly considered physical and cognitive, or mind/body, components of musical experience, alters the model of how Christian worship functions musically and socially.

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<sup>21</sup> Thomas Turino, *Music as Social Life: The Politics of Participation* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), 26. Turino's model also includes two other categories: high fidelity and studio audio art. These refer to recording practices and are less relevant to a discussion of live musical worship.

A common binary applied to American music is the divide between popular and art musics. Categorizing Jesus music as “popular music,” however, does not sufficiently locate it within the American music industry. Popular/vernacular and art/serious/classical musics have complicated histories. They implicate social class, race and prestige, compositional intent, and marketing strategies. Rather than relying on the categories of popular and its foil, “art music,” it is useful to consider Jesus music as a bridge between popular and a third leg of American music, what I call non-commercial music. I arrived at the concept by combining the popular-art binary and Turino’s presentational-participatory models. Non-commercial music includes music not primarily created and distributed for profit or presentation—it often has a function or participatory aspect beyond reception and pleasure. Sacred music often (but not always) falls in this category along with some educational music, children’s music and playground rhymes, and protest music. All three legs—art, popular, and non-commercial—overlap with one another and the same work can co-exist in multiple categories.<sup>22</sup> Non-commercial musics are distinct from popular and art musics due to their functions. Jesus music is the application of popular music marketing strategies to a non-commercial function. The product of this fusion is a music that subjects sacred music functions to the turnover of a mass media market and that is separated from the mainstream market by its sacred function.

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<sup>22</sup> For example, jazz artists consciously and progressively framed jazz as an art music over the course of the twentieth century. What began in dance halls is now heralded with honors previously retained for art music genres (e.g. the Pulitzer prize for music was awarded to Wynton Marsalis in 1997 and since then has been awarded posthumously to Duke Ellington, Theolonius Monk, and John Coltrane.) Rock artists began pursuing signifiers of sophistication in the late 1960s during the rise of the concept album and other longer form works such as Led Zeppelin’s “Stairway to Heaven” (1971) or Paul McCartney’s *Liverpool Oratorio* (1991). See chapter 4 for more on rock and signifiers of sophistication.

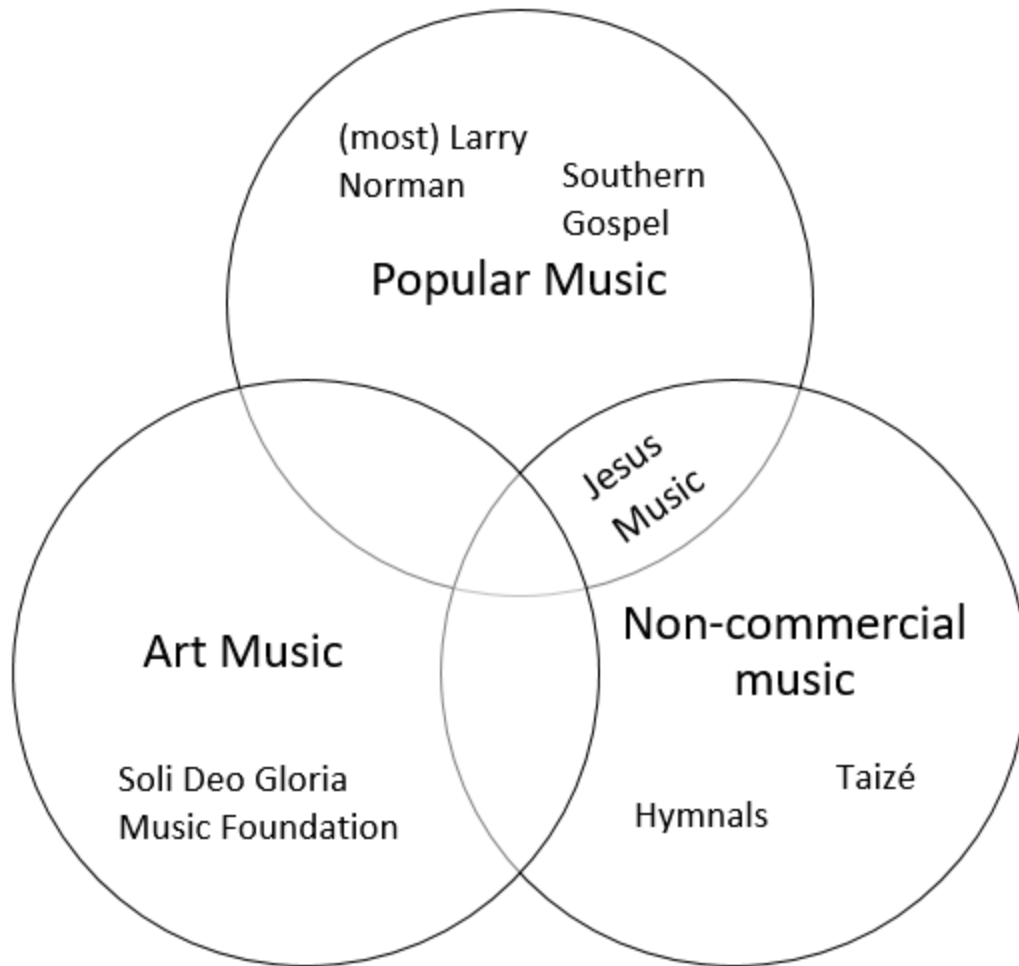


Figure 1: Venn diagram of selected American evangelical music categories.

I have given some examples of genres, artists, texts, and organizations oriented toward different spheres of the Venn diagram. Hymnals and the contemplative music of Taizé are not generally performed or distributed for profit. They facilitate either corporate or individual spiritual devotion outside of the commercial standards of the mainstream music market. Larry Norman (a Jesus music artist) is in the popular sphere because his narrative rock songs and ballads are oriented toward commercial, presentational contexts. The Soli Deo Gloria Music Foundation that currently operates out of Chicago supports Christian spirituality in the art music world by funding concerts and commissioning new works. It should be clear music with spiritual messages more likely than not has some claim to the non-commercial music category. The line between music that facilitates

worship (a functional, participatory music) and music that provokes thought on spiritual matters (e.g. Larry Norman, southern gospel, Soli Deo Gloria) is subjective. The object of these categories is not to definitively box in how people have experienced these musics. Rather it is an attempt to graphically illustrate how Jesus music filled a unique space in a multi-dimensional model of American music. This hybrid space of non-commercial and popular music remained open as the contemporary Christian music industry expanded in the late 1970s.

The umbrella terms used to describe Christian pop music changed in the 1970s. During the Jesus movement, Jesus music, as summarized above, described Christian pop, rock, and folk music. The earliest Jesus music dates to the late 1960s, unless post-Vatican II Catholic folk masses and other denominational musical youth outreach products of the earlier 1960s are included. For the purposes of this study, Jesus music dates from approximately 1969 to 1976. In the early 1970s, Jesus music creators began to recognize a subset of music within Jesus music. I call this pop worship music to emphasize the innovations involved in combining evangelical worship practices with popular music forms (see chapter 5 for more on pop worship). It was from this subset of music that praise choruses, praise and worship, and contemporary worship music emerged.<sup>23</sup>

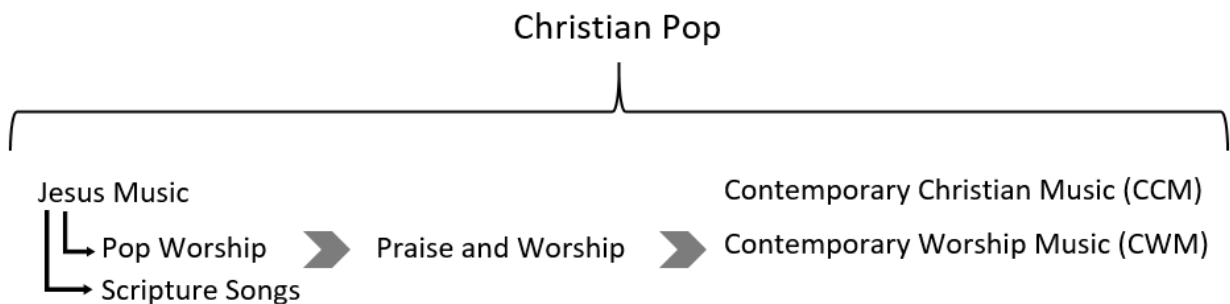


Figure 2: Diagram of Christian pop categories

<sup>23</sup> Note: When I refer to corporate worship throughout this dissertation, I am referring to worship practiced by a gathering of Christians as opposed to worship practiced in solitude. It may be musically accompanied by any subset of Christian pop, though in formal service times it tends to draw from the stream emerging from pop worship.

A second subset of Jesus music were scripture songs. These were non-metricized biblical texts set to simple melodies. They were not usually recorded, but they spread widely as they upheld Jesus movement dedication to immersion in scripture and a penchant for music. Shorter scriptural quotations became a mainstay in pop worship lyrics and later worship music genres. By the late 1970s, the Christian pop industry was becoming a well-established national market. It gained the label contemporary Christian music (CCM). Praise and worship and contemporary worship music (CWM) may be considered subsets of CCM, but they maintain separate labels, musical norms, functions, marketing categories, and award categories. Ethnomusicologist Monique Ingalls, following and building on the example of other current scholars, argues CCM and CWM should be treated as distinct musical subjects in the scholarly discourse.<sup>24</sup> Ingalls' argument works well in studies of Christian pop in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. It also arises out of her perspective as an ethnomusicologist who studies contemporary worship music in spaces where it is explicitly defined as worship in contrast to other spaces. Both the historical period and the space studied in this project, however, push against dividing the discourse between worship and non-worship Christian pop. The marketplace division between CCM and CWM does not reliably apply to the early 1970s. The "space" studied is evangelical spirituality, experienced and realized in both definitive times of worship and in other times and spaces of religious engagement. I argue the spirituality constructed in the Jesus movement is as formed by pop worship as it is by the wider, more performative swath of Jesus music. Moreover, pop worship gains spiritual signification from the musical expectations built by Jesus music writ large. Isolating pop worship from Jesus music

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<sup>24</sup> Monique Ingalls, *Singing the Congregation: How Contemporary Worship Music Forms Evangelical Community* (New York: Oxford, 2018), 34 n. 5. Ingalls cites the precedent set by Monique M. Ingalls, Anna Nekola, and Andrew Mall, "Christian Popular Music, U.S.A.," *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology*, (Canterbury, UK: Canterbury University Press, 2013), [www.hymnology.co.uk](http://www.hymnology.co.uk).

would be an artificial distinction in terms of the spiritual formation of Jesus movement participants and their religious heirs.

Stylistically, Jesus music is an outgrowth of rock, folk, and other mainstream musical styles of the early 1970s. White and black gospel groups of the era generally do not fall under the label Jesus music, though overlaps may occur and they travel in the same space between popular and non-commercial musics. White and black gospel as genres predate the Jesus music era. While white gospel, widely known today as southern gospel, is now produced and distributed in the CCM marketplace, consumers in the early 1970s interpreted it as very different from Jesus music. Black gospel in the early 1970s was closer in style to Jesus music than was white gospel and notable exchanges and crossovers occurred between black gospel and Jesus music. White rock artist and Jesus music pioneer Larry Norman was raised in a black Pentecostal church in San Francisco. His earliest musical experiences are rife with African American Christian influences. Black contemporary soul artist Andraé Crouch began his professional music career touring on Jesus music circuits. While his mid-1970s releases and onward made splashes primarily in the gospel world and not in the offshoots of Jesus music, he was a regular attendee at Jesus movement reunion events until his death in 2015. With notable exceptions such as Crouch, however, Jesus music was created by and for white Christians. This study is a narrative, then, of Christian spirituality and whiteness.

There is no membership list that can definitively circumscribe the Jesus movement. Instead of mincing a subjective definition of the movement, I will be treating it as an ethos of an era. Platforms and figures move in and out of its general aesthetic lens being affected by it and affecting the world through it. My use of the term evangelical is similarly open. Rubrics of theological qualifications, such as the seminal four-point definition given by David Bebbington, give some sense

of to whom the term evangelical refers.<sup>25</sup> I do not, however, use theological belief as the core of my definition. One reason for this is that evangelicals in the pews do not necessarily define themselves according to rigid litmus tests of faith.<sup>26</sup> They cast their religious affiliation on the grounds of social identity more so than on doctrine. In some cases, this has led to the dissolution of orthodox Protestant theology as in the case of the prosperity gospel phenomenon, which may or may not still be considered to reside under the umbrella of evangelicalism.<sup>27</sup> Evangelicalism as a social identity is

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<sup>25</sup> David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1930s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989). The Bebbington Quadrilateral has four emphases of evangelical belief: 1. Conversionism, belief in a need for a transformative “born again” experience and an ongoing, life-long pursuit of Jesus; 2. Activism, belief in a mandate for all believers to spread the gospel; 3. Biblicism, belief in the Bible as the ultimate authority; and 4. Crucicentrism, an emphasis on the work of Christ on the cross as atonement for sin.

David di Sabbatino’s work on the Jesus movement and most others who have written after him circumscribe the movement by their practices. Instead of being an advent of new or revitalized beliefs, the movement originates in practices such as founding Christian communes and coffeehouses, printing hip underground newspapers, and praising God with amplification. Di Sabbatino does, however, isolate five beliefs at the core of most Jesus movement messages. They fit into Bebbington’s Quadrilateral, specifically regarding Biblicism and Crucicentrism, and demonstrate how, while outside the established church, the Jesus movement was an evangelical phenomenon. Di Sabbatino writes, “with rare exceptions, most Jesus People affirmed, a) Christ’s virgin birth b) Christ’s death as an atonement for the sins of humanity c) Christ’s bodily resurrection d) Christ’s physical return to earth to establish the kingdom of God e) the Bible as the inspired and wholly inerrant word of God.” Di Sabbatino’s rubric emphasizes themes of supernaturalism and incarnation. As will be shown, Jesus movement spirituality was grounded on these concepts. See David di Sabbatino, “The Spiritual Sixties and the Jesus People Movement” *The Jesus People Movement: An Annotated Bibliography and Resource Guide* (Lake Forest, CA: Jester Media, 1999), 11.

<sup>26</sup> The methods by which evangelicals select which local congregation to join is one example. There are many factors other than a church’s statement of belief evangelicals may prioritize including worship and preaching styles, children and family resources, and how they generally perceive themselves to “fit” in the congregation (i.e. do other attendees look, speak, think like me?). Essentially, they often prioritize the social aspects of church attendance over theological aspects. See the National Evangelical Association’s February 2015 report on their monthly Evangelical Leaders Survey. They found around 80% of the prioritized criteria for church selection was into these categories: friendliness (19%), children’s programs (19%), worship music (16%), sermons (14%), and pastors (12%). “Evangelical Leaders Survey: What People Look For in Churches,” National Association of Evangelicals, February 2015, <https://www.nae.net/what-people-look-for-in-churches/>.

<sup>27</sup> While members of prosperity gospel organizations may consider themselves evangelicals and may consume the same religious media as other evangelicals, their theology is rejected as being skewed to a point outside of orthodox Christianity by many evangelical authorities and sources including *Christianity Today*. At the same time, major evangelical distributors such as southern Baptist Lifeway Christian Stores stock materials created by prosperity gospel authors and ministries. The news media does not regularly differentiate. For examples, see popular coverage of Paula White and the Trump administration or of Joel Osteen and the aftermath of Hurricane Harvey. For more on the prosperity gospel phenomenon, see Kate Bowler, *Blessed: A History of the American Prosperity Gospel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

intersectional and includes racial, gendered, educational, regional, political, and aesthetic identities. It stands upon a foundation of material culture, a network of Christian products (prominently including music) that serve a niche religious market. I intend through this definition to capture not only those who subscribe to historically evangelical beliefs outlined by Bebbington, but also the large portion of self-identified evangelicals who do not. Tied together by social identity, this segment of the American population has wielded considerable political power. Their habits of consumption build and sustain their allegiance to this identity.

### *Historical Background: Christian Entertainment and Worship Music*

Jesus music eludes simple classification as either popular or sacred music. Conventionally, Christian music may gravitate towards one or the other label based on the context of its use. Thinking in terms of entertainment and worship music also has its uses, those like the classifications discussed above it has its drawbacks as well.<sup>28</sup> In the later twentieth century, as technologies such as the Walkman made possible more personal, more immersive musical habits, the lines between musical corporate worship and musical individual worshipful entertainment became more tangled.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> I use the descriptor service instead of liturgical in order to acknowledge the spontaneity valued by some corners of the Jesus movement. A Jesus movement service may not follow a prescribed form or liturgy. Nonetheless, it constitutes a corporate time of worship through music, prayer, and preaching. Some participants engaged with the Jesus movement as a move to counter what they considered hollow, high church ritual or “cultural Christianity.” Some of these participants were raised in the high church (mainline Protestant or Roman Catholic) and reject formulaic liturgical rubrics in the course of rejecting their larger church experience.

<sup>29</sup> Anna Nekola’s presentation at the 2012 American Musicological Society, “Longing After God: Popular Christian Worship Music, Marketing Discourses, and the Modern Technological Sublime,” spoke to how corporate music practices can be crafted as individual spiritual experiences. She continued this narrative in “‘I’ll Take You There’: The Promise of Transformation in the Marketing of Worship Media in US Christian Music Magazines,” in *Christian Congregational Music: Performance, Identity, and Experience*, eds. Monique M. Ingalls, Carolyn Landau, and Thomas Wagner (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 117-136.

For more on how personal audio devices have affected listening experiences, see Shūhei Hosokawa’s “The Walkman Effect” *Popular Music* 4 (1984), 165-180. Also available in *The Sound Studies Reader*, ed. Jonathan Sterne (New York: Routledge, 2012), 104-116. At the time of the Jesus movement, the transistor radio was available making music portable. Hosokawa’s work credits the Walkman for its capability to produce immersive, personally curated musical environments.



Neither style nor lyrical content can definitely determine whether a piece is entertainment or for worship. The context of the musical activity and an individual's reception of the music is the final, albeit highly subjective, determinant. Jesus people and evangelicals also informally categorize their music as either directed towards the unsaved or as directed towards believers. Creators of Christian music for the unsaved usually try to move listeners closer to conversion. Creators of Christian music for believers may craft their music to edify, instruct, or reprimand listeners or to guide them into a worshipful experience. These four poles—music for entertainment or worship, for outsiders or insiders—together generate a variety of possible combinations. Some authors have noted a distinct shift in the messaging of Christian pop between the Jesus music and CCM eras. Jesus music songs tended to address unbelievers more frequently. CCM songs are more likely to address God (especially in the praise and worship subgenre) or to express the experience of a believer.

Sorting Christian music other than hymns into categories based on function was difficult before the early 1970s. During the first half of the twentieth century, the white gospel industry relocated its locus from songbook publishing to professional performance.<sup>30</sup> Male quartets toured the country performing not in churches but at singing conventions as well as giving radio broadcast performances. Eventually, the scales tipped and the mainstay of the conventions became not participatory singing, but the virtuosic displays of vocal harmony and power performed by elite quartets. Live performance, though now professional and not domestic, remained central to white gospel. The communal aspect of conventions gave white gospel a phenomenological connection to church worship music. In the 1960s and 1970s, television broadcasts such as the *Gospel Singing Caravan* and *Gospel Jubilee* further popularized the genre. Elvis Presley used white gospel groups

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<sup>30</sup> For a seminal history of white gospel, see James R. Goff, *Close Harmony: A History of Southern Gospel* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2002). For a commentary on the history of white gospel, see Douglas Harrison, "The Rise of "Southern" Gospel Music and the Compensations of History," in *Then Sings My Soul: The Culture of Southern Gospel Music*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012): 80-109.

including the Jordanares, the Imperials, and the Stamps as backup singers, which suggests that the style was not unheard or unappreciated by mainstream America. This was a popular music colored by spirituality beyond the lyrics.<sup>31</sup>

Another false divide applied to Christian music involves physicality. When anti-rock critics opposed Jesus music they expressed anxiety over the physical effects of the music. Christian music, they believed, ought to engage the mind; it ought to leave the body alone. Christian music, however, has always in every place and time been a physical experience. The practice of decorous hymn singing shapes bodily gesture no less than a four-on-the-floor rock rhythm does. So-called contemporary and traditional Christian musics are physical. Both carry connotations of embodiment that are raced, sexed, and classed.

### *Music and Identity*

Musical creation and reception construct the identity of the musical participant. Negotiating how to interpret a musical identity, however, is a complex and dynamic process. Musical religious identity, a mess of moral, ethical, and political allegiances, can be particularly contentious, especially in an American context in which religion functions as a siphon of civic tension.<sup>32</sup> At the core of this study is the question of how American evangelicals negotiated their own identity through musical activity at a watershed moment in evangelical history. In the early 1970s, immediately prior to the rise of the religious right, American social mores, political balances, and musical tastes were rapidly shifting.

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<sup>31</sup> For more on the Pentecostal roots of rock and midcentury popular music, see Randall Stephens, *The Devil's Music: How Christians Inspired, Condemned, and Embraced Rock 'n' Roll* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018).

<sup>32</sup> For more on the role of religious freedom as buffer and pressure valve for American democracy, see Randall Balmer, "An Altogether Conservative Spirit: The First Amendment, Political Stability, and Evangelical Vitality," *Evangelicalism in America* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2016), 1-14.

In our current sociopolitical context, when the identity and motivations of American evangelicals have proven deeply significant, historical analysis of evangelicalism is particularly salient. Evangelical musical history has the potential to sidestep the veneers of text, offering a perspective on evangelicalism as lived religion, defined, governed, and practiced through embodied participation. It denies the impulse to dismiss sonic isolationism or Kitsch habits of consumption as solely the result of a negative space, anti-intellectualism. The Christian media silo not only shields its consumers somewhat from the offerings of the larger cultural marketplace, it also constructs alternative ways of moving through the world. I would contend that evangelical music culture cannot be adequately explained by an evangelical rejection of critical engagement.<sup>33</sup> Rather, it is a culture that has been vigorously negotiated through praxis that in turn constructs the orthodoxy that informs evangelical ethics. Stances and decisions made through the body, such as those realized in musical activity, may be more difficult to capture in text than the predominant artifacts used in religious history, but they are no less sound a source of historical insight.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Note: The claim that the Christian music industry is the result of Christians seeking to escape the secular music industry has the potential to distract attention away from the active culture making of the Christian community. Studies of Christian support for music censorship (see Nekola, Romanowski, Luhr) and of Christian anti-intellectualism (Noll, *The Scandal*) tend to emphasize what Christians have rejected. This study, while not repudiating these other works, seeks to emphasize what Christians built.

Anna Nekola, "More Than Just a Music?: Conservative Christian Anti-Rock Discourse and the U.S. Culture Wars," *Popular Music* 32 no. 3 (October 2013), 407-426. See also Nekola "Between 'This World and the Next: The Musical 'Worship Wars' and Evangelical Ideology in the United States, 1960-2005" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2009). William David Romanowski, "Roll Over Beethoven, Tell Martin Luther the News: American Evangelicals and Rock Music," *The Journal of American Culture* 15 no. 3 (Fall 1992), 79-88. See also Romanowski, "Rock'n'religion: A Sociocultural Analysis of the Contemporary Christian Music Industry" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Bowling Green State University, 1990). Eileen Luhr, "Metal Missionaries to the Nation: Christian Heavy Metal Music, 'Family Values,' and Youth Culture (1984-1994)," *American Quarterly* 57 no. 1 (March 2005), 103-128.

<sup>34</sup> Scholarship on the embodied meanings of evangelical worship is slim for most of the twentieth century. Notable exceptions include work on church architecture and recent interest in Pentecostalism, especially surrounding the Australian Assemblies of God Hillsong megachurch as a global phenomenon and other large-scale conferences. There is a gap in the literature on work concerning small-medium evangelical communities. Though tangential to the musically curated postures and physical experiences of worship, architecture informs the bodily experience. See Jay M. Price, *Temples for a Modern God: Religious Architecture in Postwar America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) and for a historical perspective James F. White *Protestant Worship and Church Architecture: Theological and Historical Considerations* (New York: Oxford University

The choice to de-emphasize texted artifacts also removes a degree of cohesiveness. Authoritative sonic identity markers are dispersed among the many participants of the evangelical sphere. While the messages presented by those select few who have the access to influential platforms have great significance, the preferences and consumption habits of their audiences are also powerful historical levers. This study observes American evangelicalism as a subculture within American consumerism. It is necessarily a more nebulous definition than those based on theological allegiances or self-identification. The evangelical identity constructed by consumption does not necessarily consistently align with overarching theological values used by social scientists to define evangelicalism.<sup>35</sup> However, it does center those who make material investment in the propagation of an evangelical aesthetic and lifestyle.

The Christian music industry caters to the standards of a theologically diverse audience. Prior to the Jesus movement and the advent of Jesus music, evangelistic radio hours and fledgling religious television broadcasts employed gospel songs and hymns that had already found acceptance across a variety of denominational contexts.<sup>36</sup> Programmers had learned, perhaps without meaning to, how to cultivate collections of songs with lyrics that avoided theological controversy. Musical style similarly compressed into the confines of what was most broadly palatable.

During the 1960s, a Christian industrial infrastructure followed the example of the mainstream music industry harnessing the power of the youth market through the production of

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Press, 1964). Work on Hillsong worship experiences and other megachurch or conference contexts have been ably conducted by religious historians, ethnographers, and ethnomusicologists. See Kate Bowler and Wen Reagan, "Bigger, Better, Louder: The Prosperity Gospel's Impact on Contemporary Christian Worship," *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 24 no. 2 (2014): 186-230; Monique Ingalls, "Singing Heaven Down to Earth: Spiritual Journeys, Eschatological Sounds, and Community Formation in Evangelical Conference Worship," *Ethnomusicology* 55 no. 2 (Spring-Summer 2011): 255-279; and Matthew Wade and Maria Hynes, "Worshipping Bodies: Affective Labour in the Hillsong Church," *Geographic Research* 51 no. 2 (May 2013): 173-179.

<sup>35</sup> For example, the Bebbington Quadrilateral.

<sup>36</sup> See Talmage W. Dean, *A Survey of Twentieth Century Protestant Church Music in America*, (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1988).

youth musicals, youth songbooks, and youth-oriented devotional texts. Christian periodicals such as *Christianity Today* began to report on ministries such as Arthur Blessitt's that were starting to adopt the slang of the countercultural youth they pursued. Over the 1970s, youth-targeted outreach began to flow back into the aesthetics of established evangelicalism. Blessitt's ministry is but one example. Blessitt was invited by a friend in 1967 to preach at a love-in. He addressed the countercultural gathering wearing a suit and tie. In 1968, he invested heavily in seeking the salvation of the hippie and drug-using L.A. population by founding the Love Inn, a coffeehouse, shelter, and Christian witnessing outpost on the Sunset Strip. He created a space that imitated countercultural gathering sites to foster conversations that could potentially result in conversions. In 1969, Blessitt extended his personal commitment by embarking on a cross country walk while dragging a large wooden cross. His cross walks continued for decades earning him multiple Guinness World Records and the distinction of having walked across every nation on earth. This street spectacle has an affinity with the street drama of the counterculture. Blessitt's tactics not only drew countercultural people into the faith, but also drew evangelicals into contact with the aesthetic standards of the counterculture. In 1972, Billy Graham walked with Blessitt in Ireland. By 1979 after his first decade of walking, Blessitt was honored with an audience with the pope. These meetings confirmed Blessitt's prominence and acceptability within elevated authority structures of both Protestant and Roman Catholic Christendom.

Sites of production such as music studios and publishing houses often tell a story not of denominational allegiance but of popular practice.<sup>37</sup> Doctrine did not necessarily lead. Theological teaching negotiated with practice on unequal footing. In some cases, the label "grassroots" is a fitting description as local contexts strongly influenced music culture creators. In this study,

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<sup>37</sup> The history of hymnal production, usually an internal denomination undertaking, is separate from the production of musical products for home use.

however, a bottom-up perspective of the construction of evangelical identity centers sources of cultural expression that reside external to traditional authorities such as clergy or church polity. During the Jesus movement, the Christian music industry with low budgets and independent labels donned the apparel of the youth culture—to borrow a phrase, American Christianity underwent juvenilization—and fed a merger of religious and consumer identity bypassing the aesthetic and cultural controls of denominational polity.<sup>38</sup>

This approach to naming evangelical identity flies contrary to conventional word-based representations. Historical narratives of Christianity and evangelicalism have tended to prioritize texts including sermons, hymns, and books. Theology is a written field. Even the contributions of experientially oriented mystics have been preserved in evangelical culture primarily through their writings instead of their practices. The artifacts of Protestantism came to reflect this text-centric approach by consisting mainly of texts rather than physical monuments, relics, rituals, vestments, or the visual arts.<sup>39</sup> Curiously, the Jesus movement of the early 1970s, a pivotal development in American evangelicalism, left few central texts. Its legacy reverberates most deeply through networked church structures, Christian culture marketing, and an individualistic, felt spirituality. While the texts and statements contained in song lyrics and other sources during the movement will certainly be a critical component of this project, untexted artifacts such as musical climaxes and vocal timbres contribute the primary sources of evidence.

### *Chapter Overviews*

The next chapter, chapter two “Love Offering,” discusses how the economic values of Jesus music artists mediated between a historic evangelical heritage of spiritual perspectives toward music,

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<sup>38</sup> Thomas E. Bergler, *The Juvenilization of American Christianity* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2012).

<sup>39</sup> This is in contrast to the iconography and gestural rituals of Eastern Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism.

ministry, and compensation and the economic realities of mass media art forms. It uses economic values to broach questions of musical function.

The third chapter, “Feedback Loop,” analyzes the content of well-circulated writers who were also prominent evangelicals. In this chapter, I introduce and define a concept I call sonic anxiety to model the mechanism by which the criticism and censor of sonic objects stand as proxy for other social anxieties related to race, sex, and politics. Control over the music of the evangelical market equated to practical control over evangelical identities tied into these controversial subjects. This chapter shows through the music opposed by evangelical authorities that the evangelical religious label was strongly raced.

In the fourth chapter, “The Word Became Flesh,” I take the Jesus movement emphasis on “feeling” in spiritual experience and analyze for it in several musical examples. I find the musical components of Jesus music reinforced “felt” spirituality by musically modeling spiritual experience.

Chapter five, “The Musical Vulgate,” continues my analysis of Jesus music now turning towards the messaging contained within the lyrics and grammar of the songs. The idea of a song’s “grammar” comes from an interview with Lester Ruth and Swee Hong Lim on the Music and the Church podcast.<sup>40</sup> Speaking about their recent history of contemporary Christian liturgy, *Lovin’ On Jesus*, Ruth and Lim used the metaphor of languages and grammar to show why traditional and contemporary musics are not easily interchanged with each other because they serve different functions in the overarching ordo of a church service. Fulfilling the needs of these disparate grammars requires musical forms that serve different functions. In this way, traditional and contemporary evangelical musics cultivate different spiritualities.

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<sup>40</sup> Swee Hong Lim and Lester Ruth, “The History of Contemporary Worship,” interview with Sarah Bereza, *Music and the Church*, podcast audio, November 9, 2017, <https://sarah-bereza.com/episode3/>.

The sixth chapter concludes the dissertation by drawing the themes of the previous chapters into a statement on evangelicalism and lived religion. The argument of this chapter and of the dissertation as a whole is that evangelical spirituality changed following the adoption of pop worship music. The birthplace of pop worship, the Jesus movement, continues to affect how evangelicals move through the world. The pleasures or aesthetics of a religious music culture inform our understanding of how that community is structured and how its values are sustained, diluted, or changed. Speaking outside of the boxes of mind and body, spirituality implicates both. Musical analyses of evangelical spirituality serves as a corrective to the blind spots of focusing too narrowly on either cognitive belief as an evangelical difference from the mainstream or on evangelical imitation of mainstream musical and cultural products.



## Chapter 2 Love Offering: How Jesus Music Paid the Price

*Our money says in God we trust,  
But it's against the law to pray in school.  
You say we beat the Russians to the moon,  
But I say you starved your children to do it.  
You say all men are equal, all men are brothers,  
But why are the rich more equal than others?  
Don't ask me for the answer, I've only got one,  
That a man leaves his darkness if he follows the Son."*

Larry Norman, "The Great American Novel" *Only Visiting this Planet* (1972)

"If you can't afford the price, come anyway, no one will be turned away."  
Love Productions, Palos Heights, IL<sup>1</sup>

"Then Jesus said to them, "Give back to Caesar what is Caesar's and to God what is God's."  
And they were amazed at him."  
Mark 2:17, NIV

Was the clink of thirty pieces of silver still ringing in the ears of the Jesus people? Were they sticking it to the man by rejecting the rat race of career and materialism? Choosing providence over prosperity, they answered the promptings of countercultural economics rooted in both their religious and secular subcultures. In this chapter, I will investigate the peculiar relationship early Jesus music artists and promoters had with financial profits. The paradigm of an American religious marketplace will provide a framework as I draw conclusions about the role of music in the Jesus movement. The implications of money discussed in this chapter illuminate how Jesus music altered the role of authority in evangelical church life and the function of music as spiritual practice.

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<sup>1</sup> Love Productions concert poster, [May 1978], Box 22, Jesus People – Chicago Folder, Manuscript Files in the American Religions Collection, Special Research Collections, University of California, Santa Barbara Libraries.

*What does it profit you?*

Jesus people had a complex relationship with money. It was necessary to have it, but seeking it out too stridently could potentially be perceived as a sign of greed or a lack of faith.<sup>2</sup> While they cultivated spiritual mindedness, they incurred material costs for housing, feeding, publishing, and manufacturing the services and goods produced. Touring Jesus music artists often survived on “love offerings” rather than charge for admission.<sup>3</sup> The financial needs were especially urgent for operations unattached to larger church bodies and denominations. Some, such as the independent ministries of Duane Pederson in L.A., set up behind-the-scenes financial support networks of well-placed, well-resourced individuals. Others, like The Holy Ghost Repair Service in Denver made it policy never to ask for a donation.

A closer examination of The Holy Ghost Repair Service sheds light on how Jesus movement ministries communicated their financial needs. Many evangelistic coffeehouses sprang up during the Jesus movement. The Holy Ghost Repair Service (like The Adam’s Apple discussed in chapter 4) was a particularly important one as a regional hub for touring Jesus music artists. It was a multifaceted ministry with a coffeehouse/concert venue, bookstore, underground newspaper, and communal housing. In a 1974 publication, they announced with delight that their seven person staff took home a combined salary of “just a little over \$300.00 [approximately \$1600 in 2018 USD] per

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<sup>2</sup> For several insightful perspectives on American evangelicalism and money, see Larry Eskridge and Mark Noll, eds. *More Money, More Ministry: Money and Evangelicals in Recent North American History*, (Grand Rapids: E.B. Eerdmans, 2000).

<sup>3</sup> A memorable anecdote about the realities of surviving on love offerings has been repeated in Baker’s *Contemporary Christian Music* (58-59) and Stowe’s *No Sympathy for the Devil* (30). Jesus music artist Randy Matthews reported “I learned that materialistic things, they just all pass away. They’re of no value really at all. . . . Another lesson that I learned was that dill pickles can be a great comfort to you. You can buy a five-gallon jar of dill pickles really cheap, man. What you do is get it and put it in the trunk of your car, and when you get hungry you open up that five-gallon jar of dill pickles, stick your hand down in the pickle juice, and you take out one big, green, warm dill pickle. After you’ve eaten one of those, you don’t want to eat for a couple of days, anyway.” Paul Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music: Where It Came From, What It Is, and Where It’s Going* (Westchester, IL: Crossway Books, 1985). David Stowe, *No Sympathy for the Devil: Christian Pop Music and the Transformation of American Evangelicalism* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2011).

week. God is faithful!”<sup>4</sup> Starting in 1973, they sent their mailing list regular letters detailing their activities. The first, sent November 5, 1973, stated that they “never wanted to join the group of ministries who are constantly hounding their supporters for money.” And direct requests to recipients were extremely uncommon in the ensuing letters. However, they would request prayer that the Lord would provide for specifically stated financial and material needs. (If a reader chose to act on the Lord’s behalf that was entirely between the reader and the Lord. The Holy Ghost Repair Service had petitioned only God.) The bottom of their stationery read “A Non-Profit Jesus People Corporation—All Gifts Are Tax Deductible.”<sup>5</sup> Some tension existed between their conviction to rest the security of their operation on divine provision and recognition of the earthly source of their cash flow. The ministry’s president Charlie McPheeters wrote in a support letter in January 1974 that they “do appreciate your financial help, but more especially, we desperately need your spiritual backing. We want to keep Jesus in the center of HIS ministry.”<sup>6</sup> Two weeks later after a direct request for “giving” along with prayer and fasting, McPheeters recommended potential supporters read Matthew 6:1-21 in which Christ taught followers to give without seeking recognition, to pray the Lord’s Prayer, and to fast in secret.<sup>7</sup>

The Holy Ghost Repair Service and other Jesus people organizations filtered their needs and requests for financial and material support through a spiritual lens. To have a need was to be blessed according to the thinking of The Holy Ghost Repair Service newsletter writers, because God was

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<sup>4</sup> The Holy Ghost Repair Service ministry support letter by Charlie W. McPheeters, June 7, 1974, Pasadena Special Collections Archives Periodicals, David Allan Hubbard Library, Fuller Theological Seminary.

<sup>5</sup> The Holy Ghost Repair Service ministry support letter by Charlie W. McPheeters, November 5, 1973, Pasadena Special Collections Archives Periodicals, David Allan Hubbard Library, Fuller Theological Seminary.

<sup>6</sup> The Holy Ghost Repair Service ministry support letter by Charlie W. McPheeters, January 16, 1974, Pasadena Special Collections Archives Periodicals, David Allan Hubbard Library, Fuller Theological Seminary.

<sup>7</sup> The Holy Ghost Repair Service ministry support letter by Charlie W. McPheeters, January 31, 1974, Pasadena Special Collections Archives Periodicals, David Allan Hubbard Library, Fuller Theological Seminary.

making it easier for them to rely on His provision: “We feel like the Lord is giving us a breakthrough in the girl’s house...A lot of them have lost their jobs for one reason or another, and they are really having to trust the Lord for their financial situations.”<sup>8</sup> Charlie McPheeters, founder and visionary for The Holy Ghost Repair Service, eventually pursued theological training and transplanted part of his ministry to Hollywood before passing from cancer in the early 1980s. He maintained a consistent message of spiritualized financial dependence on God, not donors, throughout this transient portion of his work. While thanking the financial supporters on his mailing list, McPheeters explained, “I really want to personally thank you [...] You see, when we go somewhere to minister, we never put a ‘price tag’ on our ministry (Matt. 10:8) and many times the offerings don’t cover our expenses.”<sup>9</sup>

This posture toward collecting financial support had precedent in evangelicalism past. It contributed also to the stance taken by Keith Green in the late 1970s. Green (1953-1982) began his professional career as a child stage actor. In 1965 he was signed to his first recording contract with Decca Records. Primed to be a teen idol, Green’s star was eclipsed according to his autobiography when Donny Osmond siphoned the attentions of the nation’s young teen market.<sup>10</sup> With backgrounds in Judaism and Christian Science, Green and his wife Melody converted to Christianity in 1975 through the Vineyard Christian Fellowship, a church belonging to the charismatic Association of Vineyard Churches denomination that experienced significant growth in the years following the Jesus movement. The Fellowship’s pastor was Kenn Gulliksen, who had previously worked in ministry at Calvary Chapel under the mentorship of Lonnie Frisbee and Chuck Smith. The Greens’ attendance at L.A. area Bible studies introduced them to Jesus movement stars such as

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<sup>8</sup> The Holy Ghost Repair Service ministry support letter by Judy McPheeters, March 1974, Pasadena Special Collections Archives Periodicals, David Allan Hubbard Library, Fuller Theological Seminary.

<sup>9</sup> The Holy Ghost Repair Service ministry support letter by Charlie W. McPheeters, March 1, 1975, Pasadena Special Collections Archives Periodicals, David Allan Hubbard Library, Fuller Theological Seminary.

<sup>10</sup> Melody Green and David Hazard, *No Compromise: The Life Story of Keith Green* (Chatsworth, CA: Sparrow, 1989), 19-20.

Larry Norman, Chuck Girard, Phil Keaggy, and Andraé Crouch. Green signed to a Christian label, Sparrow Records, in 1976. He frequently collaborated with Jesus music artists who had been involved in the earliest days of the movement including 2<sup>nd</sup> Chapter of Acts, Terry and John Michael Talbot, and Barry McGuire. Green filled a transitory period in Christian pop history between Jesus music and CCM. Along with others such as Evie Tornquist, Green's music moved the industry away from the coffeehouse folk vibe into a studio pop sound. Green's music has been compared to an early Elton John or Billy Joel.<sup>11</sup>

Green was considered by many in the movement to be a radical. After their conversion, Keith and Melody began to house single mothers and runaways in their home. Eventually they established Last Days Ministries in Lindale, TX about eighty miles east of Dallas. Several other evangelical organizations, many with southern California ties, had already put down roots in Lindale including Youth with a Mission (YWAM), Calvary Commission, the Agape Force, and David Wilkerson's World Challenge.<sup>12</sup> From this transplanted community of all-in for Jesus ministries, Keith and Melody began to distribute albums and their *Last Days Newsletter* free or for a voluntary donation for their ministry. The language of prophetic voice was attached to Keith's confrontational, no holds barred approach as they embraced a life of voluntary poverty and proclaimed messages of eschatological urgency, anti-Catholicism, and pro-life politics. The Greens frequently excerpted impassioned sermons and articles in the *Last Days Newsletter* from past and current evangelical luminaries including Charles Finney, John Wesley, A.W. Tozer, and David Wilkerson. These men

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<sup>11</sup> David Stowe, *No Sympathy for the Devil: Christian Pop Music and the Transformation of American Evangelicalism* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 151.

<sup>12</sup> YWAM continues in their work today operating Discipleship Training Schools for young adults around the world. The Agape Force helped popularize the discipleship teaching of Winkie Pratney and had a specific outreach to train Christian musicians. World Challenge followed Wilkerson's founding of Teen Challenge, the drug rehabilitation ministry in which Andraé Crouch began his ministry in the Jesus movement.

were models of the Green's opinions of right thought and right living. For example in the April-June issue of 1981 they included a blurb admiring the drive demonstrated by John Wesley:

John Wesley traveled 250,000 miles in 40 years; preached 40,000 sermons; produced 400 books; knew 10 languages. At 83 he was annoyed that he could not write more than 15 hours a day without hurting his eyes, and at 86 he was ashamed that he could not preach more than twice a day. He complained in his diary that there was an increasing tendency to lie in bed until 5:30 in the morning.<sup>13</sup>

The Greens carried this intensity into how they conducted financial transactions for their ministry's materials. In an ad for their 1982 *Songs for the Shepherd* praise and worship album, *The Last Days Newsletter* reminded readers that "as always, there is no set price for this album. It is our belief that we do not have a right to refuse anyone simply because they are in bad financial straits [...] we have always been able continually, to never refuse **anyone** in need."<sup>14</sup> Green is quoted as saying, "ticket prices for concerts are a nail in Jesus's hand."<sup>15</sup> If Green's efforts as an evangelist were to retain their integrity, he could not be dependent on financial provision from people—even in exchange for his musical labor. His dependence was to rely entirely on God.<sup>16</sup>

The economic-spiritual values of Christian music culture bear weight on an analysis of the Christian music industry. When artists claim to have a lack of interest in profit—even to the point of considering financial deficit a spiritual blessing—it affects the routing of authority within the industry, which involves authorities not only within record labels, distributors, and points of sale,

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<sup>13</sup> "But What Did He Do In His Spare Time?" *The Last Days Newsletter* 4 no. 2 (April-June 1981), 24. Author's personal collection.

<sup>14</sup> The Record-Division Staff, "Songs for the Shepherd: A New Album of Praise and Worship by Keith Green," *The Last Days Newsletter* 5 no. 2 (March 1982), 3-4. Author's personal collection.

<sup>15</sup> Green and Hazard, *No Compromise* 162-163. For the prophet label, see Matthew Ward's comments quoted in Stowe, *No Sympathy*, 150: "I always thought of him as a bull in a china shop. Keith had a way of challenging everything and everybody. He was truly an evangelist at heart. At one of his concerts he gave a most unusual altar call. He'd have everyone stand up, ask the Christians to sit down, then ask those who were left standing why they were standing. He was a kind of modern-day John the Baptist."

<sup>16</sup> Given Green's prophetic reputation, a comparison to biblical prophets who subsisted on the provision of God comes to mind. Consider, for example, John the Baptist's honey and locusts (Matthew 3:4) or Elijah receiving bread and meat from ravens (1 Kings 17:2-6)

but also churches, denominations, and ministries. While many factors effectively segregate the Christian music industry from the secular music industry, the posture towards financial gain is a foundational one. The tension between faith-based music production and profit and the tension between the bodily liberation of rock music and its critics are connected within the sphere of Christian pop music. For rock's critics, the most basic musical threat was not against morals or aesthetics but against social hierarchies and hegemonies.<sup>17</sup> Jesus music and the early contemporary Christian music industry challenged both the economic-power relations of the music-culture industry and the hierarchical authorities of conventional evangelicalism.

The cash flow of Christian music marked out not only its market niche of consumers but also gave definition to its spiritual and economic functions. During the 1970s, Christian retail experienced rapid growth.<sup>18</sup> Jesus music enjoyed the benefits of this boom, finding access to expanding routes for advertising and distribution. The issue for the Jesus music community was that these distribution routes ended in Christian stores and Christian homes. How would they reach the world if their music echoed within the walls of the church instead of reaching into the highways and the byways? The artists were savvy enough to be aware of the situation. Both Larry Norman and John Fischer, leaders and examples among Jesus music artists, spoke out against the ghettoization of Christian popular music.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Consider Trent Hill, "The Enemy Within: Censorship in Rock Music in the 1950's," *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 90 no. 4, (Fall 1991), 690: "These attempts to come to grips with the nature and menace of rock & roll are all from the perspective of power, from the point of view, that is, of people and groups who saw the new music as a threat to the hierarchies and hegemonies that ensured their continued social domination. [Rock & roll] restored culture to the realm of use-value, tied it back in to a complex of other activities [...], removed culture from its traditional function as an affirmation of the life of the exalted spirit over and against the life of the body that has been defined and constricted by the imperatives of capitalist production."

<sup>18</sup> Stephen J. Nichols, *Jesus Made In America: A Cultural History From the Puritans to The Passion of the Christ* (Downers Grove, IVP Academic, 2008), 129. Data drawn from a report by the Christian Booksellers Association.

<sup>19</sup> Stephen J. Nichols, *Jesus Made In America: A Cultural History From the Puritans to The Passion of the Christ* (Downers Grove, IVP Academic, 2008), 129-130.

The conflict between Jesus music artists' intended purpose for their music—(free) evangelism—and the economic realities of the music industry were often part of the discourse in Christian concert promotion materials. It was not unusual for Christian concert venues to differentiate between ticketed concerts intended for Christian regulars and free concerts intended as outreach. Others would attempt both at the same time. The organization whose promotional material was quoted at the opening of this chapter—"If you can't afford the price, come anyway, no one will be turned away"—was Love Productions in the Chicagoland area. They held concerts in local Christian school auditoriums and other venues. On one of their mailers with concert info and artist bios they elaborated on their intentions for an upcoming show in Palos Heights, IL by DeGarmo & Key (with opener Resurrection Folk Band): "At the end of the concert, Glenn will offer some closing words giving those present an opportunity to respond to the invitation of a new life in Jesus, making this a good chance to introduce your unsaved friends to Christ."





Figure 3: Promotional posters by Love Productions, circa 1972. Box 22, Jesus People – Chicago Folder, Manuscript Files in the American Religions Collection, Special Research Collections, University of California, Santa Barbara Libraries.

Tickets for events were distributed by local Christian bookstores listed at the bottom of their promotional posters. Yet the promotional material also made it clear that the concerts were intended for all whether or not they were ready, able, and willing to make a financial investment in the experience.

Love Productions differentiated their economic relationships with Christian consumers and with seekers. In their newsletter, *Joyful Noise*, music reviewer Bill Sperlazzo compared DeGarmo & Key's *This Time Thru* to Bruce Springsteen's vocals and Emerson, Lake, and Palmer's keyboards, showing the musical resonance or value the album could have for secular music consumers. For a sample, compare DeGarmo and Key's "Too Far, Too Long" to keyboard work that opens Emerson, Lake and Palmer's "Trilogy" (1972). DeGarmo performs a series of episodic melodic patterns. His

patterning is more regular than ELP's evocative, atmospheric pseudo-fugue, but relays a similar emotional intensity. Key provided most of the duo's lead vocals. His Memphis, Tennessee accent gave an Americana-country twang to the duo's occasional somber ballad such as track 2 of *This Time Thru*, "Addey." While Springsteen was a New Jersey native, he used vowel-elongation as a vocal affectation in some tracks including "Ain't Got You" on his 1987 *Tunnel of Love*. The result is reminiscent of Elvis. Both men sang in a similar range and evoked a working class masculinity through a carefully applied, rough-edged rock timbre that particularly growls through in the lower baritone end of their ranges. Reviewer Sperlazzo further asserts, however, that over and above the musical quality, "with the clear-cut message in the lyrics, the album is worth twice the price."<sup>20</sup> While DeGarmo and Key's sound held its own against leading secular artists, it was the message that merited their place in the evangelical marketplace. Most upcoming band bios in *Joyful Noise* concluded with an urging for Christian concertgoers to bring unsaved friends along:

On Terry Talbot and "His Band": "Please plan to bring an interested but unsaved friend— Why keep it all to yourself?"

On Dogwood: "You won't want to miss Dogwood, nor the opportunity to see the friends you brought come to Jesus."

On Paul Haslem: "If you have a friend who needs Jesus and enjoys folk music, consider it your ministry to invite them to join you in coming."

On Keith Green: "**It will not be a success if we have an auditorium filled with only Christians**; think of an unsaved friend right now that you would like to invite...and **call them!** They'll thank you afterwards, and for the rest of eternity." (emphasis original)<sup>21</sup>

When 2<sup>nd</sup> Chapter of Acts performed on September 17, 1977, *Joyful Noise* informed its readers "This event is primarily geared toward Christians, and will be a **ticketed concert**: \$4.00 in advance/\$5.00

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<sup>20</sup> Bob Sperlazzo, "Reviews," *Joyful Noise*, [Spring 1978], Box 22, Jesus People – Chicago Folder, Manuscript Files in the American Religions Collection, Special Research Collections, University of California, Santa Barbara Libraries.

<sup>21</sup> May 1978 Event Calendar, *Joyful Noise* [Spring 1978], Box 22, Jesus People – Chicago Folder, Manuscript Files in the American Religions Collection, Special Research Collections, University of California, Santa Barbara Libraries.

at the door” [emphasis original].<sup>22</sup> All other Love Productions concerts were held free of charge or by optional donation.

### *The American Religious Marketplace*

The role of money in Christian music promotions and distribution made the economics of American evangelicalism more visible, revealing more of the American religious marketplace. Daniel Silliman identifies three approaches to studying the religious marketplace: “One looks at the market conditions that shaped or influenced religious movements. One makes use of economic terms to explain religious diversity in America. One looks at the underlying assumptions that unite religious activity and market activity.”<sup>23</sup> In this chapter, I will primarily work with the first and third approaches. When Europeans began to establish religious congregations and organizations in the New World, they established a new religious economy.<sup>24</sup> Distanced from state controls and regional tradition, religious bodies experienced new opportunities as well as new challenges. Colonists transferred models from business and trade to their religious endeavors. In the young towns and cities, Lutherans, Congregationalists, Anglicans, Methodists, Presbyterians, Catholics, and others vied for the attendance and tithes of the Christian faithful. They leveraged reputations built on buildings, programs, and ministers to achieve growth. Congregants found their preferences catered

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<sup>22</sup> September Event Calendar, *Joyful Noise* trifold, [Summer 1977], Box 22, Jesus People – Chicago Folder, Manuscript Files in the American Religions Collection, Special Research Collections, University of California, Santa Barbara Libraries.

<sup>23</sup> Daniel Silliman, “The Marketplace and Religion in America, *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Religion* (October 2017): <http://oxfordre.com/religion/abstract/10.1093/acrefore/9780199340378.001.0001/acrefore-9780199340378-e-450?rskey=kl5Qy8&result=1>.

<sup>24</sup> The language of a religious economy or marketplace traces back to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. European observers of American religion were particularly apt to use economic terms to describe competition between churches grounded in the voluntary principle of American religious life (i.e. Silliman’s second approach). See Roger Finke and Rodney Starke, “A New Approach to American Religious History,” *The Churching of America, 1776-2005: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy* (New Brunswick: NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005), 1-24. “Where religious affiliation is a matter of choice, religious organizations must compete for members and that the invisible hand of the marketplace is as unforgiving of ineffective religious firms as it is of their commercial counterparts” (Finke and Starke, 9).

to by churches and ministries. By the late twentieth century, movement between denominations, sometimes referred to “church shopping” was common.

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### Among Protestant Denominational Families, Nearly Six-in-Ten of Those Raised Baptist Still Identify as Baptists as Adults

*% of adults raised in each Protestant denominational family who ...*

	Still identify with childhood denominational family	Now identify with different Protestant denominational family	Now identify as Catholic	Now identify with other faith	Now identify as unaffiliated
<i>Among those raised ...</i>	%	%	%	%	%
Baptist	57	23	2	4	15=100
Anabaptist	52	39	2	3	5
Lutheran	51	21	4	4	20
Adventist	51	21	1	6	21
Pentecostal	50	31	2	3	15
<b>NET All Protestants</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>19</b>
Nondenominational Protestant	47	23	2	4	25
Restorationist (e.g., Church of Christ)	45	35	1	4	15
Methodist	40	32	4	5	19
Episcopalian/Anglican	39	20	6	8	27
Presbyterian	34	32	3	6	25
Reformed	34	42	4	2	18
Holiness	32	45	2	2	18
Congregationalist	31	33	3	6	28

2014 Religious Landscape Study, conducted June 4-Sept. 30, 2014. Figures may not add to 100% and nested figures may not add to subtotals indicated due to rounding. The “now identify with other faith” column includes those who declined to answer the question about their current religious identity.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

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Table 1: 2014 Religious Landscape Study, Pew Research Center  
<http://www.pewforum.org/2015/05/12/chapter-2-religious-switching-and-intermarriage/>

The Pew Research Center 2014 Religious Landscape Study found that among all Protestant Christians, 30% identified as having switched from their childhood denomination either to a different Protestant denomination or to Catholicism. Drawing congregants into the fold has been an aspect of not only evangelism to the unsaved, but also marketing to Christians. The voluntary principle of American religion rewards the well-marketed religious body. The role of moneychangers is none too simple in the American religious temple.

This religious marketplace emerges from the more broadly conceived marketplace of goods and assets. The financial principles that govern evangelical culture, however, introduce complications into the operation. The sentiment that asking for financial support, even as a non-profit, is unspiritual or a sign of lacking faith has a history in evangelical culture. Historian Michael S. Hamilton reports its origins in the “prayer philosophy” of George Müller.<sup>25</sup> A German émigré to England in 1829, Müller established an orphanage for thirty girls out of his home in 1836. By 1870, Müller had several thousand orphaned children under his care. Resolved to demonstrate proof of God’s presence and provision, Müller made hard rules of never asking for financial support, never communicating the needs of the orphanage, and never incurring debt. His voluntary muteness did not prohibit him from copiously publishing accounts of dramatic, last-minute examples of God providing the material needs shared only in private prayer.<sup>26</sup> While his readers were not directly solicited to give, the appeal of being the actor used by God for an urgent and pitiful cause was effective all the more so for how it also proved the faithfulness and deep spirituality of Müller and all who invested in him and his work. Müller’s example influenced other prominent evangelicals including the famed missionaries J. Hudson Taylor, Müller’s contemporary and founder of the China Inland Mission, and Amy Carmichael, an author and missionary to India from 1895 until her death in 1951. Some Jesus movement organizations and figures discussed earlier followed in the same path as Müller. The Holy Ghost Repair Service under Charlie McPheeters and Last Days Ministries under Keith and Melody Green practiced similar financial principles. The other prominent model for how evangelicals handled financial needs was the American evangelist D.L. Moody (1837-1899). Moody

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<sup>25</sup> Michael S. Hamilton, “More Money, More Ministry: The Financing of American Evangelicalism Since 1945,” *More Money, More Ministry: Money and Evangelicals in Recent North American History*, Ed. Larry Eskridge and Mark A. Noll (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2000), 104-140.

<sup>26</sup> An example of such an account: The orphanage had run out of food. Müller instructed the children to take their places at the table and led them in a prayer of thanks for breakfast. As they uttered amen, there was a knock at the door. The local baker had arrived with a large donation of bread. While the bread was brought inside, a milkman’s cart broke down outside the front door. The milk too was expediently donated.

showed no hesitation in asking for substantial financial backing for his multipronged ministry, which included world-touring revivals, a Bible college, and publishing house. With a background in business, Moody employed all of his acumen to procure funding.

By the mid-twentieth century, evangelical endeavor had begun to switch from Müller's model to Moody's. With the rise of U.S. economic prosperity, American evangelicals harnessed their business (and political) skills to the service of the Lord.<sup>27</sup> The happy returns of a prosperous economy and well-staffed fundraising efforts proved the righteousness of the evangelical cause. Jesus people, however, followed a different spiritual strategy for their financial situations. While it could be argued that their rejection of prominent fundraising was borne of associating and resonating with the economic ethics of the counterculture, it is also true that their by-prayer-and-faith financial strategies were rooted in evangelical heritage.

The aesthetic-spiritual choice offered by the Jesus movement was attractive not only on its own terms, but also because it created the sense of choice.<sup>28</sup> Looking different was itself a draw.

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<sup>27</sup> The study of American evangelicals and their postwar activities in business, education, and politics has been a topic of interest among historians in the last 20 years. A number of volumes recommend themselves. See Darren Dochuck *From Bible Belt to Sunbelt: Plain-Folk Religion, Grassroots Politics, and the Rise of Evangelical Conservatism* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2011); Angela Lahr, *Millennial Dreams and Apocalyptic Nightmares: The Cold War Origins of Political Evangelicalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Lisa McGirr *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001); Steven P. Miller, *Billy Graham and the Rise of the Republican South* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2009); and Bethany Moreton, *To Serve God and Walmart: The Making of Christian Free Enterprise* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009).

<sup>28</sup> A key piece of Jesus People evangelism was blending in with the countercultural element. In contrast to Campus Crusade for Christ's and Billy Graham's blitz on Berkeley 1967, Jesus People dressed and spoke like those with whom they were communicating. See "Billy Graham Faces Berkeley Rebels," *Christianity Today* 11 no. 10 (Feb 17, 1967), 46-47. The boundary lines previously demarcated by dress and decorum between the church and the unchurched were blurred. The counterculture entered conservative Christian culture. Today there are still battles over style being waged within American evangelicalism. The founders of the popular podcast/artist collective known as the Liturgists, Michael Gungor and "Science Mike" McHargue, are like modern Jack Sparks, the bearded former professor who founded and ran the Christian World Liberation Front, an offshoot of Campus Crusade in Berkeley during the 1970s that co-opted the aesthetics of New Left student activist groups for evangelism. Mixing a discussion of Christian theology from a perspective of faith with occasional cursing and sexualized humor, the Liturgists appeal to both the world and the church (but, perhaps mainly the church) with their "off-color" personas. The Liturgists offer their listeners (religious

Finke and Starke have demonstrated that due to the deregulated American religious marketplace “when the refined and educated clergy were unwilling or unable to serve an area [or population—e.g. youth and hippies], a host of self-supporting or poorly paid clergy would arise. [...] But we will also find that they can effectively compete for adherents throughout the nation and over time.”<sup>29</sup> In these market niches, religious innovation thrives. The experimental radicalism of the Jesus movement—Christian communes, pop worship music, financial non-ambition—owes part of its historical possibility to the workings of the American religious marketplace.

While the Jesus movement may have started in local, small-scale spaces, it eventually led to a global music industry based in mass media production and economics. The historical connections between the Jesus movement’s outwardly anti-fundraising ethos and its resulting mass media industry raise many questions. Simon Frith, sociomusicologist and rock critic, has theorized about mass media and specifically popular music in contemporary Western culture in a way that offers a foundation for a discussion of Christian pop music economics. For example, Frith writes, “rock is a mass-produced music that carries a critique of its own means of production; it is a mass-consumed music that constructs its own ‘authentic’ audience.”<sup>30</sup> In other words, there is conflict between the inclusivity of rock as a mass medium and the messages of exclusivity the image of rock music produces. This conflict also underlies the music of evangelical authenticity such as that performed at the mass Jesus music festival, *Explo ’72*. The preceding conference constructed a model of ideal evangelical religion in the figure of a tireless, self-sacrificial, numbers-oriented evangelist.

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consumers) a choice. Both choosing to partake of Liturgist media and choosing to reject Liturgist media—the personalization of religious consumption—adds potential social value to an evangelical’s religious identity.

<sup>29</sup> Roger Finke and Rodney Starke, “A New Approach to American Religious History,” *The Churching of America, 1776-2005: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy* (New Brunswick: NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005), 12.

<sup>30</sup> Simon Frith, *Sound Effects: Youth, Leisure, and the Politics of Rock’n’Roll* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981): 11.

Effectiveness was measurable not in reports on the health of a community, but in quantifiable numbers of souls reached and copies sold.

How did the accelerating turnover of the popular music market affect evangelical spirituality as popular music came to dominate evangelical worship? As Frith notes, “The record industry depends on constant consumer turnover and therefore exploits notions of fashion and obsolescence to keep people buying.”<sup>31</sup> Compared to the relatively long-lived repertoire of denominational hymnals and gospel hymn standards, the turnover of the Christian pop worship market is remarkable. As Jesus music artists gained national followings, there was a transition from the economic principles of the Jesus movement to the economic realities of a national and eventually global commercial Christian music industry. Frith succinctly describes contemporary pop music industries (into which, I argue, Christian pop fits) as a source of conflict: “Markets can only be stimulated by *creating* needs [...] which are the result of capital rather than human logic and therefore, inevitably, false. [...] Mass culture has realized the ultimate capitalist fantasy: *any* commodity produced is purchased—its use value *is* its exchange value.”<sup>32</sup> A musical form that is both disposable and a model of right spirituality challenges conventional Christian values regarding worship music. Disposable Christian pop permits worshippers to seek their next spiritual high in ever-new religious material rather than in their own internal cultivation.

The proof of this tension is in the method of financial input the contemporary Christian music industry survives on. Hamilton categorizes three primary sources of evangelical funding: denominational funding, charitable funding, and commercial funding. parachurch organizations typically subsist by collecting funding on a spectrum between charitable donations and commercial proceeds. A missionary organization may be far to the charitable end while an evangelical publisher

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<sup>31</sup> Frith, 8.

<sup>32</sup> Frith, 44-45.



is on the commercial side. Interestingly, the average Christian radio station, the frontline of the Christian music industry, splits the difference, dividing its income more or less equally between donations and commercial proceeds.<sup>33</sup> While Christian music radio precedes the Jesus movement, the advent of Christian pop during the early 1970s was a critical development in its history.<sup>34</sup> Christian music is both a commodity for believers and also a sacramental ministry to believers, not to mention its evangelistic potential for nonbelievers. To subsist on only donations would undercut the financial potential of the product. To subsist on only commercial proceeds would usurp the spiritual value of the product.

The pressure experienced by Jesus movement actors from being part of the religious marketplace—the need to efficiently accumulate resources and transform them into objects, activities, and investments of spiritual value—while also being committed to anti-material ethics is modeled by the financial decision making of Duane Pederson and his Jesus People International (JPI) organization. JPI oversaw the publication of *The Hollywood Free Press*, regularly held large, evangelistic Jesus music festivals, maintained a street evangelism presence on the Sunset Strip, and organized large-scale rallies and demonstrations including the one that caught Billy Graham’s eye at the Rose Bowl Parade. It accomplished these activities by seeking funding from well-connected evangelicals. It is an example of how the Jesus movement was a story of the core of evangelicalism cooperating with the fringe than of the fringe wresting aesthetic victory over stodgy, established traditionalists. Many front-page activities of the Jesus movement could not have been possible

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<sup>33</sup> Data drawn from David W. Clark and Paul H. Virts, *Changing Channels: A Guide to Financing Christian Broadcast Ministries* (Milwaukee, WI: Christian Stewardship Association, 1996), 15-16 as cited in Michael S. Hamilton, “More Money, More Ministry: The Financing of American Evangelicalism Since 1945,” *More Money, More Ministry: Money and Evangelicals in Recent North American History*, Ed. Larry Eskridge and Mark A. Noll (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2000), 114.

<sup>34</sup> See Robert Lochte, “Contemporary Christian Radio in the United States,” *The Radio Journal—International Studies in Broadcast and Audio Media* 5 no. 2 and 3 (2017), 113-128 and Robert Lochte, *Christian Radio: The Growth of a Mainstream Broadcasting Force* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co, 2006).

without the support of well-connected evangelical backers. Pederson and JPI were direct in their appeals to the core. In 1972, a fundraising effort was targeted at those who were thought to be capable of donating \$1000-5000 (approximately \$6000-\$30,000 in 2018 dollars) and who could convince others to do the same. The staff of JPI also maintained meticulous records daily calculating the rate of return received from various small-time fundraising efforts. By 1974, Pederson had arranged for a permanent advisory committee for himself and JPI. It was composed primarily of those same well-connected evangelicals who had been funding JPI. Soon after the committee was established, World Vision executive Ted Engstrom provided JPI with contact lists for major foundations as well as step-by-step instructions for seeking grant money. (see Figure 4).

APR 20 1972

# Jesus People

Givers of Hollywood Free Paper · 6331 Hollywood Blvd. · Box 1949 · Hollywood, Ca. 90028

## FULFILLING A FINANCIAL NEED

We are well aware of the immediate current financial crisis with which we are faced. We also know that trouble is opportunity in work clothes.

When asking the Lord for guidance and the answer to this problem, he merely led me to Proverbs 10:4 which reads:

"A SLACK HAND CAUSES POVERTY, BUT THE HAND OF THE DILIGENT MAKES RICH."  
Following it He said, "AND YOUR CURRENT NEEDS WILL SIMPLY DISAPPEAR...BUT OF MOST IMPORTANCE ADDITIONAL FUNDS WILL BE PROVIDED TO DO MY WORK."

1. Prepare a list of people who can contribute to this effort. Here's a starter and each on the list should add others as they see fit.

Bob Clayton	Duane Pederson
Bobb Biehl	Bob Yerkes
John Hoagland	Ron Wolfe
Roger Minor	Bill Brown
Don Christiansen	Pat Boone
Dick Roosevelt	

2. Each person should prepare a list of prospects whom he thinks can contribute \$1,000 to \$5,000 or more. A standard of giving should be established for each person on the list.
3. Each person preparing a prospect list should also make his individual commitment if at all possible prior to making personal calls.
4. All lists should be submitted by 9:00 a.m. Thursday, April 20th, preferably in person at a meeting to be held in Duane Pederson's office.
5. From each prospect list individual assignments will be made to make personal calls on all prospective contributors.
6. A simple presentation will be prepared that can be utilized on a face to face basis outlining basic needs, goals, purposes etc. of The Jesus People - as well as the benefits and blessing the giver will receive.
7. Assume in making your calls that your contact WILL GIVE - and to the standard established. Approach then with the positive assurance that Gods work will be done - and that all things are possible through Christ.
8. Once a person has given, be sure to ask if they could provide 6 to 10 names of other people who would be interested in our ministry - and also that you would like to use their name when contacting.

Figure 4: Excerpt from the papers of Jesus People International. Includes a plan of action for contacting well-endowed and well-connected evangelicals for the purpose of raising financial support. Box 7, Collection 66: Duane Pederson, Jesus People International, and Hollywood Free Press Collection, 1953-2011, Archives, Rare Books and Special Collections, David Allan Hubbard Library, Fuller Theological Seminary.

Long-haired Pederson wore a fringed suede jacket, the *Hollywood Free Press* borrowed liberally from the example of the underground counterculture, and JPI distributed t-shirts and stickers at rallies and marches, but despite the trappings, JPI was acting on behalf of its financial backers. This was less a split in evangelical culture than it was a diversification of products for offer in the evangelical religious marketplace.

### *Roles of Music*

While Frith's work in the cultural economics of pop and rock music brings much to a discussion of Christian pop, the introduction of religious use alters the equations. Can the use value of Christian pop be reduced to its exchange value? What price tag can a believer put on a tool that fulfills the great commission? Yet rock music carried with it connotations of a world of capitalistic economics written in its aesthetics of conspicuousness, pleasure, comfort, and discomfort. Consider Jesus music artists as they first migrated from their originating congregations and parachurch organizations to concert tours and music festivals. Separated from the local community, the adaptation of Christian culture to pop and rock music faced a second adjustment. The first phase of adjustment had been the adaptation of evangelical musical identity to pop music physicality and the development of an evangelical spirituality in pop music sounds (see chapters 4 and 5). The second confronted evangelicals with the challenge of relating to figures who served as both ministers of spiritual experience and symbols of mass culture. As Frith observes, "Rock, in other words, is rarely a folk music; its cultural work is done according to different rules."<sup>35</sup> The rise of a national Christian pop music market lifted Jesus music out of its local, folk-music role, heightening the urgency of

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<sup>35</sup> Frith, *Sound Effects*, 52.

questions relating to how this new musically based spirituality was to be materially compensated and how that compensation affected routes of authority within the church.

For his 1970 Masters thesis. “The Function of Music in the Youth for Christ Program,” R. Bruce Horner asked youth rally directors from across the U.S. and Canada to rank the following words insofar as they represent “the ideal function of music” at a rally: education, entertainment, and evangelism.<sup>36</sup>

Function	Percentage of Responses			
	Relative Importance			
	Prime	Second	Third	No Indication
a. Education	2	7	14	77
b. Entertainment	44	40	4	11
c. Evangelism	53	31	3	13

Table 2: Recreated from "The ideal function of music in the YFC rally" from R. Bruce Horner, "The Function of Music in the Youth for Christ Program," 17-18.

Youth for Christ (YFC) is an influential global parachurch organization founded after World War II out of which came luminaries such as Billy Graham. Horner’s three categories—education, entertainment, and evangelism, not to mention the overarching subject of his project—demonstrate how evangelicals were actively debating and reimagining the role of music in the early 1970s.

Interestingly, Horner’s categories do not reflect a category for facilitating the spiritual experience of a believer outside of evangelism. Once youth were saved, it would seem, music made for them was expected to entertain or to educate, but (overwhelmingly) primarily, to entertain. As will be seen in chapters 4 and 5, the Jesus movement drew the musical expectations already carried by

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<sup>36</sup> R. Bruce Horner, “The Function of Music in the Youth for Christ Program” (Master’s Thesis, Indiana University, 1970), 16: “I asked rally directors in Question 1: “In your opinion, which of these words best describes the ideal function of music in the YFC rally? If more than 1, indicate order of importance.”

Pentecostalism and charismaticism into evangelicalism. Music was a conduit for the right phenomenological worship experience of the believer. The culture surrounding pop music permeated evangelical spirituality through Christian pop music.



Figure 5: Clippings from advertising by the Christian World Liberation Front, c. 1971, Box 24 Christian World Liberation Front folder, Manuscript Files in the American Religions Collection, Special Research Collections, University of California, Santa Barbara Libraries.

These t-shirt and poster designs sold by the Christian World Liberation Front illustrate the mix of light humor and intense, emotional spirituality of Jesus movement culture. The right-facing portrait of Jesus that appears in several of the prints in Figure 5 bears some resemblance to the logo of Zig Zag rolling papers. The Zig Zag Man was a countercultural symbol of both marijuana use and

rugged masculinity during the 1960s and 1970s. Co-opting his likeness for a portrayal of an Americanized, meet-you-where-you're-at Christ was simultaneously a serious message of the Jesus movement and a tongue-in-cheek joke. The Jesus Christ as tough, admirable, outcast was reflected in the art and the music of the Jesus movement. Larry Norman's 1972 song "The Outlaw" painted Christ as misunderstood by the masses, much like how many in the counterculture felt misunderstood by mainstream America:

*Some say he was an outlaw that he roamed across the land  
With a band of unschooled ruffians and a few old fishermen.  
No one knew just where he came from or exactly what he'd done,  
But they said it must be something bad that kept him on the run.<sup>37</sup>*

Jostling entertainment against religious fervor bred a musical spirituality that came to redefine accessible evangelical culture. The divide between products for evangelism and products for edification melded together.

John Vassal writing on behalf of Love Productions in 1978 summarized both the economic ideals and the functions of Jesus music:

We ask also when you come to Joyful Noise concerts that you prepare your heart: pray for the performers and expect a message from God. **We are not in the business of creating Christian Superstars, and neither are the performers.** We are in the music and arts ministry to lift up Jesus Christ and spread the Good News. It doesn't matter who the performer is, nor how many records they have out—Jesus is who is being presented on our stage. So don't judge the wisdom or anointing of God by how many records they've recorded or how many books they've written, or their number of followers and popularity. When you do this, you only limit your opportunities to hear a message from the Lord, and you limit the chance of bringing an unsaved friend to hear the Word of Truth and meet Jesus. Remember, Jesus never had a record nor any books in print, nor was He the most popular person on earth! [...] Our main concern and prayer is that through our concerts God's Word is heard and His love is expressed so that **as the Body of Christ** we may **all** be strengthened and **grow together in the unity of the faith as one body**, working properly under Christ's direction, and that each part of the Body helps

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<sup>37</sup> Larry Norman, "The Outlaw," *Only Visiting This Planet* Verve Records V6-5092, 1972, LP.

the other parts, so we all grow spiritually, physically and mentally healthy full of God's love.<sup>38</sup>  
(emphasis original)

Vassal may have been sincere in asking readers to ignore the conventional signs of influence and celebrity. At the same time, this message was couched between large print ads for concerts and album sales that relied on name recognition.

The conflict between Jesus movement economic ideals and the reality of a growing national music industry continue to be on display today. All the while, the appeal of the pop worship experience sustains Christian pop through the turmoil of new genres and controversies.<sup>39</sup> The musical legacy of the Jesus movement has been lasting and pervasive in evangelicalism in part because evangelicals accepted a compromise between economic ideals and the utility of Christian pop. In an undated interview for an underground Jesus paper, *The Alternative*, Don Williams of First Presbyterian Church of Hollywood, an epicenter of southern California Jesus movement activity, explained his ministry's aesthetic approach was explicitly based on copying the vibes he saw in mass media and mass youth culture:

Question: What gave you the idea for your approach—the way you go about attracting young people to the type of religion that you offer?

Answer: Well, just as a glance at the past, I got excited about the music of Bob Dylan, through a college student that I met, and I began to realize that Dylan was communicating about the needs, longings, hopes, and frustrations of this generation. I started listening to music and this was the one place where kids really editorialize to kids in the mass media and in our culture. This became the basis of our approach[.] Music is the bridge over which we can begin to communicate the reality and the concepts that we are trying to get across. Music has to come in an atmosphere that is warm and personal and relational. In our Coffee House Ministry, we try to create that atmosphere. [...] Basically, inside we have small tables with chairs around those tables so that people can look at each other and communicate with each other as they are, in a warm,

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<sup>38</sup> John W. Vassal, "Read This...", *Joyful Noise*, [Spring 1978], Box 22, Jesus People – Chicago Folder, Manuscript Files in the American Religions Collection, Special Research Collections, University of California, Santa Barbara Libraries.

<sup>39</sup> The tensions that came to light in the early 1970s are echoed by the controversies that accompanied Christian metal, Christian hip hop, etc.



positive, non-institutional atmosphere, and where they are listening to the music and beginning to feel the reality of Christ that we are trying to get across to them.<sup>40</sup>

Notable in this passage is Williams' explicit modeling on the sound and structures of feeling produced by the mass media. The aesthetics of Bob Dylan and other countercultural-affiliated musics were synthesized into the presentation of the Christian gospel. The resulting informal, conversationally based, "non-institutional" context of Christian conversion was a radical departure from domestic American proselytizing of the past. The atmosphere generated by Christian pop, however, held the promise of reaching the souls of the young, an all but irresistible allure even if it meant tampering with the culture of evangelical aesthetics.

Williams' explanation is echoed and illustrated in the career of the "father of Christian rock," Larry Norman. *Harmony*, an early contemporary Christian music magazine, reviewed Norman highly and credited him with both carrying Christianity outside of the church and refreshing the telling of the Christian narrative:

Larry Norman's gift to the Jesus Music community has been his ability to communicate the truth of Christ beyond the four walls of the church, beyond the somewhat limited scope of the Jesus Movement, and beyond the overworked, clichéd expressions prevalent in Gospel music. Directed to young people whose music represents an artistic countercurrent within their culture, Norman's music presents a distinctly Christian perspective and worldview through an art form which has the power to influence and shape the lives of its hearers.<sup>41</sup>

It may not be reading too far into the review to mention how the author attributes "the power to influence and shape the lives of its hearers" not to the Christian gospel but to the "art form." The musical experience was paramount.

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<sup>40</sup> "A Man with Jesus Style," *The Alternative* 1 no. 10, July/August [1971], Box 3, Archival Collection 74: Jesus Movement Collection, 1964-1982, Archives, Rare Books and Special Collections, David Allan Hubbard Library, Fuller Theological Seminary.

<sup>41</sup> "Record Reviews," *Harmony: Contemporary Christian Music Magazine* 2 no. 2, July/August 1976, Box 4, Archival Collection 74: Jesus Movement Collection, 1964-1982, Archives, Rare Books and Special Collections, David Allan Hubbard Library, Fuller Theological Seminary.

The implications of the roles played by the new Christian pop of the Jesus movement flow into questions of spirituality, church authority, and more. Its significance is highlighted when contrasted against advice posited in a 1966 *Christianity Today* article by James Evans: “Churches that rely upon their denominational hymnals use hymns best. Theological integrity prevents aberrations based upon individual prejudice or subjective experience.”<sup>42</sup> In other words, hierarchical church authority produces the best church music. Evans also argues that the use of scriptural language in as much of the service as possible “lessens the possibility of man-centered worship.” While the Jesus movement produced many scripture songs, the best-preserved music, the songs that were recorded, tended to be settings of original lyrics. Jesus music in contrast to Evans’ preferences led to increased subjectivity and the promotion of individual expression. Evans also gave a rubric for good versus bad music based on how well it is preserved: “Good church music is good music. Time teaches this, for some music lives and some dies. The surviving music we call good, and the dead, for the most part, we call bad.”<sup>43</sup> He does not acknowledge how social status and economics affect the preservation of music. He goes on to explain that good church music also generally exhibits certain compositional qualities including counterpoint, use of the church modes, a balance between unworldliness and a focus on Christian experience (through right rhythm—hint, Bach got it right), and a full and precise sound.<sup>44</sup> In Evans’ estimation, rock music was antithetical to Christian musical experience. Evans concludes by claiming that “in suggesting a theological approach, a use of biblical texts, and certain musical criteria as the basis of an aesthetic for church music, mere matters of taste have been avoided. [...] Our judgment needs to be discriminating to keep our music pure.”<sup>45</sup> His reasoning claims to transcend taste, to rest upon an entirely different authority that sets church

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<sup>42</sup> James W. Evans, “What is Church Music All About?” *Christianity Today* 10 no. 20 (July 8, 1966), 12.

<sup>43</sup> Evans, 13.

<sup>44</sup> Evans, 13.

<sup>45</sup> Evans, 13.

music apart from the market forces of taste and culture. The Jesus movement challenged all of that and arguably won the argument, indelibly altering evangelical spiritual life.

Eight years before publishing his celebrated *Dynamics of Spiritual Life*, theologian Richard Lovelace recognized the shift in evangelical spirituality. In 1971, he reported in *Christian Century* how the youth of American evangelicalism were renewing spiritual living:

In their approach to the ordinary mission of the institutional church, evangelical students, like their liberal counterparts, are unsettled as they confront the traditional model of the pastorate. They are not ready to offer weekly entertainment to a wholly passive audience, to assume a vicarious spirituality on behalf of a congregation dissolved in the world, to play ringmaster to a three-ring circus of programs that meant something three decades ago. Basically, what they long for is the opportunity to coach teams of laymen whose main goals revolve around realization of the Kingdom of God instead of achievement of personal status and comfort. [...] It may take a Copernican revolution in the churches for lay people to see this, and congregations may have to be turned inside out in the process, but no genuine renewal will be complete until local congregations share the community and the unity of purpose visible in the Christian communes, where all the participants are on a mission trip together.<sup>46</sup>

Lovelace's vision for Christian renewal faced considerable turbulence. The *Harmony* reviewer whose comments on Larry Norman we looked at above pictured music pop as a "countercurrent" within youth culture.<sup>47</sup> Christian rock and pop brought together contradictory evangelical spiritual values. In the case of Larry Norman, controversy erupted when he chooses "art over propaganda, individuality over conformity, poetry over clichés, and the evocative over the literal." While the countercurrent mixed poorly with the fountain flowing deep and wide, Christian pop music was born again with a deep-seated investment in emotional and artistic integrity on one hand and an essential need to unequivocally present Christian belief on the other. It had to stand against both the shallowness of appearing overly commercial and the accusation of modernism. Evangelical

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<sup>46</sup> "The Shape of the Coming Renewal," *The Christian Century* (October 6, 1971), 1165, Box 22, Jesus People – General 1/3 Folder, Manuscript Files in the American Religions Collection, Special Research Collections, University of California, Santa Barbara Libraries.

<sup>47</sup> "Record Reviews," *Harmony: Contemporary Christian Music Magazine* 2 no. 2 (July/August 1976), Box 3, Archival Collection 74: Jesus Movement Collection, 1964-1982, Archives, Rare Books and Special Collections, David Allan Hubbard Library, Fuller Theological Seminary.

culture—specifically evangelical emotionalism—both fed and fed off of these developments within Christian pop music.

*Follow the Money: Jesus Music and Authority*

In the spring of 1970, a spate of revivals occurred across the country on the campuses of evangelical colleges and seminaries. Asbury Theological Seminary, Wheaton College, Azusa Pacific University, Anderson College, and Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary were among those that saw chapel services divert into spontaneous hours- and days-long public confession and testimony services.<sup>48</sup> *Eternity* reporters noted the impetus came not from preaching or from charismatic leadership but from unorganized, grassroots, low-key personal evangelism.<sup>49</sup> Who was in charge? Later as the youth of the Jesus movement married, had children, and began to breach early middle age, American evangelicalism experienced notable figures and movements that demonstrated a major shift in how religious authority functioned within the movement. Aging Jesus people and Jesus movement participants constituted a significant portion of evangelical consumers who supported these shifts. There was no longer any doubt about who was in charge. The 1980s were the years of the shepherding movement, the Moral Majority political action group, and the advent of Dr. James Dobson's national fame.<sup>50</sup> While the core of the shepherding movement, Christian Growth Ministries in Ft. Lauderdale, FL, was strongly denounced in 1975 by evangelical leaders such as Pat

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<sup>48</sup> Evangelical institutions were far from the only conservative Christian campuses to experience revival during this time period. Perhaps most notable is the Catholic charismatic movement that owed much to revivals on the campus of Notre Dame University in the 1960s.

<sup>49</sup> "Revival: From the Youth Up?" *Eternity* (June 1970), 36-40; Box 2, Archival Collection 74: Jesus Movement Collection, 1964-1982, Archives, Rare Books and Special Collections, David Allan Hubbard Library, Fuller Theological Seminary.

<sup>50</sup> The shepherding movement, also known as the discipleship movement, of the late 1970s and the 1980s has been only lightly touched in the scholarly literature. For retrospective takes from within evangelicalism, see Ron and Vicki Burks, *Damaged Disciples: Casualties of Authoritarian Churches and the Shepherding Movement*, (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1992) and R. Digitale, "An Idea Whose Time Has Gone?," *Christianity Today* 34 no. 5 (March 19, 1990), 38-41.

Robertson and Kathryn Kuhlman, aspects of their model of authoritarian spiritual submission to a strict vertical hierarchy can still be seen in the popularity of cell groups (a.k.a. small groups or community groups).<sup>51</sup> While an evangelical cell group is unlikely to expect spiritual submission between its leader and group members, it maintains the model of spiritual intimacy between a small circle of people within a larger congregational or denominational body of believers. James Dobson, Pat Robertson, Jerry Falwell, Jr., Eric Metaxas, and Russell Moore are just a handful of the many evangelical leaders whose authority is grounded not in a pulpit appointment but in the reach of their influence as media owners, university presidents, authors, and evening news guests. Evangelicalism was primed for these developments by the practices and values of the Jesus movement, which destabilized the pastoral authority by offering alternative models of spiritual experience. For American evangelicalism, the age of Aquarius was followed by the age of seeking authority. Following the tumult of the 1960s, along with other assumptions about cultural structures in American life, the American evangelical hierarchy also underwent changes.

The “juvenilization” of evangelicalism explains much of the shift in rhetoric and authority structures.<sup>52</sup> The generational divide so remarked on from midcentury onward provides a model of how youthful religious “rebellion” led to far more than unorthodox hairstyles and musical timbres. Sociologist Jack Balswick of the University of Georgia concluded the following after embedding himself in the early 1970s in several Jesus movement communal groups:

A novel approach to Christianity develops as Jesus People express their beliefs through gospel rock music (but not *Jesus Christ Superstar*, which is considered purely humanistic) instead of through 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century gospel hymns, through psychedelic art forms and underground gospel newspapers instead of through religious publishing houses. [...] One such difference between Jesus People and the older generation fundamentalists, attributable to their differences in life cycle position, is the stance they take towards religious values and

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<sup>51</sup> Robertson penned an open letter to leaders of Christian Growth Ministries in 1975 and reportedly had all the tapes containing footage of CGM material that were owned by his Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN) erased. Kuhlman and others refused to appear at conferences that also hosted CGM leaders.

<sup>52</sup> See Thomas E. Bergler, *The Juvenilization of American Christianity*, (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2012).

strategies. In line with the implications from Bengston and Kuypers' (1971) concept of "developmental stake," the younger Jesus People may have a greater investment in the *creation* of viable religious values and strategies, while the older generation fundamentalists have a greater investment in *validating* religious values and strategies. Jesus People use youth counterculture symbols to represent Christianity. The response on the part of older generation fundamentalists to this has been to not comprehend the "new Christianity" or to view it as disgusting and sacrilegious. The older generation of fundamentalists can be seen as holding to a clear distinction between the profane and the sacred, using Durkheim's concepts. To them, the Jesus People have confusingly used the profane symbols of the youth counterculture to represent the Christian beliefs which they consider sacred.<sup>53</sup>

How did Jesus people relate to established evangelical authorities, then, if they valued differing religious strategies? First, while some Jesus people and some evangelical establishments struggled to work together or even explicitly opposed each other, many others found ways to cooperate. The musical and spiritual legacy of the Jesus movement would not be what it is today had it not been for the material and logistical support of established evangelical churches, organizations, and figures.<sup>54</sup> Some established evangelicals were keen to incorporate the momentum of the movement into their own endeavors. For example, the independent *Baptist Standard*, a newspaper founded in 1888 for the purpose of unifying the efforts of Texas Baptists, published an article in June 1971 encouraging congregations to bring young people into leadership positions despite concerns over their superficial social and political views. Authors Walter Knight and Everett Hullum claimed that incorporating the youth would preserve the doctrine of the church and that ultimately the changes to traditions or cultures of the church that may come were of secondary importance to inculcating sound doctrine through leadership cultivation of the countercultural youth.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Jack Balswick, "The Jesus People Movement: A Generational Interpretation," *Journal of Social Issues* 30(3), 1974: 23-42. (29-30) Box 22, Jesus People – General 1/3 Folder, Manuscript Files in the American Religions Collection, Special Research Collections, University of California, Santa Barbara Libraries.

<sup>54</sup> These include music producers such as Ralph Carmichael and Buck Herring, pastors and churches such as Chuck Smith of Calvary Chapel and Don Williams of First Presbyterian of Hollywood, and national leaders such as Billy Graham and Bill Bright.

<sup>55</sup> Walter Knight, Everett Hullum, "Will the Church Join or Run: The Jesus Movement," *Baptist Standard* June 30, 1971: 8-9, Box 3, Archival Collection 74: Jesus Movement Collection, 1964-1982, Archives, Rare Books and Special Collections, David Allan Hubbard Library, Fuller Theological Seminary.

Despite opportunities to be welcomed into established congregations, Jesus people tended to engage institutions with caution. They were more likely to be reported as elders of a nondenominational church than as seeking ordination within a denomination. Their beliefs could be compared to Baptist Landmarkism in that they see their submission to a local model of the early church as more basic to their identity as Christians than submission to a larger, umbrella denomination. The lived implication of a personal, experiential salvation conducted loyalty away from extra-biblical infrastructures. In places where evangelical institutions provided amply for the movement, the practices of the institutions dovetailed with the values of the movement. For example, where Calvary Temple of Fort Wayne, IN provided space and funds for the Adam's Apple coffeehouse and concert ministry, the church distributed in their welcome materials a series of questions about their worship practices. "Why do we lift out hands?" "Why do we sing choruses?" Each was answered by a string of Bible verse references.<sup>56</sup> Biblical authority superseded denominational tradition. The spiritual aesthetics of the Jesus movement realized in music, dress, speech, and comportment were assumed to be less affected than those tied to an establishment church culture.

Anti-institutionalism became for some Jesus people a virtue, not entirely unlike it was for the counterculture. Writing a letter of effusive praise for the widely circulated underground Jesus paper, *The Hollywood Free Press*, reader and volunteer distributor Beth Mouchan wrote a letter to the editor in 1972: "There's something beautiful about spreading the word in such an un-beaureaucratic [sic] way."<sup>57</sup> Bureaucracy was over and against the visceral spontaneity of Jesus movement spirituality. At

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<sup>56</sup>"Presenting Calvary Temple," welcome pamphlet, Box 24, Calvary Temple Calvary Ministries Folder, Manuscript Files in the American Religions Collection, Special Research Collections, University of California, Santa Barbara Libraries.

<sup>57</sup> Beth Mouchan correspondence to *The Hollywood Free Press* (March 3, 1972), Box 6 Collection 66: Duane Pederson, Jesus People International, and Hollywood Free Press Collection, 1953-2011, Archives, Rare Books and Special Collections, David Allan Hubbard Library, Fuller Theological Seminary.

times when there was a connection between the movement and established denominations, participants chose to downplay or obscure it. Duane Pederson would admit to belonging to a “very main line organized denomination” but never specified which one.<sup>58</sup> As a denominational tabula rasa, Pederson, his Jesus People organization, and the plentiful events, publications, and ministries generated by him could traverse denominational lines drawing on financial, material, and reputational support from a larger swath of American Protestantism.

Outsiders recognized this resistance and the Jesus movement gained a reputation for being outside of the church. As an official of the National Council in New York told the *Wall Street Journal* in 1971, “We know there’s a widespread, grass roots [sic], evangelical nonchurch something out there that’s reaching a lot of young people.”<sup>59</sup> A Seventh Day Adventist publication described the Jesus movement as having “originated almost completely outside established churches [...] Established churches have openly scorned, ignored, recognized, accepted, or embraced the movement.”<sup>60</sup> The relationship between the movement and established American Protestant churches was complex and highly localized on both sides of the relationship. Due to the essential material support provided by established churches—e.g. the relationships between Calvary Chapel and Maranatha! or First Presbyterian of Hollywood and the Salt Company—ignoring the role of the established church in the origins of the movement does not tell a complete story. It does reward, however, a preference

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<sup>58</sup> Don Ahern, “Hip Preacher Gathers Flock,” *St. Paul Pioneer Press* (November 29, 1971), 15. Pederson’s use of “main line” may not necessarily refer to a mainline Protestant denomination in contrast to an evangelical denomination. In the aftermath of the Jesus movement era, Pederson entered prison ministry and converted to the Antiochian Orthodox Church where he took orders as an archimandrite, a celibate monk who may or may not be connected to a monastery. Given the scarcity of Antiochian Orthodox presence in Pederson’s native Minnesota (there is currently one church established in the state), it is not likely this is the church of his childhood. The greater Los Angeles area alone, on the other hand, is home to around a dozen Antiochian Orthodox churches.

<sup>59</sup> Earl C. Gottschalk, “Hip Culture Discovers a New Trip; Fervent Foot-Stompin’ Religion,” *Wall Street Journal* (March 2, 1971), 1.

<sup>60</sup> Jim Spoo, “Some Questions Answered,” *These Times* 81.11 (October 1, 1972), Box 56, Collection 66: Duane Pederson, Jesus People International, and Hollywood Free Press Collection, 1953-2011, Archives, Rare Books and Special Collections, David Allan Hubbard Library, Fuller Theological Seminary.



for a grassroots, anti-establishment ethos. Taken altogether, the narrative of Jesus movement outsiders infiltrating and transforming American evangelicalism and the narrative of established churches experimentally investing in and then actively cultivating a new, innovative, experiential spirituality are both true.

In order to achieve this synthesis, established churches adjusted their internal economy of social capital. More specifically, pop music interrupted the social economy of authority. The long debate within American evangelicalism of whether a given congregation is rightly proportioning their calling to internally oriented community against their calling to externally oriented evangelism needs contextualization. The introduction of pop music worship gave the debate new terms. Jesus music upset how congregations imagined spirituality and spiritual authority. If spirituality is experiential, who is the more important spiritual authority: the pastor, the worship leader, or your own musical preferences? The new music replaced markers of right comportment and right vocabulary.<sup>61</sup> Beyond introducing new styles, the Jesus movement affected how evangelicals do religion and it did so by disrupting the social economy.

The introduction of Jesus music into established worship spaces happened gradually. The new music required a reworking of how spirituality worked which implicated how authority functioned within the church community. It was more than a new sound; pop worship did not simply replace conventional hymns and anthems. As Lester Ruth has observed, contemporary worship songs do not serve the same functions as hymns. They are not interchangeable components

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<sup>61</sup> See Masumi Toyotome, "Let's Escape Our Fortress Mentality," *Christianity Today* 11 no. 24 (September 17, 1967), 15. This article self-reflexively describes how churches generate an internal economy of social capital through internally oriented programming and social networks. The author's contention is that churches and, specifically congregations, are inadequately pursuing evangelism. This position illustrates the tension I have written of between pop music (evangelism) and established church authorities. Pop music was an interruption of the social economy of authority.

of a worship service.<sup>62</sup> The 1970s were a key period of synthesis and innovation as worship leaders created the pop worship liturgies of the late twentieth century. It makes sense that the incorporation of Jesus music into worship events (as opposed to coffeehouse concerts) happened gradually, even in the epicenters of the Jesus movement. Sunday morning was usually the last place Jesus music would appear after a time of adjustment was mediated through weeknight or Saturday events and services.<sup>63</sup> Calvary Chapel, Costa Mesa, Jesus movement ground zero, continued to use choirs and traditional hymns in their Sunday morning services throughout the early 1970s. The same was true of Calvary Temple Worship Center in Fort Wayne, IN, which maintained a robed choir and orchestra while underwriting the Adam's Apple, a coffeehouse, commune, and Christian concert ministry.<sup>64</sup>

### *Jesus Music and Spirituality*

Jesus music was central to the Jesus movement and was recognized as central at the time:

Their faces glow. Their eyes sparkle. Their cheeks flush with the passion of their new belief. For three to four hours, they sing, pray and study the Bible. They hold hands, interlock arms, move with the music. They raise their hands high, as if to reach heaven. A rock group plays. It is hard rock—but pure, unadulterated, undiluted gospel in content. The music itself is a

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<sup>62</sup> Swee Hong Lim and Lester Ruth, *Lovin' On Jesus: A Concise History of Contemporary Worship* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 2017), 4-6.

<sup>63</sup> Most Jesus movement affiliated churches were marked by their use of Jesus music. One, however, is exceptional for its continued condemnation of rock and pop music even as it cultivated dramatic Pentecostal services and vigorous outreach to drug addicts, sex workers, and street people. Bethel Tabernacle in North Redondo Beach, CA saw its blue-collar congregation replaced by these converts after Breck Stevens began an outreach promising 30-second, withdrawal-free cures from heroin addiction. Members were expected to attend all scheduled church services (5 nights/week) and to abstain from alcohol, dancing, television, movies, comics, and rock music. [See Enroth, *The Jesus People* for more/citation.] Ronald Enroth cited by Philip Lochhass, "The Jesus Movement," pg. 27 [A report created by the executive secretary of the commission on organizations for the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod. Likely early 1970s, 1972 at earliest.], Box 22, Jesus People—General 2/3 Folder, Manuscript Files in the American Religions Collection, Special Research Collections, University of California, Santa Barbara Libraries.

<sup>64</sup> "Presenting Calvary Temple," welcome pamphlet, Box 24, Calvary Temple Calvary Ministries Folder, Manuscript Files in the American Religions Collection, Special Research Collections, University of California, Santa Barbara Libraries.

key factor in the movement, for the movement rides the crest of the guitar's sound wave, pushed and pulled by the pandemonium of youth...to who knows where?<sup>65</sup>

Music created experiences for Jesus movement participants that modeled and facilitated spirituality. The experience went beyond momentary physical exultation and affected how authority within the church functioned. This chapter began with questions about the role of literal money in the production of pop music worship. It concludes with questions of the social economy of evangelicalism. These are connected not only through the conflicts over ministry funding and organization, but also through the spirituality modeled in Jesus music worship and developed in contemporary praise and worship music.

Even as they produced their concerts and records, Jesus music artists and the people around them felt anxiety about combining popular culture and religious culture. They expressed this anxiety in their relationship with financial matters. Furthermore, the musical model of spiritual experience generated by pop worship worried the established evangelical authorities. What role were musicians playing and what was the effect of their music if they were neither purely a commodity to be bought and sold nor a conventionally vetted church authority? One commentator expressed their dismay at the musically catalyzed changes they were observing:

More disturbing is the persistent element of anti-intellectualism, the retreat from reason back to mysticism and emotionalism. The average, middle-class American church used to encourage discussions of theology and the problems of faith. Nowadays it is not unusual to enter such a church and hear reasonably intelligent and educated parishioners babbling like radio preachers about Jesus's love and His "presence here among us."<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Knight, Walker L. and Everett Hullum Jr. "The Jesus Movement—Mass Hysteria of Hallelujah?" Jim Newton, ed. *Baptist Standard* June 2, 197[1]: 8. Box 22, Jesus People—General 1/3 Folder, Manuscript Files in the American Religions Collection, Special Research Collections, University of California, Santa Barbara Libraries.

<sup>66</sup> Dwayne Walls, "Jesus Mania: Bigotry in the Name of the Lord" *Saturday Review* September 17, 1977: 18. Box 22, Jesus People—General 1/3 Folder, Manuscript Files in the American Religions Collection, Special Research Collections, University of California, Santa Barbara Libraries.

Anti-intellectualism continues to be a charge levied against evangelicalism and not without undue reason.<sup>67</sup> This “retreat from reason” has precedent prior to the Jesus movement, but the musical innovations of the Jesus movement in American evangelicalism made the shift audible.

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<sup>67</sup> See Mark Noll, *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind* (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans, 1994).

### Chapter 3 Feedback Loop: Anti-Rock Criticism and the Rock that Didn't Roll

“As the ark of the Lord was entering the City of David, Michal daughter of Saul watched from a window. And when she saw King David leaping and dancing before the Lord, she despised him in her heart.”

2 Samuel 6:16 (NIV)

*Make a joyful noise unto the Lord (unto the Lord)*

*Make a joyful noise unto the Lord (unto the Lord – to the Lord)*

*We think of him when we're playin'*

*It's just as though we were prayin'*

*We speak to him in our drummin'*

*And when our guitars are strummin'*

*We make a joyful noise unto the Lord (unto the Lord)*

*Make a joyful noise unto the Lord (unto the Lord)*

The Crusaders, “Make a Joyful Noise,” *Make a Joyful Noise with Drums and Guitars* (1966)

In 1966, a group of southern California musicians (“five sincere young men—all of them in their teens”) recorded an exceptionally early album of Christian music set to a rock ‘n’ roll beat: the Crusaders’ *Make a Joyful Noise with Drums and Guitar*.<sup>1</sup> In the album’s titular song, the Crusaders sing heartily over a guitar, bass, electric keyboard, and drum set background, breaking into vocal harmony at the phrase-ending tag. Claiming a compatibility between their piety and their rock style, the Crusaders modeled a familiar spirituality in a new musical guise. Their instrumental and harmonic performance borrows from the Beach Boys, the Monkees, and the Yardbirds.<sup>2</sup> Five of the album’s songs are original and their lyrics (despite the g-dropping) revolve around well-known biblical expressions—“make a joyful noise, “praise we the Lord,” “what is man,” “with the Lord on our side.” The other five are performances of popular vernacular Christian songs including “He’s

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<sup>1</sup> The Crusaders, *Make a Joyful Noise with Drums and Guitar*, Tower Records T 5048, 1966, LP. The Crusaders were Daniel Altchuler (rhythm guitar), Fred J. Barnett (lead guitar), Jeffrey Barnett (drums), Walter Flannery (keyboards), and Michael Joyce (bass). The quotation is taken from the album’s back cover.

<sup>2</sup> For example, the Crusaders’ “Praise Ye the Lord” is a cover of the Yardbirds’ “You’re a Better Man Than I” (*Having a Rave Up With the Yardbirds*, Epic BN 26177, 1965, LP). The Crusaders retain the song’s melody and form—including the Yardbirds’ signature “rave up” section with a note-for-note imitation of Jeff Beck’s guitar solo—while replacing the lyrics with a Kings James-style Christian paean.

Got the Whole World in His Hands,” “Onward Christian Soldiers,” “Little Drummer Boy,” and “Battle Hymn of the Republic.” At the time of their recording session, rock music was common fare in mainstream pop culture. It had not, however, been widely employed in the service of Christian expression outside of the specific contexts of youth outreach by parachurch ministries such as Youth for Christ and Campus Crusade for Christ. As far as Christian pop music went, the Crusaders were notably independent, self-initiated, and album-oriented.<sup>3</sup>

Anti-rock critics argued that elements of the rock style incapacitated the music’s ability to carry moral messages, even when guided by Christian organizations and certainly when produced independently. Moreover, the rock style actively degenerated listeners. These positions predated the Jesus movement. For example, New York pastor and radio show host William Ayer wrote in 1956 that rock drum rhythms sent listeners into trances and permitted demons to “mount” their victims. Exposure to rock provoked “sex-crazed, irrational, irresponsible actions.”<sup>4</sup> As very early performers of Christian rock, the Crusaders and Jesus music artists to follow were on the defensive against anti-rock criticism that did not differentiate between Christian and secular varieties.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> To clarify, the Crusaders were independent from any single church or Christian organization. The Crusaders released their album with Tower Records, a subsidiary of Capitol Records (which coincidentally would release Larry Norman’s *Upon this Rock* two years later in 1969, commonly acclaimed though not accurately so as the first Christian rock album). Tower Records generally produced albums by lower profile artists and is associated with 1960s garage rock. Other notable artists in the Tower stable around the time of the Crusaders were the Standells and Pink Floyd.

<sup>4</sup> William Ward Ayer, “Jungle Madness in American Music,” *Youth for Christ Magazine* (November 1956), 19-21. As quoted in Thomas E. Bergler, “I Found My Thrill: The Youth for Christ Movement and American Congregational Singing, 1940-1970,” *Wonderful Words of Life: Hymns in American Protestant History and Theology*, Eds. Richard J. Mouw and Mark A. Noll (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans Publishers, 2004), 141-142. Canadian-born Ayer was saved at a Billy Sunday revival and attended Moody Bible Institute in Chicago, a fundamentalist-evangelical institution. He was pastor of the “skyscraper church,” Calvary Baptist in New York City. He also hosted the popular radio show *God’s Truth Marches On*. See Randall Stephens, *The Devil’s Music: How Christians Inspired, Condemned, and Embraced Rock ‘n’ Roll* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018), 86.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas E. Bergler (“I Found My Thrill,” 2004) contributes a compelling argument for placing the key turning point in evangelical music consumption in the 1940s and 1950s instead of the Jesus-movement 1970s. Bergler identifies a “new pop culture spirituality” brought on by the agency of youth seeking ways to experience and express the “thrill of knowing Jesus” (124). Bergler identifies how vernacular Christian music began with a specific function—to evangelize youth—and I explore how the imperative to declare the music’s

Other evangelicals were open to dialogue on the issue of musical style and spiritual propriety. Some were pastors who expressed their views in the local contexts of their churches and in Christian publications such as *Christianity Today*. Others were music producers like Ralph Carmichael or ministry leaders like Bill Bright with considerable ability to affect the Christian listening options of the nation. While pop music components such as the rhythms may occasionally have prompted discomfort, they largely saw potential in harnessing a secular-cultural artifact for spiritual ends. Christian pop was, to them, not an oxymoron. In this chapter, I will examine the arguments made by both those with the more extreme anti-rock agenda and the more cautious moderates open to negotiation. Then, I will bring the musical arguments made by Jesus music artists into the fray. Listening to the dialogue between virulent anti-rock critics, dedicated Jesus music artists and those somewhere in the middle amplifies base anxieties within the evangelical sphere surrounding church authority, cultural capital, and authentic spirituality.

The droning tension of the surface conflict over musical style (i.e. the worship wars) has drowned out much discussion on the spirituality of the Jesus movement as it musically shaped the broader sphere of evangelicalism. Scholarly monographs recount the debates, concessions, and slowly developing changes within evangelical culture through the twentieth century yet rarely recount how musical processes affected the spiritual and ecclesial structure of evangelicalism.<sup>6</sup> While

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function subsided as a consumer orientation replaced a ministerial orientation in evangelical music production and use.

It is also significant that the Christian musicians Bergler cites as early adopters of pop music tended to be in the employ of organizations (such as Youth for Christ, International) that had strong evangelical credentials. Billy Graham and the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association had strong ties with Youth for Christ. Both the musicians and the audiences were largely middle-class, church youth. The music was coopted as a sound, not a lifestyle complete with implications for dress, language, and the usurpation of traditional structures of church authority.

<sup>6</sup> Jonathan Dueck's ethnography of three Mennonite congregations in Canada in the 1990s and 2000s is an exception. While removed from this study in time frame, his work corroborates how musical conflict within a Christian community implicates more than musical taste or values. He finds the musical experience itself shapes the structure of relationships and religious meaning built by the congregational activities. Jonathan Dueck, *Congregational Music, Conflict, and Community* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017).

this work has been important, as late as 2017 liturgical scholars Lester Ruth and Swee Hong Lim could still lament that the study of contemporary worship is “a field that is largely untilled.”<sup>7</sup> Lim and Ruth’s work begins to analyze the forms and functions of contemporary worship that is built around contemporary Christian music. This project similarly focuses on a significant germination period of evangelical worship and spirituality.

The stakes of the contest between Christian pop musicians and anti-rock critics were about far more than taste. For the former, overcoming the opposition was the key to winning countless youth for Christ. For the latter, the defense of the church and even the nation were on the line. In my examination of the debate, I find that more basic than either of these issues was the effect musical expression had on evangelical identity.<sup>8</sup> Control over the music of the evangelical market equated to practical control over evangelical identities. Specifically, the phenomenology of evangelical music held special prominence within the evangelical consumer sphere. While the racial

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Significant scholarly work on the history of the worship wars includes John Haines, “The Emergence of Jesus Rock: On Taming the African Beat,” *Black Music Research Journal* 31 no. 2 (Fall 2011), 229-260; Anna Nekola, “More Than Just a Music’: Conservative Christian Anti-rock Discourse and the U.S. Culture Wars,” *Popular Music* 32 no. 3 (October 2013), 407-426; David W. Stowe, *No Sympathy For the Devil: Christian Pop Music and the Transformation of American Evangelicalism* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); and Terry W. York, *America’s Worship Wars* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2003).

While the scholarship on the worship wars is limited considering the length of time the debates were carried on and the number of people affected, the polemical literature produced for clergy and church musicians on the worship wars is extensive.

<sup>7</sup> Swee Hong-Lim and Lester Ruth, *Lovin’ on Jesus: A Concise History of Contemporary Worship* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2017), ix.

<sup>8</sup> Most anti-rock critics fall in the fundamentalist side of the evangelical spectrum. Concurrent to the advent of rock ‘n’ roll and of anti-rock criticism, Christian leaders were detaching themselves from the fundamentalist label and were working meaning into the label evangelical in order to free themselves from cultural and political ineffectiveness wrought by fundamentalist isolationism. Ventures such as the establishment of *Christianity Today* magazine in 1956 and the founding of the National Association of Evangelicals in 1942 built up rhetorical and institutional identities for a new evangelicalism. See Harold Lindsell, “Who are the Evangelicals?,” *Christianity Today* 8, no. 19 (June 18, 1964): 3-6. Interestingly, the fundamentalist position on the arts began to use rubrics in common with the modernists they had so publically battled in the preceding decades. Specifically, fundamentalist criticism of rock adhered to a distinction between high and low art and located the Christian artist strictly within the higher sphere of creative activity. The content of the fundamentalist high art certainly diverged from that of the modern elite’s conception, but the topography of their criticism was strikingly similar.



and political components of evangelicalism were in play—as this chapter demonstrates—to miss the importance of spiritualized norms of worship would be to misunderstand the controversy.<sup>9</sup>

The fissures within evangelicalism that widened during and due to musical innovations of the early 1970s can appear to be surface cracks smoothed by concessions and compromises made by local congregations over time. Like a new suit of clothes thrown on the same old body, a new musical aesthetic draped the church, which began the task of tailoring. Blended or omnivorous worship services, the adoption of a dual service schedule (e.g. 8am traditional service and 10am contemporary service), and the retuned hymn movement<sup>10</sup> all suggest the root of the conflict lay in musical style or lyrical content.<sup>11</sup> Delving into these fissures, however, I identify deeper sonic anxieties that resonate with more basic aspects of evangelical self-image.

### *Sonic Anxiety*

“Sonic anxiety” is my coinage. As a concept, however, it draws heavily from commonplace ethnographic and historical methodologies. Identifying sonic anxieties, that is rejections of musical

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<sup>9</sup> The racialized fabric of rock history is well argued by Bruce Tucker in “‘Tell Tchaikovsky the News’: Postmodernism, Popular Culture, and the Emergence of Rock ‘N’Roll,” *Black Music Research Journal* 9.2 (Autumn 1989) 271-295. Tucker’s analysis of early rock reception and performers including Chuck Berry, Elvis Presley, Jerry Lee Lewis, and Little Richard introduced the term “integrationist music” to capture how the gendered and raced crossings performed by early rock artists resonated with the wider political tensions of the Civil Rights era.

<sup>10</sup> The retuned hymn movement was spearheaded in the late 1990s by the college ministry Reformed University Fellowship (RUF) of the Presbyterian Church in America (PCA). RUF leader Kevin Twit provided college-aged singer-songwriters in Nashville with the texts of nineteenth-century hymns and oversaw the production of several albums and ongoing concert tours. The albums were distributed under the name Indelible Grace. The songwriters gave hymn texts updated musical treatments that retained the hymn form but accompanied it with contemporary indie-folk instrumentation. See Bruce Benedict, “Refurbished Hymns in an Age of Vintage Faith: Millennials and the Retuned Hymn Movement,” *Liturgy* 32 no. 1 (2017), 54-61.

<sup>11</sup> See Mark Porter, *Contemporary Worship Music and Everyday Musical Lives*, (Routledge, 2016) for more insight into how musical taste and evangelical religious practices remain in a highly complex relationship. Though informed by ethnographic work in several UK congregations, Porter’s work speaks also to religious music consumption in the U.S.

components rooted in more than taste, preference, or utility, is necessarily open to subjective error. In order to efficaciously hear like my subjects and synthesize their experiences into a historical narrative, I must achieve a level of cultural fluency. This is a task requiring multiple levels of self-reflexivity. In one sense, my own identity as a “cradle evangelical” makes understanding idiomatic features of evangelical culture feel second nature. At the same time, I am removed from my subjects by half a century. My academic training in secular contexts and awareness of my mainly secular or non-evangelical, academic readership further removes me from my place within the constellation of evangelical worldviews. The very act of researching and attempting to construct a cogent narrative profoundly affects my perspective and reactions. With this caution in mind, I still find the concept of sonic anxiety a tool particularly useful in the study of evangelicals. Given their heritage of activism, evangelicals have a tendency to gloss over intellectual claims and to privilege visible acts of faith.<sup>12</sup> Declarations on musical activity bear more weight than heady explorations into the essence and foundation of their identity. Looking for sonic anxieties brings to bear the hidden intellectualizing of the evangelical experience.

While stimulated by music, sonic anxieties are prompted by issues of identity. Signaling distress over encroaching musical practices allows the sonically anxious to defend deeply held, yet unarticulated personal aspects without naming and thereby making vulnerable those aspects.<sup>13</sup> Musical criticism or censorship becomes a proxy cause preserving the armor of normativity protecting deeper, hidden causes.<sup>14</sup> Musical stimuli move the sonically anxious to express overtones

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<sup>12</sup> Mark Noll, *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1995).

<sup>13</sup> A common refrain among evangelicals and other Christian practitioners is that they find their identity in Christ. This is a theological statement that in practice touches all areas of a believer’s life. When I write of evangelical identity, I am writing not of this theological teaching, but of those signifiers that give social and cultural capital to evangelical individuals and institutions.

<sup>14</sup> It is my hope that the model of sonic anxiety can provide language to describe the musical experience of other groups as well as evangelicals. In the Western canon, it could be applied to music reformers at the

of a deeper, resonating anxiety. Sonic anxiety assumes music(king) holds the potential to be culturally and personally poignant.<sup>15</sup> Music(king) is an omnidirectional stimulus that can have surprising results in the acoustical space of cultural politics.

A white evangelical authority seated on a heritage of whiteness and patriarchal hierarchy may intuitively defend his flock against changes to the context in which he has found salvation. But, by defending his aesthetic context, he also defends his seat of authority. Scholar Bruce Tucker has also observed how anti-rock discourse hinged on the threat of racial mixing:

To cultural authorities of the fifties, what the counter-discourse of rock ‘n’ roll proposed was the explosive equation of white youth with the black Other through the medium of the body and its accouterments: dance, clothing, rhythm, sex. It was a doubly dangerous equation because it cut the body as signifier loose from what was presumed to be its transcendental signified—the black body—revealing it to be merely another signifier.<sup>16</sup>

Sonic anxiety does not require the subject to be articulate about or aware of deeper, root anxieties. The observer relies on close readings of recorded artifacts and historical events to ascertain a fuller narrative inclusive of sonic anxieties.

These root identity issues—e.g., race and gender—can be deeply unpopular if expressed plainly.<sup>17</sup> Anti-rock critics sometimes encoded these anxieties deep in their writing, but were also frequently forthright about their objections. As will be seen in this chapter, anti-rock critics often claimed to fear rock music due to its presumed African origins. Engaging with black music—especially through movement or dance—was akin to spiritual miscegenation. Critics expressed their anxiety, nonetheless, around musical components such as rhythm and meter rather than solely racial

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Council of Trent, Martin Luther’s writings on congregational singing, all manner of nineteenth-century takes on absolute versus programmatic music, along with many other historical situations.

<sup>15</sup> On Christopher Small’s concept of musicking, see introduction.

<sup>16</sup> Tucker, “Tell Tchaikovsky,” 289.

<sup>17</sup> Scholars have long noted connections between anti-rock criticism and other cultural anxieties. Race and sexuality are common themes. See Linda Martin, *Anti-Rock: The Opposition to Rock ‘n’ Roll* (Hamden, CN: Archon Books, 1988).

arguments. Likewise, they taught a mistrust of corporeality and of non-hierarchical, experiential knowing by focusing on sexuality and the preservation of female virginity. The embodied experience of rock music spiritually engaged worshippers without the lead of established church polity.<sup>18</sup> By painting musical styles that elicited physical responses with a brush of sexual immorality and seduction, critics redirected the submission of the laity back to the powers that be.

Jesus music as a genre did not remain a trigger for the sonic anxieties of its critics; the rise of the CCM industry settled some of Jesus music's concessions with the anti-rock stance into normative characteristics of Christian pop. For example, virtuosic performance falls generally along gendered lines. Women display their virtuosity through their voice whereas men use instruments. This is, of course, also a characteristic of mainstream American pop music. While CCM dance music has been produced, mainstream CCM is not a dance-oriented culture. Those Christian artists who defy these principles generally perform musical styles that fall on the edges of the Christian pop genre for their time. In the seventies, these included the soaring vocals of male lead singers in harder rock bands such as Resurrection band and Petra. Matthew Ward, an iconic male vocalist of the early Jesus movement and member of the vocal trio 2<sup>nd</sup> Chapter of Acts, began his professional music career as a young teen. He and his older sisters, Annie Herring and Nelly (née Ward) Griesen, recorded their first single "Jesus Is" on Matthew's thirteenth birthday in 1972. Thin, dewy, and nearly always smiling, the siblings were noted as exceptional on account of their youth. Matthew's boyhood mitigated the potentially emasculating virtuosity of his agile, high tenor voice. Other notably skilled male vocalists such as Phil Keaggy, Larry Norman, Don Francisco, and later on Keith Green were as highly or more highly revered for their instrumental skills, usually on guitar. In the

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<sup>18</sup> Side note: Those interested in another historical example of a physical stimulus prompting spiritual revival outside of the guidance of church hierarchy may see George Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards: A Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

1980s metal bands and glam rock bands such as Stryper were situated outside the mainstream of Christian pop. And in the 1990s and since, Christian hip hop artists, mainly male vocal virtuosos, have been nearly entirely absent from Christian award recognitions.<sup>19</sup>

Ultimately, sonic anxiety attempts to apply language to how evangelicals (and others) have moved through the world as spiritual people dealing with bodies. Anti-rock criticism is revealing for what was written about bodies as raced, gendered, and sexualized signifiers. How evangelicals approach the body should be studied, however, as more than a texted theology of the body. Evangelical comportment is a field ripe for scholarly harvest.<sup>20</sup>

#### *Anti-Rock Criticism in the Jesus Movement Era*

And by the way, I want to stop and say this right now for our visitors. I am sick, I am tired, I am wear[y] of our copying distorted, beatnik, hippie music in our churches. It's all of the Devil. Everywhere I go, especially toward the East Coast, some group's got to get up with the girls' dresses about a foot above their knees, and a bunch of fellows in satin blouses with kerchiefs around their necks like sissies. They've got to give some "Snap—Snap" for Jesus' sake. They're up singing some Gospel words to beatnik music. I'm sick of it. [...]

[T]here's still nothing wrong with "Beautiful Dreamer," and "I Dream of Jeanie with the Light Brown Hair"; or Betty, or Suzie, or whoever you dream of with whatever color hair she has. Nowadays with the passing of the week, she's got to change the color. One week it's "I Dream of Jeanie with the Dark Blue Hair"—and the light red hair, and blonde hair, but I still like those. And I still like The Twentieth Century Drawing Room. I still like classical music. I still like the old love songs that are decent. I still like the good music and songs of the day when good music accompanied good words. Don't cater to the youth.

"Say, Brother Hyles, this is just a new generation." Sure it is. Sure it is. And they can learn good music and love good art like the old generation did. And young people—and, you boys, listen to me—on the third row here! Young people, I don't care who you are: just

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<sup>19</sup> To clarify, all of these groups enjoyed strong record sales and are recognized as significant figures in the history of Christian pop music. Their significance, however, is based on their musical exceptionalism rather than how well they serve as representative Christian pop artists of their time.

<sup>20</sup> Works by R. Marie Griffith are an excellent entry to recent evangelical relationships with being embodied. See *Born Again Bodies: Flesh and Spirit in American Christianity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004) and *Moral Combat: How Sex Divided American Christians and Fractured American Politics* (New York: Basic Books, 2017).

because you happen to be sixteen years old doesn't give you the right or permission to use the world's music and the world's records and the world's beat.<sup>21</sup>

Senior Pastor Jack Hyles preached his Sunday evening sermon at the First Baptist Church of Hammond, Indiana on June 14, 1970 in his usual fiery style. Using several bible passages, he argued that influence and authority should be based on age and experience. His brief tangent into youth music demonstrated his awareness of a connection between music and church-social authority. Hyles had led his Indiana congregation out of the American Baptist denomination to become an independent Baptist church. His own authority rested heavily on his phenomenally successful Sunday School program that had swelled attendance at First Baptist from the hundreds into the tens of thousands by the mid-1970s. His was among the first recognized “superchurches,” forerunners to the megachurch of the late twentieth century.<sup>22</sup> Hyles was not repelled by innovation. Contemporary pop music, however, in his words “the world’s beat,” was indecent and contra-‘good.’ In the context of his sermon, to be not good meant the youthful usurpation of the authority and respect owed to those of age and experience. While other anti-rock writers identified worldliness with demonic presence, here Hyles indicts the world with the less supernatural charge of interrupting established church authority. For an instant during his impassioned oratory, Jack Hyles pulled back a curtain and connected the dots between anxiety over new Christian pop and a power struggle over church authority.

The efforts of anti-rock critics may have unwittingly contributed to youthful embrace of the recent pop releases, including engagement with the Jesus movement. Studies have found that when a piece of popular music is subjected to censorship, consumers, especially adolescent consumers, tend

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<sup>21</sup> Jack Hyles, “The Generation Gap: Sunday Evening Sermon June 14, 1970,” The Jack Hyles Homepage, accessed April 30, 2018, <http://www.jackhyles.com/gap.htm>. Note: This website provides sermon transcriptions and books by Jack Hyles as well as video and MP3 recordings.

<sup>22</sup> See “Superchurch,” *Time* 106 no. 22 (December 1, 1975), 67.

to desire that music more. The effect is known as psychological reactance theory.<sup>23</sup> While the anti-rock critics relevant to our discussion did not achieve legal censorship, it is possible their vocal opposition contributed to the dramatic embrace of and investment in Christian pop music within evangelicalism during the 1970s and 1980s. Conflict demanded taking sides; that contributed to the entrenchment of Christian pop.

Rock had instigated worries about the social-moral fabric since its inception. Musicologist John Haines ties the development of Christian anti-rock criticism to John Lennon's infamous 1966 "more popular than Jesus" comment, pointing out how Christian anti-rock authors continued to cite the Beatles as a prime example of rock's inherent depravity into the 1970s.<sup>24</sup>

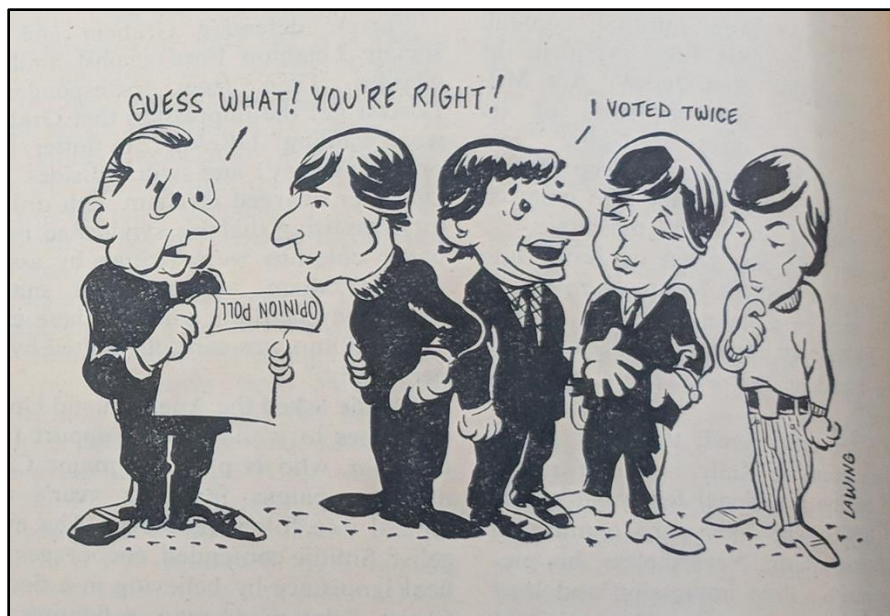


Figure 6: Cartoon illustrating "Do the Beatles Beat the Church?," *Christianity Today* 10 no. 23 (September 2, 1966), 54. Both fundamentalist-evangelicals and more middle-of-the-road publications such as *Christianity Today* took note of Lennon's (perhaps unintentionally) incendiary comment.

<sup>23</sup> Brian Simmons, "The Effect of Censorship in Attitudes Toward Popular Music," *Popular Music and Society* 16 no. 4, (1992): 61-67.

<sup>24</sup> John Haines, "The Emergence of Jesus Rock: On Taming the "African Beat,"" *Black Music Research Journal* 31 no. 2, (Fall 2001): 229-260. See also Brian Ward, "'The 'C' is for Christ": Arthur Unger, Datebook Magazine, and the Beatles," *Popular Music and Society* 35 no. 4, (2012): 541-560.

Anti-rock and anti-pop music criticism had a multi-decade history by the 1970s. As will be seen, the Christian authors covered here often regurgitated thought-for-thought sections of each other's works. They also kept in print the ideas disseminated by their anti-rock predecessors of the midcentury. This imitation between critics included the repetition of racist stereotypes and prejudices that supported the anti-rock platform. It is important to keep in mind the racial politics at the heart of anti-rock criticism. Bruce Tucker gives the writing of Asa Carter as a typical example. As executive secretary of the North Alabama White Citizens Council, Carter painted rock as an infiltration of southern youth by the NAACP.<sup>25</sup> Locating the threat in the "basic heavy-beat music of Negroes," Carter invokes the slur of "animalism."<sup>26</sup> While all of it was ugly, not all of the racism underlying anti-rock writing was as unmistakable. The most thorough work on rooting out the various arguments made in religious anti-rock rhetoric has been accomplished by Anna Nekola and Randall Stephens.<sup>27</sup>

In general, the evangelical stance on pop music was mixed. A succession of entries in *Christianity Today* illustrate the nuance some approached the conversation with. The more leeway an author gave to contemporary pop music, the less likely they were to invoke racial allusions. Late in 1966, Illinois Methodist pastor Charles W. Keysor contributed an article reckoning that listening to pop music equips Christians to be conversant in popular philosophies promoted by secularity (i.e. non-Christian worldviews).<sup>28</sup> He acknowledged his personal, aesthetic discomfort with the musical

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<sup>25</sup> "Segregationist Wants Ban on 'Rock and Roll'" *New York Times*, (March 30, 1956): 39 as quoted in Bruce Tucker, "'Tell Tchaikovsky the News': Postmodernism, Popular Culture, and the Emergence of Rock 'n' Roll," *Black Music Research Journal* 9 no. 2 (Autumn 1989): 289.

<sup>26</sup> "White Council vs. Rock and Roll," *Newsweek* 47, (April 23, 1956): 32 as quoted in Tucker, "'Tell Tchaikovsky the News': 289.

<sup>27</sup> Anna Nekola "Between This World and the Next: The Musical 'Worship Wars' and Evangelical Ideology in the United States, 1960-2005" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2009). Randall Stephens, *The Devil's Music: How Christians Inspired, Condemned, and Embraced Rock 'n' Roll* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018).

<sup>28</sup> Charles W. Keysor, "What is 'Pop' Music Really Saying?," *Christianity Today* 11 no. 6 (December 23, 1966): 24-25.



elements, but allowed his five children to play pop regularly in his home. His contention with pop music was based not in the medium, but in the message. In the next issue, a United Brethren pastor in Ohio, Dave Frees, wrote in response to Keysor's article "the Church ought to use this medium to communicate with the younger generation."<sup>29</sup> That summer a young southern Baptist pastor in Texas contributed an article building on the idea of using "message songs" for youth outreach. Richard Groves made the connection between the use of pop musics and the infringement on the centrality of preaching and implicitly the centrality and authority of preachers:

[M]essage music opens a new avenue of witness for the evangelical church. Great care should be taken in making use of this, of course, but making music that is both commercial and thought-provoking from the Christian point of view is possible. If it is done, the message should not be so obvious as to be offensive, nor so veiled that it is not communicated.

All this must sound strange to those of us dedicated to a *pulpit* ministry. Yet the Gospel must be communicated. If it is hidden, it is hidden to those who are lost (II Cor. 4:3). If seeds can be planted on a "Top 40" show, then so be it. Unorthodox? Certainly. So [was] a prophet wearing a yoke.<sup>30</sup>

Scholarship on anti-rock has not tended to examine these positions as thoroughly as they have narrated the more boisterous positions held by the strident, non-negotiating anti-rock critics discussed below. Jesus music artists did not encounter a monolithic, anti-rock agenda within the evangelical church. Their music and musical practices were in some places rejected, but in others dialogue gradually facilitated the negotiations of musical change and its accompanying effects on church culture and authority.

A handful of prominent voices such as David Noebel and Bob Larson dominated Christian anti-rock discourse in the early 1970s. Other writers continued to recycle Noebel and Larson's ideas long after their original books were out of print. Both Noebel and Larson published multiple books

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<sup>29</sup> Dave Frees, "Letters to the Editor," *Christianity Today* 11 no. 8 (January 20, 1967): 18.

<sup>30</sup> Emphasis original. Richard Groves, "The Message in Modern Pop Music," *Christianity Today* 11 no. 19 (June 23, 1967), 6.

on the topic over the course of the 1960s and 1970s; both remained evangelical leaders into the twenty-first century. Noebel grounded his anti-rock stance in anti-Communism while Larson was primarily concerned with immorality. I argue they were also moved to write by deeper concerns over the usurpation of traditional evangelical structures of authority by the new spirituality of the Jesus movement.

David Noebel was deeply affected by his Cold War context and conflated the defense of his Christian sensibility with the defense of the nation. His 1966 book *Rhythm, Riots, and Revolution* presented rock music as a subversive Communist plot to “nerve-jam” American children and cause widespread “menticide.”<sup>31</sup> Drawing on racist pseudo-science, Pavlovian psychology, hypnosis, and Aristotelian aesthetic theories, he adopted (or invented) medical language stressing rock’s physical consequences.<sup>32</sup> Noebel also employed scripture verses to support his directives. He wanted to equip his readers to oppose these insidious sounds. His bellicose language was calibrated to inspire fear of blackness, pride for a white, Christian heritage, and decisive condemnation of rock music.

Noebel’s career advanced in the shadow of his mentor Billy James Hargis, a segregationist, John Birch conservative, and fundamentalist evangelist.<sup>33</sup> In 1950, Hargis founded one of the first national anti-communism organizations, the Christian Crusade. He traveled the country vehemently speaking and preaching as a new “species of political pundit—the Christian anticommunist

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<sup>31</sup> David Noebel, *Rhythm, Riots, and Revolution: An Analysis of the Communist Use of Music, the Communist Master Music Plan*. (Tulsa, OK: Christian Crusade Publications, 1966): 18; 21.

<sup>32</sup> Noebel, 15.

<sup>33</sup> Hargis was ordained in the Disciples of Christ denomination, a mainline denomination that practices congregational polity. By the time of his anti-communist campaigns, Hargis was considered well within the camp of evangelical fundamentalism. It appears that his political beliefs—not his doctrinal convictions—led to this reassignment. In 1957, seven years after he founded the Christian Crusade, the Disciples of Christ revoked his ordination due to his oratorical attacks on other congregations. His denominational affiliation is a case study in the difficulty of defining evangelicalism given its complex mix of weighted variables including not only denominational membership and training, but political identity and practice.

crusader.”<sup>34</sup> By the end of the 1964 Johnson-Goldwater presidential election, Hargis and extremist pundits like him had lost the ear of much of the evangelical sphere. Hargis’ protégé, Noebel, benefitted none the less from Hargis’ influence and example. On more than one occasion Noebel succeeded Hargis in leadership of various ministries and institutions founded by Hargis including American Christian College. In 1968 political scientist John Redekop speculated that should Hargis be removed from his massive network of far right Christian politicking, Noebel would be a natural and fairly seamless successor.<sup>35</sup> Noebel’s first books were produced through the publishing arm of the Christian Crusade. His communication prowess and fearmonger style has strong precedent in Hargis’ own. Updating Hargis’ persona as anticommunist crusader, Noebel undertook the mantle of culture warrior. Yet Hargis’ political and racial imperatives dovetail with Noebel’s arguments against popular culture.

Thickly applying the metaphors of invasion and battle, Noebel encouraged an enduring Christian and evangelical trope: spiritual warfare.<sup>36</sup> Noebel’s targets were specific. He claimed Communists secretly operated several children- and youth-oriented record labels that produced dangerous music marketed for use in elementary schools. He also claimed the Beatles were directly

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<sup>34</sup> Darren Dochuk, *From Bible Belt to Sunbelt: Plain-Folk Religion, Grassroots Politics, and the Rise of Evangelical Conservatism* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2011), 151.

<sup>35</sup> John Harold Redekop, *The American Far Right: A Case Study of Billy James Hargis and Christian Crusade* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1968), 141.

<sup>36</sup> Spiritual warfare is waged against threats to established church teaching and uses a variety of enforcements including but not limited to church discipline, civic exclusion, litigation, and sometimes physical violence. The line between chastising people and their ideas is naturally thin. The most dramatic stories of supernatural, spiritual resistance are usually set in geographically or socially distant places from the home front of American evangelical Christianity. In essence, a missionary to the third world or to a prison is more likely to encounter physical manifestations of spiritual threats. These narratives effectively other nonconformists by associating spiritual depravity with cultural difference. The Christian cliché, “Hate the sin, love the sinner,” is a simple statement that hides the complexity of how spiritual warfare has been waged. The term itself, or at least the concept of spiritual combat, dates to early Christian writing as is documented in David Brakke, *Demons and the Making of the Monk: Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006). For a look at more recent American engagement in the Third Wave movement of demonic and spiritual warfare in the United States, see Sean McCloud, *American Possessions: Fighting Demons in the Contemporary United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

affiliated with the Communist Party of the U.S.A. and that the folk song revival was in fact an infiltration of Communist values. Connecting Pete Seeger, Joan Baez, Bob Dylan, “The Times They Are A-Changin,’” and *Sing Out!* to what he called the “Communist-planned negro revolution,” Noebel sought to conclusively demonstrate anti-American, anti-Christian, anti-white functions of the music.<sup>37</sup> Noebel disparagingly referred to the Voting Rights Act of 1965 in scare quotes, claiming “the bill affects the six southern states that the Communists hope to turn into a Negro-Soviet America.”<sup>38</sup> While communism and music were purportedly his most pressing concerns, anxieties over race ran a steady and forceful current through his works.

Noebel repeatedly connected the rock beat to “the heart of Africa, where it was used to incite warriors to such a frenzy that by nightfall neighbors were cooked in carnage pots! The music is a designed reversion to savagery!”<sup>39</sup> He argued that the Communist use of music “is aimed at removing the barrier between classical music and certain types of popular music by substituting perverted form, e.g., jungle noises (atonality) for standardized classical music.”<sup>40</sup> The standards Noebel believed rock perverted included a vaguely defined level of harmonic variety and “easy” meters as they appear in waltzes and foxtrots.<sup>41</sup> The rock beat as defined by Noebel “is capable of producing [...] disintegrating and almost hysterical effect on an organism.”<sup>42</sup> The “savagery”

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<sup>37</sup> Noebel, 177. While Noebel was correct about the general leftward tilt of the folk revival, he was incorrect in his conjectures concerning global communist conspiracies.

<sup>38</sup> Noebel, 184.

<sup>39</sup> Noebel, 78.

<sup>40</sup> Noebel, 12. It is unclear what familiarity Noebel had with contemporary atonal compositions in the art music world. Atonality signified hyperintellectualism, not primitivism, to contemporary composers such as Milton Babbitt. Noebel’s understanding of the Western canon seems limited to what some might call middlebrow repertoire.

<sup>41</sup> Monsarrat quoted in Noebel, 117. The reader may have noticed an inconsistency in Noebel’s analysis given the common meter—4/4—of foxtrots and most rock songs.

<sup>42</sup> Noebel, 117.

embedded in its African origin and the “rhythmic-hypnotic” Communist mental warfare made rock and roll a sonic yet visceral threat to Noebel’s ideal society: white, Christian, and American.

The exclusion of non-white sounds in Noebel’s version of an ideal society tacitly excluded black people from holding positions of Christian authority. Though Noebel does not write specifically of church leadership, his message—contextualized by the Civil Rights advancements and upheavals of the mid-1960s—is segregationist. Blackness is a pollutant misdirecting youth away from appropriately white models of culture.

Though the bulk of *Rhythm, Riots, and Revolution* educates the reader about the subversive Communist functions of black music, Noebel did not neglect to provide strategies for how Christian values might rout the Communists. The reader ought to embrace the fact that “it is our Christian privilege and responsibility to reveal to the world through the spoken word, cinema, literature and music, the Saviour of the Word of God.”<sup>43</sup> He volunteered a few musical suggestions for appropriate Christian consumption including the “Washington Post March” and other patriotically tinted tunes, hymns, lullabies (“for mothers and grandmothers”), and “Beethoven, Mozart and Liszt.”<sup>44</sup> Rock music had no place for the conscientious Christian who chose to join Noebel on the frontlines against communism.

Historians of anti-rock criticism remember Bob Larson, like Noebel, as one of the most prominent early figures. He began publishing anti-rock books shortly after Noebel and continued to write on the topic into the early 1980s. His 1967 book *Rock & Roll: The Devil’s Diversion* repeated many of Noebel’s themes.<sup>45</sup> Indeed, some of Larson’s sentence structures and word choices strongly

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<sup>43</sup> Noebel, 240.

<sup>44</sup> Noebel, 234-235.

<sup>45</sup> Bob Larson, *Rock & Roll: The Devil’s Diversion* (McCook, NE: Creation House, 1967).

suggest he was closely familiar with Noebel's work. An example includes this racial explanation of rock's dangers:

Musicologists tell us that variations of rock and roll existed in Africa centuries before classical music appeared in Europe [...] What does it speak of world conditions when men call this music, which incited heathens into a frenzy resulting in cannibalism—a cultural expression of our times?<sup>46</sup>

Larson agreed with Noebel that rock music posed a physical threat, parroting notions of cannibalism and a fear of African musical heritage. But there are also significant differences to be noted between the two anti-rock crusaders. Larson makes no mention of Communist plots and has little to say about civic duty. He takes more time to demonstrate his familiarity with various sub-varieties of rock, specifying his main concern is with “hard-core rock.”<sup>47</sup> He also expresses concerns not contained in Noebel's work, including the belief that rock may portend a rapidly approaching apocalypse and that “through the influence of rock & roll on fashion, Satan is endeavoring to form a unisexual society, which would be conducive to homosexuality.”<sup>48</sup> Larson goes beyond Noebel and encourages readers to physically destroy records:

In the New Testament story of Ephesus, their conversion to Christianity resulted in their destroying of the idols they worshipped. Rock and roll and the worship of its performers is idolatry, and records are its fetish symbols. I therefore request that teenagers who have become enlightened on this matter, break their ‘hard-core’ rock and roll records.<sup>49</sup>

Importantly for Christian rock musicians, Larson argued it was impossible to follow God *and* perform or pursue rock and roll. He noted several personally witnessed conversions in which former

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<sup>46</sup> Larson (1967), 30.

<sup>47</sup> Larson (1967), 13.

<sup>48</sup> During the Cold War, the fear of biblical apocalypse and of nuclear annihilation were closely interwoven in the minds of conservative Christians. Larson's expectation for an impending national and global catastrophe was drawn not solely from the Communist threat as was Noebel's, but was due to the moral failings of American culture.

<sup>49</sup> Larson (1967), 91.

rock artists felt they had no choice but to completely reject their former lifestyles and musical practices.

Larson addressed Christian rock musicians more directly in his subsequent publication, *Rock & the Church*, in 1971 around the time the Jesus movement was gaining national attention. Larson does not differentiate between what I call Jesus music and music by secular artists that alluded to religion such as Norman Greenbaum's "Spirit in the Sky" or the Doobie Brothers' "Jesus is Just Alright." His views regarding the use of the rock style for Christian purposes, however, are unequivocally expressed and relevant for discussing the reception of Jesus music in the established evangelical church.

Larson opens *Rock & the Church* by building on the sympathies for conservative nationalism earlier Christian anti-rock critics nurtured. Larson repeatedly returns to assessing the borders of true or sincere Christian faith and practice. It is this sacred space—his vision of authentic evangelical spirituality—that he sees rock culture to be invading. Though he does not present ardent anti-communism as the best defense (in the style of Noebel), he does align his religious approach with the planks of political platforms: "One might have anticipated the acceptance of rock in liberal churches as inevitable with their strong emphasis on social service rather than biblical ministry."<sup>50</sup> It seems clear enough that the liberality of these churches concerns not only their mainline ecclesial heritage but also their progressive political inclinations (read: non-conservative/un-American). Larson's bifurcation of religious from social obligations feeds directly into Christian Smith's analysis of evangelical race politics and individualism.<sup>51</sup> By dividing "biblical ministry" from social service, Larson assumes a fraternity between social activism and popular culture. His condemnation of social

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<sup>50</sup> Larson *Rock and the Church* (Carol Stream, IL: Creation House, 1971), 12.

<sup>51</sup> See Christian Smith and Michael O. Emerson, *Divided by Faith: Evangelical Religion and the Problem of Race in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

activism demonstrates that his conception of the American nation circumscribes only a portion of the American population and experience—that which pursues politically conservative values.

Larson literally demonizes rock music and rock culture. His criteria for demonic activity is correlated to the music's racial origins and associations. The standards Larson holds black musics to (including those performed by white performers such as Lawrence Reynolds) exceed those to which he subjects white musics. Like Noebel, Larson operates within an essentialized view of race and music. Music created by black people is intrinsically suspect given their ethnic heritage in what Larson presumes to be non-Christian Africa. I would argue that this prejudice contributes to what he chooses to critique regardless of how he frames his primary objections. He criticizes Reynolds's "Jesus is a Soul Man" based on the emphasis the lyrics place on Christ's humanity, claiming it obscures his lordship. Hymn repertoire includes many texts that similarly lack an emphasis on Christ's lordship. To name a few popular hymns that omit explicit mention of Christ's divinity: "My Jesus I Love Thee," "Safe in the Arms of Jesus" and "Blessed Assurance." These all originated in the late nineteenth-century gospel hymn movement, a musical legacy that pervades conservative and fundamentalist American Christian networks. Larson's critique is prompted primarily by the song's advertising that included images of hippies and by Larson's own definition of the term "soul" as meaning a black person's sinful lifestyle: "It's an adjective borrowed from the black community referring to a life style separated from the worship of the divine Savior."<sup>52</sup>

Rock music posed not only a racial but also a sexual threat to Larson's ideal of Christian authority. The activation and display of young women's bodies was particularly jarring to Larson's sensibilities:

I have seen with my own eyes teenagers who have become demon-possessed while dancing to rock music. It was particularly noticeable with girls. One might expect a young lady to

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<sup>52</sup> Larson (1971), 19.



maintain some decency while dancing, but I have seen teenage girls go through contortions that could only be the manifestation of demon activity.<sup>53</sup>

The visibility of the young female body contrasted strongly with typical arrangements of conservative Christian services. The authority of men within the congregation is there reinforced visually by the presentation of male bodies as pastors and elders.

While Larson repeats Noebel's fears concerning physical and mental illness resulting from rock exposure and demonic activity in association with rock culture, he also casts a larger vision for what Christian music and Christian culture ought to aspire to. Larson identifies a key impediment to that vision—the commercialization of Christian music: “Christian rock advocates don’t need to sell Jesus. Judas beat them to it!”<sup>54</sup> Liturgical changes for the sake of appealing to the masses were not merely unnecessary, it was actively damaging to the faith. Falling rates of church attendance did not justify a shift towards popular culture: “Theological purity has often been sacrificed in order to salvage the diminishing audience.”<sup>55</sup>

Essentially, Larson believes the aesthetics of rock and hippie, “now” culture obscured the self-sacrificial submission to Christ in this life. If life with Christ is a “trip,” it is effortless, relaxing, and pleasurable. Larson counts as part of his theology a certain rigor, an expectation for rejection by “the world,” a challenged life.<sup>56</sup> Expecting that believers will face the stress of worldly rejection, he sees Christian rock as a medium that offers an inadequate vision, leaving young people uninformed

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<sup>53</sup> Larson (1971), 68.

<sup>54</sup> Larson (1971), 40. Larson later targets the avarice, not of Christian artists, but of composers, publishers, and record companies (pg. 77). His primary model of Christian rock was produced by large youth ministries and made early use of existing Christian media infrastructure. The Jesus music artists more closely remembered as representative of the Jesus movement typically operated outside of or on the fringe of the Christian industry. Some created their own record labels. Many performed publically without formal compensation relying instead on “love offerings.” The economic structures of Jesus music are discussed in more depth in chapter 2.

<sup>55</sup> Larson (1971), 41.

<sup>56</sup> A common theme found in Jesus music is the freedom found in faith and submission to Christ. Keith Green's lyrics mark a shift in Christian pop towards more acknowledgement of the burdens of Christian life.

and unarmed against the trials of Christian life: “The approach of Christian rock may be dazzling, but in the long run an honest, realistic presentation of Christ will prove to be more effective.”<sup>57</sup> By attributing theological purity to traditional presentations and not to innovative practices, he reinforces conventional evangelical authorities.

Larson argued rock music displaced the cultural skills as well as theological beliefs young believers would need to sustain their faith. With worship music appreciation as a component of cultural capital, Larson assumed a cultural economy in which rock was a liability rather than an asset. Rock consumption inhibited young people’s ability to receive what Larson believed to be morally and spiritually superior musics:

Not only are many young people immature spiritually, but musically as well. [...] Their appetite for other styles of music is underdeveloped. [...] Rock has oriented these teens to “body” music and they can’t appreciate “head” music. [...] The role of the church ought still to be one of cultural as well as spiritual leadership. [...] Let us not give them what they want but rather what they need in church music—theologically supportable lyrics and melodies and rhythms that culturally elevate and spiritually bless. Let us summon them to worship, not to wiggle.<sup>58</sup>

In Larson’s system, the mints of cultural values are the established church structures. Those structures—hymn committees, Bible colleges, denominations—self-replicate; their authority and their identities cyclically reinforce themselves. By disrupting the replication of evangelical culture, rock music is a real threat to Larson’s vision of the church.

In seeking the cultural elevation of young people, Larson consistently follows through on his critique of pop music commercialism. His critique should be understood as not only stylistic but also economic. The equalization of use value and exchange value for mass media products disrupts the centering of church authority. In this disordered cultural economy, tastes are allowed to prevail.

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<sup>57</sup> Larson, (1971), 44.

<sup>58</sup> Larson (1971), 70-71; 74.

Not only does rock evangelism direct attention away from church authorities, it fails to replicate incumbent forms of church authority. According to Larson, rock conversions are “superficial,” “lack[ing] a fundamental theological commitment.” They spiritually fall “far short of historic evangelical standards.”<sup>59</sup> This is due to the inadequate spiritual maturity of the converts’ mentors.<sup>60</sup> Presumably, if mentors of rock converts were spiritually mature, they would not be using rock music. Alluding with disdain to drug culture, Larson writes: “The spiritual fruit of Christian rock evangelism is usually a shallow experience held by one who has ‘turned on’ with Christ rather than one who has taken up the cross and entered into the discipline of discipleship.”<sup>61</sup> The theme of requisite rigor returns. His standards for spirituality require a level of theological development he claims is not cultivated among rock-consuming Christians. A spiritual experience related to or expressed by the language of worldly culture could not be the result of an encounter with God.

Larson seems not to be aware of the constructed nature of his own Christian culture. But did the spirituality of the Jesus movement lack rigor? While Jesus movement spirituality introduced a phenomenological emphasis less familiar to historic (white) evangelicalism, it also prompted intensive communal Bible study and extensive scripture memorization. Larson was either unaware of these activities or did not consider them creditable. The missing markers of credibility—seminary training, recognized names, denominational oversight—are markers of established evangelical authority structures rather than critiques of the rock style or economy.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Larson (1971), 75.

<sup>60</sup> Larson (1971), 80.

<sup>61</sup> Larson (1971), 81.

<sup>62</sup> Most evangelical seminaries at this time claimed to have admissions open to black students and reported the black students were well integrated into the campus communities. At the same time, interracial dating was often explicitly banned. A 1964 *Christianity Today* article delved into the presence of black students on evangelical campuses and found “In this serene picture there is at least one major flaw: Only a handful of Negroes are enrolled in evangelical schools. CHRISTIANITY TODAY’S questionnaire revealed that at the twenty-three responding schools, some eighty-seven Negroes were enrolled last year. By way of contrast, the twenty-eight schools queried have an estimated enrollment of 22,000 students. [...] [O]ver half of the schools

Larson's arguments are all based on the assumption that Christianity is intrinsically antithetical to certain musical and cultural styles.

I believe that ultimately the Holy Spirit can lead sincere Christians to make the correct decisions in these matters. Certainly any use of a pulsating or syncopated beat should be open to question. Extreme accentuation of such rhythms should definitely be rejected.<sup>63</sup>

By using this “no-true-Scotsman” claim, Larson categorically removes the Jesus people from being “sincere Christians.” He also makes for himself a high claim on Christian authority—to know the will of the Holy Spirit. In lieu of hierarchical organizations that provide ultimate authority for Roman Catholics, Orthodox Christians, and, to a certain degree, denominational Protestants, discernment of the Holy Spirit ranks second only to scriptural prescriptions in terms of evangelical authorities. His argument against rock music is ultimately an argument about authority in the church. Larson concludes *Rock & the Church* with an injunction to promote preaching over music:

[P]erhaps an over-emphasis on the role of music in presenting the Gospel is part of our problem. The lives of youth revolve around music. Many have naturally concluded, therefore, that music ought to be the major thrust in youth evangelism. Could it be that the evangelical church has forgotten the priority of a *preached* gospel?<sup>64</sup>

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had no American Negroes at all” (George Williams, “Negroes and The Christian Campus,” *Christianity Today* 9 no. 4 (Nov. 20, 1964), 46-47). The absence of black students in evangelical seminaries inhibited the accrual of their authority within white-dominant evangelical circles. For more analysis of how seminaries are gatekeepers of religious authority and culture, see Roger Finke and Kevin D. Dougherty, “The Effects of Professional Training: The Social and Religious Capital Acquired in Seminaries,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 41 no. 1 (March 2002): 103-120. Their sociological surveys suggest that in addition to the transfer of religious knowledge, “the enduring social networks, the attention to spiritual formation, and the promotion of a specific religious culture all have an enduring effect on the seminary graduates” (116). Seminary education or its lack determines whether a pastor’s authority and stability (in Finke and Dougherty’s terms “social and religious capital”) is based in a local congregation or in a wider denominational social network. Finke and Dougherty note that two rapidly expanding denominations, the Vineyard Christian Fellowship and Calvary Chapel (both products of the Jesus movement), maintain a caution around seminary education, preferring an apprenticeship model of pastoral preparation (105). Relevant to this study is that the authority and security bestowed by seminary education was obtainable only at the personal cost of black seminarians willing to endure the obstacles presented by de facto and de juris segregation. In the Jesus movement, the gatekeepers of pastoral authority were far more autonomous. Even if a Vineyard or Calvary pastor took on a black apprentice, they could not extend the benefits of social and religious capital bestowed by seminaries.

<sup>63</sup> Larson (1971), 86.

<sup>64</sup> Larson (1971), 87. Emphasis original.

This is a return to traditional seats of authority in the church held by white men (that is, those with access to seminary education). He acknowledges that the role of music in evangelicalism and in evangelism is crucially a matter of church authority. He shows he is aware that the threat to the church is not just aesthetic, but is in fact structural.

Anti-rock critics broadcast their views while presenting themselves as traditional evangelical authorities. Rhetorically and sartorially they cast themselves in the lineage of magnetic, middle-aged, male teachers stirring the populist evangelical masses to activism through books and speaking tours. While they suggested listening options to replace consumption of Christian rock, they and their disciples did not produce recorded music themselves. Following the lead of the mainstream music industry, Christian pop gave musicians the role of teacher as well as performer. The midcentury American folk music revival amplified the voices of musicians who used their stage to inform, mold, and direct. Jesus music, which generally had more of a folk-rock than a hard rock sound, likewise gave Christian musicians a new role of model and mentor previously monopolized by Christian orators.<sup>65</sup> This opportunity for musicians could herald a threat to established church authorities. Musicians were alternative if not replacement spiritual leaders. Unease over changes within evangelical social structures also triggered concerns and criticism.

Other evangelical figures and institutions opposed the Christian use of pop, but did so without claiming the sounds were themselves demonic. Rather than fearing spiritual degradation, they expressed concern over cultural degradation. They struggled to reconcile their assumption that certain musical styles were inherently aesthetically superior with their desire to effectively communicate to younger generations. While the more dramatic claims of authors such as Noebel

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<sup>65</sup> Consider the bifurcated roles played by twentieth-century evangelists and their musical directors. Dwight Moody, Billy Sunday, and Billy Graham gave the message. Ira Sankey, Homer Rodeheaver, and Cliff Barrows incited the emotions of the crowds, but theirs was not the same role as a preaching influence.

and Larson had a shock value that likely lengthened and widened their circulation, the quieter unease of others was pervasive and arguably has enjoyed a more direct legacy as evangelicals encountered new Christian genres through the end of the twentieth century.

Several examples of this unease appear in R. Bruce Horner's 1970 master's thesis: "The Function of Music in the Youth for Christ Program."<sup>66</sup> Youth for Christ (YFC) was organizing evangelistic youth rallies across the country at the time of Horner's research. Their parachurch ministry was a seedbed for many talents who made their careers through evangelistic organizations including the internationally influential Billy Graham Evangelistic Association. The strategies, prejudices, and values cultivated by YFC extended an influence far beyond the bounds of their own organization. Their youth rallies prompted early debate on the merits or dangers of popular music in Christian contexts. Letters from readers in *Campus Life* magazine concerning several articles on the use of "youth music" at YFC rallies run a wide spectrum "from great praise of the writers' broad, but morally uncompromising, acceptance of youth music (usually from teen-agers) to severe criticism, cancellation of subscriptions and claims of spiritual compromise (usually from adults)."<sup>67</sup> For these conservative adults, cultural accoutrements were intertwined with spiritual identity.

In some cases, the dual mission of evangelizing youth and also preserving and passing on cultural capital was expressed plainly: "I mean it would be a shame, for example, if we would win kids to Christ and never introduce them to "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God."<sup>68</sup> So stated John Peterson, composer, publisher, and performer as well as president of Singspiration, Inc. in a 1969 interview with Horner. Peterson went on to clarify that he did not oppose the use of popular musics

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<sup>66</sup> R. Bruce Horner, "The Function of Music in the Youth for Christ Program," (Master's Thesis, Indiana University, 1970).

<sup>67</sup> "The Sounds of Music" January 1969, "Movin' Out with the New World Singers" January 1969, "Rock from Nazareth" February 1970 quoted in Horner, 90-91.

<sup>68</sup> John Peterson, interview by R. Bruce Horner. Horner, 72.

to draw youth, but considered youth exposure to church music tradition of deep importance. He did not mention his views on whether adults should be likewise exposed to contemporary sounds of Christian worship. Horner reported how widespread this felt obligation to train the tastes of young believers extended through a survey question presented to YFC rally directors across the country. Asked “Does YFC have a responsibility to raise the standard of cultural and musical taste?” 62% responded yes, 21% no, 13% were uncertain, and 3% did not respond.<sup>69</sup>

Horner had also internalized an assumption of traditional church music’s superiority.

Reflecting on the musician’s role in YFC, he writes:

The musician is trained and taught to regard music as an art, but must use it in YFC as a practical tool to communicate with young men and women. The trained musician’s criteria for good art music is the quality of its melody, rhythm, harmony, tone color, texture and form. [...] Evangelistic musicians may have to counter the attitudes of their professional peers in other branches of music who are often openly scornful of gospel music and popular music stylistic elements and traditions and the frequent poor quality of their performance. [...] It is often a frustrating and unappealing situation to the trained musician. It is inevitable that where there is a strong rationale for entertainment, some compromise of sophisticated aesthetic criteria will have to be made, but it is tragic when the compromises have to be made for adults in the audience and not the teen-agers for whom the rally should be geared.<sup>70</sup>

By accepting without examination that popular or entertaining music lacks “sophisticated aesthetic criteria,” Horner assumes an opposition between objectively “good art music” and popular music. His writing reflects his grounding in and representation of an evangelical establishment looking at Christian pop through the filter of their own assumed musical normativity and, even, superiority. It prevents him from examining the popular, contemporary music of his time as sophisticated, spiritual practice. Popular music remains in his study a tool for entertainment that has the power to communicate the gospel, but not necessarily the cultural capital to mature the faithful.

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<sup>69</sup> Horner, 74.

<sup>70</sup> Horner, 70-71.

As on-the-ground observers, Horner and his interlocutors were invested in seeing their musical contexts clearly. While an inability to see their own blind spots limited their understanding of the musical shifts taking place, their sincere attempts to engage with youth culture underwrote a wider evangelical acclimation to new musical styles of worship and thereby a new evangelical spirituality.

*“They Just Want to Praise the Lord”*

Jesus music artists did not need to respond directly to critics to take a stand against anti-rock polemics (though some occasionally did). In different contexts, the performance of Jesus music raised different issues. Some musicians performed regularly in a single church community and relied on the support of church authorities to build the cultural capital of their aesthetics and to verify their spiritual authenticity. Love Song and Children of the Day both benefitted from this benefactor relationship under the oversight of Pastor Chuck Smith at Calvary Chapel, Costa Mesa. Other artists toured, performing at chains of churches. The brevity of their appearances mitigated some of the threat they potentially held for established authority structures. Their missional, mobile lifestyle marked their aesthetics and spirituality as exceptional, introducing new aesthetics without directly challenging the daily spirituality of congregations. While there is significant overlap between house bands and touring bands, these different relationships to the local church generally correlated to differences in musical style. Love Song and Children of the Day, the most famous of the Calvary Chapel groups, are representative of a softer, introspective folk-rock style. Later, Keith Green, with a similar investment in his local community and ministry at Last Days Ministries, contributed to the



proto-‘worship music’ style of the praise-and-worship genre.<sup>71</sup> Larry Norman and Andrae Crouch—the world-touring celebrities of the Jesus movement—commonly engaged in faster, driving music.<sup>72</sup>

Their differing contexts affected their musical presentations and also affected their responses to anti-rock criticism. Jesus music artists’ defense of vernacular music often boiled down to an argument of spiritual authenticity. As will be seen, they cited their music’s ability to facilitate human relationships and to resonate with the spirituality of their bodies. Larry Norman’s and Love Song’s musical responses to anti-rock rhetoric are particularly significant to the place they went on to hold in the mythos of contemporary Christian music history as founding father figures.

### *Larry Norman*

Larry Norman was invested in producing music and lyrics that performed sophistication. As a child he had distinguished himself as a poet. Before he became a solo Christian artist, Norman was a lead vocalist and songwriter for a secular band called People!<sup>73</sup> Composed of a group of skilled and dedicated instrumentalists and entertainers, People!’s live shows were eclectic and quirky, drawing on jazz and classical traditions. Anecdotes demonstrate their skill; after receiving an advance copy of *Sgt. Pepper’s Lonely Hearts Club Band* in May 1967, they memorized and reproduced the album

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<sup>71</sup> The praise and worship genre covers two usually distinct modes of corporate service music. The first, praise, tends to be upbeat and exclamatory about characteristics of God. The second, worship, has slower tempos and invites congregations into introspection and personal spiritual experiences.

<sup>72</sup> Thomas Turino’s presentational and participatory musics map roughly onto this distinction. I hesitate to use them in this application, however, due to the complexity of musical participation in a religious context. The performances put on by touring artists such as Norman and Crouch were more difficult for the audience to co-perform. However, both Norman and Crouch expected and aimed for their audiences to be deeply involved by spiritually participating throughout the concert experience. Love Song wrote songs that were easy to learn by ear and sing along with, but there remained a clear distinction between band members and audience. Moreover, the intent of Love Song’s performance was not primarily to musically entrain an audience, but to spiritually provoke them. In this sense, both categories of artists sought full participation of their audiences catalyzed by musical performance and both occupied some semblance of a presentational musical role. See Thomas Turino, Ch. 2 “Participatory and Presentational Performance,” *Music as Social Life: The Politics of Participation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008): 23-65.

<sup>73</sup> People! formed in 1965. They had one hit single, “I Love You” that peaked at no. 14 on the Billboard charts in June 1968.

live in concert. According to biographer Gregory Alan Thornbury, they also performed virtuosic psychedelic versions of classical works such as Franz Liszt's "Hungarian Rhapsody."<sup>74</sup> Norman claimed to have stopped listening to the radio in 1956—his point being that the curation of his influences was deliberate and unsullied by the shallowness of popularity.

Norman's dedication to and performance of sophistication fell in step with his times. The sixties were the age of the rock concept album and Norman's involvement in People! took place among the waves churned up by iconic albums such as the Beach Boys' *Pet Sounds* (1966), the Beatles' *Revolver* (1966) and *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* (1967), and the Who's *Tommy* (1969), all cited as the "first concept album."<sup>75</sup> The more control Norman had over his albums, whether in People! or as a solo Christian artist, the more they were crafted to repay close listening. In People!, Norman was responsible for creating "The Epic" (1968), a 13-minute rock opera that possibly inspired The Who's 1969 *Tommy*, though according to Norman biographer Gregory Thornbury, Pete Townshend has denied any influence. People! ejected Norman from their band in 1968 after two of the band's founding members, brothers Geoff and Robbie Levin, converted to Scientology and found Norman's personality was categorized as "suppressive" within Scientology teaching. After experimenting with a few musical opportunities, Norman released *Upon this Rock* in 1969 with Capitol Records. By the early 1970s as a pioneer of Christian rock, Norman had embarked not on a single concept album but a cohesive trilogy: *Only Visiting this Planet* (1972), *So Long Ago in the Garden* (1973), and *In Another Land* (1976). In his live performances, Norman was famed for his apparently

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<sup>74</sup> Gregory Thornbury, *Why Should the Devil Have All the Good Music?: Larry Norman and the Perils of Christian Rock* (New York: Convergent, 2018), 37; 41.

<sup>75</sup> A dominant narrative of the "maturation" of rock involves the transfer of power from teenage heartthrobs to guitar gods (read: a shift in rock's fan base from teenage girls to young adult men). Using signifiers of prestige and artistry borrowed from Western art music tradition, rock became less formulaic and less dance-oriented. The concept album was a vehicle of this transformation. For an account that complicates this narrative, see David Owen Montgomery, "The Rock Concept Album: Context and Analysis," (PhD Dissertation, University of Toronto, 2002).

cantankerous stage presence. He performed without a band on a microphone-amplified Flamenco guitar and was known for berating church sound technicians (who often were volunteer amateurs) from the stage mid-concert. The content of his albums and his performance quirks prompted listeners to engage with their spirituality through a cognitive filter, displaced by his prickliness from resting too comfortably in more purely emotional spiritual reactions.

Like his colleagues in the mainstream rock industry, Norman sought cultural capital through his musical presentation. For Norman, however, this pursuit occurred within the Christian community. On the first album of his sophistication-signifying trilogy, Norman gave a rhetorical challenge to anti-rock critics: “Why Should the Devil Have All the Good Music?” He followed it with “Reader’s Digest,” a song that musically imitates Bob Dylan’s “Subterranean Homesick Blues” while taking the mainstream rock world to task for decadence and immorality.

A lyrical analysis of “Why Should the Devil” presents a basic argument against the condemnation of rock music: Norman’s spirituality is expressed through rock.

I want the people to know  
That He saved my soul  
But I still like to listen to the radio.  
They say rock and roll is wrong, we’ll give you one more chance  
I say I feel so good I gotta get up and dance.

I know what’s right, I know what’s wrong I don’t confuse it  
All I’m really trying to say is  
Why should the devil have all the good music?

They say to cut my hair  
They’re driving me insane  
I grew it out long to make room for my brain  
But sometimes people don’t understand  
What’s a good boy doin’ in a rock ‘n’ roll band?

There’s nothing wrong with playing blues licks  
But if you got a reason tell me to my face  
Why should the devil have all the good music?  
There’s nothing wrong with what I play

Ahhh, Jesus is the rock and He rolled my blues away  
Alright!

I ain't knocking the hymns  
Just give me a song that has a beat  
I ain't knocking the hymns  
Give me a song that moves my feet  
I don't like none of those funeral marches  
I ain't dead yet

Jesus told the truth  
And Jesus showed the way  
There's one more thing I'd like to say  
They nailed Him to a cross  
And they laid Him in the ground  
But they shoulda known they can't keep a good man down  
I feel good every day  
I don't want to lose it  
All I wanna, all I wanna know is  
Why should the devil have all the good music?

I been filled I feel okay  
Jesus is the rock and He rolled my blues  
Jesus is the rock and He rolled my blues  
Jesus is the rock and He rolled my blues away

Example 1: Lyric transcription Larry Norman, "Why Should the Devil Have All the Good Music?"  
*Only Visiting This Planet*, Verve Records V6-5092, 1972, LP.

In "Why Should the Devil Have All the Good Music?" Norman refuses to give up his taste for rock, noting of Jesus, "he saved my soul, but I still like to listen to the radio." An unnamed interlocutor says "rock 'n' roll is wrong" but Norman counters that his confidence in his own faith and religious convictions prompts his music and his dancing: "Because Jesus is the rock and he roll my blues away." In response to criticisms concerning his appearance, Norman offers his signature sense of humor: "They say to cut my hair; they're driving me insane. I grew it out long to make room for my brain." He goes on to clarify that he "ain't knockin' the hymns" by wanting "a song that has a beat." Norman repeatedly confirms his identity as a believer ("he saved my soul," "Jesus is my rock," "I

been filled”)—a strong defense of his right to rock—and argues that it is in fact this identity that drives him to express himself through rock idioms.

Musically, “Why Should the Devil?” embraces an anthemic, rock ’n’ roll revival ethos. Norman’s vocals are clearly enunciated without guttural coloration. Keyboard glissandos decorate a bouncy, tight arrangement for saxophones played with fattened, round timbres and drum set.<sup>76</sup> This presentation of rock includes an overt element of artifice, such as that Elton John created in the nostalgia of his 1973 “Crocodile Rock.” Through artifice, Norman builds an image of control over his musical expression. He asks to be taken seriously while having a lot of fun. Norman bases a claim for religious cultural capital on a spiritual authenticity he experiences through rock music.

After the song “Why Should the Devil?,” Norman adds nuance to his position as a Christian rock artist by critically addressing secular artists along the same lines as anti-rock critics in the song “Reader’s Digest.”

Alice is a drag queen.  
Bowie’s somewhere in between.  
Other bands are looking mean.  
Me, I’m trying to stay clean.  
I don’t dig the radio.  
I hate what the charts pick.  
Rock and roll may not be dead,  
But it’s getting sick.  
All over the world  
Disc jockeys talk the same  
And every town I play  
Is like the one from where I came.  
  
The Rolling Stones are millionaires,  
Flower children pallbearers.  
Beatles said, “All you need is love”  
And then they broke up.

Jimi took an overdose.  
Janis followed so close.  
The whole music scene and all the  
bands are pretty comatose.  
This time last year  
People didn’t want to hear.  
They looked as Jesus from afar.  
This year he’s a superstar.  
  
[Dear John,  
Who’s more popular now?  
I’ve been listening to some of Paul’s  
records.  
I think he really is dead.]  
  
It’s 1973,  
I wonder who we’re gonna see.

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<sup>76</sup> Several of the backing musicians became involved in the British glam rock scene of the early 1970s, including keyboardist Bob Brady, later of the Electric Light Orchestra.

Who's in power now?  
I think I'll turn on the T.V.  
The man on the news said,  
"China's gonna beat us.  
We shot all our dreamers  
And there's no one left to lead us.  
We need salvation.  
Let's send some people to the moon  
And gather information."

[They brought back a big bag of rocks.  
Only cost thirteen billion.  
Must be nice rocks]

You think it's such a sad thing  
When you see a fallen king.  
Then you find out they're only princes  
to begin with  
And everybody has to choose  
Whether they will win or lose,  
Follow God or sing the blues  
And who they're gonna sin with.  
What a mess the world is in. I wonder  
who began it.  
Don't ask me, I'm only visiting this  
planet.

Example 2: Lyric transcription of Larry Norman, "Reader's Digest" *Only Visiting This Planet* Verve Records (1972).

Adopting a vocal cadence in imitation of Bob Dylan's 1965 hit "Subterranean Homesick Blues" (again, associating himself with a figure of musical sophistication and artifice), Norman laments that "Rock and roll may not be dead, but it's getting sick" and cites the drug abuse or hypocrisy of major mainstream artists including Janis Joplin, Jimi Hendrix, the Beatles, and the Rolling Stones as well as the sexual revolution represented by the wardrobes of Alice Cooper and David Bowie. He says he "hate[s] what the charts pick" and separates himself from these other artists by "trying to stay clean." The recurrent message is that Norman is not blinded by his immersion in the rock industry. He is "clean" and "only visiting." His separation, in the world of rock but not of it, signals spiritual authenticity.

Norman also acknowledged the concerns of anti-rock critics in his live performances. The keystone of his spiritual credibility as a rock performer was his personal performance of spiritual authenticity. Jesus music insider Paul Baker published an account of a typical Norman concert: "When the applause began, Larry would point his index finger upward as if to say 'Give God the glory, not me.' The teenagers quickly caught on, and the one-way sign became the flag of the Jesus

movement.”<sup>184</sup> Jesus music artists related to their fans in a different manner than mainstream artists: not as guitar gods, but as prophets and preachers. If Norman was the first to point heavenward, subverting the typical audience-artist relationship, he was also establishing Jesus music and Christian rock as an experience, moral code, and lifestyle apart from mainstream rock. The index finger held aloft set Norman up as a standard; he became a flag on the field of spiritual battle and a benchmark for spiritual performance. Due to this standard, Norman’s legacy as the “father of Christian rock” is convoluted and contested. Incendiary documentaries such as David di Sabbatino’s *Fallen Angel: The Outlaw Larry Norman* have spurred the rise of Norman defenders such as [thetruthaboutlarrynorman.com](http://thetruthaboutlarrynorman.com).<sup>185</sup> Other Jesus movement artists and many CCM artists who followed them have seen their musical careers pierced through for life choices far removed from their musical products.<sup>186</sup> As Norman and others would experience, any perception of moral missteps real or imagined could be crushing for those who scaled the stages of Christian rock stardom.

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<sup>184</sup> Paul Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music: Where it Came From, What It Is, Where It's Going* (Westchester, IL: Crossway Books, 1985), 32.

<sup>185</sup> Gregory Thornbury’s recent biography has also sparked rebuttals such as the interview given by Geoff Levin, guitarist in People! to Tony Cummins music editor of Cross Rhythms, a UK-based Christian media company: Geoff Levin, “People!: The ‘60s Rock Hitmakers with the Larry Norman Connection,” interview by Tony Cummins, Cross Rhythms, December 18, 2019, [http://www.crossrhythms.co.uk/articles/music/People\\_The\\_60s\\_rock\\_hitmakers\\_with\\_the\\_Larry\\_Norman\\_connection\\_/64361/p1/](http://www.crossrhythms.co.uk/articles/music/People_The_60s_rock_hitmakers_with_the_Larry_Norman_connection_/64361/p1/).

<sup>186</sup> The “mother of Christian rock” Marsha Stevens-Pino of Children of the Day lost her Christian music career after coming out as a lesbian and divorcing her husband and fellow band member, Russ Stevens in the late 1970s. She eventually rebuilt her music career albeit with a much reduced audience size within the LGBT+ Christian community. See Marsha Stevens-Pino *For Those Tears I Died: The Amazing Story About How One Song Brought Healing to Millions and Birthed Contemporary Christian Music* (CanyonWalker Press, 2016). Others after her experienced similar rejection including Amy Grant and Katy Perry, formerly CCM artist Katy Hudson. Some effectively hid the potentially objectionable aspects of their personal lives such as Rich Mullins who struggled with alcoholism throughout his career. The

## *Love Song*

In Costa Mesa, California, Calvary Chapel became the church home of Love Song, a rock group of new converts fresh from a lifestyle of drugs, communes, and bare feet.<sup>187</sup> Like Norman, Love Song's faith through their music became a model for spirituality. Mark Alan Powell claims of Love Song that they "more than any other human entity embodied and expedited the spiritual revolution that became known as the Jesus movement."<sup>188</sup> Love Song's conversion was noted by *Rolling Stone* critic Patrick Corman who wrote in June 1971 that while "a few years ago [Love Song] played the acid rock nightclub circuit", Love Song "is now an acoustical 'contemporary gospel' band."<sup>189</sup> Their sound as a Christian band was soft rock with soothing vocal harmonies comparable to Bread or CSN&Y, occasionally with a hint of country thrown in.<sup>190</sup> The new sound struck a nerve with the Jesus people. Powell reports concerning Love Song's appeal that:

The Jesus people spoke of this hard-to define quality in terms of "anointing" and *Love Song* [the band's first album] was and still is considered to be one of the most anointed record of all. Like many other Jesus music bands, the group used to list 'the Holy Spirit' as their producer; in their case, the claim seems to ring true. Rarely, if ever, has any musical work sounded so *inspired*—though, of course, it might just come off insipid or lame to those who do not share the members' faith or theology.<sup>191</sup>

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<sup>187</sup> The members of Love Song were Chuck Girard (keyboards), Tommy Coomes (guitars), Jay Truax (bass), and Bob Wall (guitars). All contributed vocals.

<sup>188</sup> Mark Allan Powell, *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Christian Music* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2002), 543.

<sup>189</sup> Patrick Corman, "Freaking Out On Jesus: True Testimonials from the Street," *Rolling Stone* no. 85 (June 24, 1971), 25.

<sup>190</sup> The band did not record prior to their conversion, but contemporary reviews and their personal testimonies do suggest a considerable change in their musical style post-conversion. Other Jesus music bands that converted as a group retained the harder rock styles of their pre-Christian careers. Wilson McKinley, a four-person band from the Pacific Northwest, is among the most notable.

<sup>191</sup> Powell, 543. While I lack documentation, other musical artists and works I have heard being called "anointed" within evangelical circles and publications include Phil Keaggy, Handel's *Messiah*, Lecrae, and Fernando Ortega. Those with some familiarity with contemporary Christian music will recognize that these artists have little to nothing in common in terms of musical style. Categorizing musical vessels of Christian spiritual power would be an illuminating and complex endeavor.



According to their recollections, Love Song began playing at Calvary Chapel services within a week of their first visit.<sup>192</sup> The presence of Pastor Chuck Smith loomed large in Chuck Girard's memory of his first visit:

The service was very low key. I remember being very impressed that Chuck didn't yell or scream, just shared stuff about Jesus with a big grin on his face. I don't remember what was preached that night, I just knew that something very powerful and important was going on in that room, and I wanted to understand it and be a part of it.<sup>193</sup>

Love Song did become "a part of it." While they did not sign with Maranatha Records, a nonprofit record label founded by Calvary Chapel, they did become the most prominent group in a stable of artists and bands that performed for the multiple weekly services, events, and bible studies organized through Calvary.<sup>194</sup> Erick Nelson, another Calvary musician recalled his early impressions of Love Song:

The visual presentation of the group was always impressive. First, they all had fairly long hair and beards, which was a definite plus. They weren't boys, but men. You knew they had been around - had tried drugs, alternative life styles, religions, ... all of which gave them instant credibility. Chuck Girard looked kind of like wild west prospector, or a prophet, with a very cool beard; Tommy Coomes and Fred Field had afro-type hair and I think that Tommy had John Lennon-type glasses. But Jay Truax, the bass player, was by far the most impressive. He looked like a prophet, or an angel, with long blond hair, blond beard, wearing a tunic-type shirt which looked kind of like a robe. With yellowish spotlights on his head, he took on a golden glow.<sup>195</sup>

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<sup>192</sup> Fred Field, "Memoires [sic] of an Ex-Hippie Turned Jesus Freak," One-way.org, <http://one-way.org/lovesong/fredtalk.htm>.

<sup>193</sup> Chuck Girard, "Love Song History—Part 1 (Mar 1997)," One-way.org, <http://one-way.org/lovesong/chukhist.htm>.

<sup>194</sup> The story of how Love Song arranged their recording is an interesting one. Mark Allan Powell reports in his *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Christian Music* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2002) that "when the group first got the itch (i.e., felt led) to record, they met with MGM executive Freddie Piro at the Samuel Goldwyn studios in Hollywood. They played him two songs ("Two Hands" and "Welcome Back") and he ended up on his knees in the studio parking lot, praying with them to ask Jesus into his heart. Imbued with evangelical fervor, Piro left National General and established his own label, Good News Records, on which the two Love Song albums would appear[.] The group's debut album remained the Number One selling gospel record in America for over a year and went on to sell a phenomenal 250,000 copies. Even if Jesus freaks in the band didn't care about such transient things, their commercial success did not go unnoticed by people who did" (545).

<sup>195</sup> Erick Nelson, "Love Song," (June 12, 1997), One-way.org, <http://one-way.org/lovesong/ericknel.htm>.

Middle-aged and relatively square, Chuck Smith was aided in his outreach by the work of Lonnie Frisbee, a young, countercultural charismatic minister. With Frisbee and Love Song frequently foregrounded, Calvary Chapel underwent a major image overhaul but remained under the pastoral authority of Chuck Smith.



Figure 7: Chuck Smith (left) and Lonnie Frisbee (right) make the one way gesture at an ocean front baptism service. Image taken from [http://www.graceworldmission.org/jesus\\_ppl\\_revival.html](http://www.graceworldmission.org/jesus_ppl_revival.html)

Love Song's 1971 self-titled debut album addressed the cultural divide between the Jesus movement and traditional Christian culture in a song called "Little Country Church." The song implies a standard for spiritual authenticity.

Little country church on the edge of town  
Do-do-do-do-do-oo-do  
People comin' everyday from miles around  
For meetin's and for Sunday school  
And it's very plain to see  
It's not the way it used to be  
Preacher isn't talkin' 'bout religion no more  
He just want to praise the Lord  
People aren't as stuffy as they were before  
They just want to praise the Lord  
And it's very plain to see  
It's not the way it used to be  
No no no

They're talkin' 'bout revival and the need for love  
That little church has come alive  
Workin' with each other for the common good  
Puttin' all the past aside  
Long hairs short hairs some coats and ties  
People finally comin' around  
Lookin' past the hair and straight into the eyes  
People finally comin' around  
And it's very plain to see  
It's not the way it used to be  
No no no-no-no

Example 3: Lyric transcription of Love Song, "Little Country Church," *Love Song*, Good News Records GNR 08100, (1971).

The song describes an idyllic community of believers coming together despite cultural obstacles; it is Calvary Chapel set to song. In the community of this little country church the "Preacher isn't talkin' 'bout religion no more" and the "People aren't as stuffy as they were before" because "They just want to praise the Lord." The congregation achieves their sense of community through their common faith, which the lyric suggests, is "not the way it used to be." The congregation in this song turned to the values of the Jesus movement, which capitalized on experiencing religion. Intuition or feeling gave credibility to the church's spirituality. While unconfined to doctrinal statements or religious institutionalism ("isn't talkin' 'bout religion no more"), it is "very plain to see:"

A later track on *Love Song*, "Brand New Song," opens with a stanza that promotes a refreshed spirituality and possibly a literally new musical sound:

Sing unto the heavens with a brand new song  
The one that we've been hearing's been a hit too long  
The lyrics sound confused as if they don't belong  
So sing unto the Lord and sing with fe-e-ling

And sing a song of love  
And sing a song of gladness  
Much too long our music has been filled with sadness

Sing unto the heavens with a brand new song  
Sing unto the Lamb with voices clear and strong

Tell the world that's waited now for much too long  
All the good that God has been revealing

And sing a song of grace  
And sing a song of gladness  
Much too long our music has been filled (filled) with sadness (sadness sadness)  
La---da---la---da—da—da—(etc.)

Example 4: Lyric transcription of Love Song, “Brand New Song,” *Love Song*, Good News Records, (1971).

The refrain implores listeners to turn away from the “sadness” of the previous music not unlike the manner in which the members of Love Song turned from the mainstream secular industry to the burgeoning Christian musical communities. Criticism of traditional church music, hymns and psalms, may also be nested within the vaguely defined “sadness” of past music. The “brand new song” liberates the singer to live a life of faith more attractive to the young people of the Jesus movement. Love Song’s second album, *Final Touch* (1974) included the song “Jesus Put the Song in Our Hearts,” which similarly uses music as a metaphor for faith. The source of the music is Jesus who “gives us joyful melodies.” Jesus himself is “singin’ out to all/[...]/Jesus means for you to hear.” None of these Love Song tracks makes an explicit claim about genre or specific musical aesthetics within their lyrics. All three, however, lyrically envision an ideal spiritual experience in which people who were unfamiliar or unmoved by the trappings of the Jesus movement culture embrace it, resulting in a renewing and positive spiritual experience. By presenting this sentiment in the aural context of their drum-set backed, finger-picked acoustic guitars and pop-inflected vocals, Love Song does send a message as to how this ideal religious environment ought to sound. The core works of uniting the church body, Love Song sonically implies, is best achieved through the sound of Jesus music, not conventional hymnody. Jesus music generates spiritual authenticity and therefore had cultural capital within a soon-to-be-reborn religious music industry.

The assertions and implications made overtly and subtly by Norman, Love Song, and other Jesus music artists gradually spread until the Jesus movement was a nationally recognized phenomenon. Over the course of the 1970s, Jesus music transformed into CCM. Youth ministries were often the first branches of the evangelical sphere to accommodate the music within established church spaces. With this foothold in place, CCM gradually entered the adult worship space in a process historian Thomas Bergler terms the “juvenilization” of American Christianity.<sup>196</sup> The positions created by the music of Jesus music artists made this transformation socially possible by equipping Jesus music with cultural capital and by marking Christian pop consumption as a sign of spiritual authenticity.

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<sup>196</sup> Thomas E. Bergler, *The Juvenilization of American Christianity*, (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2012).

## Chapter 4 The Word Became Flesh: Modeling Spiritual Feeling through Music

“When Elizabeth heard Mary’s greeting, the baby in her womb leaped. She was filled with the Holy Spirit, and sang out exuberantly”

Luke 1:41-42a (MSG)

*Sing unto the heavens with a brand new song  
The one that we’ve been hearing’s been a bit too long  
The lyrics sound confused as if they don’t belong  
So sing unto the Lord and sing with fee-ee-ling*  
Love Song, “A Brand New Song,” *Love Song* (1971)

Chuck Girard’s keening tenor pled and coaxed with a disarming sincerity. The young crowds swayed together in the warm breezes wafting through the Calvary Chapel courtyard, or bumped shoulders while hunched together on the floor of a crowded coffeehouse, or shifted their feet in the sand, the beach still releasing heat gathered in the warmth of the day. Others watched with skeptical curiosity lounging in a seat at the Hollywood Palladium enjoying an afternoon of entertainment for the low price of “being witnessed to.” Soothing harmonies gave a vision of religious faith that promised comfort, simplicity, and honesty. Alongside theological cajoling, Girard, his Love Song bandmates, and most other Jesus music artists presented a model of physical religious experience—of feeling—for the spiritually seeking and skeptical.

The embodied performances of Jesus music were meaningful expressions of a new evangelical spirituality.<sup>1</sup> “Feeling” and constructions of authenticity that undergirded the music dripped with meaning acquired from the wider marketplace of American aesthetic practice. In the midst of the wearying battle between modernists and fundamentalists, a premodern/postmodern evangelicalism captured the hearts of the young faithful and gained an inheritance of lasting

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<sup>1</sup> I acknowledge the precedents from evangelical history of expressing experiences of conversion and other religious high points with physical descriptions. “Religion of the heart” or “experimental religion” of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century and the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Wesleyan “heart strangely warmed” are examples.

significance. I suggest the evangelical bent towards phenomenologically oriented worship since the 1960s is connected to postmodern systems of value while relying on premodern openness to various modes of knowledge/revelation. Philosopher Jean-François Lyotard has described postmodernism as a refutation of meta- or grand narratives. The position created via this negation is a belief in little or micro-narratives--effectively trading the one voice for the many voices. A postmodern viewpoint breaks down boundaries to arrive at the open space of multiplicity and possibility. In evangelicalism, the individual narrative of personal testimony or an experience of a single evening of worship can take precedence over adherence to doctrine. In the Jesus movement, *personal* Bible study was zealously practiced. Readers expected to have individual access to spiritual truth just as they expected personal spiritual experience in worship. A multi-narrative generated by community is often more influential than meta-narrative for reinforcing and modeling culture within a late twentieth-century evangelical context. These practices placed value on micro-narratives of religious revelation, rejecting along the way the modernist or fundamentalist insistence on a governing meta-narrative of religious authority.<sup>2</sup> In resonance with the premodern Western era, postwar evangelicals draw on multiple sources of knowledge including supernatural revelation, personal experience, phenomenological learning, and observation of the natural world. The epistemological processes that grew out of faith that was based in embodied experience lent themselves to the imagined communities that supported the ascendancy of evangelical political power and cultural voice. While

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<sup>2</sup> Jesus movement participants and American evangelicals in general keep to Protestant precedent and claim the Bible as the central authority in their religious lives. In this way they are a textual community. However, since they use multi-narrative as a source of authority in their interpretive community, I argue they function culturally as postmodernists. In my analysis I am privileging the role of interpretation over the presence of a governing text, essentially claiming a narrative is not text alone but text and interpretation. I borrow the terms imagined community, textual community, and interpretive community from Benedict Anderson *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983/2016).

little of what the Jesus people said and wrote has passed into the canon of Christian classics, what they did in worship indelibly marks American evangelicalism.

This chapter analyzes how Jesus music worship functioned as an embodied practice. I take into account not only the bodies present, but also the bodies implied. Whiteness was an overwhelming quality of the Jesus movement. To better understand this quality, I place it in contrast with blackness. This dualism, while fallible, illuminates how musical values and religious identities dialogued during this formative period of evangelical musical practice. I acknowledge the arguments made by those hostile to Jesus movement aesthetics before examining several Jesus music artists in detail. The first group examined were all active in the southern California Jesus movement scene. These musicians are represented by an analysis of a southern California album, *The Everlastin' Living Jesus Music Concert*. The second group were spread across the Midwest. In many ways, these Midwestern disciples created concentrated versions of the religious values originally developed in California. This group is represented through an album by Phil Keaggy, *What a Day*.

*And They'll Know We Are Christians by Our Feeling*

Contemporary observers of the Jesus movement noted that along with a theological commitment to conservative, even fundamentalist theological tenets, evangelical, Jesus people youth also maintained an influence from the mainstream youth culture. This extended quotation from an unpublished paper held in the Fuller Theological Seminary archives describes the balance achieved by Jesus people between religious orthodoxy and secular views of the body:

It can hardly be denied that the traditional American fundamentalistic [sic] Christianity in its denial of sexuality and of the body, which is at least implicit in much of the intellectual, "spiritual" music of evangelicals, is just as distorted in its picture of sex as anything in rock. To the youth culture, sex is beautiful, and it is unabashedly glorified. To the youth, the evils of Marajuana [sic] and Sex are not immediately apparent. They are not asking, as the older



generation has, “what are the rules?” Rather, they ask, “will anyone get hurt?” [...] The Jesus Movement, though rejecting the promiscuity of the youth culture, expresses freer, more direct sexual relations than the fundamentalist elders. Youth are much more physical in their whole expression of life. They are not afraid of feeling, of touch and sense encounter. Their Christianity involves much more of their body, and in that respect departs from the anticeptic [sic] cleanliness of the hellenistic [sic] mind that likes to dwell in a world of ideals. Plato colonized the world with abstractions. The God of the Hebrews worked with real flesh and blood men. The Jesus People have recaptured some of the materialiness [sic] and sensual vigor of the Hebrew culture. [...] The point is that the Jesus Movement has exposed many of the distinctly American cultural biases for what they are, not essentially theological values, but merely cultural extensions of the hyper-individualistic, emotionally-alooof, capitalistic mind. [...] The Jesus Movement has restored the element of celebration and estatic [sic] praise to the people of God. It has taught the Church to tap its feet and clap its hands to new rhythms, to affirm the sacredness of what has previously only been “savage African jungle music.”<sup>3</sup>

The Jesus people embraced a phenomenological foundation for their faith expressions; experiential religiosity confirmed the convictions of the faithful and appealed to the sensibilities of newcomers.

In the Jesus movement, music gained the function of creating space in which spirituality could make physical contact within white evangelicalism. Binding emotive expressivity within musical experience gave it social approval. Miraculous accounts often are based in the context of musical worship. In a fundraising letter from the early 1970s, Duane Pederson’s Jesus People organization claimed that their Jesus People Festivals—free Jesus music shows held the greater Hollywood area—regularly see “an almost unbelievable number of instantaneous drug cures through Jesus Christ!”<sup>4</sup> Recipients of “drug cures” claimed immediate, withdrawal-free relief from the effects of drugs in their systems and from drug addiction. The musically heightened context of these

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<sup>3</sup> Richard C. Lang, “The Jesus Movement: An Evaluation,” July 20, 1971, [p. 8-10] Box 1, Archival Collection 74: Jesus Movement Collection, 1964-1982, Archives, Rare Books and Special Collections, David Allan Hubbard Library, Fuller Theological Seminary. This item is a paper written for a class. Further information on the identity of the author or details about the paper’s origin are not available.

<sup>4</sup> Fundraising packet on Jesus People letterhead, Box 7, Collection 66: Duane Pederson, Jesus People International, and Hollywood Free Press Collection, 1953-2011, Archives, Rare Books and Special Collections, David Allan Hubbard Library, Fuller Theological Seminary. The letter was distributed to a select group of well-placed men who developed networks of support, financial and otherwise, for Duane Pederson and Jesus People. For instance, Bobb Biehl, then an executive for World Vision International, orchestrated the funds that allowed Pederson to attend and participate in Key ’73. Others in the group include Pat Boone, entertainer; Bill Brown, later college president; Don Christianson, animator and cartoonist; Stanley Mooneyham, vice president of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association; and Bob Yerkes, film stuntman.

healings resonated with the spiritually sourced physical healing practices of other Christian faith healers or practitioners of divine healing. In both cases—Jesus music worship festivals and faith healer revivals—the miraculous occurs in an organized religious environment, but removed from the ritual of Christian tradition. It is not the touch of a communion wafer or a drop from a baptismal font that elicits healing. Jesus music created a spiritualized place in which physical spiritual experiences could happen without disrupting established Protestant doctrine. Music became a critically physical experience and achieved a sacramental function.

The language of individual testimony and personal experience within the Jesus movement took on a subtle, yet important distinction from the witness of established evangelicalism. While rooted in evangelicalism of the past, it also led to a split from established evangelical institutionalism. In some applications, it uses the language of populist, conservative political appeals. A support letter for *The Hollywood Free Paper* in 1970 read: “Remember, Jesus didn’t turn to the ‘big’ people of His day. He gathered about Himself concerned, dedicated people, who did what they could. It’s the concerned, dedicated people to whom we are turning.”<sup>5</sup> In 1971, the *Los Angeles Times* quoted Pat Boone as saying: “The movement is so free-form, so anti institutional that it is really shaking up the ordained priesthood because it has no apparent structure.”<sup>6</sup> I argue the experiential emphasis of Jesus movement evangelicalism as it was modeled and proliferated by Jesus music legitimized the network structure of modern new paradigm churches.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Fundraising letter on Hollywood Free Paper letterhead, March 1970, Box 7, Collection 66: Duane Pederson, Jesus People International, and Hollywood Free Press Collection, 1953-2011, Archives, Rare Books and Special Collections, David Allan Hubbard Library, Fuller Theological Seminary.

<sup>6</sup> John Dart, “Pat Boone Disciplined by Church,” *Los Angeles Times* Sunday, March 28, 1971: B4, Box 56, Collection 66: Duane Pederson, Jesus People International, and Hollywood Free Press Collection, 1953-2011, Archives, Rare Books and Special Collections, David Allan Hubbard Library, Fuller Theological Seminary.

<sup>7</sup> See Brad Christerson and Richard Flory, *The Rise of Network Christianity: How Independent Leaders are Changing the Religious Landscape* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

“Sing with feeling,” crooned Girard. The feeling was physical, emotional, and spiritual. The feeling smeared these categories together. For a branch of evangelicalism with strong affiliations to fundamentalism, this melding amounted to a new spirituality that led to a new ecclesial polity. A commercial industry of music, books, celebrity pulpits, and merchandise was sufficient to preserve this spirituality in the current unwieldy bloc of society we call American evangelicalism today. As with most things American, this spirituality cannot be fully understood without incorporating the lens of racial politics.

The advent of Jesus rock occurred within a wider landscape of rock musicians seeking acknowledgement as musical sophisticates. This was an intentional motion made by white rock musicians away from the black roots of rock—blues, black gospel, dance—and toward European signifiers of sophistication—longer forms, classical music allusions, music for a silent, still listener.<sup>8</sup> This white rock musicians, critics, and consumers constructed this “sophistication” as an ideal of rock music.<sup>9</sup> The Beatles’ departure from the touring circuits and the rise of the concept album had left their marks on rock. Simon Frith summarizes:

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<sup>8</sup> Music theorist John Covach offers an examination of how the hippie aesthetic in rock and pop music contributed to the development of “musical ambition—the idea that pop can aspire to be better or more sophisticated kind of music by employing techniques and approaches often borrowed from other styles (like classical and jazz).” While Covach’s article does not emphasize the racial divide between signifiers of primitivism and sophistication, it does offer a concise introduction to the oft-overlooked contribution of psychedelic rock in rock history. See John Covach, “The Hippie Aesthetic: Cultural Positioning and Musical Ambition in Early Progressive Rock,” *Proceedings of the International Conference “Composition and Experimentation in British Rock 1966-1976,”* Cremona, Sala Puerari-Palazzo Cittanova, October 20-22, 2005. <http://www-3.unipv.it/britishrock1966-1976/testien/cov1en.htm>.

For a discussion of race and midcentury American musical sophistication, see Kelsey Klotz, “Racial Ideologies in 1950s Cool Jazz,” (Ph.D. dissertation, Washington University in St. Louis, 2016).

<sup>9</sup> Note: From this point onward, I use the term ‘sophisticated’ within the context and perspective of white evangelical pop music in the early 1970s. I do not subscribe to the view that sophistication is tied to European (white) cultural origins. Rather, sophistication is culturally bound. As the rock elite cast off components associated with the body (which were in turn associated with origins within black culture as well as dancing, teenage girl fandoms), they received the benefit enjoyed by dominant culture that George Lipsitz described in his concept of strategic anti-essentialism. Those within in a dominant culture may don the cultural practice of a non-dominant group. The laying aside of that practice (or costume or accent or...) establishes the dominant culture’s cachet as normative. See George Lipsitz, “‘The Shortest Way Through’:

In the late 1960s, rock musicians drew on artistic ideology to legitimize and make sense of their movement (following the Beatles) from live performance to the recording studio, from collective celebration to the individual lyric, from dancing teenage crowds to appreciative listening audiences. [...] Rock music “progressed” and, in doing so, began to derive its cultural importance from the nonblack elements in its vocabulary.<sup>10</sup>

Jesus music was contemporary to this shift towards art rock. Jesus music artists by injecting religion into pop music and by tying pop sounds to times of sacred worship granted the music a heightened respectability, falling into accord with the move toward sophisticated, technology-mediated recording and listening practices. The infusion of Christianity into rock music provided meaning of a most elevated type: theological, philosophical, eschatological. This was another route by which rock musicians could shed their bodies. At the same time, Jesus rock was a dual story of evangelicals coming to terms with embodied worship that triggered physical, emotional involvement through musical signal. Jesus music was a marriage grounds bringing sophistication and legitimacy to rock performance while bringing embodied authenticity to religious expression.

Like a scale seeking equilibrium, the Jesus music community and later the CCM industry sought a balance between the implications of mind and body in pop-worship music. Simon Frith theorizes that a significant portion of rock’s physicality was realized through its collectivizing culture. The legitimizing of rock took place as a movement away from racialized signals of collective musical practice.<sup>11</sup> As Jesus people sought to emulate the primitive Christianity of the early church, they placed a high value on collectivity. Communes, meals, in-home Bible studies, and other opportunities to assemble abounded in Jesus movement communities. Jesus music likewise presented an initially unsophisticated face. The value given to collectivity partially accounts for Jesus

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Strategic Anti-essentialism in Popular Music,” *Dangerous Crossroads: Popular Music, Postmodernism, and the Poetics of Place* (London: Verso, 1994), 49-68.

<sup>10</sup> Frith *Sound Effects*: 21.

<sup>11</sup> Frith *Sound Effects*: 21. “It was precisely because R&B was, for rock fans, essentially a collective form that it was thought not to allow for genuine, individual, artistic expression.”

music's failure to find a place in the burgeoning Christian pop music industry—Jesus music was not a musical culture given to esteeming the individual artist or talent. Chuck Girard's worship leadership was appreciated and enjoyed, but his name did not necessarily come to carry the same weight that Keith Green did five years later in the dawning of the contemporary Christian music industry. By the late 1970s, the scale had shifted. With a consumer base firmly established, Christian pop could pursue the packaged sophistication of mainstream pop music.

The pre-sophisticate rock of the Jesus movement maintained a connotative connection to black musicality and spirituality. At the same time, it facilitated little social contact between blacks and whites. Frith observes of the mainstream music market, "it was the overt, assertive, *social* intermingling of black and white that was threatening. Musical intermingling had been a fact of Southern life for a hundred years."<sup>12</sup> Social race intermingling was, likewise, not a highly visible feature of Jesus music. While race was a central point of anti-rock arguments, critics were preoccupied with musical exposure to blackness, not relational exposure. Here is an early and raw manifestation of the culture wars, in which it is not direct presence that threatens but the influence of the cultural products of Others. Sometimes aesthetic preference is white supremacy masked as taste, propriety, and morality.

### *Andraé Crouch and His Disciples*

The color line running through American society lashed scars into American media creation and consumption. Wielded by prejudice, by ignorance, and by fear, the color line is the invisible boundary between white culture and other culture. It can be felt, policed, and crossed, but its ineffability leaves it open to charges of nonexistence, particularly in the case of crossing. Most Jesus

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<sup>12</sup> Frith, *Sound Effects* 24.

movement participants deny that race affected religious piety, musical aesthetics, or community within their ranks.<sup>13</sup> It is doubtless that beautiful interracial friendships and fellowship shone from within the Jesus movement in the afterpains of the Civil Rights movement as the world grieved the murders of Martin Luther King, Jr, Malcolm X, and so many others. It is also undeniable that the Jesus movement and its evangelical legacy was overwhelmingly white.

White Jesus movement participants coordinated white spirituality to physical religious practice and association. More specifically, white Jesus movement participants could construct spiritual authenticity on an essentialized, over-spiritualization of historically black religious practice. If, as racial stereotypes would argue, spiritual connection occurs naturally and in abundance within black identity, religious practices associated with black or interracial origins (such as Pentecostalism and revivalism) grant their practitioners the authenticity of “natural,” black spirituality.<sup>14</sup>

Andraé Crouch, a skillful musician, composer, and band leader, was likely the most prominent black Jesus movement artist. His blackness was seldom commented upon, though Crouch’s 1974 autobiography, *Through It All*, intimates how racism and racially based expectations affected all corners of his career.<sup>15</sup> He was denied decent lodging, addressed by offensive epithets, and confronted with suspicion and distrust by church members and pastors. While Crouch and his book partner, Nina Ball, achieve a generally unaggressive, easygoing narrative voice, their accounts of Crouch’s experiences record a negotiation of prejudice, talent, and performance:

I’ve sung for weddings where “Christians” have asked, “What are you letting all those ‘niggers’ in your wedding group for?” I’ve sung in churches where somebody would say,

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<sup>13</sup> Larry Eskridge, *God’s Forever Family: The Jesus People Movement in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 297.

<sup>14</sup> Frith, *Sound Effects*: 21. Frith describes these categories of music before critiquing how they subject complex, human culture and experience to a false, essentialized bifurcation: “Black music, as “body music,” is therefore “natural,” “immediate,” “spontaneous.” Art, by contrast, is something deliberately created, self-consciously *thought*, and involves, by definition, complexity and development.”

<sup>15</sup> See Andraé Crouch *Through It All* (Waco, TX: Word Books Publisher, 1974).

“Andrae, I sure wish you could find us a good black singer to sing in our group.” I’d look at their group and ask, “What about that boy’s voice? Is it so fantastic? Or that girl’s? Why don’t you get somebody just like them?” But their black member has to be somebody fantastic.<sup>16</sup>

For brief moments of their narrative, such as this one, Crouch’s frustration at the double standards held for people of color comes through. Crouch’s race heightened expectations surrounding his proclivity toward both musical talent and spirituality, but it also constrained him into certain roles and could be a barrier between him and his audiences. Crouch skillfully negotiated these expectations. He gained a highly refined ability to read a crowd and cater the emotionality and exuberance of his performance accordingly.

The reception of blackness in America is illuminated by the lens of Cartesian dualism, also known as the mind-body problem. Within this framework of Western thought (or aesthetic subconscious) some characteristics are associated with mind—white, male, Western, elite, rigorous, stable, rational—while others are associated with the body—non-white, female, “ethnic”, the masses, animal, instinctual, emotional. This divide emerges in both explicit communication and in more subtle assumptions of value, potential, and significance. The dualism has a historical basis in the economic and social interests of European ruling classes. Its circular logic obscures the origins of its assumptions. What social elites preferred became the de facto standards of taste because they marked the social elites, not because the social elites had inherently superior taste. Of particular relevance to this project is how Europeans (and European-derived Americans) rewarded the construction of distance between the music of European elites and the music of cultural others.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Crouch *Through It All*: 107-108.

<sup>17</sup> Musicological scholars, while late to join their colleagues in art and literature, have since the 1990s embraced applying analyses of exoticism and Orientalism in their pedagogy of Western music history. See Ralph P. Locke, *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). Undergraduates are versed in how Mozart and Elvis appropriated the music of the Other and gained financial and social benefit. Mozart’s portrayal of Turkish Janissary music in his 1782 opera *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*

This framework primed Crouch’s audiences to expect “natural” musical skill and heightened, physical spirituality from him. The dualist association between blackness and heightened spirituality contributed to Crouch’s position as a model of dedicated, authentic Christian worship. His blackness validated the physicality of his musical-emotional expression.

Crouch’s presence in the Jesus movement often resulted in a black stage and a white audience. Yet despite the obvious visual disparity, few comments were made by fellow participants about his race or his use of black gospel musical elements.<sup>18</sup> He was not generally held up as a token because not marking his presence served as confirmation of its naturalness. He could model physical pop-worship without evoking criticism or surprise due to his blackness. While his blackness catalyzed his performance of pop-worship, ignoring his blackness enabled white participants to embrace it for themselves. For his part, Crouch projected a naiveté, a humility, and a gentle, disarming humor that mollified racist white anxiety over the more threatening assumed connotations of blackness and black spirituality:

One night as the Disciples were introduced on stage before a concert in Texas I sensed an “uptight feeling” among the audience. But the Lord told me to let them know I was aware of the color of my skin and I didn’t worry about it. “We’re happy to be here tonight, I said. “We’re not here to go to school with you or anything like that. We come here in the name of

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is one example of Orientalism commonly used in undergraduate music history classrooms. Other common examples are included in Locke’s *Musical Exoticism* cited above. The narrative of Elvis Presley’s rise to stardom usually includes mention of how he merged black and white musics. Sister Rosetta Tharpe, a black gospel singer and pioneer of distorted guitar technique, was one of his many influences.

<sup>18</sup> Larry Eskridge with David di Sabatino approached the subject of race in the Jesus movement in an online survey hosted from November 1997 through April 2004 on a Jesus movement nostalgia website: [www.oneway.org](http://www.oneway.org). 812 surveys were tabulated. Eskridge published and interpreted the survey results in *God’s Forever Family: The Jesus People Movement in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013). The survey did not collect data on the race or ethnicity of respondents. Question 27 read “Were minorities included in your experience during the JP movement?” 69.6% responded yes, 14.6% responded no, and 15.8% gave no answer. Eskridge notes that many of the respondents who answered in the negative also left comments on the racial homogeneity of their locales such as in rural Ohio, Minnesota, and Pennsylvania. Eskridge posits “it would seem to indicate—coming at the tail end of the civil rights movement and during a time of heightened racial tension and expanding racial consciousness—that a number of Jesus People groups did prove attractive to minorities, who must have felt a sense of welcome therein” (*God’s Forever Family*, 297). I find issue with this interpretation since the impressions of a dominant group do not necessarily reflect accurately the experiences of a minority group.



Jesus. I'm proud to tell you we don't have tails and that we don't bite. We're just coming to tell you a story, and we will be gone tomorrow!" The audience just cracked up.<sup>19</sup>

I would not suggest that Crouch's approach was anything less than genuine—his spirituality guided him toward a manner and presentation that white audiences carrying varying degrees of racial anxiety and prejudice found acceptable and, even, imitable. Crouch elaborated on his strategy for pacifying potentially hostile or unreceptive crowds in an interview with Twila Knaack of the *Christian Herald* in 1974:

Andrae is aware that his music is often criticized. "On many Christian radio stations about 80 percent of our songs are never played," he says without a trace of bitterness. "My records aren't vicious or violent—just a little up-tempo, which many Christian radio stations find offensive. I try to find out what people are listening to and reach them where they are. I really care about relating to people even to the point of writing a number of treatments for one song. During a concert with just a nod of my head, the Disciples know whether to treat a song with my A, B, or C version," he said.<sup>20</sup>

Through the judicious application of stylistic restraint, the validation of widespread success, and his collaboration with evangelical and Christian music establishments (Ralph Carmichael, Full Gospel Men's Business Association, etc.), Crouch eased open the doors of the American evangelical church for Christian pop music with a dancing beat and a commercial polish. His gentle, soft-spoken presentation of black masculinity quelled those concerned with the potentially "savage" contents of his soul music.

From his 1974 Carnegie Hall debut through his decades-long Grammy-award-winning gospel career, Crouch has achieved widespread acknowledgment as a musical innovator and outstanding arranger.<sup>21</sup> As with other black artists, Crouch's labor at developing these skills and

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<sup>19</sup> Crouch *Through it All*: 106-107.

<sup>20</sup> Andraé Crouch interviewed by Twila Knaack for *Christian Herald* (July/August 1979) p. 14, Box 2, Archival Collection 74: Jesus Movement Collection, 1964-1982, Archives, Rare Books and Special Collections, David Allan Hubbard Library, Fuller Theological Seminary.

<sup>21</sup> He is, along with Shirley Caesar, as a key figure in black gospel history for developing the contemporary soul sound.

building this career often goes unmentioned.<sup>22</sup> While he maintained exhausting tour schedules, and facilitated disciplined, lengthy rehearsal schedules, the narrative given of his musical origins usually eschews the image of rigor for that of supernatural gifting. Crouch recounts receiving the “gift of music” after his father asked God to bestow it upon his young son. As an early elementary-aged child, Crouch was placed before a keyboard during a church service and picked out the melody of a song as the congregation sang it. Crouch glossed over the intervening years when self-study and discipline honed his craft into the abilities he demonstrated by his later teen years. In his 1974 autobiography Crouch makes no mention of music teachers or mentors. The origins and cultivation of his musical abilities are presented as solely the result of God’s benevolence.

Crouch’s role in the Jesus movement and the involvement of other black and minority participants does not challenge the whiteness of the movement. The color line remained in effect. However, Crouch’s presence and, moreover, his success as a Jesus music artist did reinforce how Jesus music implicated the body in its modeling of spirituality. It may be that the strategies Crouch used to survive and to thrive as a black artist in a white movement have been overlooked because they can come off as somewhat toothless. While he communicated aspects of the discrimination he faced in his autobiography and also in promotional comic books, his compositions were not protest music. His soft stepping had outsized effects. In an interview with David Stowe, Rick Tarrant, a Memphis deejay, named Crouch when asked for who had the “biggest musical impact during the Jesus Movement:”

The number one name that comes to mind is Andraé Crouch....Andraé was embraced by the contemporary Christian culture not unlike the way Elvis embraced black music and

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<sup>22</sup> Mark Burford gave a paper at the American Musicological Society that narrated Mahalia Jackson’s convoluted relationship with “primitive,” vernacular, and cultivated sound: “Mahalia Jackson’s Class Politics of Voice,” American Musicological Society, Vancouver, Canada, November 4, 2016. He followed this presentation with a book-length treatment of Jackson, *Mahalia Jackson and the Black Gospel Field* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).

brought it across the racial line. I think in many ways, Andraé Crouch played a crucial role in bringing some of the same musical flavors over from the black church to the white church.<sup>23</sup>

*We are One in the Spirit*

Opposition to racialized components of pop-worship did not, as discussed in chapter 3, always mention race explicitly. The body, however, was in high relief. R. Bruce Horner documented in his 1970 masters thesis the on-the-ground reactions to evangelical use of Christian pop by Youth for Christ:

Stage movement of any kind is a frequent cause of reaction among the more conservative adults in YFC audiences. One YFC staff member suggested to me that the immediate association in the minds of those opposed was dancing and corresponding sexual or suggestive connotations. What is interpreted as such is usually little more than a rhythmic shuffling, swinging, movement of the arms, snapping of the fingers, clapping of the hands or a planned and basic shifting of position for variety with no erotic stimulation intended.<sup>24</sup>

Video artifacts of other Jesus movement gatherings suggest similar kinds of dance along with faces turned upward or downward in praise or supplication and arms raised in like gestures. Opposition to music that engaged the body was also a rejection of interracial associations, even if critics did not explicitly express anti-black sentiments.

Those who opposed Christian pop did not necessarily eschew leveraging emotional control through music. Jack Hyles, the proto-megachurch pastor cited in chapter three, wrote a book, *Let's Build an Evangelistic Church*, published in 1962. Hyles describes an organizational structure similar to Campus Crusade's hierarchical, branching structure. The structures that co-opted Jesus music did not necessarily significantly differ from the politics of more fundamentalist ministries. The role of

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<sup>23</sup> Rick Tarrant, interview by David Stowe, June 7, 2009 quoted in *No Sympathy for the Devil: Christian Pop Music and the Transformation of American Evangelicalism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 89.

<sup>24</sup> R. Bruce Horner, "The Function of Music in the Youth for Christ Program," (Master's Thesis, Indiana University, 1970), 81

music, however, was one site where significant differences shone through. Hyles maintained a strict hierarchy of control over the use of music. Hyles describes how to organize the music of a successful, soul-winning service, specifically the altar call—the mountain-top moment of the event—heavily emphasizing that final authority on musical components and application should lie with the pastor, not the choir leader.

[T]he pastor should control the loudness or softness of the song. Our choir director is trained to sing the song loudly and at an average tempo unless otherwise directed by the pastor. The pastor may say, "While our heads are bowed, the choir will sing softly the next stanza" or he may say, "As our heads are bowed and God is working, the choir will sing softly and slowly their next stanza." In other words, the changes of songs, tempo, volume, etc., during the invitation, should be controlled by the pastor.<sup>25</sup>

Despite the air of informality presented by Hyles through his rural inflections and rejection of institutional theological authority (he boasted about his lack of seminary credentials), his process of achieving affect through revival services depended on strict adherence to his personal authority and control. The presence of music during the altar call as a transfer of emotion through sound described above was an essential and sensitive component. His opposition to physical musical worship coexisted with a deep and serious appreciation of music's spiritual potential.

### *Made in Hollywood*

The archives of the University of California, Santa Barbara preserve the excitement, bewilderment, and earnestness of the Jesus movement phenomenon in boxes of materials painstakingly cataloged and preserved by J. Gordon Melton, a scholar of new religious movements and other fringe faith groups. Among their holdings, a report created in the 1970s by Philip Lochhass, the executive secretary of the commission on organizations for the Lutheran Church,

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<sup>25</sup> Hyles, *Let's Build an Evangelistic Church* (Murfreesboro, TN: Sword of the Lord Publishers, 1962), NP.

Missouri Synod, confirms the significance of California to the by-then nationally recognized Jesus movement:

Whatever takes place elsewhere, that which happens in Hollywood affects the spread, growth, and character of the Jesus Movement. Most, if not all, of the identifying marks of the Movement have originated in Hollywood. Every social movement has its own jargon and symbols that act as unifying factors to bind participants of the movement together. [...] the Jesus Movement has its own slogans, One-Way signs, beach baptisms, and accepted costumes. These bear the “Made in Hollywood” label.<sup>26</sup>

According to Larry Eskridge’s retrospective survey data reported in *God’s Forever Family*, 31.4% of North American Jesus movement participants did so in California.<sup>27</sup> It is in California, then, that I continue my analysis of feeling in Jesus music.

In 1971, the record label Maranatha! Music released its first album: *The Everlastin’ Living Jesus Music Concert*.<sup>28</sup> The album tied with Larry Norman’s *Only Visiting this Planet* for second most influential Jesus music album in Eskridge’s survey.<sup>29</sup> A compilation album of artists associated with

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<sup>26</sup> Philip Lochhass, “The Jesus Movement,” pg. 6, Box 22, Jesus People – General 2/3, Manuscript Files in the American Religions Collection, Special Research Collections, University of California, Santa Barbara Libraries.

<sup>27</sup> Larry Eskridge, *God’s Forever Family: The Jesus People Movement in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 287-288. Eskridge presents his survey as not the “final word as a statistical picture of the Jesus People movement [but nonetheless] the first major retro statistical tool for interpreting the characteristics, beliefs, scope, and nature of the movement” (285). The rest of the geographic distribution of Jesus movement involvement is as follows: Pacific Northwest, 6.2%; Southwestern U.S., 9.8%; Great Lakes Region, 16.1%; Great Interior/Rocky Mtn. Region, 6%; Southeastern U.S., 11.9%; Mid-Atlantic States, 8.4%; New England, 1.5%; Other U.S. (Alaska, Hawaii, overseas military, Puerto Rico, Panama Canal Zone), 2.2%; Canada, 0.6%.

<sup>28</sup> Maranatha! Music was a ministry and record label of Calvary Chapel, Costa Mesa. CCCM pastoral leadership including Chuck Smith and Chuck Fromm had a strong role in determining the content of Maranatha! albums. Established in 1971, the label preserved the sounds of the early LA Jesus movement. *The Everlastin’ Living Jesus Music Concert* exhibits both the experience of a seasoned band like Love Song and the early work of the teens in Children of the Day. It is also known as *Maranatha 1*, the first in a series of numbered compilation albums released regularly throughout the 1970s (nearly one per year) showcasing the Maranatha! stable. Lyrically the songs are a mixture of worship, personal testimony, invitation, and ballad.

<sup>29</sup> Eskridge, *God’s Forever Family*, 303. The album deemed most influential was *Love Song* by Love Song. I chose to analyze *Everlastin’* instead of *Love Song* because it gives the opportunity to examine the music of a variety of Calvary Chapel artists including Love Song. It is also noteworthy that the seventh ranking was given to the response “All Maranatha albums.”

Calvary Chapel, Costa Mesa, the record provides an early taste of the range of musical styles popular in the LA area Jesus movement.

Track #	Artist	Song Title
1-1	Love Song	“Little Country Church”
1-2	Selah	“In Jesus Name”
1-3	Blessed Hope	“Something More”
1-4	Country Faith	“Two Roads”
1-5	Various	“Holy, Holy, Holy”
2-6	Gentle Faith	“The Shepherd”
2-7	Debby [Kerner]	“Behold, I Stand At the Door”
2-8	The Way	“If You Will Believe”
2-9	Love Song	“Maranatha”
2-10	Children of the Day	“For Those Tears I Died”

Common between the tracks are recurrent lyrical and musical signals of experiential spirituality. Authenticity, sincerity, and authority are constructed through embodied performance. Though distributed as recorded sound, the songs contain markers of physicality described below that authenticate the spirituality they model. Through the joint rhetoric of testimony and invitation artists establish feeling as a central aspect of conversion and the Christian life. It is not theological purity, church membership, or discipleship that establishes the new spiritual life; that life is principally dependent on the individual, experiential, and emotional arrival of feeling.

Several of the tracks—3, 4, 7, and 8—explicitly allude to feeling or a similar spiritual domain in their lyrics. Blessed Hope urges listeners to seek “more than religion.” Country Faith invites listeners to “feel the warmth.” Debby asserts that the “golden promise” is an experience of being bodily in the presence of Jesus, which is accomplished both by imagining a future intimacy and by meditating on the current presence of Christ mediated by the musical environment of devotion. The Way beseeches in a chorus: “If you will believe then you will receive and feel.” In verse 2, The Way testifies to their own experience: “Then came a feeling that set me straight in line. I felt the Holy

Spirit that gave me a new life.” The lyrics directed listeners toward experiential confirmation of their faith. Through the music, artists modeled the sought-after experience.

The musical styles adopted by Jesus music artists—broadly pop, rock, and folk—inscribed physicality into the listening experience. For American listeners, rock rhythm contained the connotation of the body. As discussed previously, anti-rock critics scorned The Beat. The rock backbeat groove performed live is frequently a notably physical experience. Felt in the feet through the floorboards or even, if volume is sufficiently high, in the listener’s chest, the backbeat exceeds aural stimulation. Most tracks on *Everlastin’* are clear examples of a standard rock backbeat rhythm, emphasizing the second and fourth beats with some combination of snare drum, bass drum, rim shots, hi-hat cymbals, shakers, and hand claps. The opening track, “Little Country Church” by Love Song demonstrates this rhythm from its opening bars.

The image shows a musical transcription for a drum set. It consists of four staves. The top staff is labeled 'Snare' and shows two 'x' marks on a five-line staff. The second staff is labeled 'Bass' and shows two 'x' marks on a five-line staff. The third staff is labeled 'Drum Set' and shows a 4/4 time signature with a series of 'x' marks and stems representing a backbeat pattern. The fourth staff is labeled 'Dr.' and shows a series of 'x' marks and stems representing a bass drum pattern. The notation uses 'x' marks to indicate percussive hits on a five-line staff.

Example 5: Author’s transcription. Bass drum and snare drum, bars 5-12 of “Little Country Church,” *The Everlastin’ Living Jesus Music Concert*, Maranatha! Music (1971).

The bass range is strong in the track’s mix. In track 8, “If You Will Believe” by The Way, the backbeat is marked out by shakers and percussive guitar techniques in the absence of other rhythm section instrumentation.

Rhythm also engages the body by invoking motion. Rhythm is a substantial basis of participatory movement from a subtle tapping toe to an exuberant dance. A change in meter, then,

not only draws attention sonically but also through a physical disruption in the listening experience.

In track 3, “Something More” by Blessed Hope, as the lyric’s narrative arrives at a moment of conversion, the meter changes. The song marches through two verses and most of a bridge in 4/4 time with a duple subdivision grounded by eighth notes in the bass. At the bridge, the band drops the pitch of their voices evoking the “darkness” of their pre-conversion spiritual state. The bass performs a triplet rhythm launching the meter into a triple subdivision increasing the rhythmic energy and momentum. The return to duple subdivision communicates a release of rhythmic tension foreshadowing the peace of verse three found in “our Lord Christ Jesus.”

<b>“Something More”—Blessed Hope--Form and Meter</b>			
<b>Section</b>	<b>Lyrics</b>	<b>Meter</b>	<b>Bar count</b>
Instrumental		4/4, simple	8 bars
Verse 1	We got something more than just salvation. (X2) We got Jesus.		12 bars
Instrumental			8 bars
Verse 2	We got something more than just religion. We got something more; it’s relation.		12 bars
Melodic Tag 1 & Instrumental	In the Son (X2)		8 bars
Bridge, part 1	We were lost in a world of darkness. We couldn’t see the light. Our hearts were filled with sadness	(bass triplets in final bars)	6 bars
Bridge, part 2	Because we didn’t believe in the man who was crucified.	4/4, compound	2 bars
Bridge, part 3	How was I to know that He loved me so. How can it be that He died for me?		8 bars
Melodic Tag 2	Until He came into our hearts	4/4, simple	4 bars
Instrumental			8 bars
Verse 3	We got something so fine. It’s blessed hope in Jesus. There’s so much love and peace of mind in our Lord Christ Jesus.		12 bars
Melodic Tag 2	Please let Him in your life (X4)		4 bars (X4)



The metric shifts in “Something More” not only create musical interest—they also instruct listeners on the spiritual experience of conversion.<sup>30</sup>

Listening to or viewing musical activity involuntarily and subconsciously triggers mimetic motor imagery (MMI). Music theorist Arnie Cox argues, “we can speak of the performing arts as offering a mimetic invitation, and we can speak of our various responses as mimetic engagement or mimetic participation, whether in the form of overt movement or in the privacy of covert imagery (MMI).”<sup>31</sup> Jesus music, like other participatory musics, tended to facilitate MMI through melodies that an average, untrained voice could replicate. Stepwise motion and a limited range are markers of an accessible melody for MMI. For many musical components of a track, e.g. instrumental parts, most listeners may lack the physical memory of producing the sound. Not every listener plays an instrument, but almost every listener has had the experience of singing.<sup>32</sup> Sometimes voices draw

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<sup>30</sup> While Jesus music carried a Christian message, the musical means it used to communicate those messages were not necessarily from Christian sources. While rhythm was and is used by Christian artists to evoke spiritual concepts (notably in Pentecostal traditions but also in Bach chorales, Handel oratorios, and other repertoires), Jesus music artists were also musically trained and immersed in American pop and rock music. While I do not know if Blessed Hope were familiar with the British progressive rock band Yes, the opening vocal harmonies of “Something More” and Yes’s “Yours in No Disgrace” (1971) are extremely similar. Thanks to Patrick Burke for bringing this similarity to my attention. While comparisons between secular music and Jesus music or later CCM have been used as evidence for a derivative nature of Christian music, they can also serve as evidence for the influence of secular music trends on Christian music. Further scholarly analysis of how Christian artists and Christian listeners have adapted non-Christian music for spiritual use could be applied to Jesus music repertoire as well as the decades of CCM that have followed. Those scholars would find ample models in the scholarship of non-Western Christian liturgies. See Monique Ingalls, Muriel Swijghuisen Reigersberg, and Zoe C. Sherinian, eds. *Making Congregational Music Local in Christian Communities Worldwide* (New York: Routledge, 2018).

<sup>31</sup> Arnie Cox, “Embodying Music: Principles of the Mimetic Hypothesis,” *Music Theory Online* 17 no. 2 (2011). Cox draws on Western art and pop music repertoire to provide examples for his arguments. He claims “mimetic comprehension is universal, but its form varies among individuals, subcultures, and cultures (and species).” I connect the universality of musical mimetic comprehension to the role of religious ritual in playing out right cosmological relationships. Religious practitioners embody or experience MMI as participants and observers of spiritualized activity. In the context of religious music making, the import of MMI is compounded by the implications of music forming the mimetic imagery of a representation of divinity. How does sacred music image (MMI) God or a theological model of right relationship with God and others?

<sup>32</sup> Since *The Everlastin’ Living Jesus Music Concert* was released before contemporary Christian music (CCM) and contemporary worship music (CWM) were separated by marketing and industry strategies, the album contains an assortment of song functions, some intended or at least adaptable for corporate use and some more

extra attention to the physicality of their creation. Singers can use a distinctive vibrato or a notable application of head voice that strengthen the effect of MMI. Examples of such marked voices occur in tracks 2, 8, and 9. In track 2, “In Jesus Name” by Selah, Cynthia Young and Joy Strange open in a duet with breathy flute accompaniment.

The image displays a musical score for the opening of the song "In Jesus Name." It consists of two systems of staves. The first system features a Flute part on a treble clef staff and a Voices part on a treble clef staff. The second system features a Flute part on a treble clef staff and a Voices part on a treble clef staff. The music is in 2/4 time. The lyrics are: "There once was a man named Je - sus who lived near Gal-li - lee. God sent him as His cho-sen Son to set all man-kind free - -".

Example 6: Author’s transcription. Opening bars of “In Jesus Name,” *The Everlastin’ Living Jesus Music Concert*, Maranatha! Music (1971).

The parallel motion and open voicing paired with the rough timbre of the flute invoke both the music of the folk revival and imagined music of the medieval or ancient church. After the introduction, the lyrics follow a strophic folk ballad form narrating the life of Jesus Christ. A finger-picked acoustic guitar joins at the second verse. The women’s voices shift between open, occasionally dissonant harmony and heterophonic octaves. At least one of the singers ends phrases with a distinctive shaken vibrato, reminiscent of Joan Baez. The MMI listeners may experience

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obviously performative. In some contexts, listeners to the album may have sung along or may have recreated the songs with their own instruments and voices. This level of embodied musicking—direct participation and recreation—would presumably exceed the entrainment achieved by MMI alone.

involves multiple aspects of the physical production of sound, strengthening the entrainment of the listening experience.

The final section of the track invokes bodies dancing as Strange and Young begin an upbeat wordless chorus on the syllables “ey” and “dey.” The tempo gradually increases, inducing further MMI, as the vocalists repeat and vary a four bar rhythmic motif. They cadence the motif on the tonic, A minor. The first and the final repetitions cadence on A minor in first inversion while the inner motifs cadence on A in second inversion with an implied root or in third inversion with a missing third. The harmonic movement from a first inversion tonic through tonic inversions with dominant functions back to a tonic gives the chorus a trajectory and musical resolution.

Upper Voice

Lower Voice

Ey ey ey ey ey ey di di di di di di ey ey di...

Ey ey di di di di di di di di di di ey ey ey...

Example 7: Author's transcription. Vocal finale to Selah "In Jesus Name," *The Everlastin' Living Jesus Concert*, Maranatha! Music (1971).

The tempo, harmonies, and vocables suggest Ashkenazi Jewish music repertoire. Specifically, they evoke the *nigun*, a genre of vocal song used in both liturgical and social situations. A *nigun* melody

may be a borrowed melody, an original composition, a centonized chant, or may be improvised. The melodies are voiced with vocables such as bim-bim-bam or ai-ai-di. Dancing can accompany the performance of a *nigun* and American audiences would generally recognize the sound and sight of *nigun* performance from its portrayal on television and film. The well-known “Hava Nagila” (“Let Us Rejoice”) is a combination of a nineteenth-century Ukrainian *nigun* and the text of Psalm 118:24.<sup>33</sup> It was popularized for American audiences by mainstream artists including Harry Belafonte and Bob Dylan.

When Young and Strange conclude “In Jesus Name” with an imitation *nigun*, they musically signal certain spiritual and social values and allow other Jesus movement participants to corroborate those values through the distribution of the album. Evoking Jewish music—and moreover Jewish dance music—Selah invokes the spiritual authenticity of a physical, persecuted, ethnic-religious minority community. By connecting to Jewishness, Selah also conjures a connection to Christ’s own identity and to the identity of the early church leadership. This impulse to associate with (or aesthetically as) Jews finds continuity with broader evangelical eschatological trends and ecclesiology as the Christian church is imagined as God’s chosen people.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Joshua S. Walden, “Jewish Music and Media of Sound Reproduction,” *The Cambridge Companion to Jewish Music*, ed. Joshua S. Walden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 64.

<sup>34</sup> Parallel to the Jesus movement was the founding of Moishe Rosen’s Jews for Jesus organization in 1970. A non-profit funded primarily by evangelical donors, Jews for Jesus exists to proselytize Jews to the Christian faith. While these messianic Jews continue to refer to themselves and their spirituality as Jewish and to use Jewish rituals, no major Jewish authority has accepted their claim to Jewish religious identity. While it is possible to incorporate facets of other religions into an accepted Jewish practice, Jewish orthodoxy unanimously rejects any acknowledgement of Christ as messiah or as divine. Evangelicals have continued to financially support Jews for Jesus to the present day and it is not unusual for evangelical churches to host Christianized Seder dinners during Holy Week according to Jews for Jesus event curriculum. Other interactions between American evangelical Christianity and pro-Israel/Jewish association have been examined in Yaakov Ariel, *An Unusual Relationship: Evangelical Christians and Jews*, (New York: New York University Press, 2013).

Also relevant to Selah’s use of Jewish musical allusions are Jesus music groups such as Lamb who drew on a personal Jewish heritage in their music. Lamb (Rick “Levi” Coghill and Joel Chernoff) created Messianic music in the heyday of the Jesus movement. While they are primarily marketed to Messianic and Jewish audiences, in the early 1970s they produced religious light rock and folk music that had clear similarities to

The ninth track, “Maranatha” by Love Song, also employs a wordless voice to realize a point of arrival. The song relays how Christ’s followers are looking forward to Christ’s return and chorus beseeches both for the return to occur soon and for believers to “prepare their hearts.” “Maranatha,” a term found in 1 Corinthians 16:22, is a Greek transliteration of an Aramaic phrase meaning “Lord, come.” A bass drum drives the song forward with the insistence of a funereal dirge. In a 4/4 time signature, the drum beats out a repeating motto: eighth-eighth-quarter, eighth-eighth-quarter. The music expresses more of a painful yearning than a hopeful expectancy. The poignancy of the waiting reaches a height as the song concludes with several repetitions of the 8-bar chorus. Chuck Girard performs a vocalise over the second repetition. In a retrospective interview, Girard recalls “the music also in my mind had a Jewish/folk/lament/wailing wall quality to it.”<sup>35</sup> He is replaced by Fred Field on violin in the third and final repetition. Field performs an instrumental vocalise of his own adopting aspects of Klezmer fiddle technique producing a melancholic, keening affect. Whether by Girard or by Field, the wordless wails orbit over the trudging two-part chorus. Girard begins with a multiphonic moan in his chest voice before gliding into his characteristically smooth falsetto. The falsetto laments, setting the listener on edge. Though repetitious, the section is not static. Details accumulate in the wavering glissandi in the violin and vocal ensemble

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Jesus music. Lamb albums are included in fan-produced and scholarly Jesus music discographies. Messianic Jews, Coghill and Chernoff freely employed vocal techniques drawn from Jewish folk and liturgical music—like Selah’s use of *nigun* technique noted above. Lamb albums included Hebrew-language songs written by Chernoff. The album liner notes included phonetic lyric transcriptions, e.g. “shu-vee” in place of the original Hebrew, שׁוּבָה meaning “return” or “turn again” from Jeremiah 31:21. Other Lamb songs explicitly address Jewish people in evangelistic pleas usually in language adapted from the Old Testament. For example on *Lamb II*, Chernoff’s lyrics on track 2 are “Come back, come back O Yis-ra-el / To the Lord your God ... Grant us favor / That we might bring an offering / The fruit of our lips.” Jesus movement songbooks occasionally had Jewish folk songs such as “Shalom Chaverim” with alternative English lyrics. (Today it seems more common for diversity-oriented mainline Protestants than for evangelical Protestants to include Jewish music in their hymnals and music libraries.) While the role of Messianic Judaism and Christian association with Judaism within the Jesus movement exceeds the scope of this project, it would be a fruitful area for future work, particularly as it extends into the role of biblical prophecy in evangelical politics, sentiments towards Israel, and strains of anti-Semitism within modern conservative politics.

<sup>35</sup> Chuck Girard, interview by one-way.org (March 1997), <http://one-way.org/lovesong/chuksong.htm>.

performance, the gradually growing activity and volume of the bass guitar, and the muffled, low pitched drum keeping time. The song's repetition provides opportunity for this detail to be studied and enjoyed in detail.

In track 6, "The Shepherd", Gentle Faith describes God as a shepherd singing love songs, dripping blessings, and skipping through valleys "to carry a lamb to the green land in his arms." After two verses describing the shepherd, Gentle Faith repeats a lyrical tag—"and his blessings they are dripping and we'll catch them are you listening"—before launching a section of "la, la, la". This untexted vocal response to a description of God models the experiential feeling of Jesus movement spirituality not unlike the *nigun* section performed by Selah.

The album concludes with Children of the Day's hit song (in terms of Jesus music circulation) "For Those Tears (Come to the Waters)". The piece fades out into the sound of ocean waves crashing on a beach. Among the most iconic Jesus movement images are photographs of the mass ocean baptisms conducted by Calvary Chapel ministers.<sup>36</sup> By concluding the album with an ocean soundscape, the producers and engineers invoke a known physical experience. Through baptism the listener completes the album experience and re-enters life.

Ed Plowman, a writer for *Christianity Today*, observed of the Jesus people that they want religious knowledge to come firsthand, without mediation: "On one hand they are seeking truth, and on the other hand they are turned off to university because they want to find out on their own and they don't think someone else ought to project it out of a book. They want to experience it, I

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<sup>36</sup> Even today an ocean baptism service signals efforts for sparking revival among southern California evangelical churches. Breaking out of the walls of a church building, an oceanside service attracts the attention of beachgoers giving the impression of mass effect which is compounded by the vista of the shore's natural beauty. Meeting a potential convert while barefoot on a beach also resonates with the authenticity of reliving the days of the early first-century church.

guess.”<sup>37</sup> This impulse for individual spiritual experience was modeled by their music. Like previous revivals and reformations, the music carried the message of how to reinvigorate the body of Christ through the contemporary musical signifiers of physical spiritual experience.

### *Go Out Into All the World*

As the Jesus movement radiated out of southern California, it carried with it an imperative to achieve religious feeling through spiritual practice. Faster than church plants and ministry migrations, the distribution of music and other media leveled the spiritual playing field across the country as pockets of the Jesus movement diaspora, particularly in the Midwest, sought religious feeling. One prominent example is Calvary Temple Church of Fort Wayne, Indiana founded by Paul Paino in 1956. Calvary Temple, unaffiliated with Calvary Chapel, cultivated a stable of Jesus music artists who would go on to contribute to the artist base for the emerging Christian contemporary music industry. The church also provided a well-attended tour stop for groups coming out of Milwaukee and Chicagoland such as Resurrection Band and Mason Proffit and more traveled groups such as Malcolm and Alwyn.<sup>38</sup> Coming from an Assembly of God background, Paino rapidly grew the new congregation into one of the nation’s largest churches. During the Jesus movement, Calvary Temple provided infrastructure to support the Adam’s Apple coffeehouse that launched the careers

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<sup>37</sup> Ed Plowman, *Christianity Today* writer, interviewed in unknown magazine, “The Jesus People,” Box 22, Jesus People – General 2/3, Manuscript Files in the American Religions Collection, Special Research Collections, University of California, Santa Barbara Libraries.

<sup>38</sup> Resurrection Band or Rez Band was based first with the Jesus People Milwaukee before migrating to Chicago as part of the newly created Jesus People U.S.A. (JPUSA). The JPUSA commune is still in operation today as one of the longest surviving countercultural initiatives of the Jesus movement. Rez band performed a hard, proto-metal rock. Mason Proffit was a country-rock band led by the Talbot brothers: John Michael and Terry based out of Champaign, IL. John Michael later converted to Roman Catholicism and continues to pioneer sacred music innovation as a Franciscan monastic. Terry continues his career as a skilled instrumentalist and neo-folk artist. Malcolm and Alwyn were a British Jesus folk-rock duo with ties to Calvary Chapel, Costa Mesa. They are both currently employed as Calvary Chapel pastors in Florida (Malcolm Wild) and London (Alwyn Wall).



of prominent Jesus music artists including Honeytree (Nancy Henigbaum) and Phil Keaggy. The documents preserved from the Adam Apple's heyday feature psychedelic art, polished, hip prose, and other evidence of a well-supported ministry. Illustrations and type fonts recall cartoonists of the underground press such as R. Crumb and Gilbert Shelton.<sup>39</sup>

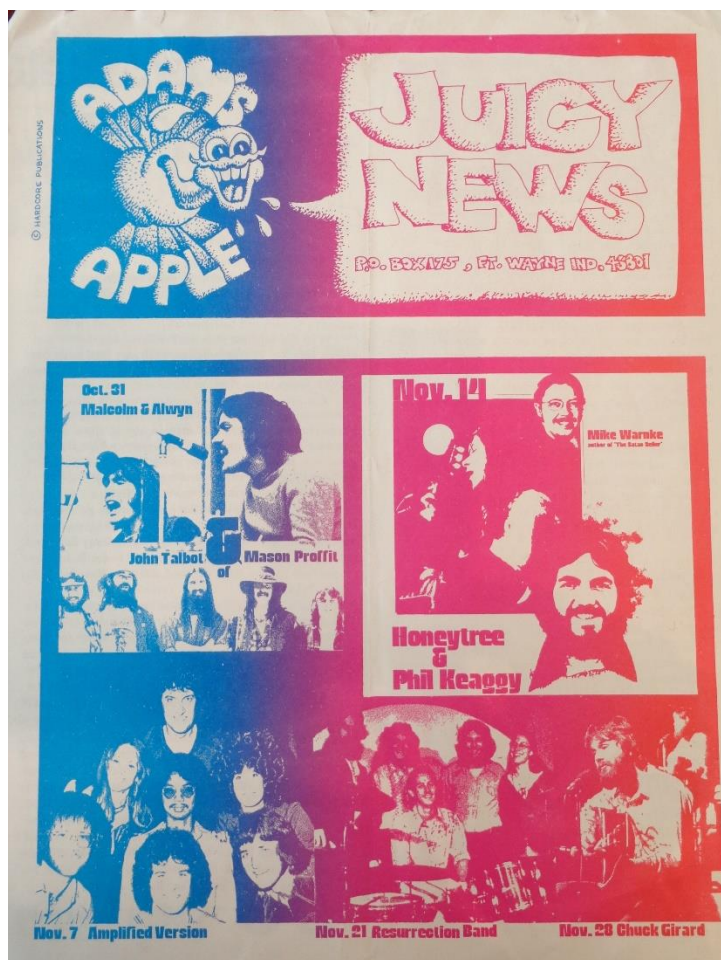


Figure 8: Front cover of *Juicy News* no. 11 (November 1975). Box 24, Calvary Temple Calvary Ministries folder, Manuscript Files in the American Religions Collection, Special Research Collections, University of California, Santa Barbara Libraries.

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<sup>39</sup> See Figure 9.



Figure 9: Illustration by R. Crumb from cover of *The East Village Other* 3 no. 43 (September 27, 1968).

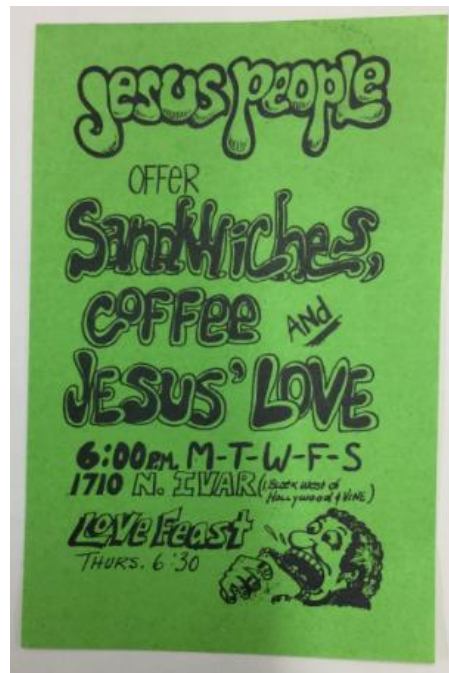


Figure 10: This event announcement printed by Jesus People, International also displays artwork and type font that allude to the underground press. Box 7, Collection 66: Duane Pederson, Jesus People International, and Hollywood Free Press Collection, 1953-2011, Archives, Rare Books and Special Collections, David Allan Hubbard Library, Fuller Theological Seminary.

In a packet developed to welcome new believers into the fold, the Adam's Apple used an illustration of a train to demonstrate the order of religious experience that follows conversion. The energy-generating engine of the locomotive is drawn as "Fact:" true to their evangelical identity, the Adam's

Apple adhered to a strong sense of Biblicism. The connecting car is faith and the caboose, the result of faith, is feeling.

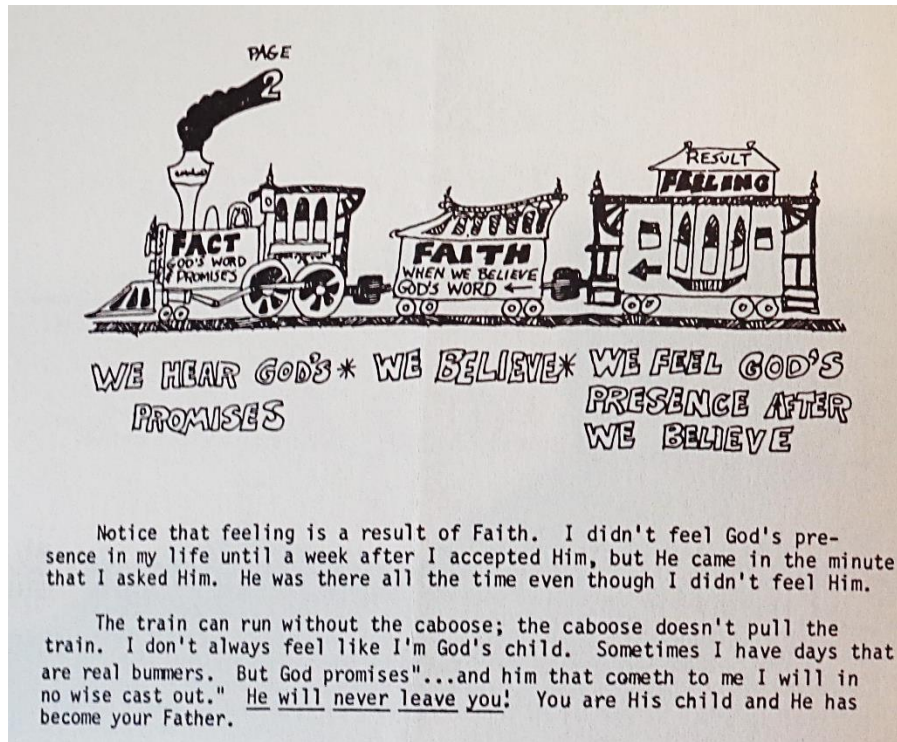


Figure 11: Train illustration in a welcome-to-the-faith packet assembled by Calvary Temple for use by Adam's Apple. Box 24, Calvary Temple Calvary Ministries, Manuscript Files in the American Religions Collection, Special Research Collections, University of California, Santa Barbara Libraries.

to the faith experience, but it is a part of the train nonetheless. Feeling was a gift, an escape from "days that are real bummers." It was an incentive for spiritual investment. In the music of the wider Jesus movement, feeling became both a sign of spiritual confirmation as well as an asset in the marketing of Christian artists. By the time of the contemporary Christian music industry, the performance of right feeling had been cemented as a cultural expectation—it became a marker of authenticity.

Adam's Apple staged local acts such as Nancy Honeytree and hosted touring Jesus music artists. Phil Keaggy's early Christian music career began in Midwestern venues like the Adam's Apple

after he left Glass Harp. Originating in Ohio, Glass Harp had achieved regional fame based out of Kent State University. Following their successful debut album they opened for Alice Cooper, Chicago, and other large names in the entertainment music industry.<sup>40</sup> During this time, Keaggy was supplying the secular Glass Harp with both his virtuosic guitar abilities and Christian themed song lyrics. When Glass Harp disbanded in 1973, Keaggy dabbled with work in Love Song and then began his solo Christian music career, which he continues in today.

Keaggy's output combines sophisticated rhythmic technique with the polemic of Jesus movement conversionism. An inventive and nimble guitarist, Keaggy's recordings surpass the musicianship of most of his contemporaries—Christian or secular—in terms of instrumental virtuosity.<sup>41</sup> Keaggy's influences come from his exposure to the cutting edge of the mainstream music industry and his relationship to the California Jesus movement. Comparisons to the Beatles—specifically to Paul McCartney—can be heard on the surface of Keaggy's distinctive high tenor voice and in his melody-driven compositional style.

Keaggy pervaded his first Jesus music solo album, *What a Day* (1973), with rhythmic manipulation of the listening experience. Keaggy performs all vocals and instruments on the album emulating the examples set by Paul McCartney in *McCartney* (1970) and Stevie Wonder in *Music of my Mind* (1972).<sup>42</sup> The rhythmic play begins half a minute into track one, “That is What the Lord Will

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<sup>40</sup> Christian pop and rock musicians have been billed with secular bands from the beginning. Performing in secular spaces requires Christian artists to define to the Christian community their association with artists who proclaim messages diverging from Christian principles. Jay R. Howard and John M. Streck present in *Apostles of Rock: The Splintered World of Contemporary Christian Music* (Lexington, KY: The University of Kentucky Press, 1999) a system of classification for contemporary Christian artists based on how they position themselves in regards to a Christian or non-Christian audience. According to this system, artists may be separational, integrational, or transformational.

<sup>41</sup> Though apocryphal, the oft-repeated story of Eric Clapton (or sometimes Jimi Hendrix) identifying Keaggy as the world's best guitarist speaks to the esteem Keaggy holds within his fanbase.

<sup>42</sup> The title track, “What a Day” exhibits some of the most exuberant use of overdubbed vocal layering on the album. Keaggy does not call attention to the novelty of a one-man-band set up in the same way Wonder does

Do For You.” The close of each verse contains a reference to the moment of conversion. This reference—“born again, given life anew” (verses 1 and 3) and “able to see, able to start anew” (verse 2)—Keaggy sets with a brief metric modulation. The interpolation can be heard as either two 3/4 bars or three 2/4 bars inserted into the otherwise 4/4 song. The final track of side one, “Rejoice” has a bar of 3/4 interrupt the otherwise 4/4 metric frame to announce the beginning of the chorus. The chorus is about the joy of the angels “when there’s a soul saved” while the metrically static verses dwell on the spiritual blindness and cold hearts of the lost. The final iteration of the chorus associates all believers in the angels’ jubilation. Disrupting the meter in this way has a tangible, felt effect on the listening experience.<sup>43</sup> The effect musically illustrates the evangelical mystery of conversion. Keaggy applies a similar strategy throughout *What a Day*. Track three, “Walking With Our Lord,” opens with a rhythm that is distinctly difficult to walk to. An anacrusis leads to three bars of 5/4, two bars of 3/4, three more bars of 5/4. The chorus arrives--“Follow me, He calls us”—as the tempo increases slightly for a longer stretch of 4/4 time. The 4/4 eventually shifts into a 3/8. This sequence of meters is repeated to create a two-part form. Lyrically, the 5/4 segments question a believer’s doubts while the 4/4 chorus reassures the believer of the sureness of God’s love, call, and trustworthiness.

In addition to meter changes, Keaggy also uses hemiola rhythms to mark musical representations of the evangelical conversion experience. Hemiola rhythms pervade track 7, “Now I Can See,” a testimony song to Keaggy’s personal experience of relationship with God. Through rhythmic variety, instrumental timbre, and high levels of reverb, the track invokes the influence of

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in “Love Having You Around,” track 1 of *Music of My Mind*. Using audio technology to stack recordings into an ensemble sound remained part of his repertoire both in the studio and in live performance.

<sup>43</sup> For more on how Western listeners experience meter, see Ladinig, Olivia, Henkjan Honing, Gábor Háaden, and István Winkler, “Probing Attentive and Preattentive Emergent Meter in Adult Listeners Without Extensive Music Training,” *Music Perception* 26, no. 4 (April 2009): 377-386. Their work demonstrates that metric manipulation is attended to by even passive listeners.

eastern religious experimentation in vogue among countercultural musicians.<sup>44</sup> A fan of the Beatles, Keaggy would have been familiar with the sound of the sitar on “Norwegian Wood” and the later results of George Harrison’s work with Ravi Shankar.<sup>45</sup> On “Now I Can See” Keaggy mixes a clear, finger picked electric guitar simulating a sitar (or simulating Harrison simulating sitar) over a muddier, high-reverb swell of electric bass and guitars.<sup>46</sup> Comparison to the mix of “Norwegian Wood” demonstrates their likeness. The overall mix of “Now I Can See” juxtaposes Keaggy’s mainly scalar, high-pitched, finger-picked guitar over a muddier bass with high reverb. This is similar to the layers of sound created by the playing strings of a sitar overlaying the sound of the drone strings muddled by the resonance of sympathetic strings. This layering occurs also in “Norwegian Wood” in which Harrison, playing the sitar with guitar technique, contributes a high-pitched melodic refrain while the rest of the band contributes rhythm guitar and bass. I suggest Keaggy’s playing is on some level mimetic, not imitative of sitar. Enthusiasts such as Harrison created for the American ear a soundscape that signified spirituality. It was this musical meaning that Keaggy was emulating.<sup>47</sup> Hand percussion on the body of his guitar and the addition of an occasional finger cymbal complete the allusion.

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<sup>44</sup> Keaggy’s borrowing from the sounds of eastern mysticism and the new age music genre would continue throughout his career, notably in his 1987 instrumental album *The Wind and the Wheat*.

<sup>45</sup> See Kathryn B. Cox, “The Road to Rishikesh: The Beatles, India, and Globalized Dialogue in 1967,” *The Beatles, Sgt. Pepper, and the Summer of Love*, Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2017:67-88. See also Paul Saltzman, *The Beatles in Rishikesh*, New York: Viking Studio, 2000.

<sup>46</sup> To clarify, Keaggy’s guitar timbre lacks the richness of overtones produced by a sitar through the resonance of sympathetic strings. He is playing a guitar and not a Coral electric sitar.

The atmospheric, resonant guitar Keaggy created was accomplished through studio technology, possibly through the use of a Leslie rotating speaker, a 1960s technology adopted by Harrison and Richard Wright of Pink Floyd.

<sup>47</sup> The use of non-Western sounds to evoke “authentic” spirituality can also be observed in the use of Native American flute music for meditation or other similar examples, not to mention the use of Jewish music in the tracks described earlier in this chapter. The term exoticism, usually taught in relation to circa nineteenth-century opera, applies here. An analysis of spiritual exoticism and the use of non-Western or non-majority culture music in homogenous American church spaces would offer much to the discourse of American spiritual identity.

I - - - can feel the warmth in - side fill - ing me - a  
hand touched my eyes. Now  
I be - lieve the sun did rise and He will be my  
e - ver - las - ting light.  
Now I can see what He wants me to see.  
I then shall be like a tree plan - ted by a riv - er and I shall not be moved.

Example 8: Author's transcription. Phil Keaggy, "Now I Can See," *What a Day*, Nissi Records (1973).

As seen in this transcription, verse 1 is in an ABB form. During part A, Keaggy establishes a flowing, yet unpredictable use of rhythm by inconsistently starting phrases on offbeats and, even more effectively, switching between duple and triple subdivisions of the beat. During the B portions, hemiola rhythms further complicate the song's identification as being either a duple or triple subdivision.

Keaggy's choice to employ timbral and rhythmic allusions to the sounds of new age or eastern mysticism, as did the Beatles, demonstrates the affinity of Jesus movement spirituality for experiential religion. At the same time, Keaggy laces his lyrics with biblical allusions: "like a tree planted by a river," "friend", "greater love hath...", and others. Keaggy sonically signaled a popular form of spirituality while lyrically accentuating a faith based in rigorous, emotionally charged biblical literacy. Keaggy's work claims the spiritual-emotional effectiveness of musical new age mysticism for

Christian use. This was a continuation of the larger aesthetic project of the Jesus movement: to claim popular aesthetic culture and apply towards Christian objectives. In this moment, Jesus movement participants gladly accepted musical allusions to non-Christian spirituality, indeed they may have not even noticed the affinity between Keaggy and Harrison. The aesthetics of Christian spirituality were becoming unmoored from traditional representations and reinvented in popular forms of music, expression, and feeling.

*...Became flesh and dwelt among us*

Plenty of evangelical authorities expressed concern over the role of feeling in the Jesus movement. Rev. John E. Ashbrook of Bible Community Church in Mentor, OH wrote in a 1971 church circular:

[T]he tongues phenomenon is occurring in strange places. [...] The “Jesus Movement”, which is Pentecostal, is emotion-filled but largely Scripturally ignorant. Are these places where one would expect a special manifestation of the Spirit of God?

The final thing which should be mentioned about the modern phenomenon is that it is based on human desire for an experience rather than the walk of faith. Every mortal man would rather walk by sight, by feeling, rather than by faith. Like Jews in Christ’s day, we want a sign, a vision, a feeling, a bright light, an emotional experience. Against all of that, God says, “The just shall live by faith.” The phenomenon is almost like an emotional drug habit. Once a person has supposedly had it they are let down and must seek it again and again to keep up.<sup>48</sup>

Fearing the Jesus movement was promoting a wildfire of religious fervor that would be here one day and gone the next, evangelical and fundamentalist authorities warned against faith built on biblical illiteracy and self-hypnosis. While their concerns over the longevity of evangelical Christianity now

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<sup>48</sup> Rev. John E. Ashbrook [pastor of Bible Community Church, Mentor, OH.] “Should We Speak in Tongues” *The Ohio Bible Fellowship Visitor* July-August 1971. Box 35 Ohio Bible Fellowship, Manuscript Files in the American Religions Collection, Special Research Collections, University of California, Santa Barbara Libraries.



seem misplaced, they were not mistaken over their observation of the growing experiential aspect of evangelical spirituality.

The feeling pursued by the Jesus movement finds continuation in the transformation processes Anna Nekola theorizes in late twentieth-century CCM production, marketing, and consumption. Nekola describes how CCM appeals to its consumers by achieving a dual musical transformation of the spiritual location of the listeners: “first, to transform any profane or secular space into a sacred ‘sanctuary’; and second, to transform the listener spiritually by transporting him or her into the presence of God.”<sup>49</sup> This immersive musical effect operates on the same plane as the emotive, physical feeling of the Jesus movement. True to Girard’s plea, evangelical Christians did learn a new song and they continued singing it long after the Jesus people’s long hair was trimmed.

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<sup>49</sup> Anna Nekola, “‘I’ll Take You There’: The Promise of Transformation in the Marketing of Worship Media in US Christian Music Magazines,” *Christian Congregational Music: Performance, Identity, and Experience*, ed. Monique M. Ingalls, Carolyn Landau, and Thomas Wagner, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 117.

## Chapter 5 The Musical Vulgate: The Forms and Functions of Jesus Music Worship

*Happy, Happy, Happy, Happy,  
Happy is the people whose God is the Lord.  
Happy, Happy, Happy, Happy,  
Happy is the people whose God is the Lord.  
Where does this happy feeling come from?  
Where does this happy feeling come from?  
This happy feeling comes from Jesus.  
Ev'ry day he more than pleases.  
That's where this happy feeling comes from.*

“Happy, Happy” by Ray Rempt and Charles W. McPheeters<sup>1</sup>

Sung loudly and at tongue-tripping speed, the “Happy” song roused the energy and attention of the youth jam-packed into the little chapel and overflowing onto the lawns of Calvary Chapel, Costa Mesa (CCCM). As attendance swelled in the early 1970s, CCCM gained national exposure as an epicenter of the Jesus movement and national influence as the frontline of Christian pop music.

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<sup>1</sup> *The New Jesus Style Songs, Vol. 1* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1972) calls the song “Happy Medley” and attributes the lyric to Psalm 144:15b and Ray Rempt and the music to Rempt and Charles W. McPheeters. They are also credited as the song’s copyright holders. Rempt was a UCLA-trained physicist connected to Calvary Chapel. He began working with Youth with a Mission (YWAM) in the early 1970s. His scientific pedigree granted him credibility as a speaker and evangelist. McPheeters led the Holy Ghost Repair Service in Denver before seeking seminary training and restarting his ministry, eventually renamed The Oasis, in Hollywood. Read more about McPheeters in chapter 2. The song appears in the songbook with only the lyrics printed above. Video documentation explains why it was titled as a medley. In the Jesus movement, Rempt’s lyrics were alternated with The Carter Family’s “Walking in the King’s Highway.” (Omitting the “Highway” portion in the songbook likely made copyright clearance simpler.) In a songbook released by the Maranatha Evangelical Association of Calvary Chapel, Costa Mesa, in 1973, the “Highway” lyrics are included and the song is titled “Happy, Happy:” *Rejoice in Jesus Always: Songs of Worship and Praise* (Costa Mesa, CA: Maranatha Evangelical Association of Calvary Chapel, 1973), 2. The song as a medley is documented on film in several places including on Kathryn Kuhlman’s television show, *I Believe in Miracles*:

<https://youtu.be/RX6E0MLu6gk?t=142>. See also footage taken inside Calvary Chapel, Costa Mesa circa 1971: <https://youtu.be/cQHDDdTBiM?t=399>. It is usually led by Chuck Smith and may be sung a cappella or accompanied by guitars.

“Thy Loving Kindness” was another song in a similar, though slightly slower, style. Footage of CCCM youth singing “Thy Loving Kindness” is available from their *I Believe in Miracles* appearance: <https://youtu.be/cmRQ-K9qmUE>. Another unidentified event on the *Jesus People Film* (1972) includes the song: <https://youtu.be/TjWUo1DLrFY?t=641>. “Thy Loving Kindness” was composed by Hugh Mitchell and is based on Psalm 73. Born in 1914, Mitchell is credited with the creation of 16 praise songs or hymns by the open source reference hymnary.org. No other biographical information is available. “Thy Loving Kindness” was copyrighted in 1956. Like “Walking in the King’s Highway,” “Thy Loving Kindness” is an example of the continuity between the Jesus movement and earlier evangelical music traditions.

Though hippies could be spotted among the faces enthusiastically singing along, “Happy” was hardly hip. Its rapid delivery, simple three-chord harmonies, and extremely cheerful melody were more likely to evoke the refrains of a sheltered Christian Bible camp for kids than the influences of the nearby Hollywood clubs or the top 40 charts. While built on a snippet of scripture, it communicates little theology other than to testify to an emotional satisfaction the singer finds in Jesus. How did the functions of a song like “Happy” fit into the functions of a Jesus movement service? How would these functions come to affect the services of evangelical churches through the end of the twentieth century and beyond?

A second practice also highlights how Jesus movement music altered the functions of evangelical music. It had to do not with voices or instruments but with hands. The one way gesture—one arm raised vertically with one pointer finger directed skyward—became a sign of testimony, conviction, and spiritual response.<sup>2</sup> It was gestural shorthand for Jesus’ statement to his disciples in John 14:6: “I am the way and the truth and the life. No one comes to the Father except through me” (NIV).

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<sup>2</sup> There are multiple accounts claiming the gesture’s origin. The poster in figure one is an early example. Many versions appear on posters, bumper stickers, and posters from the Jesus movement. Duane Pederson owned a crude wooden sculpture of a hand making the gesture. It is kept in the archives of Fuller Theological Seminary. The gesture is documented in Larry Norman’s “One Way” song released on his 1972 *Bootleg* album: “One way, one way to heaven. Hold your finger high. [...] Hold up high your hand.”



Figure 12: Poster issued in the Hollywood Free Paper 1 no. 2 (October 29, 1969). Designed by Lance Bowen, an associate of the Salt Company.

When cameras scanned Jesus movement crowds at festivals, rallies, or parades, participants often flashed the sign. It was a gesture thrown into sermons and Bible messages, street testimonies, and speeches given from the steps of Berkeley's Sproul Plaza. It was also used to replace applause after musical performance. To avoid giving glory to the human musicians (and possibly causing them to stumble into pride), the sign redirected glory back up to the divine source of the musical goodness experienced on earth.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> You may note it is the same sign used by modern athletes after a successful slam-dunk, touchdown, home run, or goal. In these instances, it is the performer and not the crowd who instigates the gesture. Evangelical reception of the gesture varies. Amateurs who make it tend to be read as sincere (e.g. Olympic athletes). White athletes also seem more likely to escape charges of false humility (e.g. Tim Tebow and Nascar drivers). The gesture could be an entry point for an insightful study into how evangelicals perceive religious authenticity in celebrity figures.



Figure 13: A crowd at CCCM (circa 1972) responds to an extended “joyful noise to the Lord” made by drummer John Mehler of Love Song. <https://youtu.be/cQHDDtITbiM?t=392>.

While at CCCM the gesture may be accompanied by chatter after music’s conclusion, when it was given on charismatic faith healer Kathryn Kuhlman’s television show, *I Believe in Miracles*, the room was silent.<sup>4</sup> The image of the hostess and guests sitting in silence, fingers aloft, accompanied a sonic vacuum of several seconds that demanded response. The entertainment did not continue—for the viewer, the message must be dealt with.

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<sup>4</sup> It seems likely that the studio professionals coached the crowd into the complete silence during these moments allowing Kuhlman control over the pacing and direction of the unscripted show. In footage of Calvary events when crowds made the gesture, chatter but not applause is audible



Figure 14: Kathryn Kuhlman, Duane Pederson, Chuck Smith, and a crowd of young Jesus movement participants silently raise the one way gesture after a performance by Harvest Flight consisting of a spoken recitation of Psalm 23 and an untexted duet on a small, plucked psaltery and flute. <https://youtu.be/cmRQ-K9qmUE?t=1060>.

The gesture gained national exposure through Kuhlman and also at Expo '72 where it was employed as a rapid way to communicate to a passing camera, a signal of being in agreement with a speaker, and as a worshipful gesture.



Figure 15: The crowd at Explo '72 responds with the one way gesture.  
<https://youtu.be/xdjup2cTdgs?t=3207>.

I suggest the spiritual posture taught to the worshipping body (both in the corporate and individual senses) reflects an essential new emphasis in evangelical spirituality that originated in Jesus music, its production, reception, and use. The one way gesture connected the economic values of Jesus music to congregations and audiences who confirmed they held this music in a different category than entertainment music. Their expectations for it were different.

In this chapter, I will offer an architectural analogy to explain the mechanism by which musical aesthetics implicate theology through lived religious experience. Due to differences in musical form, generic popular musics (including the derivatives found in contemporary worship services: praise and worship, pop, alternative rock, folk, and more) do not function in the same manner as those of traditional evangelical hymns and gospel hymns. During the Jesus movement, this change in function offered a new musical spirituality—a musical sacrament—that affects the lived religion of evangelical culture. I will analyze how differences in musical form and musical time led to this shift: the evangelical worship experience transmitted by pop. Ultimately, the experiences

and theological import of contemporary evangelical worship are built on the structural differences from traditional Christian hymnody that Jesus movement pop introduced in the early 1970s. Following this, I define how specific aspects of evangelicalism have been adapted to these musical innovations. These include material culture and the roles played within church leadership. The result of these developments is the formation of a new spirituality, related to evangelical heritage, yet wholly dependent on contemporary mass media. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the growing consumption-oriented globalization of American and, even, global evangelical spirituality.

### *Musical Architecture*

I suggest the built space of a worship service, the textual and gestural liturgy, and the musical/sonic atmosphere are all planes of architecture that deeply affect the resulting spiritual epistemology and communal identity of worshippers.<sup>5</sup> These architectural cultural frames—built space, liturgy, music, and cultural products including language aesthetics—are foundational to Christian community identity. They shape, display, and re-present Christian identity. While spirituality can traverse all aspects and portions of life, Western, Protestant Christian spirituality often becomes moored in practice around an intentional, securing time of spiritual investment during a weekly church service. The time and space of this encounter is crafted through textual liturgy, ritual acts and movements, built space, and music.

Analyzing music as sacred architecture reveals something that analyzing it as ritual does not. Ritual, like music(king), sets participants in right relation with others, with ideas, beliefs, and with the

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<sup>5</sup> While the term liturgy is not used by all Christians to describe their services, in the overwhelming majority of corporate church services, some recognizable pattern or order can be discerned. Whether or not it is published in a book of church order or if it involves symbolic objects and gestures or if it makes use of non-improvised speech, these patterns technically constitute a liturgy. I use the term (as will be seen) analogically to the architecture of a church space. Like a physical structure, a liturgy or pattern of worship affects the physical, temporal, and theological aspects of Christian spirituality.



divine. Its signification is often explicit and its practice is deliberate, especially when it contributes to controversy. Observant Presbyterians and Roman Catholics know why they sprinkle their babies. Baptists know why they do not. The ritual enacts a code of belief and declares a religious identity. To an extent, church architecture communicates with a similar lack of obfuscation. The prominence of a Protestant pulpit and the central entrance location of a Catholic baptistry are physical ritual objects. Somewhere along the way, however, church architecture loses the immediacy of its theological implications in a way that ritual does not. Churches with similar theological roots may adopt vastly different architectural environments.<sup>6</sup> These architectural decisions may not have obviously required theological examination, but they nonetheless affect the experience of worshipping in those communities. Church architecture may not be under the control of congregations and church leadership due to financial, geographic, and logistical constraints. Church architecture affects the communal identity and liturgical experience of the church nonetheless.

To understand how music can function as an architecture, we will first describe the effects of built space architecture. As a physical church space may emphasize certain liturgical elements, frame liturgical movement, and implicitly provide instruction on church polity and theology, so too do the mediums that carry the liturgy—the music, texts, and gestures. Physical architecture may lengthen, compress, or obstruct a procession, modifying the visual veneration of scripture and the effect of

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<sup>6</sup> For example, The Journey churches in St. Louis, MO are a collection of nondenominational, evangelical congregations planted and operated under a central leadership team (note: “plant” is a term used by Christians for recently established congregations. While a seminary or ministry may be founded, churches are planted. Seminary students may seek training specific to church planting through certificates at some institutions and at church planting conferences. Pastoral church founders are called church planters). The Journey locations share a common local leadership structure and their website explains they are “one church, six locations.” Some of the buildings have soaring ceilings, stained glass, white paint, and pale woods while others exude warmth through lower ceilings, dark woods, and yellow lights. Some have traditional straight rows of pews while others have padded church chairs. Some face their local historic neighborhoods with brick and stone exteriors piercing the rooflines with a bell tower steeple. And some are new constructions with aluminum siding, store-front style glass doors, and a parking lot moat. Their architecture communicates who the community is and who they choose to be.

vestments or ceremony. The spacing of chairs and pews and the use or lack of kneelers constrains or encourages congregational movement and gesture or even, through confinement, intensifies the perceived exuberance of spontaneous spiritual dance. Circular seating implies a way of interpreting a priesthood of all believers and provides a pretty puzzle for those organizing the distribution of the communion. The locations of baptisteries, altars, pulpits, organs, raised platforms, sound booths, speakers, art, band and/or choir spaces all dramatically communicate, reinforce, and potentially negate the theology and the spirituality (or embodied theology) of a worship experience.<sup>7</sup> While less visually obvious, the form of a song or hymn likewise puts some controls over a worship experience, guiding the physical actions and emotional journey of a worshipper. As the ranked prominence of altars and pulpits facilitates emphasis on either the sacrament or Word respectively, so song form and style inform where, how, and why the cultivated, corporate spirituality focuses the attention and activity of worshippers.

This means that musical aesthetics function within larger structures of liturgical ritual and spirituality. Musical choices and experience affect the spiritual instruction of the entire liturgical event and sacred space. It is not a matter only of style or taste. The total structure constructed by these various architectural types bear the weight of one another. Liturgical theologian James White

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<sup>7</sup> To draw out how physical architecture and musical architecture direct the external and internal experiences of a church service, consider how the location and presentation of sacramental spaces—the altar, pulpit, baptistry—communicate key aspects of congregational identity and contribute to the emphases arrived at through liturgical actions. Many Roman Catholic churches, for example, place their baptistries at the sanctuary entrance reminding all Catholics who enter that they come into communion through their own baptism. Protestant churches may place baptistries at the front of the sanctuary, making congregations witnesses to the act of testimony and commitment made through the practice of believers' baptism. The prominence of the pulpit is an obvious feature of Anglican, Presbyterian, and reformed churches. The evolution of seating in American churches tells its own story of the role of class, status, and religion. Today in some historic east coast churches, you can still tour the pew boxes rented by prominent colonial families. Located at the front and center of the sanctuary seating area, they provided not only financial support for the church, but a conspicuous place for elites to showcase their status, fashions, and of course their piety (not at all unlike a box at the theatre, symphony hall, or opera house). In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, segregated balconies in so-called integrated churches spoke volumes on the congregation's lived theology of race, Christian communion, and justice. In the twentieth century, the use of chairs and stadium seating in place of pews ripples out of the uneasy disenchantment of modern life, nesting the secular alongside the sacred.

made similar observations on the physical architecture of modern churches in the 1960s: “A gothic dome is a contradiction in terms; a hexagonal Georgian building will lead to basic problems particularly if a portico, or two, are desired.” Essentially, there is little disconnection between aesthetic elements and structural functions. Insofar as the architectural and liturgical emphases provide parameters for a congregational sense of identity, so also do musical form, style, and content. As White’s student Lester Ruth later observed, dropping in a pop song in place of a hymn does not tend to work well. The two operate under the rules of different syntaxes—one does not serve the same structural functions as the other.<sup>8</sup> White continues his observations, “But contemporary architecture is not inhibited by the peculiarities of any shape. Thus it can give considerably greater freedom for experimentation in liturgical architecture.”<sup>9</sup> Christian pop music also provided a degree of freedom from precedent and required liturgical innovation to accompany its implementation.

White was optimistic about the liturgical experiments being conducted through modern architecture. He believed he was living in a time that required the Protestant church to purify its liturgical structures in the areas of architecture and liturgical art. Following this stage, he predicted the church could pursue elaboration without danger to the efficacy of liturgical functions.<sup>10</sup> The crucible of relevance would burn away the chaff of unexamined ritual habits in favor of the essential tradition. Like the free form of contemporary architecture in the 1970s, contemporary pop music removed the expected constraints of existing liturgical structures. Pop worship shifted the structure of musical expectations of evangelical spiritual life by presenting worship and spirituality in new

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<sup>8</sup> Swee Hong Lim and Lester Ruth, “The History of Contemporary Worship,” interview with Sarah Bereza, *Music and the Church*, podcast audio, November 9, 2017, <https://sarah-bereza.com/episode3/>.

<sup>9</sup> James White, *Protestant Worship and Church Architecture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964): 199.

<sup>10</sup> White, 179.

musical forms. The expectations would have to be built anew. The Jesus movement pop worship supporters believed and hoped this music would build their spirituality closer to the early church.

One key result of these new spiritual expectations for music was that music gained a level of sacramentality within evangelical worship. Music has been a portal or intimate connection point between worshipper and divine in many Christian traditions. Pop worship revitalized and intensified this connection to the point of reorienting evangelical liturgy to prioritize times of music.

Functioning as both architectural *and* sacramental object, music can be a particularly potent site of identity construction. Music also is an especially pliable mold. While a congregation may be limited to certain liturgical choices by an inherited building, music is far more disposable and easily and gradually altered. Given its viability for liturgical experimentation, the long history of music as internecine church battleground should come with little surprise.<sup>11</sup> Taking a stand for a musical style can edge a congregation towards or away from subtle theological or sacramental positions. The epistemological immersion of musicking implicates each attendee. Sacramentality realized through music cannot be a doctrine kept in a bottom drawer out of sight. When church music emphasizes emotion or intellect, personal revelation or conformity, spontaneity or order, it viscerally presents a sonic vision of community spirituality.

Pop music holds the potential to move a congregation's spiritual identity with considerable force considering how, as a marketplace commodity and moreover a mass medium, it can easily travel outside of church services into the private spiritual lives of congregants. The ritual significance of sacramental objects, gestures, and experiences comes laden with meaning erected not only by religious precedent, but also by the bleed of ordinary life into sacramental space. Vestments are

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<sup>11</sup> Anna Nekola's work on how music has served as the battleground for more integral controversies within American evangelicalism insightfully and correctly argues that evangelicals have tended to externalize internal conflicts. See Nekola "Between This World and the Next: The Musical 'Worship Wars' and Evangelical Ideology in the United States, 1960-2005" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2009).

uniforms; pulpits are podiums; bread, wine, and a set table echo the dining set at home. Music also, particularly pop music, imbues sacramental space with the stuff of quotidian time. The Jesus people found these transfusions do not mar the sacred; they joined the rhythms of their lives to the realization of their spirituality.

### *Experiencing Worship through Pop*

The musical content of Jesus music and pop worship gave evangelical liturgy new temporal and functional forms.<sup>12</sup> As a seedbed for developing worship practices, the Jesus movement is an important site for investigation. While performance practice was uniform across neither the Jesus movement nor American evangelicalism, some general observations about pop music form is useful for discerning its effect on evangelical liturgy. Two subsets of the larger swath of Jesus music are scripture songs and pop worship songs. In the ensuing discussion, I am primarily concerned with pop worship songs built of conventional verse-chorus-bridge elements and original lyrics since these had the more direct influence on the Christian music industry praise and worship genre. Also common, however, in the Jesus movement were scripture songs, portions of scripture set to a melody with simple chordal accompaniment. It is not unusual to find in the Bibles of movement participant-musicians simple chord progressions written above the text. While these songs could be drawn from the book of Psalms (as might be expected), Jesus people also set chapters from other biblical books. Bill Squires, a leader in the Christian World Liberation Front in Berkeley, reported the CWLF primarily used song texts drawn from scripture. He names Proverbs 3, Psalms 48, and

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<sup>12</sup> For definitions of my use of the terms Jesus music, pop worship, scripture songs, CCM, and CWM, see chapter 1.

Galatians 5 as popular settings.<sup>13</sup> The scripture songs aided the Jesus people in their widespread practice of scripture memorization and also connected them to the early church they sought to emulate through the performance of “psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs.”<sup>14</sup>

In 1974, Maranatha! Music released *The Praise Album*. It was their second LP following *The Everlastin' Living Jesus Music Concert* (1972). From this point forward, Jesus music was marketed as either Jesus music or pop worship music, though not always in as many words. Maranatha! and other labels developed distinct album series or sublabels for each type. Ethnomusicologist Monique Ingalls recommends using the acronyms CCM (contemporary Christian music) and CWM (contemporary worship music) to distinguish between these musical products and their distinct religious-cultural functions.<sup>15</sup> While I acknowledge there are clear examples that fit into either one or the other category, I argue it is important not to lose sight of how both musics affect the spiritual training and experiences of evangelical listeners. While using CWM as a border for her work, Ingalls has broadened the definition of congregational music to include church bodies as well as concert and conference attendees, public forums, online communities, and a global Christian music marketplace.<sup>16</sup> This project is not oriented toward defining how music forms community, but rather how music has worked to develop a new spirituality within American evangelicalism. Toward this end, I consider how both CCM (or Jesus music as it was called in the early 1970s) and CWM

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<sup>13</sup> Typed interview transcript, Bill Squires interviewed by [Ronald Enroth], [1972], Box 22, Jesus People – General 3/3, Manuscript Files in the American Religions Collection, Special Research Collections, University of California, Santa Barbara Libraries.

<sup>14</sup> In Ephesians 5:18b-19 amid a teaching on living in the light and on submission, the apostle Paul instructs Christians to “be filled with the Spirit, speaking to one another with psalms, hymns, and songs from the Spirit. Sing and make music from your heart to the Lord.” (NIV). The passage was well known to the music-minded Jesus People who made common use of the wording given in the King James version—“making melody in your heart to the Lord.”

<sup>15</sup> For the remainder of this section, I use CCM to refer not to the music industry that developed in the late 1970s, but to the category opposite CWM meant to facilitate a Christian spiritual musical lifestyle if not an explicitly worshipful experience.

<sup>16</sup> Monique M. Ingalls, *Singing the Congregation: How Contemporary Worship Music Forms Evangelical Community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).

function as sacred vernacular musics. In chapter 4, the Jesus music musical examples were primarily drawn from proto-CCM albums. However, given that the Christian pop music marketplace was in the early stages of development, some of the songs arguably have a foot in both the CCM and the CWM designations.<sup>17</sup> Examples from *Jesus Music Concert* include “Two Roads,” “If You Will Believe,” and “Maranatha.” “Holy, Holy, Holy,” a musical benediction, certainly fits easily into a liturgical format as corporate worship. Other tracks were frequently used in corporate worship events, notably “For Those Tears” despite the third person narration of the chorus in which the singer address the listener and not God. In this chapter, musical examples come from Maranatha! Music’s first two pop worship albums: *The Praise Album* (1974) and *Praise II* (1976). The discussion simultaneously continues to include how forms found in general Jesus music albums affected evangelical spirituality.<sup>18</sup>

### *Musical Time and Liturgical Experience*

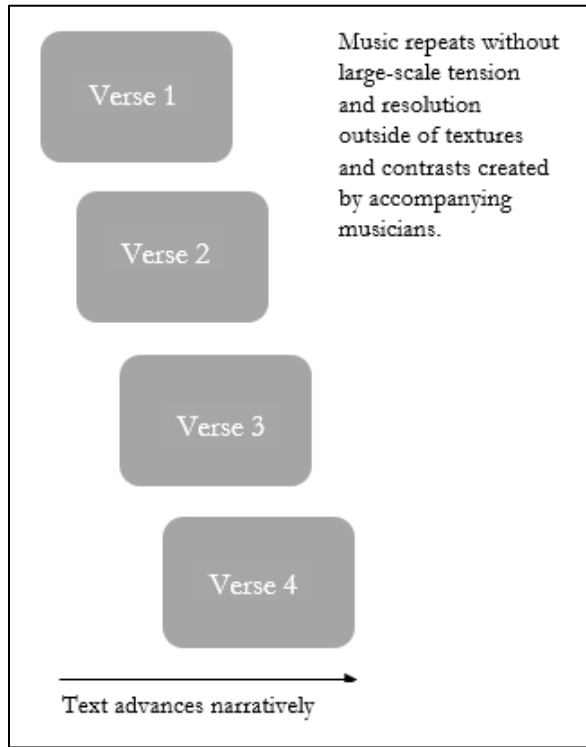
The musical experience of pop worship enables the individualized spirituality prevalent in modern American evangelicalism in ways that teleological hymn texts and forms do not. Jesus music worship drew musical forms created by the entertainment industries into church. In contrast to the traditional, stanzaic hymn, pop songs accomplish a meta-narrative of tension and resolution apart from the theological narrative given through hymn texts (Figure 16). The repetition and ordering of verses, choruses, and bridges of a pop song musically transports a congregation over the course of a song (Figure 17). When a contrasting bridge arrives back at an expectation-laden chorus, tension is

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<sup>17</sup> I maintain that the CCM industry was not firmly established until the late 1970s. The following labeling of Jesus music tracks as CCM/CWM is my hypothetical extension of those market divisions back onto the Jesus movement.

<sup>18</sup> Some conjecture could be made that CCM albums prepared Jesus movement worshippers to spiritually engage through the simpler CWM forms. While I am not prepared to make that claim, I would not be surprised if further research into individual Jesus movement experiences—possibly obtained through oral history interviews—found it is supportable.

resolved. When repetition reaches a certain threshold and a praise chorus is born, the musical repetition is a vessel not only for the text, but for the meditation of the worshipper.



2 Holy, Holy, Holy

Reginald Heber NICAEA  
John B. Dykes

1. Ho - ly, Ho - ly, Ho - ly, Lord God Al - might - y!  
 2. Ho - ly, Ho - ly, Ho - ly! All the saints a - dore Thee,  
 3. Ho - ly, Ho - ly, Ho - ly! Tho' the dark-ness hide Thee,  
 4. Ho - ly, Ho - ly, Ho - ly! Lord God Al - might - y!

Ear - ly in the morn - ing our song shall rise to Thee:  
 Cast - ing down their gold - en crowns a - round the glass - y sea;  
 Tho' the eye of sin - ful man Thy glo - ry may not see,  
 All Thy works shall praise Thy name in earth and sky and sea;

Ho - ly, Ho - ly, Ho - ly! Mer - ci - ful and Might - y!  
 Cher - u - bim and ser - a - phim fall - ing down be - fore Thee,  
 On - ly Thou art Ho - ly; there is none be - side Thee  
 Ho - ly, Ho - ly, Ho - ly, Mer - ci - ful and Might - y!

God in Three Per - sons, bless - ed Trin - i - ty!  
 Who wert, and art, and ev - er - more shalt be.  
 Per - fect in pow'r, in love, and pu - ri - ty,  
 God in Three Per - sons, bless - ed Trin - i - ty! A - men.

Figure 16: Visual representation of imagined conventional hymn musical narrative and hymn example: “Holy, Holy, Holy” as printed in *Living Way Hymnal* (Los Angeles: International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, 1978).



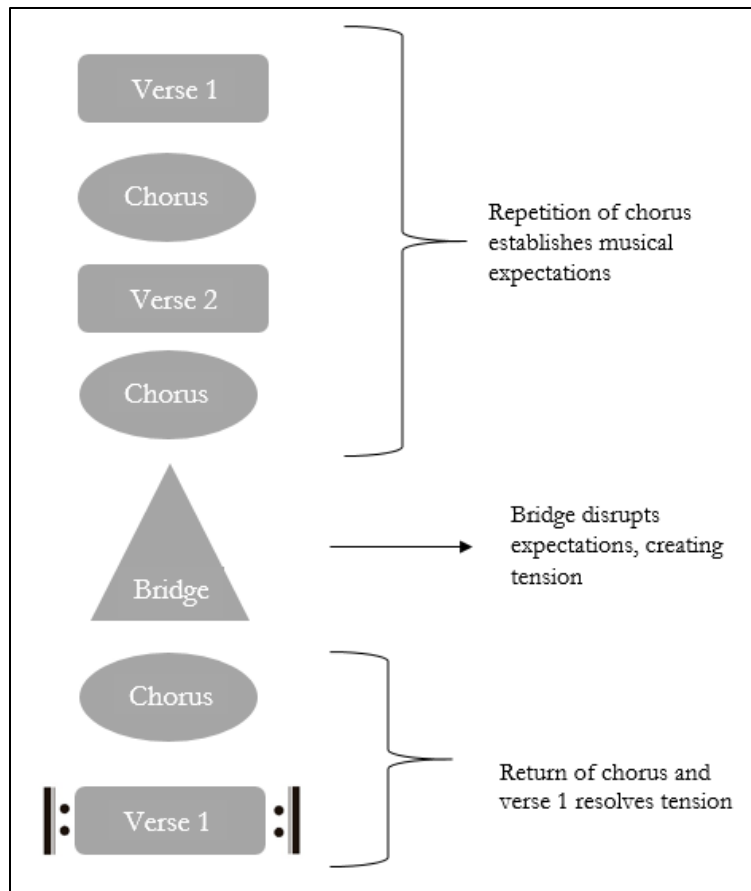


Figure 17: Visual representation of pop-style worship song musical narrative. Song pictured: “Praise the Lord” *The Praise Album* (Maranatha! Music, 1974). In this example, the verses function similarly to a chorus. The lyrics do not construct a linear narrative. They remain static on the concepts of praise. The verse also concludes with a cadence on the tonic. As a result of the lyrics and the harmonic closure, ending with repetitions of verse 1 instead of the chorus resolves the song as effectively as the more typical final repetitions of the chorus would.

While the performance practices of church musicians can achieve a musical meta-narrative through a hymn (e.g. accompaniment textures that dramatize the lyrical narrative), pop music requires participation in a visceral, musical narrative. The form of a pop worship song generates a visceral response over top of the physical experience of hearing intrinsic to any aural interaction including the performance of hymns. The baked-in narrative modules of pop music offer music leaders tools for shaping worship flow—a principal device in late twentieth-century evangelical worship.<sup>264</sup>

<sup>264</sup> Swee Hong Lim and Lester Ruth, *Lovin’ on Jesus: A Concise History of Contemporary Worship* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 2017), 5-6.

These observations about how pop worship music facilitates a spiritual experience that differs from that of hymns is, of course, subjective. How can spiritual experience be mapped or measured with any form of reliable replication? The context of each worship experience and the perspective of each worshipper are massive, complex variables that would be more suitably treated by ethnographic research.<sup>265</sup> I also wish to stress that this analysis does not suggest either pop worship or hymns are inferior, less effective, or less authentic facilitators of spiritual encounters. What this analysis does attempt is to parse how pop worship was a departure from the musical structure of hymns and to suggest how musical structure then affected the lived experience of evangelical worship.

As evangelical worship music gained greater autonomous musical narrative capabilities, the relative amount of service time given over to music increased.<sup>266</sup> A Sunday morning service held at Calvary Chapel, Costa Mesa on December 4, 1977 demonstrates how the function of music developed after several years of pop music's integration into the Calvary community. The service could be summarized as being in two parts. The first, a collection of "worship activities" was bookended by music and the second contained the reading of scripture and the sermon.

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<sup>265</sup> Monique Ingalls and Joshua Busman are contributing excellent ethnographic scholarship on modern evangelical worship practices. See also the work of many of their associates involved in the biannual Christian Congregational Music Conference held at Ripon College, Cuddesdon, Oxford: <https://congregationalmusic.org/>. See Monique Ingalls, *Singing the Congregation: How Contemporary Worship Music Forms Evangelical Community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018) and Joshua Busman "(Re)Sounding Passion: Listening to American Evangelical Worship Music, 1997-2015" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina—Chapel Hill, 2015).

While ethnographic fieldwork of the Jesus movement, a historical moment now passed, is not possible outside of retrospective oral history interviews

<sup>266</sup> Lim and Ruth, 5; 32-36.

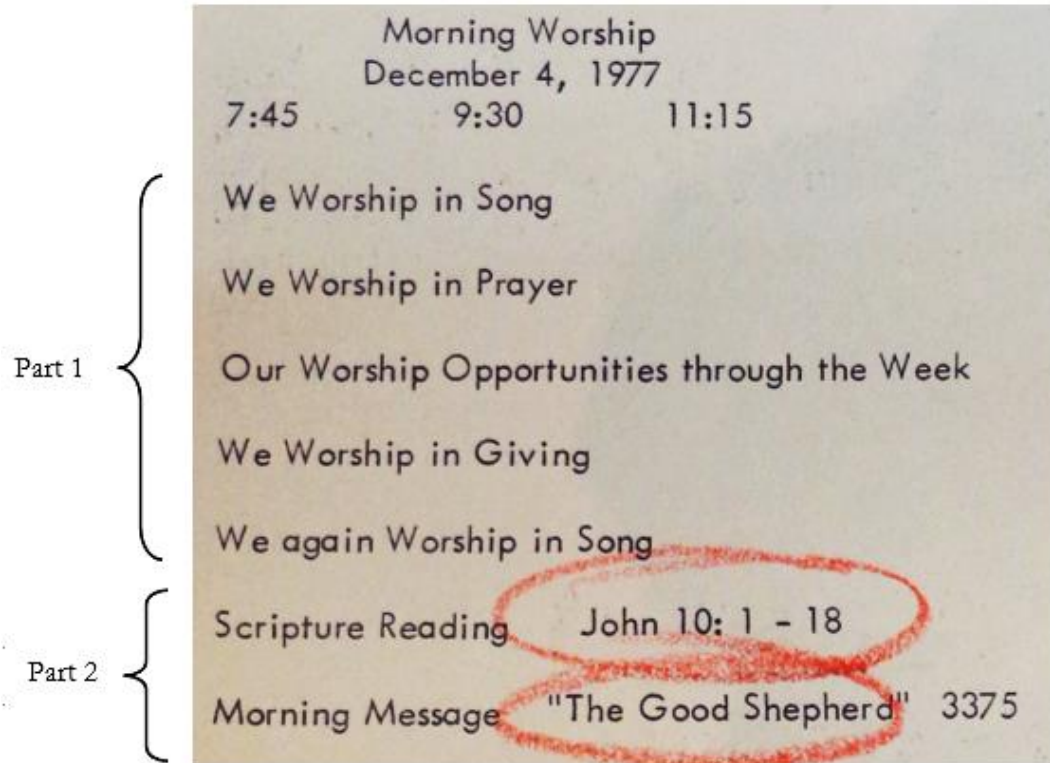


Figure 18: Order of worship from Calvary Chapel, Costa Mesa church bulletin, December 4, 1977, Box 24, Calvary Chapel, Manuscript Files in the American Religions Collection, Special Research Collections, University of California, Santa Barbara Libraries.

Around the same time, CCCM's statement of beliefs read:

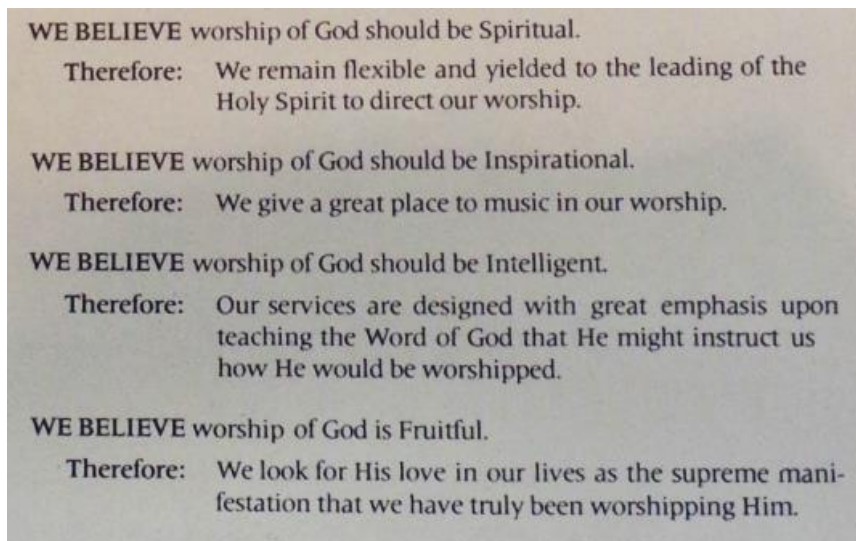


Figure 19: Statement of beliefs from Calvary Chapel, Costa Mesa church bulletin, December 4, 1977, Box 24, Calvary Chapel, Manuscript Files in the American Religions Collection, Special Research Collections, University of California, Santa Barbara Libraries.

Music occupied a large portion of the service time. It was moreover believed to be an instrument by which the Calvary congregation was “*inspired*”—by which they entered spirituality. Listed in parallel to the revered office of Protestant preaching, music was a sacrament.

The Sunday morning “Worship in Song” did not necessarily involve contemporary compositions or those that were particularly rock, pop, or folk inflected.<sup>267</sup> Many reports exist of senior pastor Chuck Smith leading the congregation with only his own, untrained voice. In my research, documentation of what he led them in is scarce. Of significance here, however, is the role music played in the spirituality of CCCM attendees. As many papers reported, the CCCM crowd commonly attended multiple Calvary services each week. The Wednesday evening attendees likely had significant overlap with the Sunday morning congregation. The musical practices of Wednesday night affected the spirituality of Sunday morning. Calvary’s Wednesday evening service, led by youth pastor Lonnie Frisbee, did make use of contemporary musical sounds. An attendee reported to the

*Independent Press Telegram*:

I really groove on the singing. We don’t sing regular hymns, though. Usually they’re Bible verses put to simple music or folk-rock with religious overtones. There’s no organ either. Sometimes there’s a guitar or drums and sometimes we just sing. You don’t have to sing well; you don’t even have to know the words. You just let it all out. It’s the greatest feeling in the world.<sup>268</sup>

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<sup>267</sup> Archival documents suggest that while pop and rock music was used in all services held Monday-Saturday, Smith drew from more traditional worship repertoire on Sunday mornings. The incorporation of pop and rock into Sunday morning services did not merit notable archival documentation. It likely occurred gradually as pop music shed its connotations of worldliness. Though a frontline in the development of Christian pop, Calvary leadership adopted it in worship slowly. Larry Clark, “Calvary Chapel,” *Logos Journal* (November-December 1978), 73, Box 24, Calvary Chapel, Manuscript Files in the American Religions Collection, Special Research Collections, University of California, Santa Barbara Libraries.

<sup>268</sup> Linda Zink, “Christianity Sees Spirited Revival Among the Young,”

*Independent Press-Telegram* (March 7, 1971), Box 56 Collection 66: Duane Pederson, Jesus People International, and Hollywood Free Press Collection, 1953-2011, Archives, Rare Books and Special Collections, David Allan Hubbard Library, Fuller Theological Seminary.

As the person interviewed expressed, under Frisbee's direction young, invested Christians were weekly cultivating an experiential, musically grounded spirituality in which neither musical sophistication nor textual power outweighed the effect of *feeling*.<sup>269</sup> The function of worship music was not to teach or exhort but to facilitate spiritual arrival.

Considering its place as a potential birthplace for contemporary worship music, CCCM has implemented a surprising number of musical changes since the Jesus movement era. In the years to come, CCCM organized its own choir. In the 1980s *Charisma Magazine* reported the Calvary Community Worship Singers choir were the heart of CCCM's music ministry.<sup>270</sup> Today, if you attend a Sunday morning service, you will hear a polished light rock band with drums, electric guitars, keyboard, and vocalists. Though the interview occurred over a decade past the early Jesus movement years, *Charisma* engaged with Calvary staff on the issue of musical styles and functions. Chuck Fromm, a Calvary music minister and Chuck Smith's nephew, was clear: "We need to be very careful [...] that whenever we use music the focus is the message, not the methodology. Whenever we marry a method because of personal values, we risk cultural imposition and a greater sin."<sup>271</sup> As the so-called worship wars revved up during the 1980s, the nesting ground of contemporary Christian music, CCCM, continued to assert that the message of the church transcended style. The argument worked both for the use of pop styles in worship (in the early 1970s) and against the coronation of

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<sup>269</sup> The typical transmission of hymns at this time—through hymnals occupying worshippers' hands—presented a worship experience that visually and physically centered musical notation and lyrics. This experience contrasts with the interviewee's experience at Frisbee's studies in which the music, orally transmitted, and the words lacked the monumentalization of a physical object such as a hymnal. The songbooks that were produced by the Jesus movement did not replicate hymnals. They were often small, spiral-bound paperbacks with chord symbols that required some form of oral transmission to recreate the songs. Their portable, disposable construction contrasted with the hardbound tomes that housed evangelical hymnody.

<sup>270</sup> Jamie Buckingham, "The Music of Spiritual Awakening," *Charisma* (July 1984), 40, Box 24, Calvary Chapel, Manuscript Files in the American Religions Collection, Special Research Collections, University of California, Santa Barbara Libraries.

<sup>271</sup> Chuck Fromm interview quoted in Jamie Buckingham, "The Music of Spiritual Awakening," *Charisma* (July 1984), 40, Box 24, Calvary Chapel, Manuscript Files in the American Religions Collection, Special Research Collections, University of California, Santa Barbara Libraries.

pop or contemporary style as the only effective worship (in the 1980s and on). Fromm's remarks address criticisms that were not only lodged against Calvary's music ministry but also mark the entire history of Christian worship practices. Speaking directly to the adoption of rock and pop, Fromm cites precedent given by the church's first songbook, the biblical book of Psalms. In the eighth psalm King David composed an ode to God's majesty as creator. It is prefaced by instructions that it is for the "director of music," that is a priestly musician, "according to the *gittith*" (Psalm 8:1, NIV). While some reference sources state the meaning of *gittith* is unknown, others suggest it refers to a type of zither from Gath, a Philistine city-state taken by David in a military campaign according to 1 Chronicles 18:1. "Psalm 8 was written to glorify man as a creation of God. The instrument the psalmist chose was from Gath, 'the city of the enemy.' To say that a drum is somehow an instrument of the devil is to label something good bad." Moving beyond the arguments made against the material sounds of rock, Fromm laid out a spiritual perspective within his musicological philosophy: "We must keep the battle spiritual, not human. Remember, function should create form."

The adoption of new musical aesthetics highlighted the spiritual component of evangelical music making in the years following the Jesus movement. The spiritual priority of right listening was elevated by the extended times of musical worship and the multi-sited occupation of Christian pop in evangelical life. While Fromm suggested in his conversation with *Charisma* that form should follow from function, in the case of the musical revolution of the Jesus movement era, to some extent, function followed also from form. The use of pop as an evangelistic enticement demonstrates form borne of function. The adaptation of the evangelical worship service to depend on the musical narratives of pop music, however, demonstrates function borne of form.

While Jesus music was informing Jesus movement spirituality, artists were developing another form of worshipful music known today as the praise chorus. *The Praise Album* and *Praise II*

offer many early examples of this repetitive, meditative song form. Each pass of the chorus may be varied through the use of different vocal ensembles. For example, a solo male voice followed by a solo female voice, followed by a male ensemble, followed by a mixed ensemble, and so on.<sup>272</sup> The tables below exhibit the forms created by the lyrics in the songs. Note that none other than “Unto Thee, O Lord” from *Praise II* has verses that create a sequential narrative. “Unto Thee” was not an original Jesus movement song. The artists used a relatively recent, but pre-movement hymn text. While “Peace I Give to You” from *The Praise Album* appears at first to have a sequential lyrical narrative, close examination reveals lyrical development is minimal with only one word altering between verses.

Song Title	Song Form	Comments
“Heavenly Father”	V1-V2-V3-V1'-V2'-V3'-V1”	
“Father I Adore You”	V1-V1'-V1”(canon)	
“Praise the Lord”	V1-C-V2-C-B-C-V1'rpt, fade out	
“Praise the Lord Together”	V1-V1(canon)	
“Thy Loving Kindness”	V1-V2-V1'(echo)	Hymn text (1956)
“Set My Spirit Free”	V1-V1-instr-V1	
“Bring My Body Closer”	C-V1-C-V2-C-V1-C	
“Love (One Another)”	V1-Vinstr-V1'-V1”	
“Seek Ye First”	V1-V1'(descant)-V1”	
“Cause Me to Come”	V1-R-V2-R-V3-R	
“Holy, Thou Art Holy”	V1-V1.2-V1.3	(Men sing V1 three times. Women’s part changes on each iteration.)
“Peace I Give to You”	V1-V2-V3-instr-V3'-V4	Lyrical development is minimal. Only the first word of the verse alters: “Peace give I to thee...Faith give I to thee...Hope give I to thee...Love give I to thee.”

Table 3: Form chart of *The Praise Album* (Maranatha! Music, 1974). Abbreviations key: V-verse, C-chorus, B-bridge, rpt-repeat segment, (canon)-segment performed in canon, (echo)-segment performed with echoing vocal part, instr-instrumental break, (descant)-segment performed with accompanying descant, R-refrain or brief chorus.

<sup>272</sup> It was most typical for women’s voices to follow men’s mirroring the gender roles taught within most Jesus movement communities. Maranatha! Music released their praise albums without identifying which singers are featured on the various tracks. “Singers and Musicians” are listed in block of names on the album’s back cover. Curiously, the men are listed first in alphabetical order followed by the women in alphabetical order.

Song Title	Song Form	Comments
“Sing to the Father”	V1-V1’-V1-V1’-V1-V1’-V2	Men sing V1 and V2. Women sing V1’.
“Praise You Father”	V1-V1’-V1’-(key change)-V1-V1	
“Light Our Way”	V1-R-instr-R-V2-R-R	
“Christ in Me”	V1-C-V1-C-C-V1	
“Unto Thee, O Lord”	V1-V2-V3-V4-V5-tag	Hymn text (1866)
“Servant of All”	V1-V1-(key change)-V1-V1-V1	
“Sing Hallelujah”	V1-V1(canon and descant)rpt	
“O Come Let Us Adore Him/Thou Art Worthy	C1-C2-V	
“Open Our Eyes”	V1-V2-Vinstr-V1-V2-tag	
“My Peace”	V1-V2	

Table 4: Form chart of *Praise II* (Maranatha! Music, 1976). Abbreviations key: same as above plus: (key change)-instrument key change, tag-repeat of last vocal line, Vinstr-verse melody performed instrumentally.

Studying the charts above reveals that if a rhetorical journey or process is to be accomplished over the course of these songs, it is not to be often found in the lyrical content.<sup>273</sup> Jesus music worship, exemplified in these praise choruses, relied on musical development to sustain interest during a worship experience.

#### *Divine Design: How Function Follows Form*

Worship music arrived at a new threshold of sacramentality because of the advent of pop music in evangelical church services during the 1970s. This sacramentality was cultivated through an increased proportion of the worship service given to music, the form of the musical narrative, and the theological pairing of spirituality and music.

Pop music forms and expanded times for music in church services gave worship leaders modules that could be reorganized to freely move in calmer or more energetic musical directions or

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<sup>273</sup> Evangelical worship music usually aims for some category of encounter, especially post-Jesus movement. See chapter 4 for how musical form became a representation and instructor in spiritual encounter during the Jesus movement. A hymn text facilitates this encounter through a forward-moving narrative, but other means are also possible. This encounter may be a self-reflective encounter with personal sin and redemption or it may be an encounter with God or a person of the Trinity through a meditation on their attributes such as majesty, grace, might, or mercy.



settle into static, repetitive passages of musical meditation.<sup>274</sup> In the years following the Jesus movement, music gradually was given more space in the service. Eventually, the investment made towards pop worship affected not only the relative time given over to it, but also the physical arrangement of worship spaces. Altars were upstaged by screens, stained glass by theater lights, pulpits by platforms and stages; the physical arrangements, mirroring rock concert set-ups, visually confronted evangelical worshippers with lights, bands, and projections. Worshippers stood in dimmed sanctuaries in front of their own chair, not a shared pew, and sang along with the worship band amplified in such a way that the voices of neighboring worshippers was inaudible. These surroundings fed the increasingly individualistic evangelical ethos whereby worship becomes personal and interior. The church, like the theatre or cinema, embraced the ability to transport its occupants.

Pop worship music, like pop entertainment music, was a disposable commodity. Christian material culture (like American material culture) followed suit in adopting short-lived objects that quickly advanced toward aesthetic and functional obsolescence. Paperback songbooks with colorful covers supplemented hardbound hymnals.<sup>275</sup>

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<sup>274</sup> This modular, experiential worship structure was also practiced by Pentecostal churches both black and white. Jesus movement artists, however, tended not to have exposure to Pentecostal contexts. Notable exceptions to this include Larry Norman and Andraé Crouch. Jesus music artists did tend to have experience in combining sets of songs to build a cohesive musical program from their past careers as secular artists in clubs and concerts.

Taken with a larger view, however, the Pentecostalism did have an indirect influence on Jesus music through its influence on the wider world of popular music. See Randall Stephens, *The Devil's Music: How Christians Inspired, Condemned, and Embrace Rock 'n' Roll* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018), especially chapter 1 "Pentecostalism and Rock 'n' Roll in the 1950s."

<sup>275</sup> Several denominations that maintain a centralized series of official hymnals have continued to this day the practice of publishing supplementary songbooks for use alongside their longer-lasting hymnals. The books may be marketed towards youth ministry such as the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod's *All God's People Sing!* (Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1992). They may contain popular Christian worship songs, world music, and/or traditional hymns updated with gender-neutral lyrics. Examples include the LCMS' *Hymnal Supplement* (Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1998) and the United Methodist Church's *The Faith We Sing* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 2001).

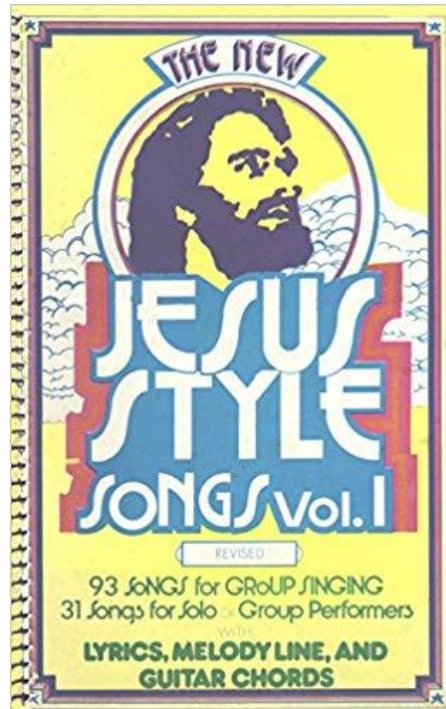


Figure 20: *The New Jesus Style Songs, Vol. 1* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1972).

Eventually the overhead projector was found to be a more effective technological solution to the relatively rapid turnover of pop worship repertoire.<sup>276</sup> Lights were dimmed as at the head of the sanctuary the traditional visual focal points—altar, pulpit, baptistry—were joined by screens and the texts of the new worship top 40 charts. By the end of the twentieth century after several decades of steady investment in pop worship music, the spirituality of evangelicalism lived in thoroughly updated houses.

The new function of evangelical music-making can also be seen in the roles played by music leaders. Musical leadership within evangelicalism was complicated by the changes wrought to

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<sup>276</sup> The overhead projector gained popularity after it was put to use in military training for World War II. Schools and businesses adopted the technology in the 1950s and early 1960s. Beginning in the 1970s, Protestant American churches began adopting overhead projection in the 1980s and 1990s. Christian music publishers began selling lyric transparencies along with rehearsal cassettes and chord sheets. Installing a screen in a church sanctuary was tantamount to staking out a position in the worship wars of the late twentieth century. For a brief reflection on the uses and effects of screens in Protestant worship, see Jason Byassee, "Screen Time," *Christian Century* 132 no. 20 (September 30, 2015), 43.

evangelical spirituality by the introduction of pop music as service music and experiential sacrament. As organist and choir director were replaced by bandleader, worship leadership began to literally face the congregation. While revival stages of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had previously bannered the names of song leaders such as Ira Sankey and Beverly Shea, it was still a stance less commonly taken in a weekly, local congregation. John Witvliet, professor of worship, theology, and congregational and ministry studies and director of the Calvin Institute of Christian Worship at Calvin College has generalized the situation:

Churches are looking for people whose creativity and charismatic personality can turn an ordinary moment into a holy moment. This tendency is not limited to charismatics. Churches with names not only like Community Church of the Happy Valley but also Tall Steeple Presbyterian Church want to hire musicians who aspire to make holy moments. One attempts to do this on a pipe organ with a loud trumpet stop and one attempts it with microphone and drum set, but both are striving to make God present, in some true, if elusive, sense. In congregations today, our strongest sacramental language is often not used to speak about what happens at the pulpit, font, and table, but rather what comes from our conga drums, synthesizers, and swell box. Even the architecture of many worship spaces (which rarely lies about what is most important) conveys the “sacramentalization” of music. The front-and-center space formerly reserved for pulpit, font, and table or altar is now reserved for worship bands or towering pipe organs.<sup>277</sup>

The transfer of holy presence from ritual (e.g. a communion service) or Word to musical experience affects how congregations bodily position themselves in relation to the Christian source of holiness, God’s righteousness. Worship leaders do not bestow so much as they facilitate the individual’s spiritual experience. A key piece of the rise of musical “sacrament” is the role of ecclesial authorities. The role of the worship leader as guide into God’s presence (now an event more physical than cerebral), cuts into the teaching pastor’s role. Yet, the worship leader holds significantly different tools. He cannot fence his table.<sup>278</sup>

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<sup>277</sup> John Witvliet “Beyond Style: Rethinking the Role of Music in Worship” *The Conviction of Things Not Seen: Worship and Ministry in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, ed. Todd E. Johnson, (Grand Rapids, MI: Brazos Press, 2002), 71.

<sup>278</sup> I use the male pronoun here deliberately. I find it curious that many evangelical churches, while vocally complementarian, have not commented on the role of women in music leadership. A typical

### *The New Spirituality*

While American evangelicalism remains rooted in historic evangelicalism, it is also being powerfully rocked by the gratification of contemporary mass media. The mass media production schedules obsolescence into religious ritual worship of the eternal. The musical components of Christian pop take their regulative principles from the entertainment industry.<sup>279</sup> The sway of popular culture in Christian music is certainly not new. But, as its study has revealed for previous church eras, the relationships between musical taste and musical experience yield much information about the concurrent theological and political implications of Christian faith.

The musical content filling pop music forms guides the experience of the worshipper and the liturgical function of service music towards a new spirituality. Form and content operate hand in hand. Formal repetition supports being able to worship with closed eyes, hands free to raise unencumbered by hymnals. The change attracted attention for some time. A reporter for *Eternity* magazine visited the Church on the Way and “was surprised to find there were no hymnbooks. Instead the hymns were projected on a screen. It was just one of the factors that revealed here was a

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complementarian view of biblically prescribed gender roles within the church bar women from holding spiritual authority over men, yet may make room for women to be leaders in some capacities as cooks, decorators, and women’s and children’s teachers. These churches may program songs written by women on a weekly basis (whether classic hymns by Fanny Crosby and Anne Steele or contemporary praise choruses by Darlene Zschech), but would bar these women from delivering a sermon, i.e. having spiritual authority. Some of these churches determine the official title of their music directors (and youth leaders) based on gender. A man and woman with identical job descriptions may be called either a music minister or a music leader respectively. When a man leads evangelical worship, his title and recognized social role in the church as a ministerial position may more accurately reflect the role of music in the spiritual lives of evangelicals.

<sup>279</sup> Define regulative principle of worship—developed by Calvinist/reformed Christian thinkers to define appropriate boundaries for the content of Christian liturgy. The regulative principle of worship asserts liturgy should draw its forms and contents from scriptural sources. For some sects, this means restricting all non-sermon language to biblical quotation (e.g. psalms-only). For others, it is applied as a metanarrative rubric over the order of service.

For more on the evangelical debate on complementarianism v. egalitarianism, see the Council on Biblical Manhood and Womanhood at [www.cbmw.org](http://www.cbmw.org) and Christians for Biblical Equality, International at [www.cbeinternational.org](http://www.cbeinternational.org).

company of believers cut off from tradition.”<sup>280</sup> Repetitive text and music also can prompt a meditative worship experience in contrast to the text-heavy hymn tradition geared towards edification through recitation of doctrinal beliefs. A paradox arises out of evangelical spirituality in the Jesus movement; it is simultaneously essentially communal *and* essentially individual.<sup>281</sup>

While typically espousing the necessity for corporate worship, evangelical music making since the Jesus movement has increasingly facilitated individual-centric spiritual experience. Part of this is due to the availability and promotion of Christian pop outside of a Sunday service. With the ubiquity of technology in homes and cars, access to Christian music is easy for most middle class American families. Middle of the road Christian pop is not demanding to listen to. Instrumental solos, polyphonic complexes, extended forms, and other signals for the Western ear of sophistication generally do not occur. The question arises, does ease of access and ease of listening also ease the delivery of doctrine or is doctrine also toned down into an easy to digest form? Many critics of Christian pop would argue its chief offense is a lack of sound theological depth. Being true to the Jesus movement value of accessibility (Jesus is for everyone wherever they are), it was not necessarily theological precision so much as emotional connection that reached people and compelled faithfulness. After the Jesus movement, felt faith more so than cognitive conviction came to govern the most prevalent form of lived evangelical spirituality: musical consumption.

The individualism of evangelical worship enlarged by Jesus movement practices was coupled with new emotional expressivity. Thomas E. Bergler observed:

The rise of gospel pop also revealed a popular redefinition of the emotions deemed proper in worship. Reverence, contrition, and perhaps a subdued sense of exaltation had been the

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<sup>280</sup> Russell T. Hitt, “California God Rush,” *Eternity* (March 1978), 31-. Box 24 Calvary Chapel, Manuscript Files in the American Religions Collection, Special Research Collections, University of California, Santa Barbara Libraries.

<sup>281</sup> Christian Smith and Michael O. Emerson demonstrate in *Divided by Faith: Evangelical Religion and the Problem of Race in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) how evangelical theology contributes to an individualistic evangelical ethos through which evangelicals process information. Smith and Emerson’s work is on evangelical attitudes towards race, racial injustice, and solving racial inequities.

only approved emotions in Protestant worship. Even fundamentalists and evangelicals, whose actual experiences of worship could be quite different, firmly held to this ideal in theory, often resorting to the artificial distinction between worship and evangelism in order to protect it. But the new music demonstrated that exuberant excitement and other “thrills” could be a legitimate part of worship. While traditionalists tried to induce reverence by making church music as different from popular fare as possible, evangelical teenagers tried to make worship more fun than a school dance.<sup>282</sup>

Bergler’s claims downplay the steady role that gospel hymns and revival fervor had played in the century of evangelical history preceding the adoption of “gospel pop.” But, he does identify a seminal moment in the development of evangelical worship practices and the resulting spirituality. The new emotional, introspective quality of pop-style worship can be heard immediately in the feel-good sentimentality of Love Song’s first album and is preserved in the retrospective reunion DVD, *First Love*, which builds its heavy nostalgic elements on the emotionality of the Jesus movement experience.<sup>283</sup>

Pop worship rewards an expectation for religious immediacy—an expectation that spiritual experiences can be entered into easily through the use of affective musical environments. It provides musical ritual that resonates with a wider culture of instant gratification. Anna Nekola’s work on Christian pop worship music as a catalyst of individual, transformative spiritual experience demonstrates the gradual growth of this conception of evangelical spirituality and worship.<sup>284</sup>

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<sup>282</sup> Thomas E. Bergler, “I Found My Thrill: The Youth for Christ Movement and American Congregational Singing, 1940-1970,” *Wonderful Words of Life: Hymns in American Protestant History and Theology*, eds. Richard J. Mouw and Mark A. Noll (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2004), 149. Note: In context, Bergler is constructing a history of mainstream white evangelical and mainline white Protestant music. His observations in this project on the “approved emotions in Protestant worship” do not include the music of Pentecostal traditions or non-white Protestants.

<sup>283</sup> Steve Greisen and Dan Collins, *First Love: A Historic Gathering of Jesus Music Pioneers*, (Monument, CO: Reel Productions, 1998).

<sup>284</sup> Anna Nekola, “More Than Just a Music?: Conservative Christian Anti-Rock Discourse and the U.S. Culture Wars,” *Popular Music* 32 no. 3 (October 2013), 407-426

## *Spiritual Consumerism*

The vernacular rhetoric and introspection of pop worship lessens the divide between worship experiences and the everyday life and experience of congregants. In the ensuing “worship wars”, this has been a point of contention. The music of everyday life is considered by some to be too coarse, too mean to create sacred community. The sociological language of disenchantment to describe the long historical process by which Protestant thought has cultivated a Christian worldview or *Weltanschauung* illuminates the Protestant controversy by suggesting it originates in a post-Reformation embrace of Enlightenment assumptions. This Protestant detachment from the spirituality of physical existence (exemplified, for example, in the Protestant denial of transubstantiation) lowers the stakes of musical meaning. Concurrently, Protestant mystics such as Kathleen Norris write in defense of “quotidian” spirituality.<sup>285</sup> Rather than cheapening worship through association with everyday life, Norris argues Christian spirituality can saturate beyond the acts of Christian liturgy, ritual, and devotion. For that matter, liturgy, ritual, and devotion gain meaning only through association with life. As connective tissue between quotidian life and sacred gathering, pop worship reinvigorates, for some, the spiritual intensity of musical worship.

Pop music as worship music, however, introduces difficult questions regarding its effects on evangelical spirituality. For example, Simon Frith’s analyses of pop music and economics can be translated to the religious marketplace:

For pop [CCM] fans themselves, the resulting musical dating process—each sound linked to a specific time—seems so natural that the conservatism of other musical cultures [traditional hymn liturgies] seems inexplicable to them; [...] But it is the “simultaneity” of pop record buying and listening [of contemporary worship practices] that needs explaining. Are pop fans

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<sup>285</sup> Kathleen Norris *Quotidian Mysteries: Laundry, Liturgy, and “Women’s Work”* (New York: Paulist Press, 1998). Anglican priest Tish Harrison Warren also recently popularized this perspective on mundane spirituality through her bestselling *Liturgy of the Ordinary: Sacred Practices in Everyday Life* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2016).

simply the victims of a commercial process? What are the cultural [theological] effects of the patterns of pop collective behavior?<sup>286</sup>

The musical dating process connects to the new liturgical grammar contemporary worship introduced. Meaning is built in and for the present instead of from and by the past. It is a mindset well served by the anti-intellectualism of American evangelicalism. It favors the polemics of current speaker-teacher-celebrities-music stars over communal habits. It looks outside the local congregational body for refreshment. This globalization of evangelical (musical) spirituality disrupts traditional routes of church authority and explains part of the rise of new paradigm churches or network Christianity.<sup>287</sup>

Were Jesus music fans simply the victims of a commercial process? While I ultimately argue that reducing the Jesus movement down to market forces deeply fails to appreciate the religious motivations, that is the import of belief, it is nevertheless a question worth exploring. The commercial legacy of the Jesus movement on American evangelical spirituality can scarcely be measured. Using a medium for consumption as the vehicle of worship compounds (or illustrates) the uniquely American religious marketplace.<sup>288</sup> It could be interpreted not as a re-formation of evangelical lived religion so much as a realization of it, in which the tension between compelling submission to religious mores and enticing participation in a particular religious identity or imagined

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<sup>286</sup> Simon Frith, *Sound Effects: Youth, Leisure, and the Politics of Rock'n'Roll* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), 8-9.

<sup>287</sup> See Donald E. Miller, *Reinventing American Protestantism: Christianity in the New Millennium*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997) and Brad Christerson and Richard W. Flory, *The Rise of Network Christianity: How Independent Leaders are Changing the Religious Landscape* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

<sup>288</sup> European migration to the New World disrupted Western Christian hierarchies. Churches entered a competition for congregants. Theology and its accompanying practices, material cultures, and social affiliations became brands seeking the loyalty of consumers. The resulting religious marketplace gave American Christianity a vibrancy unmatched by its European origins. This was recognizable to observers such as Alexis de Tocqueville in 1835 (*Democracy in America*) and its still noted by pollsters in the twenty-first century as indigenous Christian activity in Europe falls while American evangelicals gain prominent news coverage. The tension between compelling and enticing congregants runs a continuous thread through American Christian history.



community drifts to the side of enticement. If commercial rules overtly govern the musical life of the evangelical church, then the role of the consumer-congregant gains a significantly enlarged place at the table of determining church aesthetics and, indirectly, church practices and beliefs.

The commercial overlay onto evangelical worship practices affects the roles played within the church. Simon Frith's distinctions between musical artists and musical makers is of use here. Jesus music artists are *artists*, they are not merely makers of music.<sup>289</sup> As artists, they operate at a level apart from congregational music leaders. As creators, not makers, artists maintain a newly visible role in the economics of church music. The distinctive role of music creator in turn gives further definition to local church music leaders. Despite their status as recorded artifacts, the voices and musicianship of Christian pop artists bestow an embodied origin on the songs. Whether through radio, live shows, or the Christian music marketplace, congregants have ready access to the artist as celebrity. The embodied significance of their identities and cultural ties gains expression through musical performance. Local worship music leaders serve as conduits for a musical culture created not in community but in a marketplace. The local worship music leader re-embodies and recontextualizes the musical offerings of the marketplace. The function of the music, however, preserves its marketplace origins. Style, aesthetic, and taste become governing aspects of church service design.

In this way, the role of congregant is also implicated. According to Frith, rock operated as art because it began to obligate its listeners to produce its meanings. It required interpretation, not just consumption. Worshippers through physical-emotive-spiritual involvement with the music produce the music presented to them by Jesus music and Christian pop artists. The meanings they constructed through their musicking were reinforced as they communally performed the music in

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<sup>289</sup> Simon Frith, *Sound Effects: Youth, Leisure, and the Politics of Rock'n'Roll* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), 53.

public worship settings. The aesthetic effect, that is the musical politicking of truth, is intense. Since congregants are daily marketplace consumers of musical aesthetic, their participation in marketplace-worship music obligates not only their doctrinal convictions but also their social identities. This is a cultural politics that is messy, personal, and deep.

### *Musical Vulgate: A Textual Community*

The “musical vulgate” is the music of common use. My phrase alludes, of course, to the Latin Vulgate Bible, which was the most used version in the Western church for over a thousand years. It influenced ritual, art, literature, and doctrine. Even the 16<sup>th</sup>-century reformers with all their zeal to offer German, English and other local translations continued to use the Vulgate for theological discussion and debate. The Vulgate gave scholars the ability to access scripture, the declared highest authority within Christianity, in a single lingua franca. For the majority of Christian history, the Vulgate held open a space for shared engagement and interpretation.

The term also rings with its relation to its cousin, “vulgar.” The Christian discourse on inclusivity and rigor, subjective experience and objective truth, is as old as the faith. Does not the apostle Paul write vigorously of Christian discernment on these matters in passages debated, ignored, and brandished to this day? To some, even to some practitioners, the implications of pop worship strike against their deepest sensibilities, the structures of feeling underlying their conformity to modern evangelical aesthetics.

Jesus music gave similar access immediate divine contact to Christians within and beyond American evangelicalism. Its vernacular, vulgate form necessarily affected how it functioned as a devotional tool. The theological legacy of pop worship is an area ripe for scholarly harvest. This chapter begins the conversation about how embodied musical ritual imagines the role of spirituality in the lives of worship consumers.

Jesus music's CCM legacy places the spirituality of Christian musical worship within the everyday grasp of worshippers. There is no stylistic divide between a musical encounter with the divine and a musical encounter with the Top 40. It is access to spirituality and, by its vulgate nature, validates the spiritual claim of all who participate. It is music the congregation not only sings, but takes home and adds to their own, individual identity. It is a space held open for those who have ears to hear and tongues to sing along.

## Chapter 6 Conclusion: It's Not The Way It Used To Be

*Little country church on the edge of town  
Doo-doo-doo-din-doo-oo-doo-doo  
People comin' everyday from miles around  
For meetin's and for Sunday school  
And it's very plain to see  
It's not the way it used to be  
Preacher isn't talkin' 'bout religion no more  
He just wants to praise the Lord  
People aren't as stuffy as they were before  
They just want to praise the Lord  
And it's very plain to see  
It's not the way it used to be*

Love Song, "Little Country Church," *Love Song* (1972)

The Jesus movement and its music transformed American evangelicalism. Juvenilization, contemporary marketing techniques, and the rise of network Christianity are all significant pieces of the total picture, though none of them fully explain the transformation. An aesthetic embrace of experiential, musical spirituality also supplies the taproot of modern American evangelicalism. It is this aesthetic that allows for people with varying levels of church involvement, theological stances, and activism to claim a single label of evangelical. As a spiritual culture of experience built on musical consumption, evangelicalism is as much a description of a religious material culture as it is of a theological heritage. In this case, however, the material culture is built not on symbolism or functional ritual but on consumer identity and its accoutrements.

In spite of opposition from anti-rock criticism, Jesus music and Jesus movement spirituality more broadly speaking found a home within American evangelicalism. This happened slowly but surely and its progress can be tracked through the work of sociologists and religion scholars and journalists. For example, sociologist Ronald Enroth observed in 1973 that:

It's becoming increasingly difficult to define just what the term "Jesus people" means. A "Jesus rally" may refer to a youth-oriented meeting at a very traditional evangelical church or

it may describe the kind of gathering which took place this past Memorial Day weekend in California's Santa Cruz mountains when over 1,000 young people from Christian communes and ranches joined Berkeley's Christian World Liberation Front for a time of praise and celebration.<sup>1</sup>

While the born-again hippie image still clung to the term, it is clear the Jesus people may as likely be middle-class members of a youth group. Jesus movement spirituality retained its distinctiveness as it was adapted into established evangelical churches and organizations. Enroth also observed:

Many of the Jesus people seem to have faded into the crowd—the Christian crowd. In the Pacific Northwest, especially, the young people are now attending established churches where their influence has been felt mainly in terms of more informal worship and a new emphasis on the Holy Spirit. [...] When Jesus people first began attending the churches, they were less than satisfied with what they found, but apparently many of the congregations have made a definite, commendable effort to accommodate the young people.<sup>2</sup>

As established evangelical churches and ministries adapted to Jesus movement spirituality, Jesus movement organizations began to seek cooperation with and validation from established evangelical authorities. In June of 1973, Duane Pederson's Jesus People International sponsored a "Mid-Summer '73 Gathering. The speakers included "Dr. Harold Fickett, pastor of the Van Nuys First Baptist Church; Dr. Malcolm Cronk, Church of the Open Door, Los Angeles; and Dr. Raymond Ortlund of Pasadena's Lake Avenue Congregational Church."<sup>3</sup> All three had decades of pastoral experience at the time of this speaking event and considerable influence as the pastors of large, influential churches. Cronk traveled the country as a Bible conference speaker for pastors. After earning his doctorate at Princeton Theological Seminary, Ortlund was a mentee of Donald Barnhouse, theologian, pastor, and radio ministry pioneer.<sup>4</sup> At the '73 Gathering, they represented a

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<sup>1</sup> Ronald M. Enroth, "Where Have All the Jesus People Gone?," *Eternity* 24 no. 10 (October 1973), 15. Box 212, Evangelical Ministries 2/2 Folder, Manuscript Files in the American Religions Collection, Special Research Collections, University of California, Santa Barbara Libraries.

<sup>2</sup> Enroth, 17.

<sup>3</sup> Enroth, 17.

<sup>4</sup> Their children also mark the position these men held in evangelical society. Raymond Ortlund, Jr. also entered the pastorate and now holds an influential position as a member of The Gospel Coalition, an international coalition of reformed, conservative churches. Ortlund's other son, Dane Ortlund is the senior VP of Bible Publishing at Crossway. Two years after speaking at the '73 Gathering, Fickett saw his son,

coming together of established evangelicalism and the innovation of the Jesus movement. This type meeting was no longer unheard of after Billy Graham and other evangelical luminaries had thrown their support behind *Explo '72* the year before.

The Jesus movement could not have happened without the support of established evangelicalism. In the process, established evangelicalism changed from the inside out. The Jesus movement's growth in the Midwest mitigated part of this change. When the Jesus movement spread outside of the southern California milieu, the hippie vibe tended to weaken. Non-coastal reporters more readily identified the aesthetics and spirituality of Bible Belt and Midwestern Christianity and Billy Graham-style evangelicalism within the movement than did their LA and NYC counterparts. In 1971 during a traveling speaking circuit, Pederson returned to his native Minnesota to present the gospel at mass youth gatherings. Robert Hagen, a general assignment reporter for the *Minneapolis Tribune*, reported the young people "heard a cappella religious music, folk religious music, rock religious music and a religious message from Pederson [...] similar in style and phraseology to those of Billy Graham."<sup>5</sup> In 1972, the *Waysata-Plymouth Minnetonka Sun* out of Minnesota reported on their local Jesus movement activities with similar familiarity: "Although the packaging may look new, careful scrutiny turns up a philosophy of religion straight from Billy Graham and others."<sup>6</sup> The format, if not the "religious rock music" seemed familiar to Hagen and the *Sun* reporter who had already at their disposal cultural allusions to describe the scene.

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Harold Fickett III, married to New York debutante Mary Messinger Baker, who came from a family of prominent attorneys.

<sup>5</sup> Robert Hagen, "Teenagers Find Come Answers in Words of Lord," *Minneapolis Star* (November 29, 1971), 1B-2B, Box 56, Archival Collection 66: Duane Pederson, Jesus People International, and Hollywood Free Press Collection, 1953-2011 Archives, Rare Books and Special Collections, David Allan Hubbard Library, Fuller Theological Seminary.

<sup>6</sup> "Jesus People: Old-time Religion in New Package," *Waysata-Plymouth Minnetonka Sun* (July 13, 1972), 1; 7. Box 56, Archival Collection 66: Duane Pederson, Jesus People International, and Hollywood Free Press Collection, 1953-2011 Archives, Rare Books and Special Collections, David Allan Hubbard Library, Fuller Theological Seminary.

It has been my intention in this work to fill in the space between the liturgical ordo borne of nineteenth-century evangelicalism and the worship forms practiced by modern, new paradigm churches as well as other pop worship evangelical church settings. James White credits Second Great Awakening revivalist Charles Finney (1792-1875) with bringing frontier worship eastward and bringing about critical changes in evangelical liturgical forms. These forms marked out the distinctives of evangelicalism with a rhetorical clarity that lent itself to technological innovation:

The result was a reshaping of American worship in line with the Frontier Tradition. [...] The consequence is a three-part Sunday service modeled on revival techniques originally developed in camp meetings. The first part is a service of prayer and praise which includes considerable musical elements. Congregational singing developed and choirs were introduced. Extempore prayer was offered. And a lesson was read, usually a single lesson, as the basis for the sermon. The second part was fervent preaching which was the major event of the service (and for which all else sometimes seemed preparatory). The sermon called the unconverted to conversion, sinners to repentance, and the godly to rejoice in their salvation. The third part was a harvest of those converted or those recommitting their lives to Jesus Christ.

This pattern has proved remarkably durable. It still forms the outline of most Protestant worship in North America and has spread rapidly in mission areas overseas. What the nineteenth century could not envision, of course, was that this type of worship also works remarkably well as television worship.<sup>7</sup>

Primed by a history of worship liturgies that were readily comprehensible to participants, evangelical worship and spirituality underwent another liturgical reshaping through the adoption of pop worship. Substituting pop worship into the liturgical space originally built around hymnody altered the experiential emphases of the worship service. While the folksy praise choruses may now be less common, the musically mediated experiential spirituality remains. Like the charismatic model of early twentieth-century Pentecostal leadership, the spiritual model of Jesus music worship and fellowship underwent routinization.<sup>8</sup> Jesus movement Bible studies can be seen as religious networks

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<sup>7</sup> James F. White, *A Brief History of Christian Worship*, (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1993), 161.

<sup>8</sup> German sociologist Max Weber (1856-1920) developed the concepts of charismatic authority and the routinization of charisma. Charismatic authority, in contrast to Weber's concepts of traditional or rational-legal authority, sets individuals apart based on uncommon personal facilities. It may be compared to a cult of personality. Since charismatic authority is located in an individual, that person's departure or death has the

exchanging institutional or denominational loyalty with exchanges of spiritual authority offered down to attendees and spiritual influence offered up to organizers.<sup>9</sup> Like the glut of apostolic leadership that rose in the later twentieth century, Jesus music artists and later church worship leaders also needed to exude authority through Weberian charisma.<sup>10</sup> They could not rely on the rational-legal authority of older church models. Their charisma is one based instead in the models of popular entertainment.

Sociologist Jack Balswick, now a professor at Fuller Theological Seminary, made a prescient prediction about the legacy of the Jesus movement:

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potential to trigger a leadership crisis as authority weakens and disperses in their absence. Weber identified a social process through which charismatic authority is routinized within a bureaucratic system to maintain its strength and concentration during transfers of power.

I adapt and apply the concept of the routinization of charisma to Jesus music. While no individual person contained the sole charismatic authority of Jesus movement spirituality, models of that spirituality were performed by artists and participants whenever Jesus movement musicking occurred. This spirituality was routinized through the distribution of worship albums, the founding of CCM music labels, the widespread adoption of CCM and CWM in church services, and the renovation of church spaces and liturgies to accommodate and privilege CCM modes of spiritual experience.

See also Charles Fromm, “Textual Communities and New Song in the Multimedia Age: The Routinization of Charisma in the Jesus Movement” (Ph.D. dissertation, Fuller Theological Seminary, School of Intercultural Studies, 2006).

<sup>9</sup> Brad Christerson and Richard Flory, *The Rise of Network Christianity: How Independent Leaders Are Changing the Religious Landscape* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

We can also consider how in the twenty-first century social media creates networks of religious authority outside of denominational or traditional ecclesial structures. These online networks of authority have come under critique within evangelicalism in part due to the platform they provide for women’s spiritual authority outside of male oversight. See Tish Harrison Warren, “Who’s In Charge of the Christian Blogosphere?” *Christianity Today* (April 27, 2017), <https://www.christianitytoday.com/women/2017/april/whos-in-charge-of-christian-blogosphere.html>.

<sup>10</sup> Christerson and Flory, 52-53. An apostolic leader of a Christian network as described by Christerson and Flory differs from a Jesus music artist. Notably, the financial relationships between Christian artists did not exist in the same way they do between networked leaders (though the establishment of Christian record labels effectively create the same financial flexibility of the unregulated apostolic networks). What they have in common, however, is significant. While their individual personalities are not replaceable, they can be substituted for a given function. They both tend to network with others sharing “genre” distinctives. They have no formal discipline or accountability mandated within their industry, though they may be informally, socially bound to some local religious authority. For example, a Christian musician likely is a member of a local church and submits to the authority of that church and an apostolic leader may have a personally curated system of accountability. It is possible, however, for these to be vestigial or lacking. Finally, they function within vertical networks that exchange spiritual authenticity or experiences for financial support.



Some religionists, such as Billy Graham, are predicting that the Jesus movement is the beginning of a religious revival in the United States. Others, like University of Chicago theologian Martin Marty, are predicting that the movement will have run its course in five years. [...] Unless theologically conservative churches become more culturally tolerant, I would predict that the Jesus People movement may yet be the impetus for the formation of several new church-type religious groups which eventually will come to be the equivalent of new denominations in the United States.<sup>11</sup>

In some ways Graham, Marty, and Balswick were all right. The Jesus movement did have a lasting impact on evangelical culture. The most radical aspects of the movement did die away in about five years. “Several new church-type religious groups” do trace their origins back to the movement.<sup>12</sup> The music, however, overarches the structural developments and belies the notion of a limit to the Jesus movement’s influence within evangelicalism.

The music arguably brought evangelical Christianity into a postmodern religious frame. After decades of heated fundamentalist versus modernist debate, the music of the Jesus movement changed evangelical spirituality regarding sacred experience. It moved from what James White identified as an Enlightenment religious mentality into an experiential, emotionally relational spirituality. According to an Enlightenment mentality, “sacraments become a way we remember what God did in times past. We do not experience them as present encounter with the Holy One.”<sup>13</sup> White identifies Pentecostalism as “the first post-Enlightenment tradition in that it has no inhibitions about experiencing the reality of God’s presence in worship. Spirit-filled gifts animate every service. Sacraments may seem a bit tame since the evidence of God’s present activity is already so overwhelming.”<sup>14</sup> If viewed as a contrast against Catholic and Orthodox views of sacraments, the

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<sup>11</sup> Jack Balswick, “The Jesus People Movement: A Generational Interpretation,” *Journal of Social Issues* 30 no. 3, 1974: 41-42. Box 22, Jesus People – General 1/3, Manuscript Files in the American Religions Collection, Special Research Collections, University of California, Santa Barbara Libraries.

<sup>12</sup> E.g. The Calvary Chapel movement and Harvest Bible Chapel.

<sup>13</sup> James F. White, “Worship in the Churches of Modern Times” *A Brief History of Christian Worship* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1993).

<sup>14</sup> James F. White, “Worship in the Churches of Modern Times” *A Brief History of Christian Worship* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1993).

evangelical Protestant posture towards sacramentality may have not much altered over the twentieth century. If viewed, however, as a posture towards experiential spirituality that encompasses musical encounters with the sacred, Protestant sacramentality underwent a significant shift with the advent and rise of pop worship.

The Jesus movement realized an aspect of Wesleyan spirituality in its innovation of music technologies and sounds. John Wesley promoted conversion to a level of sacrament as a prerequisite for believer's baptism and even of surpassing importance to baptism. Following his teaching, internal belief, a personal spiritual experience, usurped the significance of external objects.

While reformer after reformer could fulminate against the superstitious use made by Roman Catholics of objects and places (holy places, holy wells, consecrated grounds, and the reserved sacrament), the Protestant never doubted that the acts which were performed in his own worship, using physical objects all the while, were anything less than sacred. The function of things may be sacred even though they possess no sanctity of themselves. There is nothing sacred about a pulpit or font to a Protestant, but there is definitely something sacred in preaching or baptism.<sup>15</sup>

In light of this, musical technologies were likewise free to be innovated since they were in themselves not sacred materials. In this, to be sure, sound plays a tricky role; is it object or action? Traditionalists who defended against its alteration seemed to see it as an act. The Jesus people seemed in contrast to consider it an object and the resulting spiritual experience of worship that it facilitated was the sacrament.

This shift in how evangelicals engaged with their religion—through doctrine or through experience—is also reflected in the history of major evangelical organs such as *Christianity Today* that shifted its publishing from an emphasis on theological instruction and debate towards articles about news events and cultural developments. David Wells' *No Place for Truth* is a reminder of how some

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<sup>15</sup> James F. White, *Protestant Worship and Church Architecture: Theological and Historical Considerations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 32.

continue to view the shift in a similar light as anti-rock critics. Wells traces a distinct shift from theological and apologetic themes of the 1950s to personal, reflexive explorations of the 1980s. He argues evangelicals lost their investment in theology to their detriment. What social processes provoked this migration of evangelical attention? The embrace of an embodied evangelical identity that meets God in musicking suggests it was less a retreat from rigorous theology than an overwhelming occupation by experiential faith.

This project began its narrative of Jesus music in its unique position as the most direct predecessor to contemporary, mass-produced, Christian pop music. The infrastructure that oversaw its production and distribution affected also its content.<sup>16</sup> Simon Frith's work on rock as a mass medium speaks to the implications a mass-produced Christian worship has on spirituality:

“The record industry is geared to capital accumulation, and its profits depend on the number of records sold. Initial recording costs are once-only expenditures, unaffected by the number of records eventually produced, while the costs of manufacture and distribution are proportionally reduced as the number of records involved increases. The record business is ruled by the logic of mass production, and a large market is its overarching aim. [...] We can, more constructively, make a distinction between music conceived with no reference to a mass market [classical, folk, most jazz] and music that is inseparable from the mass market in its conception [pop]. That classical or folk music can be listened to on records is accidental for its form and content; it is only pop music whose essence is that it is communicated by a mass medium. [...] Pop music is created, however successfully, for a large audience and is marketed accordingly by the record industry; pop records get the bulk of the attention of the advertisers, distributors, and retailers. The assumption is that a pop audience can be *constructed* by the record industry itself. The audiences for classical, folk, and other “special” forms are [...] believed to be relatively autonomous—their tastes are “given.” The music business can service these tastes but it can't manipulate them.<sup>17</sup>

Jesus music balances itself awkwardly within the conventional economic lanes of the recording industry. In the early 1970s, artists asserted that their music was evangelistic—its form following its function to reach through resonant aesthetics as many as possible in order to spread its message. At

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<sup>16</sup> Simon Frith, *Sound Effects: Youth, Leisure, and the Politics of Rock'n'Roll*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981).

<sup>17</sup> Frith, *Sound Effects*, 6.

the same time, artists did not pursue the economic advantages of the pop record model. Eschewing the massive distribution potential of secular labels, Jesus musicians built new, evangelical labels from the ground up. There are multiple motivating factors for their choice. Some considered the risk of having their message muffled or muzzled by studios too great. I suspect a great many others were also put off (consciously or subconsciously) by the taint of being associated with the lifestyles of other artists on larger labels as well as the for-profit mindset of the commercial music industry and the impersonal veneer of commercial marketing.

The distinction Frith makes between mass mediums and non-mass mediums provides an alternative description of the difference between CCM and early Jesus music. Common explanations focus on the lyrical content of the music. Jesus music addressed the lives of nonbelievers while CCM addresses believers. Other studies have shown significant increases over time in the use of first person pronouns (“I”) in CCM.<sup>18</sup> And still others have located phases of prominent messaging that roughly parallel larger cultural moods and political realities: love songs to Jesus in the early 1970s parallel a general sentimental national ethos focused on teenage romance and 1980s CCM becomes more militaristic as the religious right gains political power. In the 1990s CCM writers referenced social issues such as abortion, school prayer, and adultery in the White House.<sup>19</sup> Artists have cited an economic departure away from the grassroots, by-faith aspect of early Jesus music towards a music-as-business, industrial structure.<sup>20</sup> Understanding the shift as a transition from non-mass mediums to mass mediums encompasses all of these explanations and furthermore illuminates how they work together.

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<sup>18</sup> See Gary Richard Drum, “The Message in the Music: A Content Analysis of Contemporary Christian and Southern Gospel Song Lyrics,” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Tennessee, 1987) and Keith Bernard Jenkins, “The Rhetoric of Gospel Song: A Content Analysis of the Lyrics of Andrae Crouch,” (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1990).

<sup>19</sup> Mark Allan Powell, “Jesus Climbs the Charts,” *Christian Century* 119 no. 26 (December 18, 2002: 22-23).

<sup>20</sup> See Steve Greisen and Dan Collins, *First Love: A Historic Gathering of Jesus Music Pioneers*, (Monument, CO: Reel Productions, 1998).

The adoption of mass-produced music within evangelicalism has bolstered its reach. At the same time, there are those who recognize on some level the disjunction between the economic principles of its beginnings and the current marketplace. Like rock historians who credit progress in the genre to independent labels and stagnancy to mass corporations, twenty-first-century fans of Jesus music rely on similar criteria for “good” Christian music.<sup>21</sup> In their perspective, the independence of early Jesus music artists proves the sincerity of their message. Later artists also have been constructed as especially “real” by the resistance or friction they purportedly had with their corporate label handlers. Rich Mullins is a prime example of this type of argument. In the *Ragamuffin* biopic chronicling Mullins’ life, his ongoing resistance to follow studio expectations set for his song content, dress, and concert persona imply that Mullins was not owned by his label.<sup>22</sup> The filmmakers frame this as evidence for the authenticity of his faith.

In the evangelical music market, the economic infrastructure of pop music lives alongside an emphasis on family values, local accountability, and personal sincerity. Artists perform within a legacy of resisting the dilution of their local, community obligations. Keith Green’s Christian music career occurred during the transition from the era of Jesus music to the establishment of the CCM industry. His was perhaps the most bullheaded approach to maintaining an economic distinction in his pop music production through his pricing model and his geographical investment in his Last Days ministry compound in Lindale, Texas. He hampered his financial gains and expectations of his recording career by offering his albums for free. How much were his ethical convictions surrounding this connected to how earlier Jesus music artists had created music solely or primarily

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<sup>21</sup> A brief examination of Facebook groups such as “Jesus Music 1969-’79” and other online fan websites and forums repeatedly illustrate a trope of the music was good in the 1970s and 1980s, but now is shallow and commercial. Variations include songwriters and instrumentalists had more talent then, but today’s artists are bland and that songs from then were scripturally inspired, but today’s songs are ambiguous and vapid.

<sup>22</sup> David Leo Schultz. “Ragamuffin.” (Color Green Films, 2013).

within the context of a local community, e.g. Love Song and Children of the Day under the authority of Calvary Chapel, Costa Mesa?

The legacy of Jesus music lived on in CCM, highly directed by image. What was seen as respectable, properly submissive, and doctrinally orthodox? The role of image building in the Jesus movement peppers news reports of Jesus festivals. Local police are frequently quoted commenting on the manners and cleanliness of festival attendees.<sup>23</sup> Though not explicitly mentioned, the comparison to the aftermath of Woodstock is clear. The message was that the Jesus people were *not* carriers of the most maligned aspects of the hippie lifestyle. A form of respectability politics tempered and guided the public image of the new spirituality. This was a relevant religion, but also a religion trusted to uplift and preserve social capital.

The aesthetic shifts within American evangelicalism are part of a larger, critical development in American religious history. Some scholars, including sociologist of religion Donald Miller, believe we are currently witnessing a “second reformation.”<sup>24</sup> His model of new paradigm churches challenge the routinized liturgies of Christian heritage and exchange church bureaucracy for church networks. These two shifts are not unrelated. While Miller argues this second reformation challenges “not doctrine, but the medium through which the message of Christianity is articulated,” I counter that musicological analyses of shifts in aesthetic medium move into the space of directly challenged

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<sup>23</sup> See Paul Eshleman and Norman B. Rohrer, *The Explo Story: A Plan to Change the World* (Glendale, CA: G/L Regal Books, [1972]). See “The Jesus Woodstock,” *Time* (June 26, 1972), 66; “Explo ’72 Delegates Commended by Police,” *The Dallas Morning News* (June 16, 1972), 16A, Collection 345 Records of the Media Office, 1962-1996, Billy Graham Center Archives. See “Turning on with Jesus,” *Excelsior-Deephaven Minnetonka* 71 no. 2, (July 8, 1971), 1, 6. Box 56, Archival Collection 66: Duane Pederson, Jesus People International, and Hollywood Free Press Collection, 1953-2011 Archives, Rare Books and Special Collections, David Allan Hubbard Library, Fuller Theological Seminary.

<sup>24</sup> Donald E. Miller, *Reinventing American Protestantism: Christianity in the New Millennium*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 11. Miller offers a model of the new paradigm church to describe the revolution in American Protestantism he observes in the latter half of the twentieth century. Of his twelve markers for new paradigm churches, I find four particularly essential: they were started after 1960, their worship is contemporary, lay leadership is highly valued, and bodily, rather than mere cognitive, participation in worship is the norm (p. 20).

doctrine. The spirituality or lived religion of the evangelical in the pew (or row of chairs) is touched constantly and without filter by the products of Christian mass media. Which has primacy in evangelical life—the Sunday sermon or the songs—if congregants leave the service to the sound of praise and worship radio in their cars, listen to Christian pop while cooking weeknight dinner, and attend a Christian concert (or “worship experience”) on Saturday evening? The models of spirituality presented by the evangelical music industry teach an aesthetic to evangelicals that affects how they process information (their epistemology), how they discern authority and authenticity (their phenomenology), and how they establish truth (their theology). This aesthetic of evangelical spirituality has lasting social, political, and theological effects scholars are just beginning to articulate. The Jesus movement’s lived (musicked) interpretation of Christian community and communion continue to resound through Christian pop music and in Christian life. It’s not the way it used to be.

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