

The Right Kind of Music: Fundamentalist Christianity as Musical and Cultural Practice

by

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Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of Doctor
of Philosophy in the Department of
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ABSTRACT

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Abstract

Fundamentalist Christians loosely affiliated with Bob Jones University (Greenville, SC) teach that music influences listeners' faith and moral characters for both good and evil, expounding their views since the evangelical Worship Wars began in the 1960s over the use of popular music styles in church services. In their dichotomous moral view, good music reveals God's nature, allowing born-again listeners to draw closer to God and witness their salvation to unbelievers, and bad music pulls listeners away from God by promoting immorality and false worship. Fundamentalists also prioritize mental engagement with music over emotional and physical responses to it because they believe that people more directly relate to God through their conscious minds and only indirectly with their bodies, as when fundamentalist musicians make music with their bodies, an activity that they believe glorifies God. Considering their discourse and practices from ethnographic and theological perspectives, I argue that these reveal a view that all musical sound is dangerous in its insistent entrance into listeners' bodies: music is like fire—useful under control but devastating if unrestrained.

I examine the outworkings of their beliefs in three primary areas: recorded music, congregational singing (both aloud and silent as congregants practice inner singing while listening to instrumental hymn arrangements), and solo and soloistic vocal music. Musicians' invisibility on recordings underscores how fundamentalists'

beliefs are primarily about musical sound, not performers' movements or appearances. Robust congregational singing reflects believers' "joy of salvation," but their collective emotional affects are limited, and they are physically constrained to small movements that almost never bloom into something fuller. Finally, although fundamentalist leaders consider classical music and its associated performance practice to be "excellent," even this musical style must be restrained for classically trained vocalists to minister in their churches. These arguments are based on my fieldwork and my analyses of fundamentalists' extensive written and recorded discourse on music.

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Introduction

Can any musical style glorify God? What music should be used in church services? Does God care about the music Christians make and listen to? Evangelical Christians have debated these questions since the 1960s, when some churches began using popular music styles in their services, while others, including fundamentalist ones, rejected pop idioms in their music—a debate often called the Worship Wars. In making their stand against the trend, fundamentalist leaders gradually developed an extensive philosophy of music, arguing that music influences listeners’ moral characters and behaviors for both good and evil: some music reflects God’s nature and can draw listeners closer to God, but other music promotes immorality and false worship. Because of its power, music ranks second only to preaching in their church services—an emphasis reflected in how the services are described (table 1). In this project, I investigate fundamentalists’ philosophy of music as taught by authorities like pastors and professional musicians, and explore how their beliefs become practice as they and believers in their churches worship God and proclaim their born-again salvation through music.

Table 1: Music and preaching in close proximity on fundamental churches’ websites

- | |
|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• “Our worship services consist of a traditional, warm, and conservative-style of music and preaching designed to teach the essential truths of God’s Word and to encourage you in your walk with God.”• “Our biblical preaching permits us to search the Scriptures during every message. Our music is rich and traditional in style, exalting the Savior.”• “We are conservative and traditional in that we worship the Holy Lord who deserves both our |
|---|

reverence and our obedience. This is seen in our services which emphasize the preaching and teaching of Scripture, with music that is designed to edify rather than for entertainment.”

- “During our worship time, we focus on expository (verse-by-verse) preaching and God-exalting music.”
- “Our worship services combine dynamic Christ-honoring music with clear, practical preaching and teaching from the Bible.”

Sources: Morning side Baptist Church (Greenville SC), “Frequently Asked Questions,” <http://www.morningside.org/index.php/about/frequently-asked-questions> (accessed April 19, 2015); Gateway Baptist Church (Travelers Rest, SC), “Homepage,” <http://www.gatewaybaptist-tr.com> (accessed April 19, 2015); Faith Baptist Church (Simpsonville, SC), “What We Believe,” http://www.faithbaptistsimpsonville.org/?page_id=40 (accessed April 19, 2015), emphasis theirs; Community Bible Church (Holly Springs, SC), “Preaching Ministry and Worship Services,” <http://cbc-hs.org/ministries> (accessed April 19, 2015); and Calvary Baptist Church (Simpsonville, SC), “Welcome Page,” <https://calvarysimpsonville.org/about/welcome> (accessed April 19, 2015).

Fundamentalists are conservative evangelical Protestants historically linked with dissent in, and subsequent separation from, mainline Protestant denominations in the 1920s and 1930s in the U.S. and England in what was called the Fundamentalist-Modernist Controversy. From the 1950s to the present, they have grown increasingly militant in their separation from non-fundamentalists (i.e. they actively work against people, entities, and ideas they disagree with) to the point that militant separation defines fundamentalism. In America, early fundamentalists formed a loose network of schools, mission boards, publishing houses, and other parachurch entities that functioned as denominational surrogates. My research is oriented around one such surrogate, Bob Jones University (BJU) in Greenville, SC (founded in 1927), and fundamental churches and organizations loosely affiliated with it—companies and music groups like The Wilds Camp and Conference Center (Brevard, NC), Majesty Music (a music production and distribution company), and Sacred Music Services (a

music production company).¹ Throughout this study, I prioritize formulations of fundamentalist history, beliefs, and practices from within this circle of fundamentalism, as well as BJU's distinctive emphasis on fine arts as an expression of cultural "excellence." Compared with adult Americans as a whole, fundamentalists are whiter, older, slightly less educated, and more likely poor or middleclass than wealthy.² I further describe their demographics and examine "fundamentalist" as a historical term in Appendix A. I follow fundamentalists' own grammatical practices in referring to "fundamentalist" people and viewpoints, "fundamentalism" as a movement and subculture, but to "fundamental" churches.

Fundamental church services follow the "traditional" structure used by many Baptist and baptistic churches, a service whose first half consists mostly of hymns led by a song leader and accompanied primarily by keyboard instruments, with additional music by a choir, ensemble, or soloist, followed by a sermon and a concluding hymn.³ Many other evangelical churches, as well as those in Roman Catholicism and mainline

¹ Because the churches connected with BJU are usually unaffiliated, these ties are through informal association, such as when church leadership advocates for high school age congregants to attend BJU or invites BJU faculty members to speak in church services. Other ties among church leaders include, but are not limited to: receiving honorary degrees from BJU, having one's own music or books published by BJU or sold in BJU's campus bookstore, or speaking during BJU's chapel services. In terms of music groups, my study's emphasis on ones that are more BJU connected means that I place less emphasis on fundamentalist companies like Bible Truth Music (bibletruthmusic.com) and Faith Music Missions (faithmusicmissions.org), or on music originating with other fundamentalist schools like Pensacola Christian College (Pensacola, FL).

² Pew Research Center, "American's Changing Religious Landscape," 118-47. See also Appendix A.

³ Baptistic, meaning nondenominational churches that have practices and beliefs similar to Baptist ones. Music and Richardson identify five categories of Baptist service styles: "liturgical, traditional, seeker, contemporary, and blended," in *I Will Sing the Wondrous Story*, 478-9. Lucarini describes this service outline in *Why I Don't Listen*, 24. Throughout this study, I use "hymn" as a broad term meaning any sacred music intended for congregational singing.

Protestantism, offer “contemporary” or “blended” services that include music in popular styles instead of or in addition to hymns with keyboard instruments.⁴ These styles include Christian contemporary music (CCM), praise and worship (P&W), worship music, and gospel—overlapping terms signaling style along with racial, generational, and national trends.⁵ For fundamentalists, these styles reflect Christians’ sinful adoption of “worldly” musical styles, meaning the styles are not just secular but are antithetical to Christianity. To take the world’s music and marry it to Christian lyrics does not make it Christian or otherwise acceptable for use by Christians. Rather, it perverts the lyrics’ meanings and adulterates what should have been worship.

In their views, popular styles of music (especially ones with roots in rock ‘n’ roll—styles they most often refer to collectively as “rock” or “pop”) are always and necessarily sinful because their intrinsic properties promote sins such as illegitimate sexual activities, anger and rebellion against God-ordained civil and familial authorities, and other mental, emotional, and physical states that do not glorify God. For example, faculty members at BJU assert that “the rock genre is distinguished by the combination of some or all of the following characteristics—sensual singing styles, dominating beat,

⁴ Justice notes that churches have increasingly opted to hold multiple services with different musical styles in place of a “one-to-one worship-music-to-congregation paradigm,” “Mainline Protestantism and Contemporary Versus Traditional Worship Music,” 490.

⁵ Johnson discusses these terms in “Back to the Heart of Worship,” 109-10. Fundamentalists most often refer to music in popular styles with Christian lyrics as CCM, a catch-all category that one fundamentalist author describes as “any Christian music that has an accented backbeat...and imitates secular forms of music, such as swing, jazz, rock, soft rock, gospel rock, rhythm and blues, soul, hip-hop, punk, heavy metal, etc.,” Smith, *Music and Morals*, 6. See also Blanchard and Lucarini, *Can We Rock the Gospel?*, 18; Hamilton, *Why I Don’t Listen*, 13-4; and Makujina, *Measuring the Music*, 13n1.

heavy percussion, overwhelming volume and an overall atmosphere that counteracts self-control, especially when coupled in performance with elements such as a defiant demeanor, immodest attire, sexually suggestive dancing or crude gestures.”⁶ Other fundamentalist authors use “rock” even more connotatively. For example, Tim Fisher’s “honest definition of rock music” is “that music where text, music, performers, and performance practices are conforming to the image of the earthly, sensual, and devilish.”⁷

Separatism defines fundamentalism: fundamentalists practice separation from cultural elements they believe are anti-Christian (i.e. separation from “the world”) and from Christians who do not themselves separate.⁸ Music is among the most prominent ways fundamentalist individuals and churches show their commitment to separation. As I show in Chapter One, musical style can delineate between them and their closest denominational neighbors—other conservative evangelicals who may use music in popular styles—because they believe that music is a primary site of “compromise” with the world. “Lowering standards” and using “questionable” musical styles, fundamentalists argue, start Christians down a slippery slope that almost inevitably leads further and further into sinful behavior.

⁶ Bob Jones University, “Music Philosophy,” www.bju.edu/about/what-we-believe/music.php (accessed December 31, 2014).

⁷ Fisher, *The Battle for Christian Music*, 73. Quote bolded in original.

⁸ Fundamentalists typically say “separation” and not “separatism.”

The beliefs that inform their views on the relative values of musical styles arise from a longstanding Western discourse espousing the idea that music influences listeners in good and bad ways. In this discourse, music has generally been judged as good or bad based on its perceived effects on listeners' minds, emotions, and bodies. Music that is perceived as more mentally focused has typically been seen as good, and music that speaks to bodies has been seen as bad. Fundamentalists develop these premises in what they call their "philosophy of music," discussed in Chapter Two, to argue that listeners can learn to distinguish between good and bad music (and, as Christians, are responsible for doing so), and that making and listening to good music spiritually benefits listeners and witnesses their faith to unbelievers. I argue that their philosophy, like that of earlier commenters, privileges mental engagement with music over emotional and physical responses because they believe people connect with God primarily through their minds (in that a person's conscious mind connects with their soul/spirit). Fundamentalists' philosophy of music expresses a theological view that musical properties can inform listeners' faith: music is a possible way God's nature can be reflected or revealed to people, so mental engagement with music can aid in knowing and understanding God.⁹

⁹ Though fundamentalists do not usually frame their discourse as explicitly theological, and most of it dwells on musical ethics (what Christians should and should not listen to or make as musicians), their philosophy of music collectively is a theology of music. See Begbie, "Theology of Music."

Fundamentalists' philosophy of music constrains the music they listen to, but it also impels them to create new music, especially hymns, vocal and instrumental hymn arrangements, and audio and audio-visual recordings of this music. It also informs their performance practices and the ways they talk about music. From this perspective, their music-making can be understood as an ethics of style which, in Timothy Rommen's formulation, includes "the way the music participates in actualizing belief," "people talking about people making music," and "people making music in order to say something."¹⁰ The ways that music can evidence belief, however, are problematic to analyze, as I discuss below.

In Chapter Three, I use ethnography, interviews, and published hymnals to investigate congregational singing, the primary corporate expression of worship in fundamental churches. I connect soteriological beliefs with joyful congregational singing, arguing that this affect springs from the "joy of salvation" that fundamentalists expect to find and strive to have, even while suffering. This corporate expression of faith is supported through musical accompaniment and pastoral encouragement to sing. Instrumental hymn arrangements by fundamentalist composers further congregants' worship by facilitating congregants' mediation on hymn texts and by interpreting those texts through affect and word painting.

¹⁰ Rommen, "Mek Some Noise," 1.

In Chapter Four, I explore how solo vocalists convey the truth of their words and their belief in these words through performative sincerity. Trained fundamentalist vocalists adapt certain performance practices common to classical vocal pedagogy, but despite their high praise of classical music, do not usually sing sacred art music in church services, instead inviting congregants' participation by singing arrangements of hymns that congregants already know or could be expected to learn. Though many fundamentalist authorities discuss the importance of singing in approved ways and eschewing vocal techniques associated with popular music, I argue that amateur vocalists' ministry reveals that their "good testimony" (the appearance of a private life that conforms to fundamentalists' understanding of Christianity) is more important than their performance practices. Vocalists must have their "hearts in the right place" for them to minister to their fellow believers, and their performance practices allow them to communicate their personal sincerity despite cultural associations of their training with elitism and self-aggrandizement.

In Chapter Five, I revisit fundamentalists' dichotomous categorization of music as good and bad through an exploration of listeners' virtual spatial relationships with recorded musicians. The absence of musicians' visible physical presence on recordings highlights how fundamentalists' concerns about music (and their praises of music's power for good) are primarily about musical sound itself, not performers' movements or appearances. Fundamentalists teach that listeners are necessarily affected by music,

regardless of listeners' intent: music is not neutral but insists on entering listeners' bodies and shaping their minds and emotions. I argue that underpinning these beliefs is an understanding of music as fundamentally dangerous. Like fire, it must be carefully controlled to be useful. Otherwise its effects on listeners can be devastating to their moral characters.

The Perceived Effects of Religious Belief on Sacred Music

My project deals with the ways fundamentalist beliefs are actualized by musicians. This section examines how theologies of music have continually influenced musicians working in ecclesiastical environments. Despite clear instances of belief influencing how music is made, and despite scholarship that strives to connect personal religious beliefs with pieces by individual composers, the line between belief and musical practice is not necessarily a clear one.

Perhaps most obviously, composers wrote *a cappella* settings of sacred texts when the view that instruments were unsuitable for church services prevailed in the medieval period. Centuries later, the Reformation and Counter-Reformation prompted changes in style and genre, especially by encouraging the proliferation of hymns and devotional songs sung by laity.¹¹ Yet some Christians have worked against their denominations'

¹¹ Among recent scholarship on music of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, see for example, Brown, *Singing the Gospel*; and Weber, *Le concile de Trente*. Among Reformation and Counter-Reformation groups, musical heterogeneity existed within the scope of general stylistic trends. Kevorkian's recent research, for instance, explores how the conflict between mainstream Lutheranism and most conservative, individualistic Pietism affected music-making in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century

normative musical practices. For example, the eighteenth-century English hymn writer Isaac Watts advocated transforming the Calvinistic practice of singing only metrical Psalms in church services, and his move to include freely-composed hymn texts in congregational singing was eventually accepted in English churches despite substantial opposition.¹²

Many composers' works have been interpreted through the lens of the composer's own faith. But despite the clear intent of some composers to express belief through music, interpreters' views on how faith or doctrine can be made audible through music remain imprecise at best.¹³ The following examples of J. S. Bach and Arvo Pärt demonstrate the ways in which their music and writings have been analyzed as expressive of the composers' personal faith and specific theological views.

Germany (*Baroque Piety*), while Fisher shows that Protestant songs and hymns infiltrated Roman Catholic worship in late-sixteenth-century Bavaria despite efforts of church and civic authorities (*Music, Piety, and Propaganda*).

¹² Regarding Watts's influence on American Christianity, especially as it related to twentieth-century evangelicalism, see Nekola, "Between This World and the Next," 71-6. Previous attempts to promote hymnody in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had met with substantial opposition: Henry VIII banned the sale of the first English hymnbook, Miles Coverdale's *Goostly Psalmes and Spiritual Songes* (1531), and while George Wither was initially given the patent to publish his *Hymnes and Songs of the Church* (1623) by James I, the permission was quickly withdrawn. For a survey of this "Controversie of Singing" that marked English hymnody up to 1707, see Arnold, *Trinity of Discord*, 1-28. Though others made similar efforts, Watts's work, especially his *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (1707), had the most influence on English hymnody, see Knapp, "Isaac Watt's Unfixed Hymn Genre," 472-3. Instead of hymns, Thomas Sternhold's metrical settings of the Psalms were "virtually canonical" for church use from the mid-sixteenth century to the turn of the eighteenth, Arnold, *Trinity of Discord*, 6. But devotional poetry, like George Herbert's *The Temple: Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations* (1633), received acceptance because it was intended for private and familial devotional use, not congregational singing; and the fact that the issue was contentious indicates a measure of English support for hymnody prior to the eighteenth century and Watt's innovations in the genre, Arnold, *Trinity of Discord*, 11-17, 23-4.

¹³ See for example, Williams, "Some Fashionable Uses to which Bach Is Put."

J. S. Bach is widely regarded as someone whose personal beliefs are evidenced in his compositions. His faith was self-professed—he was known to write out religious inscriptions and acronyms attesting to his desire to glorify God and receive God’s help with his music, and extant items from his personal library, show extensive marginalia in Bach’s hand.¹⁴ Mid-twentieth-century scholarship often assumed Bach’s ability to communicate his faith through his music; Gerhard Herz writes, for example, “Bach’s art and his religion are but one and the same. ... Bach...uses music as a medium to present the Lutheran doctrines of Christianity. His music thus leads to the Gospel.”¹⁵ Recent scholarship has focused on more minute aspects of Bach’s works that, when taken as a whole, are interpreted as expressions of faith. Eric Chafe, for example, argues that Bach’s cantatas (taking as an exemplar Cantata 9, “Es ist das Heil uns kommen hie”) reflect Lutheran biblical hermeneutics, especially soteriological views, through their melodies, style, instrumentation, and overall tonal design.¹⁶ Yet other recent scholarship questions how comprehensible a musical expression of faith would have been to Bach’s eighteenth-century listeners, especially those in the congregations at Leipzig who,

¹⁴ For example, the *Calov Bible* (a Bible edition which includes lengthy commentary by Abraham Calovius, building off of Luther’s own commentary). See Cox, ed., *The Calov Bible of J. S. Bach*; and Leaver, ed., *J. S. Bach and Scripture*.

¹⁵ Herz, “Bach’s Religion,” 126-7. See also Stevenson, “Bach’s Religious Environment.” Marshall summarizes trends in Bach scholarship, including those that relate to Bach’s faith, in “Toward a New Bach Biography,” 497-9. For Bach’s faith analyzed from the perspective of a theologian, see Pelikan, *Bach Among the Theologians*.

¹⁶ Chafe, *Analyzing Bach Cantatas*, 10. See also Chafe, *J. S. Bach’s Johannine Theology and Tears into Wine*.

Bettina Varwig notes, were often inattentive in their listening practices or even asleep.¹⁷ If the music's theological underpinnings were not necessarily evident to Bach's listeners, it does not seem likely that they would be clear to present-day audiences, at least without extra-musical explanation.

In similar scholarly analyses, Arvo Pärt's tintinnabuli style has been interpreted through the composer's Eastern Orthodox faith, with commenters often referring to hesychasm (a form of contemplative prayer practiced by Orthodox ascetics), liturgical singing, and iconography. Paul Hillier, Pärt's biographer and frequent musical collaborator, connects the "stillness, silence, tranquility, and also stability" of hesychasm with Pärt's tintinnabuli music, and compares its repetition with hesychasm's emphasis on the repetition of a short prayer commonly called the Jesus Prayer.¹⁸ Orthodox composer Ivan Moody links the perceived lack of emotion or a non-expressivity in Pärt's music, particularly Pärt's 1982 *Passio*, with liturgical texts chanted non-expressively so that words predominate in the musical delivery.¹⁹ This characteristic also relates to Orthodox iconography: Hillier sees icon's impersonality and intentional lack of self-expression as characteristics reflected in Pärt's music, while Robert Sholl compares the

¹⁷ Varwig, "Death and Life in J. S. Bach's Cantata *Ich habe genug* (BWV 82)," 334, 337. Contrary to scholarship like Chafe's, Varwig's article argues against "a singular Lutheran 'message' conveyed by Bach," but rather points to "a more diverse field of historically contingent possibilities of meaning" open to listeners in Leipzig, 320.

¹⁸ Hillier, *Arvo Pärt*, 8. The text of the prayer is "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me, a sinner."

¹⁹ Moody, "The Mind and the Heart," 69.

form of Pärt's style, a seeming stasis that slowly unfolds, with the "gradual but increasing absorption into an icon" that an Orthodox Christian like Pärt might experience.²⁰

In contrast to this kind of analysis of Bach's and Pärt's compositions, my engagement with the connections between fundamentalists' faith and its expression in their music focuses primarily on musicians' performance practices and on fundamentalists' overarching stylistic preference for classical and folk music rather than popular music. However, in Chapter Three, I examine instrumental hymn arrangements, showing how fundamentalist composers use the genre to interpret hymn texts and to guide listeners' meditation on the texts. While their musical choices may not evidence their faith comprehensively to outsiders, for those in fundamental churches, music does signal belief in specific ways, as I demonstrate throughout this project.

Methodological Approaches

My research is based in the field of Christian congregational music, which studies "any and all music performed in and as worship by a gathered community that considers itself to be Christian."²¹ Christian congregational music studies has emerged as a distinct field since the early 2000s, with a biennial conference and ongoing book series

²⁰ Hillier, *Arvo Pärt*, 4; and Sholl, "Arvo Pärt and Spirituality," 147. This comparison to icons is quite prevalent in the scholarly literature about Pärt's music; see also Cizmic, "Transcending the Icon;" and Whiteman, "Passio."

²¹ Ingalls, Landau, and Wagner, "Prelude" to *Christian Congregational Music*, 2.

dedicated to it.²² The field includes the study of sacred art music, hymnody, and theologies of music, but focuses on music and theology as used and expressed in corporate worship.²³ My methodological grounding in historical musicology, complemented by ethnography and scholarship in related fields like sound studies and the history of American Christianity, reflects similar wide-ranging practices in the field of Christian congregational music as well as in studies of present-day Christian music more generally.²⁴

My research also reveals the field's emphasis on corporate worship: I focus on professional and semi-professional musicians' performance practices and on the beliefs that leaders publically articulate, but argue that these beliefs and practices are first and foremost motivated by listeners' interactions with music, not on musicians' self-expression or artistry.²⁵ As members of their congregations and ministers to fellow

²² Christian Congregational Music: Local and Global Perspectives has been held biannually since 2011 at Ripon College, Cuddesdon, Oxford, and was first organized Monique M. Ingalls, Carolyn Landau, Martyn Percy, Mark Porter, and Tom Wagner. Porter discusses the conferences in "The Developing Field of Christian Congregational Music Studies," 159-60. The Christian Congregational Music Series is published by Routledge (formerly Ashgate); the series' editors are Monique M. Ingalls, Martyn Percy, and Zoe C. Sherinian.

²³ Ingalls, Landau, and Wagner, "Prelude" to *Christian Congregational Music*, 2-3; and Porter, "The Developing Field of Christian Congregational Music Studies," 150-4.

²⁴ Dueck and Reily, "Introduction" to *The Oxford Handbook of Music and World Christianities*, 11-4; Ingalls, Landau, and Wagner, "Prelude" to *Christian Congregational Music*, 1-3, 10-11; and Porter, "The Developing Field of Christian Congregational Music Studies," 156-9. Porter notes that, apart from musicology and ethnomusicology, the main fields that have examined Christian congregational music have been congregational studies, practical theology, ritual studies, and liturgical studies, 154-6.

²⁵ These musicians are professionals in the sense that they may be professors of music, run private lessons studios, and so on, but they are not paid by their churches except in the case of larger churches' music directors (though some churches may give musicians an honorarium). That musicians should almost always be volunteers in a church setting is reflective of broader evangelical practices. Wagner notes that

congregants, fundamentalist musicians seek to glorify God through their music-making and, in so doing, edify those fellow congregants.

Much of recent work within Christian congregational music studies focuses on evangelical churches (especially megachurches) in English-speaking countries that have adopted music in popular styles in their services, as well as large conferences that use and disseminate this music.²⁶ While many scholars in the field focus on transcendence and ritual, commodification and branding has also received significant attention.²⁷ In contrast, my project addresses the other side of the evangelical Worship Wars—the side that has explicitly rejected and fought against music in popular styles—and my analytical attention is largely on fundamentalists’ beliefs and practices through the lens of embodied musicology. Less attention has been given to conservative evangelicals views on music, perhaps unsurprisingly since the other views have certainly “won” in terms of adoption among evangelical churches. However, Anna E. Nekola’s research examines the arguments supporting the rejection of music in popular styles from a variety of conservative sources including fundamentalist ones, and Jonathan Dueck’s

even full-time music directors (or, worship leaders) will often be paid for non-musical duties such as administration and pastoral work, but not specifically for their music-making, “Hearing the Hillsong Sound,” 75-6.

²⁶ Busman, “Re(Sounding) Passion;” Ingalls, “Awesome in this Place,” and “Singing Heaven Down to Earth;” Johnson, “Back to the Heart of Worship;” Porter, *Contemporary Worship Music and Everyday Musical Lives*, and Smith Pollard, *When the Church Becomes Your Party*. See also Lim and Ruth, *Lovin’ on Jesus*.

²⁷ Mall, “The Stars Are Underground;” Nekola, “I’ll Take you There,” and “Negotiating the Tensions of U.S. Worship Music in the Marketplace;” and Wagner, “Hearing the Hillsong Sound.”

ethnographic work on Mennonite churches includes perspectives on continuing use of traditional hymnody versus adoption of music in popular styles.²⁸

My research emphasizes performers' and listeners' physical experiences—an embodied musicological approach with roots in feminist musicology as it has been expressed since the 1990s.²⁹ This approach addresses questions broached by Suzanne G. Cusick by examining “[w]hat disciplines are imposed on the bodies which produce the sound” and “[w]hat meanings are ascribed to the public display or the deliberate concealment of those disciplines.”³⁰ I examine fundamentalists' claims that music can be sexually expressive and can effect listeners in sexual ways—views that are a major impetus for fundamentalists' desire to control music styles, police individual listening choices, and regulate how listeners physically respond to what they hear—by bringing fundamentalists' perspectives into conversation with the models of sensuously

²⁸ Nekola, “Between This World and the Next” and “More Than Just Music;” and Dueck, “Binding and Loosing in Song” and *The Worship Wars and the People of Peace*.

²⁹ This embodied approach is exemplified in Cusick, “Feminist Theory, Music Theory, and the Mind/Body Problem,” Hisama, *Gendering Musical Modernism*; Le Guin, *Boccherini's Body*; and McClary, *Feminine Endings*. See also Austern, ed., *Music, Sensation, and Sensuality*; and Solie, ed., *Musicology and Difference*. Regarding the seismic shift around 1990, see Bowers, “Feminist Scholarship and the Field of Musicology I and II;” Citron, “Gender and the Field of Musicology;” Cook, “Women, Women's Studies, Music and Musicology;” and Kerman, “American Musicology in the 1990s.”

³⁰ Suzanne G. Cusick, “Feminist Theory, Music Theory, and the Mind/Body Problem,” 17. See also Cusick, “Gender and the Cultural Work of a Classical Music Performance.”

pleasurable listening put forward by Cusick, Sam Abel, Wayne Koestenbaum, and Fred Everett Maus.³¹

In analyzing these models, my research points towards a theological view of sound that seems shared by many Christians (and even, Jonathan Sterne argues, secular scholars) in which sound's physical presence is immediate, intrusive, and inescapable to listeners.³² This view has some positive implications for sound—God can be heard even with a “still small voice”—but most are negative because sound is necessarily physical and usually cannot be physically avoided, and because many Christians are and have been skeptical of the value of physical experiences.³³ In this view, music's sonic physicality is its most dangerous yet compelling feature. Because of these beliefs, fundamentalist music-making is primarily oriented around its potential effects on listeners, and not on musicians' self-expression or aesthetic desires. The details and ramifications of fundamentalists' emphasis on listening, as well as their view's connections with a broader theological framework, open up new vistas for further research.

³¹ Abel, *Opera in the Flesh*; Cusick, “On a Lesbian Relationship with Music” and “Gender and the Cultural Work of a Classical Music Performance;” Koestenbaum, *The Queen's Throat*; and Maus, “Masculine Discourse in Music Theory.”

³² Sterne, *The Audible Past*, 10-19, and “The Theology of Sound.”

³³ The reference to a “still small voice” of God is from 1 Kings 19:12, King James Version. Throughout this text, scriptural quotations are from the KJV unless otherwise noted. Most fundamental churches use the KJV and some outside of BJU circles teach that the KJV is the only acceptable English translation of the Bible (or, in some extreme cases, the only acceptable version of the Bible at all, to the point of translating from the KJV rather than from extant biblical manuscripts).

Fieldwork Overview

Fundamentalist music is a part of my upbringing: I grew up in a fundamentalist household and was active in church music-making from an early age. After accompanying hymns in Sunday School classes and Bible studies for about a year, I became the lead pianist at my family's church when I was eleven. During the following decade, I played over 1,000 services as a lead pianist in fundamental churches mostly in Georgia, the Carolinas, and Ohio. I earned a bachelor's degree in music performance at BJU, where I took required Christian theology and history classes each semester, learned about "The Christian Musician" and "The Christian Family" in eponymous classes, and attended daily chapel and weekly Sunday services. Although I did not hold to many fundamentalist views as an adolescent and college student, I made that break more apparent by stopping my attendance at fundamental churches after I matriculated. However, I maintained contact with several BJU faculty members after I graduated, and these ongoing connections later facilitated interviews.

Many scholars of fundamentalism and broader evangelicalism share this insider/outsider relationship to their research area.³⁴ These connections, for ethnographers in particular, can be a valuable aid to research. For example, Nancy

³⁴ For scholars of fundamentalism referencing their fundamentalist upbringing, see Ammerman, *Bible Believers*, 10-11; and Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, xiii. Other ethnomusicologists commenting on their religious connections, or lack thereof, with the religious groups they study include Dueck, *The Worship Wars and the People of Peace*; Engelhardt, *The Right Kind of Singing*, 4-11; and Koskoff, *Music in Lubavitcher Life*, xii-xvi.

Tatom Ammerman, in her noted ethnography of a fundamental church, asserts that her background fostered congregants' trust and allowed for more robust relationships to form than would have otherwise been likely.³⁵ My ethnographic experience has been similar, in that many of the people I interviewed would not have granted those interviews had we not already known each other or if I were not a BJU alumna.

Most of my sources are typical for a historical musicology project, but my project also includes ethnographic aspects. From 2011 to 2016, I interviewed 45 people (7 of whom multiple times) with current or former ties to the BJU-sphere of fundamentalism: 30 are or were full-time BJU employees, nine others graduated from BJU, and the final six were more loosely affiliated with the school (for example, one received an honorary doctorate from BJU). Only one is not nor has never been fundamentalist—a sound engineer who has worked on many fundamentalist albums. Some interviews lasted over three hours, some were only 30 minutes, but most were 60-90 minutes long, and the majority were followed with correspondence. While conducting research in 2014 and 2015, I attended Sunday services at twenty fundamental churches in the Carolinas (most in the Greenville area and explicitly approved by BJU for its students to attend),

³⁵ Participant observation in fundamental churches can be difficult because of the general distrust of secular outsiders; researchers may be seen as too worldly and as having secular intellectual frameworks that eliminate supernatural interpretations. Ammerman writes, "Believers simply do not expect anyone who is not saved to be able to understand or empathize with their beliefs," but notes that she was able to participate in the church's life because she could honestly self-identify as "born-again." She concludes, "Because I was identified as saved and spoke the language of a saved person, I was accepted by most of the congregation and granted access that a complete outsider might never have gained," *Bible Believers*, 10-11.

attended and watched concerts and institutional events with music at BJU, and participated in two conferences for fundamentalist musicians.

Prior to and alongside this research, I worked as a church musician (organist, pianist, and choir director) in churches across a spectrum of mainline and evangelical Protestant denominations.³⁶ This broad experience with traditional church services informs my interpretations of what are fundamentalist services' distinctive elements.

Interpreting the Public and Private Views of BJU Employees

Music is among the most divisive and debated issues among fundamentalists—a key reason for the extensive discourse fundamentalists have developed—so it comes as no surprise that not every music faculty member at BJU agrees with the administration's policies or with other faculty members. How BJU employees manage these disagreements has been a complicated question for my research because BJU employees are expected by administration to be loyal to it and its extensive policies, and voicing public disagreement could result in a loss of employment. As a result, several BJU employees contacted me post-interview to clarify their views or to request that I not quote what they had emphatically said in person. For example, one interviewee wrote after our lengthy conversation, "I would just hope that if anything in the finished product could easily identify me that it wouldn't then be paired with other information

³⁶ I have worked as a musician in Baptist (SBC and Cooperative), Methodist (UMC), Presbyterian (PCA and PCUSA), Lutheran (ELCA), United Church of Christ, Anglican (TEC), and Roman Catholic churches.

that could be construed as a total lack of solidarity with core institutional identifications or mission distinctives on my part.” Most interviews with BJU employees came with the caveat that I double-check any named quotes with the interviewee prior to publication, unlike most interviews I conducted with people not employed by BJU. Similarly, several BJU-employed interviewees teared up in sadness or expressed anger, emotions that were practically never present in interviews with people who had never been employed at BJU.

To ensure the most accurate information, I sent chapter sections to several fundamentalist readers, and maintained correspondence with some interviewees to further clarify issues. As I neared the end of this project, I emailed named and unnamed quotes from all interviewees (along with contextual prose) to the respective interviewee, regardless of whether they had asked for this information, and in several cases, revised how I framed their words so that the interviewee felt that their viewpoint was accurately represented. I also published a limited amount of public scholarship which led to many private communications from interviewees who expressed both agreement and disagreement with my interpretations.³⁷

Some comments from fundamentalist readers questioned my first-person statements, arguing that a first-person perspective is inherently unreliable and biased.

³⁷ Koskoff references the productive conversations she had as a result of giving sections of her work to interviewees to read in *Music in Lubavitcher Life*, xvii. My public scholarship is indexed at musicandthechurch.com/right-kind/.

These views seem to stem from an understanding of academic research rooted solely in an idealized Baconian scientific method (I discuss how this method's influences on fundamentalists' music philosophy in Chapter Two). This viewpoint is not simply about the possibility of scholarly objectivity: it is about the purpose of understanding and interpretation. BJU faculty member Ron Horton explains, "I can look at a poem for what's there, but I can also look at it in what I believe is the way God looks at it."³⁸ In other words, the fundamentalists' interpretive aim is to discern what is "biblical" — what does the Bible say, how should people follow what the Bible says (in the case of a poem, how does that poem relate to God's Word?). This is a crucial difference in purpose between my work and that of fundamentalists, as fundamentalist readers may ask, as some interviewees did, whether I think their views are biblical. My work may aid some fundamentalists in their own determinations, but the question itself is outside the aims of my project. For fundamentalists, however, the question is always at the forefront of their work on music.

Correspondence with a BJU music faculty member I had previously interviewed highlights my project's use of publically expressed viewpoints and my disciplinary focus on subjective experience (rather than a scientific or sociologist framework that prioritizes reproducible studies or experiments). I received this individual's email in

³⁸ Ron Horton and I had an extended discussion of the possibility of scholarly objectivity in our interview, April 3, 2015, and in subsequent correspondence.

2016 in response to research I made publically available. In their view, my research deals with “a very limited, and often vocal, subculture within the culture of fundamentalism.” “The musical culture at BJU,” they wrote, is not “accurately portrayed by those with the loudest voice or largest readership. To tie [author’s name’s] views...to a study of BJU musical culture is quite inaccurate and maybe invalid.” As an example of the “points ascribed to BJU musicians” that they do not hold, they wrote, “I do not use rhythm and vocal timbre as a way to classify classical, folk, and hymnody as good or bad. Nor do I classify most popular forms of music as bad. Nor do I use music to strengthen my spiritual life.” The faculty member concluded their email by saying they “hope for an accurate reflection of the incredible variety of thinking on this topic within your identified study group. It is anything but monolithic!”

In my response to this faculty member, I wrote, as I do here, that divergence from the “vocal subculture” is usually anonymous or implied rather than explicit. For example, no BJU faculty members who disagreed with the BJU position statement on music (discussed in Chapter One) were willing to be quoted by name, and the same was true for faculty members who disagreed with a fundamentalist author’s viewpoint (including the individual who emailed me and mentioned one author by name). The public arguments that fundamentalists make about music are consistent in their broad outline. However, that does not mean that their perspectives and experiences are monolithic, and when possible, I note disagreements and variances, though these are

usually over the specific details and ramifications of shared main arguments. So while this faculty member does not, for example, “classify most popular forms of music as bad” (a view they share with several other faculty members who did not wish to be named), fundamentalists overwhelmingly argue for this view (both fundamentalists closely affiliated with BJU, as in the BJU position statement on music, and those more loosely affiliated with it, as in the texts written by BJU graduates).

Finally, a concern for some people I interviewed is the disdain or disbelief that fundamentalism may elicit from outsiders.³⁹ While I endeavored to make clear that my research is not motivated by animosity or incredulity, a number of BJU employees I interviewed seemed skeptical of my intentions. In contrast, most congregants at fundamental churches would express joyful surprise (sometimes seeming to think I was intending to champion their views on music) when I told them about my project as I routinely did to the people I met while attending services. But as one historian writes, “While I am not attempting to write an apologetic for fundamentalism, neither do I seek to savage the fundamentalists.”⁴⁰

My research is motivated by curiosity in the philosophy of music fostered by fundamentalism and in the multiple ways fundamentalists implement their beliefs in

³⁹ I discuss this problem in Appendix A.

⁴⁰ Trollinger, *God's Empire*, 9. See also Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, xiii; Harding, *The Book of Jerry Falwell*, 294; and Sweet, “Wise as Serpents, Innocent as Doves.”

musical practice.⁴¹ I approach fundamentalist texts with the understanding that authors' lines of reasoning are legitimate to them, even though they often do not conform to standard modes of logic, and I focus on internal contradictions in fundamentalist thought—the contradictions that are contradictions to fundamentalists themselves. Furthermore, I explore fundamentalists' texts in the knowledge that most are written by musicians and pastors who are invested in changing their readers' spiritual destiny, a goal they share with most fundamentalist musicians.

A Fundamental Church Service

Walk into a large fundamental churches in Greenville, South Carolina as the Sunday morning service is about to begin. An usher in suit and tie hands you a service bulletin as you enter the auditorium, and amid the people crowding in, you survey your surroundings. Standing in the back of the boxy, windowless auditorium you see the rows of seating ahead—room for about a thousand—leading down to a raised platform with a massive wooden pulpit planted in the middle. If you walked in further, you could turn around to see the overhanging balcony with more seating and a large soundboard staffed by two men. Looking back at the crowded, claustrophobic platform, you see several pianos—a seven-foot grand, plus an upright and an electronic

⁴¹ I feel a great affinity with Koskoff's comments in her preface to *Music in Lubavitcher Life*, where she says, "Trying to straddle the line between open-mindedness toward Lubavitcher views and a certain justification (or, at times, defensiveness) toward my own views sometimes disoriented, annoyed, and even frustrated me," xv. Her ethnography, which drew on decades of research, both attempted to give a "reasonable picture of Lubavitcher musical life" while still including her own voice in relationship to those she studied, interviewed, and became friends with, xv.

keyboard—as well as an electronic organ flanking the pulpit on the left and right. A large orchestra of assorted instruments fills up the rest of the platform space, barely room for the musicians’ elbows and knees as they and their music stands spill into the choir loft and overflow down to the floor—a swarm of strings, woodwinds, and brass, even a harp, tympani, and colorful percussion instruments like cymbals and wind chimes. Somehow, room has been found for a short row of chairs upholstered the same powder blue as the pews’ padding—they’re lined up directly behind the pulpit, a place to sit until a speaker’s allotted time. A choir loft rises from the platform, with around a hundred chairs arranged in neat rows, and behind that, a baptistery—an alcove in the back wall with a tank for immersion baptisms, over which hangs a plain wooden cross, which, along with the cross affixed to the front of the pulpit, is the only Christian symbol in sight.

You find a seat as a female pianist at the grand piano plays a bombastic, up-tempo medley of hymn tunes piped over the sound system—the large speakers hung from the walls match the unobtrusive beige. Meanwhile, the choir files into the loft and fills it to capacity, all in their Sunday best of colorful dresses and coordinating jewelry on the women, suit coats and ties on the men. Then, a man—the song leader—bounds at the last minute up to the pulpit, and the burble from the congregation dies down, though a few stragglers are still making their way in from the lobby and scanning the room for seats nearby. The pianist’s medley decrescendos while the song leader exhorts

the congregation to join their voices in praise to God, then the pianist bumps up the volume, playing the last two bars of the announced hymn at a steady clip. On the upbeat, the man lifts his hands to conduct, and the congregation, choir, orchestra members, and keyboardists join together on the downbeat.

In the first half of this service, unofficially called the “song service,” the congregation sings three or four hymns drawn from a variety of Christian times and traditions— a chorale from the Lutheran Reformation or a Victorian gospel song—as well as from fundamentalist composers and lyricists. While most of the hymns are available in the hymnal in the pew’s rack, this church, like many others, has begun to project the lyrics on screens at the front of the auditorium, and today’s service bulletin includes a score and text for a newer song not in the hymnal.

It’s clear that most congregants know these songs, though above their robust singing you also hear the song leader’s amplified voice. He engages pastorally with the congregation while introducing the songs—pointing out doctrinal elements of the texts, praising the congregation for their efforts in singing, and exhorting them to continue expressing their faith through this act of public worship. He also guides the congregation musically, cueing them to sing quieter or faster, and, on one hymn, instructing the instruments to drop out for an *a cappella* stanza, only to burst back on his cue for a triumphant concluding verse.

Other musical elements are interspersed between the congregations' singing. The choir sings an anthem accompanied by the orchestra and a pianist, most of the members smiling as they sing and focusing intently on their director. On the final stanza, the song leader turns to the congregation to invite their participation. Then while ushers take up a monetary offering, a trio of young flutists play a setting of a hymn, accompanied by another pianist. During both the anthem and offertory, the pieces' lyrics are projected on screens to help congregants recall the texts.

The musicians you see are a cross-section of the congregation's demographics—male and female, young and old, usually but not always white. Apart from the song leader, who also directs the choir and manages the music program, these musicians are not church employees but rather are church members who volunteer their time and skills. Though most are not professional musicians, their playing and singing is polished, and in the off chance that you hear a stray note, it is more likely due to nerves than a lack of preparation.

The song service also includes spoken service elements like announcements and prayers. The announcements mention a recent birth and the hospitalization of several members but are mostly descriptions and reminders of upcoming church events. The prayers—two in this service—are extemporaneously spoken by men. Since fundamentalist prayers are not formally scripted and are prayed individually, no

prayers such as the Lord's Prayer are spoken together in unison by the congregation, leaving congregational singing the only vocal corporate expression in the service.

The song service is primarily focused on that: song. Unlike the Roman Catholic church in the same neighborhood, this church does not hold services without congregational singing—not their Sunday morning service, not their Sunday evening service (a less formal service that follows a similar format to the morning service), and not their Wednesday evening prayer time and Bible study.⁴² In fact, if you had arrived an hour earlier to attend Sunday School, you would have sung a hymn in any class you attended. And once or twice a year, this church's Sunday evening service is a "Singspiration," where congregants can request their favorite hymns be sung and where all the service, but for a short sermon and prayers, is devoted to music.

After about 40 minutes, the congregation sings its last hymn and on the last stanza, the choir, orchestra members, and all keyboardists except the lead pianist file down to join family and friends in the pews— their reserved places marked by purses and Bibles. For the last musical piece of the song service, a husband and wife sing a duet—a recently-written song that many congregants have likely not heard— accompanied on the piano by their daughter. They stand behind the pulpit, its single microphone designed to pick up voices from a few feet away, although their classically

⁴² The Sunday morning and evening services are not duplicate services. Reimers discusses the different purposes of Sunday morning, Sunday evening, and midweek services in *The Glory Due His Name*, 43.

trained voices would still be audible without amplification. They smile warmly as they sing, purposefully scanning the congregants as if to make eye contact, but do not speak or make notable body or hand movements while singing. After finishing, they move to their seats and the preacher of the day—the church’s senior pastor—steps to the pulpit.

In this moment, you hear something completely different, something you probably hadn’t missed before but now its presence is startling: a moment of quiet, a break in the blurred reverberance of amplified singing and speaking, the closest to silence this congregation can get. Out of this quiet, the senior pastor begins his sermon. Although he wears a headset microphone for freedom of movement, he starts from behind the pulpit by opening his Bible. And though he might say a few words of introduction and spend a few minutes easing into the sermon text, he almost invariably lands on a scriptural passage as the foundation for the sermon to follow. After telling the congregation where to turn in their Bibles, he reads the text—a few verses from a New Testament epistle. This is the only formal scripture reading during the service, but its structural prominence at the beginning of the sermon allows fundamental churches to frame themselves as “preaching the Word of God”—a rhetorical move with more heft in fundamentalist circles than any quantity of scripture readings.

Following the reading, the preacher prays, and the congregation, who stood up for the reading, settles into their seats for the rest of the sermon, with Bibles and, for many, notebooks in hand. The sermon is roughly the same length as the song service—

35 to 45 minutes. The chosen passage is part of a several-month's-long series based on a book of the Bible that the senior pastor is methodically preaching from. His speaking style is moderate, rarely raising his voice or moving from behind the podium; and his method is exegetical, as he carefully works outward from the text in question, its nuances in the original language and likely historical allusions intended for its first-century readership, to the spiritual ramifications for the congregation today. Both his speaking style and method are typical for other pastors of large fundamental churches in the Greenville area, trained as they are with Doctor of Ministry or PhD in Theology degrees, and preaching to congregations that include many people who received intensive religious training at BJU, and then remained in the area after graduation.

After the sermon and a concluding prayer, a final hymn is sung while an "invitation" is given for people to approach the platform and pray or to join the church as members—the song leader directs the hymn from a moveable music stand to the side of the pulpit, so as to allow the pastor to speak should he wish. At this particular service, the only people who "come forward" are a family who is being welcomed into membership, but this invitation echoes the earlier practice still common at many other fundamental churches where unconverted people are urged to pray to be saved. The service then ends around 80 or 90 minutes after it began with a simple, "You are dismissed." The congregation bursts into conversation as they gradually make their way out of the auditorium, and the pianist at the grand piano loudly improvises a postlude

on one of the earlier hymn's tune, background music to the murmur of people greeting their friends, welcoming visitors, and coordinating their lunch plans.

1. Separation as the Impetus for Fundamentalists' Musical Subculture

The inaugural episode of BJU's television show Show Me People, which aired from 1977 to 1986, opens with a zoom-in on a black leather-bound Bible lying on mustard yellow draped fabric. Tympani roll on the soundtrack. A man's hand reaches into the frame and opens the Bible to what the viewer can see is Isaiah 58, then a transparent overlay shows the chapter's first verse. A deep, reverberant male voice reads: "Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and show my people their transgressions." The drum roll crescendos into an orchestral rendition of the nineteenth century American hymn "I Know Whom I Have Believed" while the show's logo appears on the screen. As scenes from BJU's campus flash by—fountains, flags, throngs of walking students, a soccer match, an opera performance—an off-screen man addresses the audience: "From the Campus of Bob Jones University in Greenville, South Carolina to the redeemed people of God across America comes the challenge of God's Word, showing his people their responsibilities and their sins."¹

As the episode's unique material begins, the show's host David Yearick—pastor of a Greenville-area church for nearly four decades beginning in 1964—walks into the screen on a manicured lawn with flower beds in full bloom behind him. Smiling and looking directly into the camera, he says, "Welcome Christian friend, born-again believer! Welcome to the campus of Bob Jones University in Greenville, South Carolina. This program is for you. In these days of

¹ *Show My People*, episode 1, 1977, 00:01-01:00.

*doctrinal confusion and scriptural rejection, we need to shine our armor, and sharpen our weapons, and stand together in the battle for the cause of Jesus Christ and for the defense of the faith once delivered unto the saints. To this end, each week the president of Bob Jones University, Dr. Bob Jones III, will discuss with you pressing issues that face the Christian community in our land. And now with today's topic, here is Dr. Jones."*²

Show Me People's introductory sequence, as well as the first episode's narration and sermon, demonstrates fundamentalism's long-standing separatist imperative as well its theological placement of separation's origins in born-again salvation.³ For fundamentalists and other evangelicals, to be born-again and thus a Christian means to be instantly converted from unbeliever to believer. At that moment a person is, in other vernacular expressions, "saved" as they "put their faith in Jesus Christ as their personal Lord and Savior."⁴ Following conversion, Christians will lead visibly changed lives that include an active "witness" to non-Christians through the "testimony" of their conversions, personal lives (including the music they make and listen to) and the support of missionary endeavors. As Jones III put it in the opening line to *Show My People's* first sermon, "A man's profession of his love for the Lord Jesus Christ is

² *Show My People*, episode 1, 1977, 01:00-01:45.

³ The words are drawn from John 3:7 in which Jesus says, "You must be born again."

⁴ The fundamentalist meaning of "salvation" is of a person's changed relationship with God and radically altered eternal destination. Without God, a person spends eternity in hell, but as the child of God, a person enjoys eternal life in heaven. This particular meaning of "salvation" is more common to evangelical Protestants than other Christians and should not be confused with how some others, such as Roman Catholics, use the same term. For an extended view of how fundamentalists talk about conversion, see Harding, "Convicted by the Holy Spirit."

confirmed or denied by his actions.”⁵ This change is inextricable from the convert’s sanctification—for fundamentalists, sanctification is “the ongoing work of God through the Holy Spirit in progressively conforming a believer’s mindset and choices to accurately mirror his position and identity in Christ.”⁶ A person must be willing to change and evangelize in order to be sanctified, and by being sanctified is able to change and evangelize.

In essence, separation is the rejection of undesirable beliefs and practices, and militant separation is an active and intentional pushback against them.⁷ Fundamentalists conceptualize separation in two basic categories, personal and ecclesiastical: they personally separate from sin and they collectively maintain the same purity in their churches.⁸ Separation is also expressed through the practice of “secondary separation”—separation not only from those one disagrees with, but also those who do not themselves separate, even if one is in agreement with them on other matters.⁹ The antithesis of

⁵ *Show My People*, episode 1, 1977, 19:14-19:21.

⁶ Bob Jones University, “2014-2015 Student Handbook,” 7.

⁷ Separation is often taken to include militant aspects, and although most fundamentalist authorities on music do not reference militant separation by name, they advocate militant practices such as warning other Christians against music in popular styles and even asking stores and radio stations to change their programming or refusing to eat at restaurants with loud music in popular styles. See for example Fisher, *Harmony at Home*, 120, 136-7; Hamilton, *Why I Don’t Listen*, 52; and Peck, *Rock*, 117-8. For explicit references to militancy, see Pyle, *The Truth about Rock Music*, 51; and Makujina, *Measuring the Music*, 222. For other references to the importance of separation, see Bachorik, *New Heart*, 81-3; Fisher, *The Battle for Christian Music*, 122, 174, and *Harmony at Home*, 187; Lucarini, *Why I Left*, 98; Peck, *Rock*, 51-3, 95; and Sears, *Apostasy and Deception*, 67-8.

⁸ The division of separation into its personal and ecclesiastical ramifications is common in fundamentalist circles. See for example, the organization of Moritz, “*Be Ye Holy*.”

⁹ Regarding secondary separation, see Moritz, “*Be Ye Holy*,” 47-70 and 71-87. Many fundamentalist leaders reject the term “secondary separation” and any distinction between separation and secondary

separation is summed up as “compromise” — a strongly pejorative word in fundamentalist circles.¹⁰ For them, separation is an unambiguously scriptural teaching, and anything else — any compromise — disobeys God’s commands and harms the reputation of Christianity.¹¹ Following God’s commands to be separate, on the other hand, is linked to God’s blessings or rewards on an individual or church. “God’s Word clearly tells you that God’s work must be done God’s way or God is not pleased — and you don’t get your reward,” Jones III declares in his *Show My People* sermon on separation, and conversely, “Get your opinions in line with the Word of God, and God will be able to bless your life.”¹²

Fundamentalists teach that “the holiness of God is the foundation of all separation,” meaning that separation inextricably manifests a particular relationship to God’s holiness in that holiness can be seen as referring to separation on a conceptual and linguistic level: to be holy is necessarily to be separated (or, set apart) from sin or contamination.¹³ Fundamentalist author Fred Moritz voices a typical viewpoint when he explains the relationship between holiness and separation by saying, “if a person or

separation. However, fundamentalists commonly use it as a convenient vernacular distinction, and I use it here because the concept and practice of secondary separation, not primary separation, is one major reason that music has become an important means of expressing fundamentalist subculture. See Moritz, “*Be Ye Separate*,” 72. See also Dalhouse, *An Island in the Lake of Fire*, 86.

¹⁰ Ammerman, *Bible Believers*, 4.

¹¹ Moritz, “*Be Ye Separate*,” 3-4, 17-8.

¹² *Show My People*, episode 1, 1977, 25:46-25:54 and 27:21-27:30.

¹³ Moritz, “*Be Ye Holy*,” 7. See also Pickering, *Biblical Separation*, 163-9.

thing is positively pure and clean, that person or thing is also negatively set apart or separated from what is impure and unclean.”¹⁴ To be separated, then, is to imitate God’s own holiness—an attribute so central to God’s nature that the Old Testament prophet Isaiah describes the seraphim calling out to each other around God’s throne, “Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts” (from Isa. 6:3). Because of God’s command “Be ye holy; for I am holy” (from 1 Pet. 1:16), fundamentalists see their separation of “good” music from “bad” music as a reflection of God’s holiness.

Secondary separation often motivates fundamentalists’ concerns about music in both personal and ecclesiastical areas. While practices of ecclesiastical secondary separation often result in churches not inviting an outside minister to speak because his association with non-fundamentalists, these practices have ramifications beyond churches’ affiliations. For example, the fundamentalist musician and author Frank Garlock comments about the choice of his family’s company, Majesty Music, to publish songs whose copyrights “are not only owned or controlled by people with whom we disagree on doctrine, but even in some cases by unsaved people.”¹⁵ He anticipates other fundamentalists’ criticism for not being fully separated, so he notes the decision was made with difficulty and in the knowledge that “[t]he devil tries to get us in positions

¹⁴ Moritz, “*Be Ye Holy*,” 9. See also 8-15 and his appendix, “Etymology and Uses of Biblical Words for Holiness,” 105-15.

¹⁵ Garlock, afterword to Hamilton, *Why I Don’t Listen*, 102.

where we can't make consistent biblical lifestyle decisions."¹⁶ Other fundamentalist authors guard against similar criticisms when they make disclaimers about the sources they cite, pointing out sources they disagree with or which they think might harm spiritually immature readers.¹⁷

Personal separation also drives musical issues. Personal separation is an individual's separation from "the world" — what one prominent fundamentalist describes as "those influences *outside* of us that encourage the flesh *inside* of us to leave God out and to live life for ourselves" — and to be personally separated is to keep personal "standards."¹⁸ The most commonly mentioned standards relate to appearance and entertainment, such as the clothing a fundamentalist wears or the music they listen to.

Personal practices also fall on the spectrum of secondary separation. Secondary separation in these personal areas is expressed through the idea of "association." For example, musician and author Dan Lucarini counsels his readers, "We should avoid all music styles that could be associated in any way with today's evil and immorality. We

¹⁶ Garlock, afterword to Hamilton, *Why I Don't Listen*, 102.

¹⁷ This formal disclaimer is typical: "NOTE: the fact that materials produced by other publishers may be referred to in this volume does not constitute an endorsement by Bob Jones University Press of the content or theological position of materials produced by such publishers. The position of Bob Jones University Press, and of the University itself, is well known. Any references and ancillary materials are listed as an aid to the student or the teacher and in an attempt to maintain accepted academic standards of the publishing industry," Moritz, *Contending for the Faith*, frontispiece. Kurtz makes suggestions on how readers can use disclaimers in *God's Word*, 277.

¹⁸ Berg, *Created for His Glory*, 170, emphasis his. Berg continues: "The great fantasy of worldliness is that a man can live independently of God," emphasis his.

should not use them in church or in our private lives.”¹⁹ Fundamentalists might appreciate a song’s text and musical style but still reject it because of its associations with drug use, promiscuity, dancing, drinking, locations where these activities occur such as bars and clubs, and the people—listeners and musicians—who engage in such activities.²⁰ The King James Version’s idiosyncratic translation of 1 Thess. 5:22 (“Abstain from all appearance of evil”) may have contributed to avoiding sinful associations; the verse is often colloquially referenced as a warning against bad associations—not only should a person not sin, but they should avoid anything that would remind them, or their neighbor, of the “appearance” of sin.²¹

In the remainder of this chapter, I show how and why fundamentalists use music to signal their belief that they, as individuals and congregations, should demonstrate their distinctiveness as Christians by separating from worldliness. First, I link music with secondary separation and compromise. Second, I provide historical context for the subculture that arises from separation in fundamentalism generally and at BJU more

¹⁹ Lucarini, *Why I Left*, 82. See also 90-1, 134. See especially Fisher’s discussion of music that is good in both text and style, but that is marred by its associations, *The Battle for Christian Music*, 173-81. See also Aniol, *Sound Worship*, 61-81, and *Worship in Song*, 96-7, 140-1, 218; and Peck, *Rock*, 53.

²⁰ See for example Hamilton, *Why I Don’t Listen*, 62-70, 86; Lynch, *Gospel Music*, 34-5; and Sears, *Apostasy and Deception*, 58-9. See also Makujina’s discussion of Martin Luther’s use of popular music in church, *Measuring the Music*, 192-3. Hamilton considers the example of a non-Christian composer’s associations, saying, “I’ve heard some Christians argue that classical music should not be listened to if the composer is not a believer. If a composer writes an uplifting composition in a style that is pure and not sensual, and his present associations are not problematic, I believe that the music would be acceptable for the Christian. Of course, each Christian must determine this for himself,” *Why I Don’t Listen*, 84. See also Peck, *Rock*, 56.

²¹ Most modern translations, such as the Revised Standard Version and New International Version, give “every form of evil” or “every kind of evil” rather than “appearance.”

particularly. Finally, I connect fundamentalists' views on musical separation with evangelicals' debates about musical styles—the Worship Wars—and with differing approaches toward musical associations among fundamental churches.

Music and the Slippery Slope into Compromise

Music's perceived ability to indicate and shape long-term trajectories of individuals and churches results in musical styles being a major criterion for fundamentalist individuals' choice of church membership and for a church's choice to associate with another conservative evangelical church. Music and clothing are the most frequently mentioned sites of compromise in fundamentalist discourse, with other entertainment types like television coming in third.²² But this focus on appearance and entertainment is not because, say, listening to Motown is the worst sin a fundamentalist could commit.²³ Rather, these seemingly lesser areas actually direct the course of a person's life. Any small deviation from accepted standards becomes a potentially major

²² All the following reference music and clothing as the prime sites of compromise. Their next most frequent concern is other forms of entertainment (e.g. movies, magazines). Some also reference hairstyles, alcohol, gambling, dancing, sports, and relationships: Fisher, *Harmony at Home*, 46; Foster, *The Spiritual Song*, 94-6; Hamilton, *Why I Don't Listen*, 53, 55, 72, 100; Lucarini, *It's Not about the Music*, 56; Peck, *Rock*, 8; and Sweatt, *Church Music*, 12.

²³ As an example of musical standards being a high priority for administration at BJU, one former student, and a victim of sexual abuse, notes that her abuser, a missionary whose abuse was apparently known to school administrators, was "invited to present his work" at BJU, while missionaries with musical standards that differ from BJU's were not welcome. In her words, "rape is okay, but changes in music or standards are unfortunate and extremely distasteful. ... As long as the music standards are upheld, rape is not an issue." GRACE, "Final Report," 100n83.

issue since “the journey into worldly life may begin with a single compromise of godly standards.”²⁴

Fundamentalists teach that compromise will almost certainly lead to further compromise. Once compromise has begun, a slide into increasing worldliness inevitably follows: “Weakness begets weakness, and compromise begets compromise,” writes Bob Jones Jr. (BJU president from 1947 to 1971).²⁵ So when fundamentalist musical authorities describe a slide from barely-acceptable or “questionable” music into wicked music, and from listening to such music to engaging in other sinful behavior, they express commonly accepted beliefs about how people and churches develop over time.²⁶

Music is the weathervane of compromise to fundamentalists because it indicates a church’s or individual’s spiritual direction toward good or evil. Bringing music in popular styles into the church, fundamentalists argue, shifts a church’s trajectory away from God and toward worldliness. Lucarini argues that “one of the curses upon CCM [is that] the music will continually be on this slippery slope and worship leaders will be

²⁴ Sweatt, *Church Music*, 12. On the importance of details in fundamentalists’ lifestyles, see also Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 20-21, 34; Bachorik, *New Heart*, 83; and Peck, *Rock*, 55.

²⁵ “If I have learned anything in these last years, it is this: when men begin to depart from the Truth or to compromise in their obedience to the Word of God, they rarely turn back. The same applies to educational institutions, missionary societies, and denominations. Weakness breeds weakness, and compromise begets compromise,” Jones [Jr.], *Cornbread and Caviar*, 164.

²⁶ Fisher notes, “If we allow ourselves to be diverted only a little, it could result in a destination that is far removed from our original intention,” *The Battle for Christian Music*, 20. For references to a slippery slope regarding music, see for example Hamilton, *Why I Don’t Listen*, 25, 66-7; 81, 87; Lucarini, *It’s Not about the Music*, 56-7, and *Why I Left*, 31, 35, 119-24; Peck, *Rock*, 63-5, 127; and Sears, *Apostasy and Deception*, 23, 99. For more general examples of the frequent slippery slope thinking in fundamentalist texts about music, see Fisher, *The Battle for Christian Music*, 20, and *Harmony at Home*, 139; and Kurtz, *God’s Word*, 124-5.

forced to accept *any* musical style, no matter how disgraceful.”²⁷ Danny Sweatt, a pastor, describes Christians who “prefer to get just as close as possible to the world in their dress, hairstyles, recreational activities, and music, and still appear respectable,” declaring that from there to “a life of worldly depravity” is but “a short step.”²⁸ While he allows that this slide is not inescapable, he counsels readers that “for the Christian, the best road is always the ‘high road’ far away from any association with evil.”²⁹ Similarly, music pastor Mike Foster writes that “one of the first things to decline in a church is the sound of the music,” suggesting that further degeneration will soon come.³⁰

Though music does not take the entire blame for wickedness, popular music styles and a weak, powerless Christianity go hand in hand. The evangelist Gordon Sears argues:

Perhaps some of you have already experienced the change that comes into the church services when CCM takes over. You have come to realize there is a different spirit, a different attitude in those who come to worship, and there is no longer the evidence of the Holy Spirit working in the hearts of the people.

Weeping over the lost, conviction of sin, reverence toward God, and the desire

²⁷ Lucarini, *Why I Left*, 35, emphasis his. See also 47, 69-70, 119-24. See also Blanchard and Lucarini, *Can We Rock the Gospel*, 29; and Sears, *Apostasy and Deception*, 71-2.

²⁸ Sweatt, *Church Music*, 11-12.

²⁹ Sweatt, *Church Music*, 12.

³⁰ Foster, *The Spiritual Song*, 34, “sound” is bolded in original. Fisher suggests that music trends foretell a future decline because music indicates what the church’s leadership believes, *Harmony at Home*, 190.

for holy living are strangely missing. ... To be sure, CCM may not be the only thing that can cause Christians to grow cold, but the new music and entertainment that goes with it, is without a doubt, the biggest cause of apathy and indifference within our churches today.³¹

Imagine you're a fundamentalist like Gordon Sears walking into a service at a new-to-you church. The church appears conservative—the women wear dresses, the pastor a suit, and the outdoor signage boasts the doctrinal stand: "Independent, Fundamental, Bible Believing." Perhaps a fundamentalist friend recommended the church. As the service starts, everything seems right, and you enthusiastically sing along from a hymnal from a fundamentalist publisher. But mere minutes before the sermon begins, a soloist opens his mouth, and with the first breathy note he sings, with the first pitch he bends before sliding into place, you know this church travels the road of compromise. Depending on your temperament, and perhaps if you brought your children with you (who might be easily influenced by such music), you might even choose to leave the church service in the middle of the song. This is music's power to signal the winds of separation and compromise to fundamentalists.

In addition to the claim that music shapes a person's relationship with God and, as a result, the person's character and life, fundamentalists give two other primary

³¹ Sears, *Apostasy and Deception*, 82-3. See also Garlock, *The Big Beat*, 13, 47-8; Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 71, 126-7; Makujina, *Measuring the Music*, 5; Smith, *Let Those with Ears to Hear*, 130; Peck, *Rock*, 120; and Sears, *Apostasy and Deception*, 36, 43-4.

reasons for music's prominence in their discourse, reasons discussed in greater detail in Chapter Two.³² First, they argue that the Bible implies the importance of music both through its plentiful references to music and through specific instances where the text mentions the important place of music in a believer's life (e.g. "Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom; teaching and admonishing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord," Col. 3:16).³³ And second, that music reflects God's nature: an accurate reflection is honoring to God, while a distorted reflection is idolatrous.³⁴

Music and Compromise at BJU

Statements from BJU administrators and the university's official position statement on music demonstrate fears of musical compromise and the power of secondary separation to influence musical styles. In his memoir, Bob Jones Jr. describes the consternation accompanying changing presidencies at BJU when he succeeded his father in the 1940s and when his son Bob Jones III succeeded him in the 1970s, saying that the "prophets of doom" worried the school would start to go downhill with each

³² For claims that music shapes a person's relationship with God, see Aniol, *Sound Worship*, 11, and *Worship in Song*, 56; Fisher, *The Battle for Christian Music*, 19; Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 64-5, 72-3; Schmidt, *Music Matters*, 50-1; and Smith, *Let Those with Ears to Hear*, 164. For general claims that music is important, see for example, Foster, *The Spiritual Song*, 10, and the declarative title of Schmidt's book, *Music Matters*. Lucarini's *It's Not about the Music* stands in contrast to its fellows; while he agrees that musical style matters for Christian worship, he argues that churches place undue attention on music in their services.

³³ See Aniol, *Sound Worship*, 6-9, and *Worship in Song*, 126; and Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 72-3. Fundamentalist authors frequently cite the number of times the Bible references music; see for example, Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 1, 5, 116; Fisher, *The Battle for Christian Music*, 33; and Kurtz's book, *God's Word the Final Word on Music on Worship and Music: A Biblical Study*.

³⁴ See Aniol, *Sound Worship*, 12-13, and *Worship in Song*, iv.

changeover and stray from its fundamentalist heritage.³⁵ One might think that compromise would begin with shifts in biblical interpretation or perhaps with a move toward associations with less-conservative theologians, but that is not what Jones Jr. names as the first site of compromise. He writes that these naysayers claimed the school would “go the way of all other educational institutions” by “lower[ing] its standards about dress and conduct and begin[ning] to bend where music quality is concerned.”³⁶

When the newest and first non-Jones-family president of the school, Steve Pettit, was installed in 2014, statements about his music standards attempted to ward off similar fears of compromise. At the time, BJU’s website featured Pettit’s biographical information and an FAQ section with over twenty items. These FAQs dealt primarily with mundane questions—when Pettit would begin his job, whether he is an ordained minister, whether he would continue traveling as an evangelist in any capacity—but one dealt with Pettit’s beliefs. It asked, “What is his position on music?” and it answered simply, “He fully supports the University’s music policy.”³⁷ This might seem an odd inclusion—why this one belief out of endless possibilities?—but before being hired by BJU, Pettit, an accomplished mandolin player, had released over a dozen albums of bluegrass-inflected sacred music with his traveling evangelistic group of musicians and speakers, the Steve Pettit Evangelistic Team. While fundamentalists generally consider

³⁵ Jones [Jr.], *Cornbread and Caviar*, 213.

³⁶ Jones [Jr.], *Cornbread and Caviar*, 213-4.

³⁷ Bob Jones University, “Meet Steve Pettit, BJU’s 5th President,” www.bju.edu/about/president/presidential-announcement.php (accessed December 31, 2014).

bluegrass an acceptable folk style, it is not within the tradition of “excellent,” classically-influenced sacred music that has been promoted by BJU for decades. In interviews, some BJU music faculty members revealed their continuing, though off-record, concerns that Pettit’s influence on the school’s music scene does not reflect a desire to promote that tradition of excellence.

The remainder of this section deals with the music policy that Pettit was declared to support, as it is expressed through BJU’s official position statement, “Music Philosophy,” one of seven position statements posted on BJU’s website in 2014.³⁸ These all deal with contentious issues in fundamentalist circles such as music, or with topics that are more generally contentious in broader evangelical culture, such as the beverage consumption of alcohol (which the school opposes) and creationism (which the school teaches as historical fact).³⁹

BJU’s statement on music shows the important place music has in fundamentalist culture to signal commitment to separation. But for a document over 2,300 words long, it makes surprisingly few references to specific kinds of music or specific pieces: it lists unacceptable styles (any style related to “Rock, Pop, Country, Jazz, Electronic/Techno, Rap/Hip Hop” and their versions with Christian lyrics), defines the term “rock music,” and briefly describes the music used in BJU services as “hymns, gospel songs, and

³⁸ Bob Jones University, “Music Philosophy,” www.bju.edu/about/what-we-believe/music.php (accessed December 31, 2014).

³⁹ See Bob Jones University, “What We Believe,” www.bju.edu/about/what-we-believe/ (accessed January 1, 2015).

anthems...set to an appropriate tune and performed in a conservative style.” Although the document’s unnamed authors note in their opening paragraph that separation is practiced through specific applications of specific standards to specific styles and pieces of music, this statement deals with music more generally: the statement’s authors make five bullet-pointed arguments about the entire category “music” and another five about the entire category “sacred music,” each with an explanatory paragraph (see table 3 for these ten points). Taken together, these arguments express the view that music, a God-given art, influences corporate worship and individuals’ spirituality and must be chosen with care.

Table 2: Bullet-point statements about music and sacred music in BJU's "Music Philosophy" position statement

<p><i>Points about Music in General</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Music should make me more like Christ (2 Cor. 3:18).” • “Music should enrich my spirit in enjoyment of what God has created (1 Tim 6:17).” • “Music should edify my fellow believers (Eph. 4:11–16).” • “Music should discourage in me the works of the flesh (Gal. 5:19–21).” • “Music should aid my testimony before the lost (Matt. 28:19–20) by demonstrating to them my devotion to God and distinctness from the elements of the world that are organized in opposition to God (1 John 2:5–17).” <p><i>Points about Sacred Music in General</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Sacred music should focus on the attributes and acts of God (Ps. 150:2; Isa. 12:2).” • “Sacred music should cause me to rejoice thankfully in God (Ps. 33:1; 105:2–3; 108:1, 4), fulfilling the command to love Him with all my heart, soul, mind and strength (Deut. 6:4–5; Matt. 22:37–38).” • “Sacred music should be doctrinally sound (Col. 3:16; Eph. 5:18–19), beautiful (Ps. 27:4, 29:2, 66:2, 96:6–9), reverent (Ps. 29:2), and fresh and vital (“a new song,” Ps. 40:3, 96:1, 98:1), not merely routine.” • “Sacred music should involve the congregation as well as the platform leaders (Col. 3:16; Eph. 5:18–19).” • “Sacred music should encourage the unity of the church (Eph. 4:1–6).”

Source: Bob Jones University, “Music Philosophy,” www.bju.edu/about/what-we-believe/music.php (accessed December 31, 2014).

This view is not a contentious position in the greater fundamentalist community: fundamentalists already agree with each other on music's spiritual significance. So what is the statement's purpose if fundamentalists generally accept its main claims? I argue that by dwelling on what is essentially a non-argument in fundamentalist circles, the authors are able to make an indirect argument about separation: music is not only spiritually significant, but it is also important enough to separate over. This implied argument is far more contentious in the circles of conservative Christianity beyond BJU's immediate vicinity than any surface statements about music's spiritual influence. Though the authors do not directly make this argument, three of their ten main arguments make claims that relate to their eventual focus on separation and associations in the statement's conclusion. In their generic forms, these three arguments are commonly accepted among fundamentalists but when applied specifically to music, they become much more contentious. In other words, the authors employ a set of commonly held beliefs in argue that music is a valid criteria for separation, an argument that they leave largely implied until the conclusion.

First, the authors argue that individual fundamentalists are not islands unto themselves, but that their behaviors can cause discord in their communities, thus implying that an individual's music choices are one of the unspecified things that can affect "the well-being of their fellow believers." Second, the authors argue that since believers "must not be 'conformed to this world' (Rom. 12:1-2)," their music "must resist

the natural pressure to recalibrate standards according to the musical trends of the unregenerate;" this position clearly implies that believers conform to the world when listening to music in popular styles. Third, they argue that by using something that "signifies [the world's] rejection of God's rightful sovereignty and will," a person will "appear to endorse those elements." Unlike the first two arguments, this last one is less accepted across Christian circles; however, the connection between cultural associations and endorsement is part of secondary separation's ramifications within the fundamentalist milieu. In conservative circles then, the argument in its general sense is not contentious but the application to music is.

The implied jump from these arguments to music is relatively easy, especially since the arguments are supported by the extensive scriptural citations normative to fundamentalist methodology: Don't conform to the world, so don't conform to the world's music. Don't be a stumbling block to your fellow Christians, so don't use music that is a stumbling block to them. Don't endorse or appear to endorse the world's rejection of God, so don't endorse the world's music (which, the statement implies, rejects God).

The document's separatist thrust becomes more readily apparent near the end as the authors comment on musical associations to argue that they may "adapt recent songs by people with whom [they] would not fully agree." As justification, they point out that hymnals commonly use texts "written by authors with aberrant theology," but

because the specific texts do not express those aberrations, hymnals may include them. Therefore, the document implies, if the specific song being adapted does not have problematic theology, then its adaption will be acceptable and consistent with fundamentalist practices as evidenced in hymnals. But the authors continue:

With modern technology, however, associations may more easily have negative influence. The original source of music is never remote. The more recently a song has emerged and the more popular its source, the more influence it has. So BJU exercises great restraint in the choices of music we adapt, and we issue cautions about our concerns.

Of course, the mere use of any music has never implied endorsement of its original presentation or source. And avoiding certain music is not a blanket criticism of another's ministry or motives.

Here then is the document's entire purpose in its function as a position statement (there are, of course, other purposes to the many other arguments the document makes, but these, as I argue above, are not the reasons for the school's having a position statement on music). The authors acknowledge that fundamentalists have historically used hymns by authors with "aberrant theology" but argue that this practice has become problematic in internet age. Music, even stylistically good music, is sullied through its associations. By using most of the document to argue for uncontroversial positions, the authors build a foundation to support their arguments to specific musical applications,

and then extend them further into associations. Such is music's power for fundamentalists, and such is secondary separation's primacy in their practices.

Separation and the Creation of Fundamentalist Subculture

In addition to distinguishing fundamentalism from other forms of conservative evangelicalism, separation has fostered the creation of a fundamentalist subculture in general and at BJU in particular. This section examines the history of separation and its resultant subculture in more detail.

Today, fundamentalists are chiefly defined through their separatist practices, but they share a number of beliefs with other evangelical Christians who consider the Bible their sole source of doctrine (*sola scriptura*, to use the language of the Protestant Reformation).⁴⁰ Like other evangelicals, fundamentalists believe that the Bible is God's inerrant inspiration and should be interpreted literally and with historicity (in that references to events are taken to be historically accurate). Most but not all fundamentalists hold to a premillennial dispensationalist eschatology, believing that God has different ways of ruling the world in different ages and that Jesus can return to earth at any moment to rapture Christians away from an imminent Tribulation.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Definitions of evangelicalism vary, but this features listed in this paragraph are those most commonly given; see Marsden, introduction to Marsden, ed., *Evangelicalism and Modern America*, ix-x. See also Pew Research Center, "American's Changing Religious Landscape," 24, 31-2, 100-111.

⁴¹ Most fundamentalists are and historically have been premillennial dispensationalists, so much so that Ernest Sandeen's seminal account of fundamentalist history argues that the movement "ought to be understood partly if not largely as one aspect of the history of millenarianism," *The Roots of Fundamentalism*, xxii; see also 59-80. Dispensationalism must have three characteristics according to the conservative

However, the aspect of fundamentalists' faith that most distinguishes them from other evangelicals and that undergirds their perspective on music is separation.⁴²

Fundamentalism initially referred to a belief in certain "fundamental" Christian doctrines, and some today would still limit the term to this meaning, as explained in Appendix A.⁴³ Fundamental doctrines, discussed in a series of pamphlets called *The Fundamentals* in the 1910s, include many traditionally accepted across Christianity such as the virgin birth of Christ and his physical resurrection, but the main fundamental doctrine is scriptural inerrancy (included in this is the Bible's historicity).⁴⁴ In the early

evangelical scholar Ryrie: a distinction between Israel and the Church, a literal interpretation of the Bible, and the view that God's glory is "the underlying purpose of God in the world" and not the salvation of humanity (even as salvation is a by-product of God's glorification), *Dispensationalism*, 38–41. Premillennialism, which typically accompanies dispensationalism, is the eschatological belief that Jesus will physically come to earth and take Christians away with him in the "Rapture." Garlock is the only fundamentalist author on music who mentions the Rapture with any regularity; see for example, his afterword to Hamilton, *Why I Don't Listen*, 103.

⁴² While dispensationalism is not a major theme of fundamentalists' texts on music, it influences authors' interpretations of Old Testament musical practices. Many of the Bible's references to music are found in the context of temple worship and Levitical musicians, but fundamentalist authors do not present a unified view of how to interpret Old Testament musical practices in the church today. Garlock and Woetzel contend that Levitical requirements for musicians hold sway today, *Music in the Balance*, 177. However, most authors view these requirements as valuable examples, not prescriptions; see for example, Fisher, *The Battle for Christian Music*, 116–7; and Smith, *Let Those Who Have Ears to Hear*, 103. Finally, authors' occasional comments reveal an assumption that readers share a dispensational worldview with authors; see for example, Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 46–7; and Kurtz, *God's Word*, 210.

⁴³ Key historical studies of fundamentalism in the early twentieth century include: Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*; Glass, *Strangers in Zion*; Harris, *Fundamentalism and Evangelicals*; Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*; Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism*; and Utzinger, *Yet Saints Their Watch Are Keeping*. Histories of the same period written from a fundamentalist perspective include: Bauder and Delnay, *One in Hope and Doctrine*; Beale, *In Pursuit of Purity*; and Dollar, *A History of Fundamentalism in America*.

⁴⁴ Dixon, Meyer, and Torrey, *The Fundamentals*. For historical background and summary of *The Fundamentals*, see Beale, *In Pursuit of Purity*, 39–45; Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 118–23; and Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism*, 188–207.

twentieth century, these views distinguished conservative ministers and laypeople from the more liberal factions.⁴⁵ In the U.S., this doctrinal divide—the Fundamentalist-Modernist Controversy—came to a head in the 1920s and 1930s. When early fundamentalist leaders found that they lacked the institutional clout to silence liberal voices, they gradually left mainline denominations and churches.

In the view of historian and BJU faculty member David O. Beale, fundamentalists' history can be divided into periods based on their changing responses to liberal Christianity.⁴⁶ According to Beale, American fundamentalists initially refused to conform to the liberal trends in their denominations, striving to discredit or otherwise disempower those with whom they disagreed. When this nonconformist strategy did not work in fundamentalists' favor, they took their pursuit of ecclesiastical purity in a different direction by separating from their denominations and forming new denominations and independent congregations. The gradual shift from nonconformity to ecclesiastical separation allowed self-described fundamental churches to exist in a variety of ecclesiastical positions through the midcentury: they could be nonconformists

⁴⁵ Initially, most fundamentalists were Presbyterian, but today they are generally members of Baptist and baptistic churches. BJU's student population exemplifies the general tendency toward Baptist and baptistic churches: in 1948 the student body represented 25 denominations, whereas by the end of the century the demographic shifted to Baptists and those in baptistic churches, "with only a smattering of other groups represented," Turner, *Standing Without Apology*, 152, 240. See also Moritz, *Contenting for the Faith*, 20-3.

⁴⁶ See Beale's summary of this perspective, which he elaborates throughout his study, *In Pursuit of Purity*, 5-6.

in mainline denominations, conservatives in newly-formed denominations, or they could be independent of denominational ties altogether.

From around the mid-century to the present, militant separatists like those at BJU have defined themselves primarily through their differences from other conservative evangelicals, not through their differences with more liberal Christians. This shift occurred alongside the rise of “neoevangelicalism” in the 1940s and 1950s. “Neoevangelicals” were people with historical ties to fundamentalism who did not disassociate from and attack liberal Christians.⁴⁷

American evangelist Billy Graham’s career illustrates how this distinction between fundamentalists and other evangelicals came to be made.⁴⁸ Graham began college at BJU, and although he soon transferred to Wheaton College (Wheaton, IL), he maintained ties with BJU and received an honorary doctorate from BJU in 1948. In 1957, however, he and fundamentalists at BJU broke ties when conservatives and liberals supported his evangelistic campaign. BJU fundamentalists agreed with Graham’s core doctrinal beliefs but abhorred that Graham accepted support from liberals. This disagreement led to a decisive break between militant separatists and the neoevangelicals who worked evangelistically with Christians that were more liberal. In

⁴⁷ For the distinction between fundamentalist and neoevangelical, see Beale, *In Pursuit of Purity*, 9, 270n1; and Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 235. Neoevangelicalism began institutionally in the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE), founded in 1943; though this organization originally included self-identified fundamentalists, it eventually became an organization of only neoevangelicals.

⁴⁸ For an account of Graham’s relationship with BJU and the 1957 fallout between the two, see Dalhouse, *An Island in the Lake of Fire*, 78-84.

this rift, neoevangelicals like Graham, rather than outright liberals, became Christianity's greatest enemies in the eyes of militants.⁴⁹ Like Graham, the political and religious leader Jerry Falwell self-identified as fundamentalist early in his career but BJU fundamentalists did not associate with him, ostensibly because of his political affiliations with non-fundamentalist Christians like Roman Catholics and Mormons.⁵⁰ In the decades following their break with Graham, BJU's presidents Bob Jones Sr. and Bob Jones Jr. further elaborated their vision for ecclesiastical separation among their institution's constituent churches, leading to views that coalesced around the two opposing practices discussed above: what came to be called "secondary separation" and its antithesis, "compromise."⁵¹

In addition to their ecclesiastic separation, fundamentalists leaving mainline denominations began to identify themselves and each other through their personal separation. Beginning in the 1930s, specific standards of personal separation became

⁴⁹ Dalhouse, *An Island in the Lake of Fire*, 84-6. Beale claims that the NAE's neoevangelicalism was "so deadly that within a decade its new inclusive policy of pluralism would engulf the Bible college movement, the conference movement, religious broadcasting, and missions, and virtually kill all effective cooperative evangelism and revival efforts across the nation," *In Pursuit of Purity*, 258. Distrust of "neoevangelicals" continues today but usually in a moderated form. For instance, Hamilton offers a disclaimer that an author she quotes is a neoevangelical but quotes him approvingly nonetheless, *Why I Don't Listen*, 90.

⁵⁰ For the antipathy of BJU fundamentalists toward Falwell, see Dalhouse, *An Island in the Lake of Fire*, 103-16; see also Ammerman, *Bible Believers*, 204. Harding writes about Falwell's transition from self-described fundamentalist, to evangelical, to joining his church with the conservative evangelical Southern Baptist Convention in *The Book of Jerry Falwell*, 16-17; and distinguishes between the fundamentalism of Falwell and of militant separatists, 145-50.

⁵¹ These views are expressed and developed in Jones [Jr.], *Facts John R. Rice Will Not Face*; and Rice, *Sword of the Lord* (Dec 1, 1978). For a historical summary of this issue and a discussion of secondary separation, see Dalhouse, *An Island in the Lake of Fire*, 96-102. See also Dollar, *The Fight for Fundamentalism*, 90-93.

identifiable markers for fundamentalists, and, according to Joel A. Carpenter, their “behavior code was becoming so important for these fundamentalists’ identity that they were willing to depart from their militantly orthodox comrades in order to maintain it.”⁵² Nancy Tatom Ammerman similarly notes that personal separation most clearly demarcates fundamentalists and their closest religious neighbors, other conservative evangelicals, and she posits that this demarcation between their group and others arises because of the necessary contact church members have with the world: “because they must live with these outsiders, the task of boundary maintenance is a constant one.”⁵³ Church members regulate themselves and one another to keep their community separate.

By forming a loosely-affiliated network of organizations and making themselves visible to each other as individuals through personal separation, fundamentalists built their own subculture based on their shared religious expression.⁵⁴ BJU has an even more strongly differentiated subculture that has been deliberately crafted by its presidents and administrators. Historians both BJU-affiliated and not use the deliberate creation of a fundamentalist subculture to frame their institutional histories—a creation driven in

⁵² Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, 60. For the codification of the standards in fundamentalist schools, see Brereton, *Training God’s Army*, 122-3; and Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, 58-61. For fundamentalist education, see also Carpenter and Shipps, *Making Higher Education Christian*; Peshkin, *God’s Choice*; Provenzo, *Religious Fundamentalism and American Education*; Riley, *God on the Quad*; and Ringenberg, *The Christian College*.

⁵³ Ammerman, *Bible Believers*, 75.

⁵⁴ See for example, Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, 85-8.

large part by the Jones family.⁵⁵ For example, BJU music faculty member Dan Turner writes that Bob Jones Sr. founded the school because he “wanted a product [i.e. graduates] that could withstand scrutiny and compete on an equal footing with the world’s product, a product that would take Christ to every level of society.... [BJU] emphasized all the elements that go into making one cultured: a recognition and understanding of the cosmos—the world’s spiritual, political, and economic systems; personal discipline and refinement; and familiarity with the great products of man in the arts.”⁵⁶

Denominational Surrogacy and Music at BJU

Fundamentalists’ separation from mainline denominations resulted in a loosely-affiliated network of churches and parachurch organizations like BJU.⁵⁷ Scholars have often described these parachurch organizations as “denominational surrogates” due to their similar unifying effects.⁵⁸ The network’s nexus was and is today in educational institutions like colleges and Bible institutes, making them the most influential organizations for fundamentalists.⁵⁹ BJU presidents’ formulating ecclesiastical policy for

⁵⁵ For the intentionality of BJU’s subculture, see, in addition to the framing of these histories throughout, Dalhouse, *An Island in the Lake of Fire*, 117-47; Turner, *Reflecting God’s Light*, 77, and *Standing Without Apology*, 379-80.

⁵⁶ Turner, *Standing Without Apology*, 77.

⁵⁷ Regarding this network, see Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, 53-6.

⁵⁸ See Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, 53-6.

⁵⁹ See Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, 16; Glass, *Strangers in Zion*, 81-133; and Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 246-7. On the role of educational institutions in regulating the boundaries of their network through lists of acceptable, “like-minded” organizations, see Dalhouse, *An Island in the Lake of Fire*, 103; and Dollar, *The Fight for Fundamentalism*, 61-87. Ammerman mentions how the college network

rank-and-file fundamental churches and individuals shows the power educational institutions have as denominational surrogates in the fundamentalist network. And in the area of music, BJU, as an institution, similarly deploys its role of denominational surrogate as when they “issue cautions about [their] concerns” regarding music-related issues.⁶⁰

BJU intentionally shapes the musical choices made by its students through policies that prohibit listening to “[a]ny music which, in whole or in part, derives from the following broadly defined genres or their subgenres: Rock, Pop, Country, Jazz, Electronic/Techno, Rap/Hip Hop or the fusion of any of these genres,” or to versions of these genres with Christian lyrics.⁶¹ And it keeps tabs on the music students perform at the churches they attend by having a “fine arts music checker” who, during designated hours each week, listens to this music before the church services.⁶² This control over musical choices is consistent with other school policies governing students’ appearance, entertainment choices, excursions away from the campus, and choice of local church

functions on a local level in *Bible Believers*, 117. Regarding BJU as a quasi-ecclesiastical body with powers of excommunication, see Schultze, “The Two Faces of Fundamentalist Higher Education,” 503.

⁶⁰ Bob Jones University, “Music Philosophy,” www.bju.edu/about/what-we-believe/music.php (accessed December 31, 2014). Fundamentalists may also look to BJU for specific recommendations on music. For example, Pyle, writing in the 1980s, suggests to parents looking for good music: “The music departments at schools like Bob Jones University...can probably help you. These schools have radio stations that could recommend good records or tapes of music that are beautiful and clean,” *The Truth about Rock Music*, 18.

⁶¹ Bob Jones University, “2014-2015 Student Handbook,” 34.

⁶² Bob Jones University, “2014-2015 Student Handbook,” 67.

attendance, along with areas more typical to universities such prohibitions against cheating.

BJU's prohibitions against popular music styles date back at least to 1931 and reflect not only general fundamentalist perspectives but also those of the school's presidents.⁶³ For example, in 1941, Jones Sr. heard a jazz record being played in a school recreation room and confiscated it so as to break it over his knee during a sermon.⁶⁴ Jones Jr.'s opinion was that "the right kind of music—good music—is any music that was not primarily intended to be sensual or sexually suggestive in nature as is 'rock and roll, 'jazzy,' or that abets the lurid, sordid, or lower nature of man;" and his dislike of dissonant art music was evident in his opinion that it reflects "rebellion of the composer against the laws of music and the rules of harmony."⁶⁵ Their opinions, and those of subsequent presidents, are taken to be important for the school and its official positions, as discussed above in the section "Music and Compromise at BJU."

BJU's fine arts department has the highest academic quality of any fundamentalist school's, both in the number of alumni who pursue graduate work and professional careers in their fields, and in the faculty members' educational backgrounds. Many of their music graduates have gone on to work as university professors, symphony musicians, and church musicians. Their most prominent alumni

⁶³ Turner, "Fundamentalism, the Arts, and Personal Refinement," 118-9. See also 262-3.

⁶⁴ Turner, "Fundamentalism, the Arts, and Personal Refinement," 118-9.

⁶⁵ Turner, "Fundamentalism, the Arts, and Personal Refinement," 262-3. See also 261-5.

include Cliff Barrows (who directed music for the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association for decades and is a Gospel Music Hall of Fame inductee) and the composer Dan Forrest (winner of the ASCAP Morton Gould Young Composer's Award, among many others). BJU's emphasis on fine arts is due to the school's origin in 1927 as a liberal arts institution, in contrast to most fundamentalist colleges which began as Bible schools. BJU initially offered bachelor's degrees in music, speech, and religion "because they were the most easily adapted to full-time Christian work."⁶⁶ BJU's subculture, more so than that of churches in their circle, prioritizes classical music's "excellence" over the popular and easy listening music that many BJU music faculty members describe off-record in interviews as "junk," and the Southern gospel music one might hear in "country churches" whose members "haven't been taught."⁶⁷

BJU offers six bachelor's degrees in music: keyboard, orchestral instrument, and voice performance; church music and music education, each with various concentrations; and piano pedagogy.⁶⁸ It also offers four master's degrees in music:

⁶⁶ Dalhouse, *An Island in the Lake of Fire*, 42. This is not to suggest that music was unimportant in other fundamentalist schools; indeed, in reference to education, Gasper comments that musicians were among the "most important specialties of Christian service," *The Fundamentalist Movement*, 94.

⁶⁷ This distinction of BJU as particularly focused on classical music was visible even in the early days of anti-rock discourse. Nekola notes that Frank Garlock, a former BJU faculty member "emphasized his training as a classical musician" in his writings and seminars in contrast to his anti-rock contemporaries David A. Noebel and Bob Larson (who were not BJU-affiliated), "Between This World and the Next," 201.

⁶⁸ Bob Jones University, "Programs of Study," <http://www.bju.edu/academics/programs/> (accessed August 31, 2015).

performance, music education, and church music (all with six different areas of concentration); and in piano pedagogy.⁶⁹

At the beginning of the 2015-2016 academic year, BJU listed 51 faculty members in the Division of Music.⁷⁰ All but four had earned at least one of their degrees at BJU. 45% have doctorates, but although the faculty is equally split between male and female faculty members (25 and 26, respectively), male faculty with doctorates outnumber female faculty with doctorates (56% to 31%). All but two of the faculty members are white. Like their colleagues in other departments, these faculty members are charged with teaching from BJU's religious perspective and maintaining personal lives that accord with it.⁷¹

BJU also offers bachelor's and associate's degrees in over fifty other areas typical for liberal arts universities, and graduate degrees in seventeen areas, including two doctoral-level degrees under the administration of its Seminary and Graduate School of

⁶⁹ Bob Jones University, Graduate Programs," <http://www.bju.edu/academics/graduate-programs/> (accessed August 31, 2015).

⁷⁰ Bob Jones University, "Faculty—Division of Music," <http://www.bju.edu/academics/faculty/bydivision.php?id=1160> (accessed August 31, 2015).

⁷¹ Their faculty handbook contains many guidelines to that effect, and job postings make that directive explicit, such as this descriptive summary of a vacant position in 2015: "Bob Jones University Division of Music seeks a dynamic violin/viola instructor with a Christian worldview for a full-time appointment. We seek an individual to provide ministry-minded leadership and creativity in a Christian liberal arts university music program...." The job description also lists participation "in ministry opportunities as a musician in the local churches and community." Bob Jones University, "Careers at BJU: Job Details," https://re31.ultipro.com/BOB1001/JobBoard/JobDetails.aspx?__ID=%2A35F185A8B219063C (accessed May 1, 2015).

Religion (a PhD in Theological Studies and a Doctor of Ministry).⁷² In 2013, BJU had 2,913 undergraduate and 451 graduate students; of these, 79% were white and 56% were female.⁷³ The same year, BJU employed 195 full-time instructional staff.⁷⁴

Institutional Reputation of BJU

In mainstream American circles, BJU is best known for its Supreme Court case in the 1970s and 1980s, *Bob Jones University v. United States*, through which the school lost its tax-exempt status as an educational institution because of its policies that, at different stages, excluded black students, excluded unmarried black students, and then prohibited interracial dating. More recently, the school was in national news due to its treatment of victims of sexual abuse. These highly controversial issues may not seem immediately relevant to the music philosophy expressed by people connected with the school; I argue in later chapters, however, fundamentalists' views on race and sexuality influence their music philosophy, an interpretation supported by the school's racial policies and its responses to victims of sexual abuse.

⁷² Bob Jones University, "Programs of Study," <http://www.bju.edu/academics/programs/> (accessed August 31, 2015); and Graduate Programs," <http://www.bju.edu/academics/graduate-programs/> (accessed August 31, 2015).

⁷³ National Center for Education Statistics, "Bob Jones University," <http://nces.ed.gov/ipeds/datacenter/InstitutionProfile.aspx?unitId=adacb2b2afb4> (accessed September 3, 2015). Despite repeated requests made through several different channels at BJU for the total number of BJU graduates and of graduates with music degrees, I have been unable to obtain that information.

⁷⁴ National Center for Education Statistics, "Bob Jones University," <http://nces.ed.gov/ipeds/datacenter/InstitutionProfile.aspx?unitId=adacb2b2afb4> (accessed September 3, 2015).

The Supreme Court case *Bob Jones University v. United States* resulted from the school's policy against admitting black students, a case that the Supreme Court decided against the school in 1983. Although BJU began admitting black students before the decision, it maintained its policy against interracial dating among students until 2000. The ban was abruptly abolished on the television show *Larry King Live* by then-BJU-president Bob Jones III after then-presidential-candidate George W. Bush created a political consternation by speaking at the school while the ban was in place. In 2008, the school released a "Statement about Race at BJU," that included an apology for "conforming" to the historically segregationist culture in South Carolina "rather than providing a clear Christian counterpoint to it."⁷⁵

School leaders have given several reasons for the ban on interracial dating as a presumed precursor to interracial marriage. Bob Jones Sr.'s 1960 Easter Sunday sermon, "Is Segregation Scriptural?," reveals that one theological reason behind the school's refusal of interracial dating was a belief that interracial marriage would lead to an apocalyptic "one world" order with the Antichrist at its head.⁷⁶ Thurmond Wisdom, a

⁷⁵ Bob Jones University, "Statement about Race at BJU," <http://www.bju.edu/about/what-we-believe/race-statement.php> (accessed May 25, 2015). See also Dalhouse, *An Island in the Lake of Fire*, 155; and Lewis, *Romancing the Difference*, 87-90.

⁷⁶ Jones, Bob Sr., "Is Segregation Scriptural?," preached April 17, 1960 at Bob Jones University, Greenville SC and published as a sermon pamphlet by BJU. At the close of the sermon Jones says, "Individually, we are one in Christ; but God has also fixed the boundaries of nations, and these lines cannot be rubbed out without having trouble. The darkest day the world has ever known will be when we have one world like they are talking about now. The line will be rubbed out, and the Antichrist will take over and sit down on the throne and rule the world for a little while; and there will be judgment and the cataclysmic curses found in the book of Revelation. We are going to face all this," 31.

longstanding dean at BJU, compared to BJU's stance against interracial dating to their worship on Sundays and not Saturdays, or their stance against recreational drugs: "There is not a [biblical] proof text...[but] we say that there are principles in the Bible that establish the idea that we should not interracially marry. ... God-given instinct rebels against the idea of interracial marriage."⁷⁷ To support this view, he cited the biblical event of the Tower of Babel as an example of God separating groups of people, as well as the "Anti-Christ Movement" that promotes ecumenism, tolerance, and interracial marriage.⁷⁸

In 2014-2015, the school again received national attention when it hired, fired, and then rehired a consulting firm to investigate its handling of sexual abuse reports from students.⁷⁹ The eventual report found that students who were victims of sexual abuse were blamed for the crimes committed against them, were told that the abuse was relatively unimportant, and were frequently discouraged from reporting abuse to police.⁸⁰ While the reasons for the lack of reporting are less relevant to musical issues, both the minimization of abuse and the victim-blaming relate to fundamentalist musical views. First, the minimization of abuse directly stems from the view that the body is

⁷⁷ Thurmond Wisdom on *Show My People*, Summer Special 3, 1983: 16:09-21:32.

⁷⁸ Harris comments briefly on fundamentalist hermeneutics as they relate to BJU's racial policies, *Fundamentalism and Evangelicals*, 172.

⁷⁹ See, for example, the series of articles in the *New York Times*: Richard Pérez-Peña, "Christian School Faulted for Halting Abuse Study," February 12, 2014, *New York Times*, A14; "Christian University Resumes Inquiry in Handling of Sexual Abuse Reports," February 26, 2014, *New York Times*, A19; and "Bob Jones University Blamed Victims of Sexual Assaults, Not Abusers, Report Says," December 12, 2014, *New York Times*, A20.

⁸⁰ GRACE, *Final Report*, 48-56, 178-84.

relatively unimportant in comparison with other parts of a human person, a view that runs throughout fundamentalists' music philosophy (see Chapter Two). Second, musical practices are influenced by the same views that result, much more visibly, in the blame placed on victims of sexual abuse, because the objects of lust are held responsible for causing that lust (see Chapter Five).

In addition to the events that have received mainstream media attention, BJU has also received extensive criticism about its educational priorities and code of student conduct (among other issues) from non-fundamentalists, non-BJU fundamentalists, and BJU-graduates.⁸¹ Like other conservative schools, BJU continued the educational pattern of the "nineteenth-century denominational colleges, institutions in which the transmission of facts and cultural values were the chief objectives."⁸² Along with some administrators' anti-intellectual rhetoric and the school's long-standing resistance to accreditation (it began to seek regional accreditation in 2011), their continuation of nineteenth-century pedagogical ideals has resulted in charges of anti-intellectualism.⁸³

⁸¹ Criticism of BJU institutional policies is nothing recent. See Turner for a discussion of dissatisfaction (or, "disloyalty") in 1947-1953, *Standing Without Apology*, 145-59. In 1952 the school's charter and by-laws were revised to forbid faculty and staff from criticizing the school, see Dalhouse, *An Island in the Lake of Fire*, 75.

⁸² Dalhouse, *An Island in the Lake of Fire*, 4. The evangelical scholar Mark Noll argues that these conservative schools "are not designed to do the work that sets intellectual agendas, but to synthesize the work of intellectual leaders elsewhere." Instead, their mission is to be "the support of their constituent institutions" by educating young people with the specific worldview that reinforces their religious beliefs," *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind*, 17.

⁸³ For anti-intellectual comments, see for instance, Jones [Jr.], *Cornbread and Caviar*, 104.

Numerous scholars connect the school's lack of accreditation with a separatist impulse in general and the Jones family's control of the school in particular.⁸⁴

Against the intense criticism of BJU is equally vocal approval of the school for remaining true to the Bible against the tide of secularism and compromise. Though written over fifty years ago, the following panegyric from *Fortress of Faith: The Story of Bob Jones University* demonstrates a sentiment that continues with some fundamentalists to this day, a spirit of adulation that inflects the words of many fundamentalists when they mention "the University":

The story of Bob Jones University is the story of one of the most unique experiments in the history of education in America. It is more than a success story. It is a story of faith and courage: faith in the power of God, courage to stand for Christian convictions. It is a story of dedication and service: dedication to the fundamentalist historic doctrines of the Bible, service to Christ and His Kingdom through the faithful proclamation of the Gospel and the building of an institution that not only teaches young people how to make a living but also how to live. ... The writer hopes that the reader will see the miraculous manner in which God has worked in the building of this 'Fortress of Faith' in an age of

⁸⁴ See Dalhouse, *An Island in the Lake of Fire*, 140; and Gasper, 104-9. Related to accreditation is the issue of the hiring of faculty from the pool of BJU graduates. Schultze comments, "In the name of fundamentalist quality control, BJU is one of the most academically incestuous colleges or universities in the country. The best way for BJU to safely recruit like-minded faculty is to hire its own graduates," "The Two Faces of Fundamentalist Higher Education," 501.

skepticism and spiritual compromise, a fortress that stands for the historic Christian faith in the battle against the enemies who subtly strive to destroy it.⁸⁵

Such admiration for BJU continues to pervade some fundamentalist circles.

Although fundamentalists typically know of events like the Supreme Court case, they frequently gloss over them. For example, Turner's coffee-table book *Reflecting God's Light: Facets of a Miracle* refers only to the loss of tax-exempt status and not the Supreme Court case's causes, and it mentions only that George W. Bush was criticized for his campaign visit to the school, not the reasons for the criticism. Turner focuses instead on what he views as the positive effects of the "unfounded criticism" such as Jones III's television interviews that "always seemed to work for good."⁸⁶ He also includes a comment from fundamentalist musician Ron Hamilton, praising Jones III's interview on *Larry King Live*: "Along with thousands of other BJU graduates, I was thrilled with the way that Dr. Bob III represented BJU (and the cause of Christ) on *Larry King Live*. Dr. Bob III stood without apology for the truth of God's Word. Yet he also showed great compassion and Christlike love for a lost world."⁸⁷

Turner told me in an interview that this book elided these uncomfortable facts because he assumed that intended readership of BJU alumni would be "fully

⁸⁵ Wright, *Fortress of Faith*, 7.

⁸⁶ Turner, *Reflecting God's Light*, 78, 84, 98-9.

⁸⁷ Ron Hamilton, quoted in Turner, *Reflecting God's Light*, 99.

informed.”⁸⁸ In contrast, he reminded me, his *Standing Without Apology: The History of Bob Jones University* more explicitly discusses the Court case for its presumably-broader intended readership. Yet this book also puts BJU’s institutional racism and civic fall-out in positive terms:

Detractors of Bob Jones University hoped that the negative effects from the Supreme Court decision of 1983 would fatally injure the University, limit its outreach, and create divisive internal change destructive to the institution. This has not been the case. The fact is that most, if not all, of the students and faculty greeted the open admission of minorities eagerly and anticipated a time when a large percentage of students would be minorities preparing their lives for Christian service. Within the Bob Jones University environment, each student is viewed as a unique person rather than a government-recorded statistic of color or national origin.⁸⁹

Rather than dwelling on the negative issues highlighted in mainstream news, fundamentalists more likely think of BJU as an institution that has stayed true to the faith and produced an extensive base of graduates across the country—“a cadre of loyalists built up over the years into a formidable force of BJU advocates” wielding formal and informal influence in congregational life as pastors, teachers, deacons,

⁸⁸ Turner, interview with author, April 11, 2015.

⁸⁹ Turner, *Standing Without Apology*, 238.

musicians, and so on.⁹⁰ BJU's influence extends beyond its alumni via a publishing house that produces textbooks for Christian schools, children's stories, Bible studies and commentaries, devotional texts, other theological works, and, of course, music recordings and sheet music. A fundamentalist could conceivably go cradle-to-grave surrounded by BJU-influences at home, school, work, and church—the reality for some faculty members who grew up on the school's campus, were educated exclusively at the school (from daycare through graduate school), and then employed for their entire careers at the school. Indeed, as Ammerman and Alan Peshkin describe in their ethnographies of a fundamental church and fundamentalist school, respectively, such an immersion in fundamentalist subculture is not only possible but also likely for many fundamentalist individuals.⁹¹

The Worship Wars

A final historical question remains: why did music become so prominent an issue of separation for fundamentalists since the late 1960s? In the early and mid-century, fundamentalists condemned jazzy music along with other social conservatives, but it was a relative footnote among their social concerns. Dancing and drinking, for example, received much more attention, as did the teaching of evolution.⁹² Into the 1950s and

⁹⁰ Dalhouse, *An Island in the Lake of Fire*, 151.

⁹¹ Ammerman, *Bible Believers*, 34-7, 104-14; and Peshkin, *God's Choice*.

⁹² One sees the effects of conservative anti-alcohol views in the Eighteenth Amendment to the U.S. constitution, which prohibited the manufacture and sale alcohol from 1920 to 1933 when it was repealed. Theil-Stern discusses conservative sentiment against dancing in *From the Dance Hall to Facebook*. Among the

1960s, cultural conservatives of many stripes, not just fundamentalists, worried about the popularity of rock ‘n’ roll among young Americans. These collective fears about youth culture, of which music was a major element, reached such a height that they have been retrospectively termed a “moral panic.”⁹³ But just a decade or two later, fundamentalists’ stance on music set them at odds with many other Christians and other non-Christian conservatives. Why would this be?

In the 1970s, popular music styles coupled with Christian lyrics (often called Contemporary Christian Music or CCM) gained increasing acceptance among evangelical Christians, not only for private listening, but also for use in their church services. This trend began on the West Coast in the late 1960s with the “Jesus People” (also known as “Jesus Freaks”) who were part of a Christian countercultural movement (the “Jesus Movement”) that was known as much for its evangelistic fervor as for its

many scholarly works on the Scopes “monkey” trial, Lienesch’s *In the Beginning* views the trial through the prism of fundamentalism. For an extended account of the relationship between higher criticism, evolution, and fundamentalism, see Moore, *Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans*, 150-72; see also Szasz, *The Divided Mind of Protestant America*.

⁹³ The construct of a “moral panic” has been much critiqued (a recent example is Thompson and Williams, *The Myth of Moral Panics*). But its rise to currency in the 1970s—Stanley Cohen’s seminal *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers* was first published in 1972—makes it relevant to note in relationship to the rise of fundamentalists’ musical discourse. Reactions to music have been of particular note in twentieth-century instances of panics; for example, Theil-Stern devotes two of her five chapters to musical topics and a third to dancing in *From the Dance Hall to Facebook*. Regarding moral panic in the mid-century as it relates to evangelical concerns about music, see Nekola, “Between this World and the Next,” 154-71, and “More than Just a Music,” 409-10.

hippie associations.⁹⁴ The movement's popularity was accelerated in 1971 by a "vast burst" of media attention and the willingness of church leaders to use the movement's music as a means to attract and keep young people in churches.⁹⁵

The marriage of popular music styles like folk-rock, country, and soul to Christian lyrics has continued to the present, though not without dissent along the way. Disagreement among evangelicals, and to a lesser extent in other Christian circles, has fractured congregations into groups for and against music in popular styles in their churches, and fundamentalists, as militant separatists, have actively fought against those who accepted it.⁹⁶

These ongoing disputes came to be known as the Worship Wars, which Anna E. Nekola defines as "public debates over evangelical Christian contemporary worship music" that began in the 1960s and have continued to the present.⁹⁷ Though historical evidence clearly shows that disputes over music used in worship have surfaced and resurfaced throughout Christian history, evangelicals generally treat the 1960s as the primary historical origin of these disagreements. Nekola argues that this move on the

⁹⁴ For the history and sociology of CCM and the "Jesus People" movement, see Eskridge, *God's Forever Family*; Mall, "The Stars Are Underground;" Stowe, *No Sympathy for the Devil*; and Young, *Gray Sabbath*.

⁹⁵ Eskridge, *God's Forever Family*, 4-5.

⁹⁶ This is not to say that fundamentalists feel that private listening to music in popular styles is harmless; rather, listening it at home is a slippery slope toward wanting it at church. See for example, Hamilton, *Why I Don't Listen*, 80.

⁹⁷ Nekola, "Between This World and the Next," 1. Christians outside of evangelicalism have debated the use of contemporary music in their services. They also face the problem of using music that often originates in evangelicalism and evangelical theology, as Justice notes in "Mainline Protestantism and Contemporary versus Traditional Worship Music," 496.

part of evangelicals works to create “a nostalgic history where life before the 1960s was idyllic.”⁹⁸ In so doing, they call up “longing for a similarly nostalgic musical past where people sang together and were stirred by ‘wholesome’ music.”⁹⁹ Moreover, evangelicals can situate musical tensions in a larger cultural “war” against family values, a move that Nekola asserts throughout her study was and continues to be politically based.¹⁰⁰ This framing, she argues, “has enabled American evangelicals to construct a history that defines the ‘worship wars’ as an offshoot of the broader political culture in the late twentieth-century, masking their internal conflicts while redefining them as a struggle against the secular world.”¹⁰¹ In contrast, faculty members at BJU suggest musical choices have become more divisive due to what they perceive as music’s increased cultural importance.¹⁰²

Fundamentalist authorities do not mince words about the Worship Wars, frequently declaring that there *is* a controversy about music among Christians.¹⁰³ Many of their texts engage in war or battle rhetoric (e.g. “mines in the battlefield”), and

⁹⁸ Nekola, “Between This World and the Next,” 141.

⁹⁹ Nekola, “Between This World and the Next,” 142.

¹⁰⁰ Nekola, “Between This World and the Next,” 137-46.

¹⁰¹ Nekola, “Between This World and the Next,” 35.

¹⁰² Bob Jones University, “Music Philosophy,” www.bju.edu/about/what-we-believe/music.php (accessed December 31, 2014).

¹⁰³ Statements to this effect are replete in fundamentalist literature on music. See for example, Blanchard and Lucarini, *Can We Rock the Gospel?* 21-8, 68, 191; Foster, *The Spiritual Song*, 7-8, 34; Hamilton, *Why I Don’t Listen*, 7-8, 15-16; Lucarini, *Why I Left*, 11-12, 17, 19, 137; Makujina, *Measuring the Music*, 8-13; and Sears, *Apostasy and Deception*, 30-1, 66-81.

directly refer to the Worship Wars in those terms.¹⁰⁴ But this is not mere verbal sparring between church leaders. Fundamentalists present the Worship Wars as a cause of deep personal hurt to congregants who have changed churches because they *want* to hear music in popular styles at church, and, more prominently in fundamentalists' views, because they *don't* want to hear it.¹⁰⁵ Even among fundamental churches themselves, and especially among the many in the Greenville area, music can distinguish even smaller spectra of preference and belief—one church prioritizes orchestral accompaniments while another has neither orchestra nor choir, one sings mostly newer music while another across town sings only hymns from their decades-old hymnal. Many in Greenville to talk about the “church of the revolving door” as congregants rotate through churches according to preferences—a deployment of musical style to differentiate between oneself and “neighboring Christian Others” that fundamentalists share with many Protestants across time and place.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 24. War rhetoric is common in fundamentalist literature on music. See for example, Aniol, *Worship in Song*, i, vii; Blanchard and Lucarini, *Can We Rock the Gospel?*, 12, 33, 227; Fisher, *The Battle for Christian Music*, vii-viii, xv, 44; Kurtz, *God's Word*, 4, 28, 177; Peck, *Rock*, 114, 119-20; and Schmidt, *Music Matters*, 77.

¹⁰⁵ That the Worship Wars hurt laity is a main point of Lucarini, *Why I Left*. For congregants leaving for churches with music in popular styles, see for example, Hamilton, *Why I Don't Listen*, 81; and Sears, *Apostasy and Deception*, 22, 101. For congregants leaving because a church has adopted this music, see for example, Fisher, *Harmony at Home*, 187-91; Hamilton, *Why I Don't Listen*, 81; Lucarini, *It's Not about the Music*, 131-40, and *Why I Left*, 43, 75-8, 87.

¹⁰⁶ Justice, “Mainline Protestantism and Contemporary versus Traditional Worship Music,” 490.

However, the debates' crux is not truly about practice—whether church should employ a particular style or not—but about epistemology.¹⁰⁷ As I show in the following chapter, fundamentalists argue that music itself is a moral entity while many other evangelicals view music as “a morally neutral carrier of the Christian message.”¹⁰⁸ Their belief relies on the view that music's meaning is in the music itself and not primarily in its lyrics or other any context. In contrast to this view, evangelicals who support the use of popular music styles for private listening and in church services have, according to Nekola, “relocated musical meaning to new contexts, including the artist's Christian identity, authorial intention, social community, and even music industry marketing categories” — what fundamentalists would call “associations.”¹⁰⁹ However, fundamentalists treat popular music's associations as practically always negative while for those outside of fundamentalism, these associations may actually be quite positive: in interviews with mainline Protestant congregants who listened to the same hymn performed in traditional and contemporary styles, Deborah Justice found that the musical style was at the forefront of congregants' positive reactions to the contemporary version (and not the songs' shared texts).¹¹⁰

Historically, most hymnody has been influenced by secular music (such as by Stephen Foster's parlor songs and John Philip Sousa's tuneful marches in the late

¹⁰⁷ See Nekola, “Between This World and the Next,” 170.

¹⁰⁸ Ingalls, “Singing Heaven Down to Earth,” 265.

¹⁰⁹ Nekola, “Between This World and the Next,” 170.

¹¹⁰ Justice, “Mainline Protestantism and Contemporary versus Traditional Worship Music,” 505.

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries), and fundamentalists' criticism of music in popular styles is not about its popularity *per se*. In earlier decades, fundamentalists adopted stylistic elements such as melodic idioms and orchestrations from the Great American Songbook and from crooners, but not the vocal intimacies associated with slower songs.¹¹¹ Today, elements of Broadway and Disney musicals are heard in fundamentalist orchestral hymn arrangements. The problem with music in popular styles, in fundamentalist ears, is not its popularity but its intrinsically sexual, rebellious, and satanic nature, as further discussed in Chapter Two. To welcome music in popular styles into the church is to invite the bacchanal to the altar.

Though the Worship Wars continue to the present day, they do so in more moderated tones, as evangelical churches have varied approaches to the use of music in popular styles in their services—variety that gives many options to congregants living in urban areas.¹¹² Indeed, stylistic diversity is also common in most denominations outside of evangelicalism today—for example, folk and jazz masses have become common in Roman Catholic churches following the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965).¹¹³

¹¹¹ See for example, the music of Howard Jewell, a music pastor and vocalist, on *The Best of Howard Jewell* (CD, n.p.: Galyean Publications, n.d.). His music was endorsed by fundamentalist leaders John R. Rice and Jack Hyles in the liner notes. It evokes the style of Golden Age Musicals and the Great American Songbook; uses elements of a crooner style, especially in Jewell's rubato; and even uses stop-time, which is surprising given that this accompaniment pattern is most idiosyncratic in jazz and blues.

¹¹² Justice describes one such uncontroversial adoption of contemporary music in "Mainline Protestantism and Contemporary versus Traditional Worship Music."

¹¹³ Ruff considers the effects of Vatican II on liturgical music in *Sacred Music and Liturgical Reform*.

Secondary Separation's Implications on Music and Its Associations

Fundamental churches have differing criteria to evaluate recently-composed music for use in their services, revealing the ongoing importance of separation in issues surrounding musical style, as well as how churches differ in their adoption of the music they find to be at the periphery of acceptable. These differences illustrate how musical style and especially musical association can repel or attract fundamentalist individuals from churches depending on their beliefs about secondary separation.

Since the early 2000s, music from the non-fundamentalist group Sovereign Grace Music, and from the musicians Keith Getty, Kristyn Getty, and Stuart Townend (hereafter Getty/Townend) has been increasingly popular with younger fundamentalists. Sovereign Grace Music is a branch of the conservative evangelical denomination Sovereign Grace Ministries which produces and distributes songs intended for church use.¹¹⁴ Its distribution model relies on free downloads such as guitar charts and lyric sheets, and purchased albums and concert tickets. Getty/Townend are evangelicals who write songs for church use, including Keith Getty and Stuart Townend's "In Christ Alone" (2001), one of the most popular Christian songs in recent

¹¹⁴ See the homepage for Sovereign Grace Music, <http://www.sovereigngracemusic.org> (accessed August 26, 2015).

years.¹¹⁵ Their distribution model uses a combination of some free lead sheets, purchasable sheet music and recordings, and live concert performances.¹¹⁶

In interviews, most fundamentalist leaders I talked with approve of the songs apart from their associations, describing the songs' lyrics as "rich" and "full of sound doctrine" and acknowledging the melodies' singable qualities. A problem arises from the songs' associations, but not because Sovereign Grace and Getty/Townend are not fundamentalists: fundamentalists have always sung hymns by non-fundamentalists and acknowledge that their repertoire would be much impoverished if they limited themselves in that way. Instead, fundamentalists view the songs' original arrangements as the crux of the problem. Sovereign Grace's and Getty/Townend's music most closely resembles indie folk or alternative rock and folk—styles that fundamentalists believe elicit sexual responses from listeners and that, in term of performance practice, self-aggrandize rather than self-efface the musicians.

For some fundamentalists, their practice of secondary separation does not extend so far as to excluding songs with unacceptable original arrangements, so some fundamental churches use Sovereign Grace and Getty/Townend extensively, and a number of fundamentalist music groups, notably The Steve Pettit Evangelistic Team (led

¹¹⁵ "In Christ Alone," Keith Getty and Stuart Townend. In 2015, the song was #11 in songs reproduced in the U.S. under CCLI licenses. See CCLI, "Top Songs," <http://us.ccli.com/worship-resources/top-songs/> (accessed June 6, 2015).

¹¹⁶ See Keith Getty and Kristyn Getty's homepage, www.gettymusic.com (accessed August 26, 2015), and Stuart Townend's homepage, www.stuarttownend.co.uk (accessed August 26, 2015).

by Steve Pettit, BJU's president since 2014), have recorded many of their songs. Other churches have introduced just a few songs, first as choir anthems, then eventually as congregational songs. But for many other individuals and churches, the choice to use this music impinges too far on their standards of separation, and they prefer to avoid the music entirely. Furthermore, for a few, "preferring to avoid" is too mild, and they militantly oppose Sovereign Grace and Getty/Townend music. Music director and retired BJU music faculty member Bill McCauley, for example, repeatedly described Sovereign Grace's music as "sending people back into carnality" in interviews and disparages its use in fundamental church services and at BJU.¹¹⁷ The lived reality of these differences is contention in fundamental churches, even cases of churches losing large portions of their members over the collective choices of what music to use or not. Many interviewees used these two particular music sources to demonstrate the contentious milieu of fundamental churches—to illustrate, in their words, "what is wrong with fundamentalism today"—especially as secondary separation intersects with music choices.

Consider how two different fundamental churches have worked through these issues. The two churches named here are composites of several churches. For the most part, leadership in these churches agreed to be interviewed and quoted only on

¹¹⁷ Bill McCauley, interviews by author, Greenville, SC, January 23, 2015 and February 9, 2015. Notably, BJU has used Sovereign Grace and Getty/Townend music in chapel services, and its bookstore sells hymnals that contain their music, such as Majesty Music's *Rejoice Hymns* and a collection of Getty/Townend instrumental arrangements, Larson, *A Tapestry of Grace* (BJU Campus Store, November 11, 2015).

condition of their anonymity and amalgamation with other voices. The reasons given for this desire for anonymity relate to the contentiousness of music choices for a particular church and the fall-out after changes in a church's music program (especially for churches who have had substantial numbers of members leave because of the changes).

These two churches, Northside Baptist Church and Faith Baptist Church, are more similar than different. They both run about 700 or 800 congregants on a Sunday morning. Their senior pastors both have graduate degrees from BJU, and the rest of their pastoral staff have degrees from BJU or other conservative schools; these degrees are primarily in religious areas like a Master's of Arts in Biblical Studies or a PhD in Theological Studies. They have music programs typical for larger fundamental churches: a choir singing both Sunday morning and Sunday night, an orchestral ensemble, a lead pianist and a team of supporting pianists who play on a rotating schedule. They even have the same hymnal, *Majesty Hymns* (published in 1997 by Majesty Music in Greenville, SC), and they both supplement this hymnal with older and recently-written hymns that they project onto a screen at the front of the auditorium or print in the service bulletin.

Some visible differences do exist. Northside Baptist skews slightly younger, a bit hipper in dress, a bit wealthier, if the cars in the parking lot are any indication. Faith Baptist leans a bit older and more conservative—you'd rarely see a woman wearing pants here, and most of the men, especially older ones, wear suit coats and ties. When I

visit Faith, covered clavicle to calf in the baggy gray business dress that I wear to about 80% of interviews and church services to meet fundamentalist ideals of modesty, I look vaguely out of place amid the scores of women wearing vibrant matching jewelry and heels, their hair in sleek angled bobs or other well-styled coifs. Wearing the same to Northside, I again look slightly off from the crowd, many men and women in clothes I recognize from this season's offerings at the mall. At Faith, friendly middle-aged and older women welcome me after the service—"Really? You drove here all by yourself?" and "You're from Duke? That's a pretty liberal place, isn't it? My husband loves watching their basketball team though." At Northside, probably no one will greet me unless we've already met. But these are mild differences at most (though church attire is an important enough subject to receive attention on many churches' websites).¹¹⁸

The critical difference in the context of their music programs is that Northside Baptist and Faith Baptist have chosen opposite paths in the decision to supplement their

¹¹⁸ About a quarter of the church websites I surveyed mentioned attire for services. Some said there was no expected dress code at the church, some mentioned that most people at the church wear dresses or suits (sometimes under the descriptor of "Sunday Best"), and some said that, while most congregants choose more formal attire, all visitors are welcome regardless of their clothing. I examined the websites of churches in the Greenville area that are approved for BJU student attendance in the 2014-2015 academic year (35 of the 42 English-language churches they list have working websites); websites from the 7 churches pastored by, founded by, or with a pastor emeritus on BJU's Board of Trustees and Associate Board in 2015; and websites of 6 additional churches with BJU-ties in a Southeastern metropolitan area and a Midwestern metropolitan area where I interviewed staff members and/or attended services. For BJU's list Greenville-area churches approved for student attendance, see Bob Jones University, "Greenville Area Churches," <http://www.bju.edu/life-faith/greenville/churches.php> (accessed July 29, 2014), and "Choosing a Church in Greenville," <http://www.bju.edu/admission/admitted-students/before-you-get-here/choosing-a-church.php> (accessed May 20, 2015). For BJU's Board of Trustees and Associate Board, see Bob Jones University, "University Board of Trustees," <http://www.bju.edu/about/board-trustees.php> (accessed May 20, 2015).

hymnal with recently-composed music. Northside chooses to use Sovereign Grace and Getty/Townend music, along with music by younger fundamentalist composers like Chris Anderson and Greg Habegger whose styles are influenced by these groups. Faith, on the other hand, does not use Sovereign Grace and Getty/Townend music except a rare vocal solo or choir anthem.

Leadership at Northside reasons that the songs are morally acceptable, and thinks that, they are doctrinally sound and pleasant to sing. Furthermore, the leadership does not accept the argument that they should separate from songs originally released in an unacceptable music style. They would apply principles of secondary separation if the songs' creators lived in ostentatious immorality, but this is not the case with Getty/Townend and Sovereign Grace.

Leadership at Faith, on the other hand, argues that if congregants, especially young people, hear these songs at church, they will likely want to listen to these same songs at home. And when these young people look up songs online, they will find the songs in their original arrangements in unacceptable styles.¹¹⁹ Using Sovereign Grace and Getty/Townend music in church would contribute to compromised music listening among their young people. So, in an application of principles of secondary separation, Faith's leadership rejects this music almost without exception. Faith's continuing

¹¹⁹ This is why the leadership is comfortable using music by living composers who are not themselves Christians (for example, the choir might sing anthems written by John Rutter) but whose original versions are in acceptable styles.

concerns about young people—both keeping them engaged with church activities and keeping them on the straight and narrow—reflects the longstanding priorities of their peers and forebears: as mentioned above, fundamentalists’ and other Christian conservatives’ concerns about youth and music were part of a broader social anxiety that seemed a “moral panic” in hindsight, but though mainstream culture has accepted popular music styles as appropriate for children and adolescents (with some caveats discussed in Chapter Two), many of fundamentalists’ concerns about music have continued to center on youth.¹²⁰

As a result of these differing views and choices, a third of Northside’s membership—hundreds of people—has begun attending Faith and other fundamental churches in the area. These former members believe that music indicates the spiritual trajectory of a church and that, by choosing this music, Northside’s leadership has indicated their weakening commitment to separation. But at the same time, Northside has also attracted more members from outside of fundamentalism, people who could comfortably attend a Southern Baptist or nondenominational conservative evangelical church. So while Northside’s overall membership has decreased, they have not lost as many members as they might have at first glance; and their long-term prospects are good because they have slightly widened their pool of possible members. Faith, on the other

¹²⁰ Concerns about youth, parenting, and general problems with youth and parenting as reflecting of American culture, are a frequent touchstone in fundamentalist books on music. See for example, Fisher, *The Battle for Christian Music*, 139; Foster, *The Spiritual Song*, 134-41; Garlock, *The Big Beat*, 22 and *passim*; Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 8-9; and Sears, *Apostasy and Deception*, 94-103.

hand, has not lost members specifically because of their choice to refrain from using this music, and they have gained quite a few former members of Northside; however, their pool of possible members has narrowed.

Yet this decade's bad associations will likely be forgotten in the next, as leadership at Faith well know. They expect to eventually use Sovereign Grace and Getty/Townend songs on a more regular basis because those songs' associations will fade from memory. The issue for them has never been any of the song's intrinsic qualities, but rather the importance of separation from anything that does not reflect God's holiness, even in its associations.

2. Fundamentalists' Philosophy of Music

The belief that music can influence its listeners' moral characters and behaviors for good and bad is not unique to fundamentalists, but dates back in Western thought at least to Plato. Like those before them, fundamentalists voice both consternation and commendation at music's ability to influence behavior: praise when music primarily influences listeners' minds, guarded optimism about its emotional effects, and censure when music's physical effects predominate, a tension Heidi Epstein calls a "tug of war between body and mind in both musical devotion and aesthetics" that runs through the discourse's long history.¹

Take the tug of war's the negative, bodily side. Bad music has often received more attention than good music, not surprising given that many polemic's purposes have been to advocate for better music than that heard in the writers' communities. Through music's negative influences, cultural leaders have argued, music turns young people against their elders and turns citizens against the rule of law and order; it fans the flames of lust and lowers inhibitions, thus encouraging promiscuity and socially-deviant sex acts; it spurs hot-blooded, little-thinking adolescents to violence against others and against their own bodies; and it makes virile young men effeminate and indolent. In sum, this negative music encourages listeners—whether imagined citizens

¹ Epstein, *Melting the Venusberg*, 17. Here and throughout this chapter, I reference minds, emotions, and bodies as the categories of convenience implicitly or explicitly used as authors discuss listeners' responses to music; see a further discussion in the conclusion of this chapter.

of Plato's Republic or white American teenagers in the 1950s—to rebel against their community's hierarchies, disavow its religious values, and flout its sexual mores.

Though authorities have more often dwelt on music's dangers, they have applauded music as a useful social tool. Good music, they argue, tames the passions and gives expression to life's joy; it emboldens the timid and strengthens the weary; it is a religious and civic unifier; and most importantly, it educates the mind and heart. Taken together, these aspects of good music privilege mental knowledge and virtuous emotions like peace and joy over bodily responses to music, especially in the body's capacity for socially unapproved violence and sexual expression.

In this chapter, I examine fundamentalists' iteration of this discourse by situating them in their Western cultural and historical contexts, especially the twentieth-century American perspective on classical music as a means of moral development. I then analyze what I argue are the three key tenets of fundamentalists' philosophy of music. First, all music has either positive or negative influences on people who listen to it, and is therefore good or bad in and of itself. Second, listeners can learn to tell the difference between good and bad music, in part by noticing specific musical elements, and in part by observing and/or experiencing the spiritual benefits or harms of music. Third, Christian listeners can use good music to signal their salvation as a witness to unbelievers. Finally, I argue that fundamentalists' philosophy, like their intellectual predecessors', prioritizes mental engagement with music over emotional and physical

responses to it, a priority rooted in their beliefs about how individuals should connect with God. Though their arguments are not homogenous, fundamentalist authorities typically situate bodies in a theologically distant position from God and minds much closer, with mental engagement with music understood as a means learning about God's nature as it is revealed through good music.

Historical and Cultural Contexts to Fundamentalists' Philosophy of Music

In this section, I connect fundamentalists' philosophy of music with selected predecessors of theirs (particularly ancient Greek philosophers, early Church Fathers, and Protestant Reformers) and to the cultural tendency in the U.S. to link a given musical style's perceived moral influence with its racial and socioeconomic associations.² Though fundamentalists' music philosophy is a particular iteration of a long-standing discourse, fundamentalist authors treat their predecessors not as originators of their arguments but as secondary sources that bolster their own arguments' credibility. Aristotle, for example, is quoted because he is a well-known historical figure whose selected statements align with fundamentalists' beliefs (i.e. an argument from authority), but not because fundamentalist authors were persuaded by his arguments and then developed their arguments from his. Instead, their arguments are presented as arising

² Views of ancient Greek philosophers, Church Fathers, and Protestant Reformers are only a few of the many historical antecedents to fundamentalists' perspectives. Though outside the scope of this dissertation, further research may lead to fruitful connections with areas including medieval cosmology, philosophers' perspectives on music such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau's and Friedrich Nietzsche's, the Romantic concept of the sublime, and the longstanding cultural tension of Melos and Logos more generally.

directly from a plain reading of the Bible and a common sense experience of the natural world.

Christian Thought on Music's Moral Influence

Beginning in the late second century, Christian leaders have seen a great danger in music's seemingly disproportionate influence on bodies rather than minds, an influence that has been especially problematic due to their views on sexuality.³ James McKinnon notes that the "most obvious" commentary on music in the early church was the "chorus of denunciation directed against pagan musical customs," especially musical instruments, often vented in "extravagant" terms.⁴ The problem, he argues, was "not so much morality in general...but sexual morality in particular," a concern he traces to "the inclination among intellectuals of the time, pagan and Christian alike, to pit the spirit against the flesh."⁵ But these leaders also praised music's educational potential, highlighting music's promotion of spiritual education by making doctrines more memorable in songs. For example, fourth-century bishops Basil and John Chrysostom both condemned pagan music for its lasciviousness and depravity but

³ For the origins of Christians' polemics against certain kinds of music, see McKinnon's comprehensive anthology *Music in Early Christian Literature*, and Stapert's *A New Song for an Old World*. Among the surveys of Christian thought on music, Faulkner's *Wiser than Despair* provides a detailed theological approach from an evangelical perspective; and Nekola, "Between This World and the Next," 40-103 ties the discourse into the history of American Protestantism. Epstein summarizes these views from a feminist theological perspective in *Melting the Venusberg*, 15-24, 32-40.

⁴ McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature*, 1.

⁵ McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature*, 3.

extolled psalmody's virtues.⁶ Echoing Aristotle's *Politics*, Basil noted the "sweetness of melody" that enable the young and young-at-heart to enjoyably learn Christian doctrine through song, rather like a spoonful of sugar—or, as he put it, honey on the rim of a cup—to help the medicine go down.⁷ He argued that psalm singing not only makes spiritual learning palatable to those who might otherwise be disinclined, but "doctrine is somehow more deeply impressed upon our souls" through singing them.⁸ John Chrysostom similarly praised the psalms for their "pleasure and profit," saying that they "cleanse the soul and the Holy Spirit flies swiftly to the soul who sings such songs."⁹

Augustine's comments on psalm singing exemplify the tension between mind and body as it played out in early Christian thought about music. In his *Confessions*, written in the late fourth century, he described how his emotional and physical responses to psalmody would sometimes exceed his rational perceptions, or even occur before his mind was engaged, since "the senses do not accompany reason in such a way as patiently to follow; but having gained admission only because of it, seek even to run

⁶ See for example, St. Basil, *Exhortation to Youths as to How They Shall Best Profit by the Writings of Pagan Authors*, and St. John Chrysostom, *In caput XXIX Genesim*, in McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature*, 69, 84. When quoting early Church Fathers on music both here and throughout this study, I prioritize McKinnon's translations since they emphasize accuracy and consistency in musical terminology.

⁷ St. Basil, *Homilia in psalmum i*, in McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature*, 65. See also Aristotle, *Politics* (Book 8, Chapter 6), 232.

⁸ St. Basil, *Homilia in psalmum i*, in McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature*, 66.

⁹ St. John Chrysostom, *In psalmum xli*, in McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature*, 80.

ahead and lead it.”¹⁰ This he felt to be unhealthily skewed response to music—the mind wrongly losing out to the body:

Sometimes, however, in avoiding this deception too vigorously, I err by excessive severity, and sometimes so much so that I wish every melody of the sweet songs to which the Davidic Psalter is usually set, to be banished from my ears and from the church itself. ... However, when I recall the tears which I shed at the song of the Church in the first days of my recovered faith, and even now as I am moved not by the song but by the things which are sung, when sung with fluent voice and music that is most appropriate, I acknowledge again the great benefit of this practice. Thus I vacillate between the peril of pleasure and the value of my experience, and I am led more—while advocating no irrevocable position—to endorse the custom of singing in church so that by the pleasure of hearing the weaker soul might be elevated to an attitude of devotion. Yet when it happens to me that the song moves me more than the thing which is sung, I confess that I have sinned blamefully and then prefer not to hear the singer.¹¹

Strong responses to music recur in Augustine’s account of his life such as with an “assurance” of his spiritual conversion and a “cathartic moment” of tears following his

¹⁰ St. Augustine, *Confessions* (Book 10), in McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature*, 155. Epstein discusses St. Augustine’s account from the angle of sexual tension in *Melting the Venusberg*, 18-20.

¹¹ St. Augustine, *Confessions* (Book 10), in McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature*, 155.

mother's death.¹² His later speculative music treatise, *De Musica*, can be viewed, Brian Brennan argues, as "Augustine's extended intellectual justification for an intensely felt emotional response to music."¹³ Although personal consternation caused by emotional responses to music like Augustine's is more specific to Christians, his and other Church Fathers' denunciation of some music and their overall view that music influences moral character are rooted in ancient Greek philosophy (as are their speculative music treatises, though these are much less relevant here). In particular, both Plato's *Republic* and Aristotle's *Politics* emphasize the need to educate young people through approved forms of music, while simultaneously eliminating music that was associated with undesirable states such as drunkenness, effeminacy, and indolence.¹⁴ Music was important in Plato's envisioned Republic because it was believed to shape character through mimesis; as Malcolm Schofield argues, music education was seen as a "reciprocal causal process" whereby "[l]earning to sing and play in such rhythms and modes will gradually shape the soul into concordant structures, which will then find expression in such music."¹⁵ Music's power is not "just that it represents and expresses conditions—virtuous or vicious—of the soul itself, which is not true of painting, weaving, building and similar arts," but "is also that *the way in which* it expresses virtue

¹² Brennan, "Augustine's *De Musica*," 268-9.

¹³ Brennan, "Augustine's *De Musica*," 267. See also La Croix, *Augustine on Music*.

¹⁴ Plato, *Republic Books 1-5* (Book 3), 269-75, 279-84; and Aristotle, *Politics* (Book 8, Chapters 5-7), 228-38. See also Barker, *Greek Musical Writings*, and Kennaway, *Bad Vibrations*, 12-14.

¹⁵ Schofield, "Music All Pow'rful," 238.

corresponds in its audible structure to the concordant structure of virtue itself," thus influencing the "unconscious mind" of listeners.¹⁶

Like the Church Fathers, sixteenth-century Protestant Reformers emphasized music's utility as a tool to help congregants learn doctrine. But though three of the most influential reformers—Martin Luther, John Calvin, and Ulrich Zwingli—uniformly condemned music associated with drunken revelry, their divergent methods of biblical interpretation—and even differing understandings of music itself—resulted in conflicting views on what music was appropriate for church services and for non-church use.¹⁷ Calvin and Zwingli's views were more restrictive than Luther's: while both allowed for a variety of music in the home, Calvin taught that only metrical psalms were appropriate in church services, and Zwingli forbade music entirely. Luther, on the other hand, championed sacred music (including polyphonic and Latin-texted works) as a means to give glory to God and wrote hymn texts for church use such as *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott* ("A Mighty Fortress Is Our God"). Although Calvinist thought on music initially held sway in English churches, hymns were eventually accepted in English

¹⁶ Schofield, "Music All Pow'rful," 238, emphasis his.

¹⁷ For a compendium of texts and tunes by Calvin, Luther, and Zwingli, see Jenny, *Luther, Zwingli, Calvin in ihren Liedern*. For an English-language summary of Luther's views on music, see Schalk, *Luther on Music*. See also Anttila, *Luther's Theology of Music*; Guicharrousse, *Les musiques de Luther*; and Nekola, "Between This World and the Next," 45-66.

worship (as I discuss in the introduction in regards to Isaac Watt's hymnody). In present-day America nearly every kind of congregation sings hymns together.¹⁸

Of any pre-twentieth-century Christian authority who wrote on music, Luther is the most mentioned by fundamentalist authors, with Augustine a close second, even though fundamentalists have few convergences with Lutheran doctrinal distinctives and do not embrace as broad a view of music as Luther did. In addition to lauding Luther's belief that music could be used effectively for spiritual education, their discussion revolves around Luther's use of tunes that originated in secular spheres:

fundamentalists argue that these secular tunes were consistent with styles already considered appropriate for church services and are thus not comparable to the popular styles that entered church services since the 1970s.¹⁹ Despite these arguments, authors still use Luther's views as a secondary support, not a formative source, for their own by rhetorically appealing to Luther as an authority without engaging with his writings on music or with his other theological views.

¹⁸ To my knowledge, no fundamental churches sing only psalms, but one non-fundamentalist resource on the importance of psalmody has been recommended to me and is sold by the BJU campus bookstore: Lefebvre, *Singing the Songs of Jesus*. Lefebvre pastors a church in a Presbyterian denomination that practices exclusive psalmody; see Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America, "Convictions," <http://reformedpresbyterian.org/convictions> (accessed September 8, 2015).

¹⁹ See for example, Fisher's chapter entitled "The Truth about Luther," in *The Battle for Christian Music*, 163-71; and similarly, Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 64-6; Blanchard and Lucarini, *Can We Rock the Gospel?*, 205-10; Foster, *The Spiritual Song*, 82; Makujina, *Measuring the Music*, 187-94; Smith, *Music and Morals*, 7-8, and *Oh Be Careful Little Ears*, 85-6. See also a short monograph written by a fundamentalist on this topic Harrell, *Martin Luther*.

Moral Associations of Music in the United States

The actual musical styles considered good and bad have varied with the times and commentators' individual preferences. In the U.S., several factors have led to in a strong cultural tendency to link a given musical style's perceived moral influence with its racial and socioeconomic associations. Julia Chybowski describes the agenda of the music appreciation movement in the early twentieth century as "both reflecting and enhancing common stereotypes and prejudices" of "race, class, and gender," an agenda in which "musics lower in the hierarchy and of less educational value were presumably 'rhythmic' rather than 'harmonic,' trivial rather than profound, emotional rather than intellectual, corporal rather than cerebral, detrimental rather than edifying, primitive rather than developed, and diseased rather than healthful."²⁰ Fundamentalists express similar sentiments, lauding European classical music as morally beneficial to listeners, and criticizing popular music, especially popular music that was and is associated with black, poorer, and less educated Americans.

In the late nineteenth and early-to-mid twentieth centuries, these moral divisions were both encouraged and revealed in the rhetoric of appreciation for classical music and its deployment for the "racial uplift" of African Americans. "Good music" — also described as "'the better class of music,' 'first-class music,' 'great music,' and 'the best music'" — was taken to be European classical music, esteemed by middle- and upper-

²⁰ Chybowski, "Developing American Taste," 25. Regarding the "moral imperative" of the music appreciation movement, see especially 74-138.

class late-Victorians “as a civilizing influence and an agent of moral uplift,” according to Mark Katz.²¹ Classical music appreciation and performance by middle-class and upper-class African Americans was, Lawrence Schenbeck argues, one of a “relatively narrow set of tactics...that black leaders hoped might be effective in winning civil rights and economic security by changing the attitudes and practices of whites, especially the white leadership elite” – practices that, in other words, were “meant to cast into disgrace the rationales that undergirded the political economy of Jim Crowism.”²² Around the same time, phonographs began to be employed in classrooms to teach both schoolchildren and university students to learn to appreciate classical music, the technological catalyst for a curricular development that remain prevalent in American liberal arts education today.²³

While the racial and socioeconomic elements were always present in this American discourse, they were often veiled by medical rhetoric that deployed the language of health to make claims about music that were still essentially based in perceived morality. James Kennaway argues that the discourse surrounding music’s effects on listeners, especially in its “anxiety about music’s physical effects and its influence on masculine self-control and female sexuality,” took this medical turn in the

²¹ Katz, *Capturing Sound*, 58.

²² Schenbeck, *Racial Uplift and American Music*, 4, 6. Regarding the privileged place of European art music in American upper-class culture of the late-nineteenth-century, see also Broyles, *Music of the Highest Class*.

²³ Katz, *Capturing Sound*, 71, 73-4,

Enlightenment era and especially after 1800, when music came to be seen as a potential cause of disease in listeners.²⁴ Music can in fact have marked physiological effects such as heart attacks and seizures among those with musicogenic epilepsy, but the perception of music as a pathogen was not limited to these types of cases.²⁵ Rather, the earlier moralistic concerns were reframed as “part of a much wider medicalization of social and moral issues” happening during the same timeframe.²⁶ In America, medical language was intertwined with moralistic impulses to give greater legitimacy to the promotion of Euro-centric music and the denigration of African American music in the twentieth century and into the present. For example, critics claimed that syncopated rhythms in jazz produced a “nervousness” in listeners that led to a loss of control that was both moral and medical.²⁷ But, Kennaway argues that “the real medical danger presented by jazz was that it might make white listeners like despised blacks.”²⁸

More recently, critiques of other genres cultivated by African Americans such as rock and hip hop have reproduced the anxieties about bodies and social order that

²⁴ Kennaway, *Bad Vibrations*, 2.

²⁵ Kennaway considers examples of actual physical harm caused by music or sound events (see 5-9) but notes that “most of the claims for the direct unmediated negative physical effects on health that are the subject of this book are massively overblown at the very least. Other agendas dominate much of the material concerned, generally in connection to music’s symbolic relationship to order, sensuality or gender,” *Bad Vibrations*, 5. For pathogenic overtones in fundamentalists’ rhetoric, see for example, Kimberly Smith, *Oh Be Careful Little Ears*, 22, 77; and Mike Foster, *The Spiritual Song*, 150.

²⁶ Kennaway, *Bad Vibrations*, 2.

²⁷ Kennaway, *Bad Vibrations*, 121, 124. Regarding the idea of “black rhythm,” see for example Radano, “Hot Fantasies,” in *Music and the Racial Imagination*. Kennaway points to rhythm as the musical element most connected to racial fears (*Bad Vibrations*, 121), and rhythm is the element fundamentalists focus on as the most sexual.

²⁸ Kennaway, *Bad Vibrations*, 123.

appeared in previous centuries, continuing the medical-moral rhetoric of earlier critiques of jazz, but replacing fears of “nervousness” with that of “brainwashing” and “mind control.”²⁹ These critiques have continued to use an intertwined medical-moral rhetoric as a veil for racism against black Americans.³⁰ Moreover, the positive attitudes toward classical music—“its cultural prestige, an association between artistic skills and notions of musical 'genius,' and a historical association between music and mathematics”—have continued, as seen with the purported “Mozart Effect.”³¹ Though the effect of a study claiming that listening to Mozart had intellectual benefits were not reproducible, it was widely lauded—in 1998 the governor of Georgia proposed a budget that included gifts of CDs of classical music for mothers and their newborn infants.³² “Baby Mozart” DVDs continue to be marketed to the parents of young children as a way to enrich their learning environments—a “quick-fix solution” that, in the views of Eric Clarke, Nicola Dibben, and Stephanie Pitts, “can't protect children from the

²⁹ Kennaway, *Bad Vibrations*, 131-2. For a cultural study of mind control fears in the U.S., see Acland, *Swift Viewing*. Though outside the scope of this study, fundamentalists' concerns over perceived mind control echo those voiced in regard to a wide range of music including classical music such as Richard Wagner's.

³⁰ Kennaway, *Bad Vibrations*, 99-100, 129. Kennaway also addresses related examples of musical criticism in early- to mid-twentieth-century Germany (108-117). Among the many works dealing with racial motivated critiques of rock music, see especially Maddock, “‘Whole Lotta Shakin' Goin' On.’”

³¹ Clarke, Dibben, and Pitts, *Music and Mind in Everyday Life*, 95.

³² Kevin Sack, “Georgia's Governor Seeks Musical Start for Babies,” *New York Times*, January 15, 1998: np.

disadvantages of poverty or dangerous environments and may even divert attention and resources away from other interventions that can.”³³

Fundamentalist texts on music have similar connotations of popular and classical music. For example, many authors describe popular music with terms like “jungle rhythms” and “animal music,” and explicitly connect it with voodoo ceremonies, human sacrifices, orgies, and demonic possessions the authors consider African in origin or inspiration.³⁴ While some authors note that their views may be seen as personally and/or structurally racist, they argue that they condemn the music not for its origins but for its sexual and demonic/satanic characteristics.³⁵ Indeed, it is not the specific sounds but what they stand for that are so troubling to fundamentalists and to those with similar views on music, in that their blackness troubles the “categorical distinction” between mind and body that fundamentalists’ express in their philosophy of music.³⁶ In contrast, the authors frequently describe classical music as good and excellent. These interpretations of musical styles and their associated elements are discussed further below.

³³ Clarke, Dibben, and Pitts, *Music and Mind in Everyday Life*, 95. Examples of books and products about the “Mozart Effect” include *Baby Mozart* (DVD, Walt Disney Studios Home Entertainment, 2012), and Campbell, *The Mozart Effect for Children*; see also the overview of these products in Chybowski, “Developing American Taste,” 250-1. Regarding public perception, see also Erica Goode, “Mozart for Baby? Some Say, Maybe Not,” *New York Times*, August 3, 1999: F9.

³⁴ See for example, Garlock, *The Big Beat*, 22-4; Smith, *Let Those Who Have Ears to Hear*, 109, 139; and Pyle, *The Truth About Rock Music*, 10, 30.

³⁵ Fisher asserts, for example, “Racism has nothing to do with the issue,” *The Battle for Christian Music*, 82. See also Makujina, *Measuring the Music*, 38. For a study of structural racism that informs my perspective on fundamentalist music-making, see Bonilla-Silva, *Racism Without Racists*.

³⁶ Crawley, *Blackpentecostal Breath*, 30.

The Worship Wars discussed in Chapter One emerged in the late 1960s and 1970s from the prevailing medical-moral mindset in America. As will be seen throughout this chapter, anxieties about music's moral influence and its effects on the body permeate fundamentalists' musical discourse, and fundamentalists' approval of classical music and corresponding disapproval of popular music continues the arguments made in the music appreciation and racial uplift movements.

Sources of Fundamentalist Music Philosophy

With the historical background of the fundamentalist musical discourse in mind, this chapter now examines its three foundational arguments. First, music influences listeners, and is either good or bad depending on its positive or negative influence. From this view stems two other foundational arguments: listeners can accurately distinguish between good and bad music based on specific musical and lyrical characteristics, and on the music's perceived effects on listeners, including its possible spiritual benefits; and by choosing to listen to and create good music, fundamentalists evidence their salvation and give concrete witness to their regenerated nature as born-again believers. Since listeners *can* choose good music, the choice of good music over bad serves as a testimony to a believer's commitment to God, audibly signaling their separation and their holiness to fellow fundamentalists, and, they expect and hope, to non-fundamentalists as well.

My synthesis of these core arguments relies on twenty-five books of fundamentalist music philosophy published between 1971 and 2013, complemented by

my interviews with fundamentalist authors, musicians, and pastors; recorded seminars and sermons on music; and non-musical religious materials including sermons, devotional literature, and biblical commentaries.³⁷ My criteria for including these sources is that the author or individual must be BJU affiliated (e.g. a BJU faculty member or recipient of an honorary doctorate from BJU); their work must be publically endorsed by one of those affiliated authors (for instance, in an endorsement on the back cover of a book); or the work must be sold by BJU in its campus store, by the publisher and producer Majesty Music (Greenville, SC), or by The Wilds Camp and Conference Center (Brevard, NC). I consider the materials only sold but not explicitly endorsed to be supplementary to the first two categories, especially when the author is clearly not a fundamentalist (e.g. the music director at a conservative evangelical but not fundamental church). Dan Lucarini, for example, while not a historical fundamentalist,

³⁷ Alphabetically by author, these books are: Scott Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 2009, and *Sound Worship*, 2010; Douglas Bachorik, *New Heart, New Spirit, New Song*, 2012; John Blanchard and Dan Lucarini, *Can We Rock the Gospel?*, 2006; John Blanchard with Peter Anderson and Derek Cleave, *Pop Goes the Gospel*, 1989; Tim, Fisher, *The Battle for Christian Music*, 1992, and *Harmony at Home*, 1999; Mike Foster, *The Spiritual Song*, 2011; Frank Garlock, *The Big Beat*, 1971, and *Can Rock Music Be Sacred?*, 1974; Frank Garlock and Kurt Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 1992; Shelly Garlock Hamilton, *Why I Don't Listen to Contemporary Christian Music*, 2013; Dean Kurtz, *God's Word, the Final Word on Worship and Music*, 2008; Ken Lynch, *Gospel Music: Blessing or Blight?*, 1992; Dan Lucarini, *Why I Left the Contemporary Christian Music Movement*, 2002, and *It's Not About the Music*, 2010; John Makujina, *Measuring the Music*, 2000; Richard Peck, *Rock*, 1985; Hugh Pyle, *The Truth About Rock Music*, 1985; Cary Schmidt, *Music Matters*, 2007; Gordon Sears, *Apostasy and Deception in Christian Music*, 1998; Kimberly Smith, *Let Those Who Have Ears*, 2001, and *Music and Morals*, 2005; Kimberly Smith with Lee Smith, *Oh, Be Careful Little Ears*, 1997; and Danny M. Sweatt, *Church Music*, 1981. Complementary material includes a video seminar series (Frank Garlock, *Pop Goes the Music*, 2002) and six episodes from BJU's television show, *Show My People*: episode 29 in 1977, episode 30 in 1977, episode 26 in 1978, episode 26 in 1981, episode 20 in 1985, and episode 33 in 1985.

has spoken at BJU, and his viewpoints are endorsed by fundamentalists, and his books are sold by fundamentalist companies.

Most of the authors are men who direct or have directed fundamental churches' music programs. Many have also taught music at BJU or similar schools. Take the three most prominent voices in these sources: Frank Garlock, Tim Fisher, and Scott Aniol.³⁸ They represent three successive generations of fundamentalist thought on music, beginning with Garlock in the late 1960s, continuing to Fisher whose books were published in the 1990s, and Aniol, whose first book was published in 2009.

Garlock began his fight against music in popular styles in the late 1960s by traveling as a conference speaker, teaching on the music faculty at BJU and eventually directing the music program at a large church in the Greenville area. He also founded the company known today as Majesty Music, one of the largest distributors of fundamentalist music and ancillary materials.³⁹ His son-in-law, Ron Hamilton, is arguably the most famous musician in fundamentalist circles, and his daughter, the composer and arranger Shelly Garlock Hamilton, is one of only two female authors included in my source set. Tim Fisher earned a B.A. and M.A. from BJU (both in Church

³⁸ Biographical information drawn from: Scott Aniol's personal website www.scottaniol.com (accessed June 20, 2015); Tim Fisher's biography on the website of his employer, Faith Baptist Church (Taylors, SC) www.fbctaylors.org/Pages/About/0/3 (accessed June 20, 2015), and Fisher, email message to author, September 3, 2015; and Frank Garlock, *I Being in the Way, the Lord Led Me*.

³⁹ Frank Garlock is one of three men Nekola views as the main voices of the early evangelical anti-rock discourse, and the only one of the three who is fundamentalist; see "Between This Word and the Next," 184-9.

Music), taught on the school's music faculty, and received an honorary doctorate from the school in 2003. He travels as a conferences speaker and directs the music program of a large church in the Greenville-area. Fisher founded Sacred Music Services, "an organization dedicated to providing sacred recordings for the home" and has arranged, orchestrated, and produced numerous recordings.⁴⁰ Scott Aniol is a slight outlier from Garlock and Fisher. He earned a B.M. in Church Music from BJU (2003), but his subsequent degrees are from other schools, including a PhD in Worship and Ministry from Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary (Fort Worth, TX; 2013) where he is now an assistant professor, and he has Southern Baptist affiliations as a church elder and seminary professor.⁴¹ He is an active speaker (including engagements at BJU's seminary), and a blogger through his organization Religious Affections Ministries, which he founded in 2008.⁴²

The tenor of fundamentalist music philosophy has, for the most part, changed substantially from their beginnings, as Anna E. Nekola argues in her analysis of

⁴⁰ Tim Fisher Bio, www.fbctaylors.org/Pages/About/0/3 (accessed June 20, 2015). See also www.smsrecordings.com (accessed June 20, 2015).

⁴¹ Southern Baptists, while very conservative evangelicals, are not fundamentalist in the historical sense in which I use the term throughout this study. The Southern Baptist Convention did not splinter in the 1920s and 1930s like Baptist denominations in the north. Initially fundamentalists at BJU allowed for ecclesiastical fellowship with Southern Baptists, but by the 1970s, Bob Jones Jr. argued that the fundamentalist leader John R. Rice was violating principles of separation by publishing sermons of Southern Baptist ministers in the periodical *The Sword of the Lord* even though Southern Baptist laypeople were on BJU's Board of Directors at the time (see Jones [Jr.], *Facts John R. Rice Will Not Face*, and Beale, *S. B. C. House on Sand?*). Starting in the 1980s, however, the Southern Baptist Convention has become more conservative (even "fundamentalist" in the language of those outside the denomination), see Leonard, *God's Last and Only Hope*. The result has been an easing of separation by fundamentalists, and, among some, a measure of ecclesiastical fellowship.

⁴² Scott Aniol, religiousaffections.org (accessed June 20, 2015).

evangelical anti-rock discourse.⁴³ While early proponents like Garlock typically reached their readers through emotional appeals, later writers like Aniol have more often used a dispassionate tone. These writers “appeal to credibility and objectivity through both the formality of the writing style” and their “presentation of detailed theoretical and philosophical theories, as well as extensive bibliography.”⁴⁴ However, “their work often reveals questionable scholarship and an insufficient understanding of their sources and methodologies.”⁴⁵ Nearly all of the sources I discuss below are replete with textbook-ready examples of logical fallacies (particular of the false dilemma and argument from authority varieties), and a “curious leap” from extensive factual information (often presented *en masse*, such as a dozen rock musicians quoted one after another) to a conclusion that does not follow from the facts presented—a “big leap from the undeniable to the unbelievable.”⁴⁶

In my analysis of fundamentalist texts, I seek to take authors’ on their own terms, and in so doing, I make the argument that these authors’ lines of reasoning are legitimate to them. I look for the underlying beliefs that make what is irrational

⁴³ Nekola, “Between This World and the Next,” 222-81.

⁴⁴ Nekola, “Between This World and the Next,” 239.

⁴⁵ Nekola, “Between This World and the Next,” 239.

⁴⁶ Hofstadter, *The Paranoid Style in American Politics*, 35-6. Although Hofstadter’s specific point of entry to “the paranoid style” is McCarthyism, his classic analysis has influenced scholarship on fundamentalism and remains relevant to fundamentalist discourse today as well as to analyses of twenty-first-century American politics. See for example, Nekola’s use of his analysis in “More Than Just a Music’: Conservative Christian Discourse and the U.S. Culture Wars” in *Popular Music* 32, no. 3 (2013): 418. Regarding fundamentalist patterns of thought and rhetoric, see also Boone, *The Bible Tells Them So*.

according to normative modes of logic, rational to them, and I do not make this feature of their writing a focus of my analysis. Rather, I explore *internal* contradictions (such as the disjuncture between authoritative and lay perspectives on the value of the body that I pursue in this chapter's conclusion) to better understand why they remain unresolved in fundamentalist circles.

Finally, though the writers' tones and source materials have changed over the years, there is one constant characteristic of most of the authors included here: they are not professional writers, but are primarily musicians and pastors. Their styles are often similar to transcribed speeches or sermons with points repeated for emphasis and structured to keep the listener's attention. They frequently use folksy metaphors—light-hearted folk music is like ice cream while serious classical music is like steak and potatoes. And they desire to reach the reader's heart and, in so doing, to change the reader's spiritual destiny.

Music as a Communicative Moral Agent

Fundamentalists' music philosophy begins in the premise that music is a moral entity because it influences listeners in good and bad ways.⁴⁷ This premise is often literally first in this discourse, in that many fundamentalist authors address music's morality quite early in their texts, a priority placement because their entire discourse

⁴⁷ For the view that music has the power to influence people in good and bad ways (a view that pervades fundamentalist literature on music), see for example, Aniol, *Worship in Song*, iv, 114-6, 121-34, 142-3; Blanchard and Lucarini, *Can We Rock the Gospel?*, 140-2, 203-5; Fisher, *Harmony at Home*, 74, 123; Hamilton, *Why I Don't Listen*, 79-82; Kurtz, *God's Word*, 140-1, 269, 277; and Schmidt, *Music Matters*, 35-58, 62, 67-73.

rests on it. An individual reader must be convinced of music's essentially moral nature as the first intellectual step toward music standards that accord with fundamentalist ideals of Christian behavior. Without the reader's agreement in on music's basic morality, the rest of a text cannot succeed.

Fundamentalist authorities most often argue for this view by noting the widespread experience of musical emotion and by pointing out commercial uses of music that rely on such influence. If music conveys a good or bad emotion to listeners (joy or anger, for instance), then listeners may themselves feel this emotion. And because the music made the listeners feel something good or bad, the music is itself good or bad.⁴⁸ In addition to calling up readers' personal experiences, fundamentalists support this view by citing biblical passages that reference music's communicative abilities; and by referring to elements of the historical discourse discussed above, noting ancient Greeks, early church leaders, and Reformers who connected music with emotional states, and mentioning similar statements by academics like Leonard B. Meyer and Peter Wicke.⁴⁹

For fundamentalists, music's ability to influence listeners' emotions *is* music's ability to communicate morally and immorally, but occasionally an authority departs

⁴⁸ "Since music is an emotional language, and since some emotions are wrong for the child of God, then some music is wrong for the child of God." Mike Coyle, "Music: Is There an Absolute?" *Baptist Bulletin* (April 1983): 10, quoted in Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 3 and *passim*.

⁴⁹ Makujina's supports are exemplary of this evidence in *Measuring the Music*, 104-6.

from this reasoning.⁵⁰ For example, Fred Coleman, head of BJU's Department of Church Music since 1988, teaches that the "moral rightness or wrongness of music" is based on a musician's motives in performing live music and in a listener's responses to that music, not necessarily in intrinsic musical qualities, but he notes that those who do believe that music itself is either morally good or bad generally use motives and responses as the basis for their judgment.⁵¹ The practical effect is therefore the same: music has moral and immoral effects on listeners, and every piece is deemed either good or bad based on these effects.

To support their contention that music influences listeners, authors also refer to commercial and other instances of influence seemingly more concrete than personal emotional experiences. They note that soundtracks to movies routinely clue listeners in to a scene's emotional affect, such as when a pleasant walk in the park becomes foreboding due to a low, dissonant notes; and they cite similar effects in the commercial use of music in shopping centers and restaurants.⁵² Earlier fundamentalist sources also

⁵⁰ A belief that music communicates to listeners is found throughout fundamentalist literature on music. See for example, see Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 138-45; Bachorik, *New Heart*, 15-31, 48-50, 108, 114; Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 89, 136; Hamilton, *Why I Don't Listen*, 19-20; Kurtz, *God's Word*, 11, 20-22, 25, 84, 102; and Schmidt, *Music Matters*, 6, 19, 41.

⁵¹ Bob Jones University, "Fred R. Coleman," <http://www.bju.edu/academics/faculty/facultymember.php?id=fcoleman> (accessed August 25, 2015); and Coleman, "Making Musical Choices as a Christian," 2-4.

⁵² For use of soundtracks as evidence for music's influence, see for example Hamilton, *What I Don't Listen*, 20-21; Kurtz, *God's Word*, 47; Sears, *Apostasy and Deception*, 63; and Smith, *Let Those With Ears to Hear*, 22. Regarding music in commercial sites like restaurants, see for example, Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 90-92; Blanchard and Lucarini, *Can We Rock the Gospel?*, 205; Pyle, *The Truth about Rock Music*, 12; and Sweatt, *Church Music*, 4;

reference studies done in the 1960s and 1970s that seemed to prove that garden plants flourished with a background of classical music or silence, but withered with a background of popular music.⁵³ Only one relatively recent book, published in 2000, uses these experiments as favorable evidence, with the author at pains to note the scientific rigor of the experiments “in order to ward off the usual censures of quackery, bias, and error.”⁵⁴

Finally, authors often turn to music therapy as evidence of music’s influence, noting both the modern-day allied health profession as well as a story in the Old Testament.⁵⁵ In this story, the young King David plays his harp on several occasions for a deranged King Saul, with the result that “the evil spirit” would leave King Saul for a time.⁵⁶ Fundamentalist texts deploy this account and references to modern-day health treatments in testament of music’s power over listeners.

The connection between music and its effect on listeners does not mean that every component of music has moral properties. On the contrary, music’s elements like individual pitches and durations are neutral, but when these are synthesized as actual

⁵³ See Garlock, *The Big Beat*, 16-17; Pyle, *The Truth About Rock Music*, 24; and Sweatt, *Church Music*, 4-5.

⁵⁴ Makujina, *Measuring the Music*, 169-72.

⁵⁵ Among the many references to modern-day music therapy and the story of David playing his harp for Saul, see for example, Fisher, *Music in the Balance*, 39-41; Foster, *The Spiritual Song*, 85-6; Garlock, *The Big Beat*, 15-16; and Lynch, *Gospel Music*, 7-8.

⁵⁶ See 1 Samuel 16:14-23.

music, the resulting music has moral qualities.⁵⁷ The neutral “building blocks” of pitches, durations, words, performance styles—everything contained in “music”—cohere together in a total package that communicates to listeners. Fundamentalists call this total package the music’s “message.” The message is what “all music, by its very nature,” communicates or “preaches” to listeners.⁵⁸ The message is the truth or the falsehood music conveys, the lifestyle it promotes. Fisher offers a typical analogy: just as individual letters are morally neutral in and of themselves, but can form good and bad words or sentences, so too individual pitches can be formed into good and bad musical statements. Similarly, “neutral devices...such as line, color, [and] shade” can become “beautiful portraits, landscapes, or still images,” but can also become “nudity and lewd subject matter.”⁵⁹ Fisher thus argues that only intellectual dishonesty would allow for morality and immorality in some art forms like literature and sculpture but not in music.⁶⁰

Black and White Morality

Fundamentalist authors generally assume a shared belief with their readers that morality exists as distinct and absolute categories: good or bad, nothing in between. The

⁵⁷ While “neutral” is the term used by fundamentalist authors to refer to music’s constituent parts, “neutral” would be more accurately termed “good” in light of their binaristic moral views. For the oft-stated view that neutral musical elements building together to become morally-weighted communication (authors’ metaphors include letters and words, paint and paintings), see for example, Bachorik, *New Heart*, 111; Kurtz, *God’s Word*, 24, 283; Lucarini, *Why I Left*, 92-3; Lynch, *Gospel Music*, 4; Smith, *Music and Morals*, 99-100; and Peck, *Rock*, 59, 102.

⁵⁸ Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 145.

⁵⁹ Fisher, *The Battle for Christian Music*, 61.

⁶⁰ Fisher, *The Battle for Christian Music*, 61.

admixture of bad-black and good-white does not blend to a neutral-gray, but instead, music's morality falls "on a continuum from bad to good."⁶¹ One might imagine this continuum as a number line with a definite line—a zero—dividing negative and positive, dividing good and bad. Indeed fundamentalist rhetoric often relies on the conceit of "a line" to discuss moral questions.⁶² The question is not *if* but *where* a line must be drawn: if there is good and bad music, then there *must* be a line between the two because in God's eyes, there is only music that reflects or distorts his nature. Therefore, "there is no such thing as neutral music. Any given song is either good or evil. To deny such a truth would be to deny absolutes."⁶³ While people may not always see where the continuum changes from positive to negative, "[i]n the mind of God there is a line somewhere in the middle."⁶⁴ Only our humanity—"our creatureliness and sinfulness"—prevents us from perceiving "the line that God has set regarding music."⁶⁵ Consider how Fisher parses out good and bad music in the context of church services.

⁶¹ Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 139.

⁶² Ammerman argues that for fundamentalists, the important moral point is not so much *where* the division is between good and bad, but that fact that "a line can be drawn" at all (indeed, "must be drawn"), *Bible Believers*, 90. For the oft-stated view that "a line must be drawn" or that "there is a line" between good and bad, see for example, Fisher, *Harmony at Home*, 119, 170-2; Foster, *The Spiritual Song*, 82-3; Hamilton, *Why I Don't Listen*, 71-7, 103; Sears, *Apostasy and Deception*, 50; Smith, *Let Those with Ears*, 23, 81, 151-66; and Smith, *Oh Be Careful Little Ears*, 16, 102-3. Aniol critiques this perspective, saying that the musical issues are not so black and white, except from God's perspective, in *Sound Worship*, 73; and *Worship in Song*, 135-9.

⁶³ Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 138.

⁶⁴ Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 139.

⁶⁵ Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 139.

He states, “There are only two sides to take in this battle,” and presents them to his readers.⁶⁶ First:

Music is neutral. Therefore, I as a Christian can use any type of music I want (jazz, rock, punk, rap, disco, heavy metal, pop, country, rhythm and blues, etc.) to worship the Lord. It is all appropriate, and no lines can be drawn except those of personal taste. As long as my music mentions God in some way, it is useful to evangelism.⁶⁷

And second, the side of fundamentalists (and, Fisher argues, secular experts who recognize music’s communicative power):

Music is not neutral. It has the capability of communicating imbalance and sensuality, and it can confuse the spiritual effectiveness of the message.

Therefore, I as a Christian must draw a line. Any music that cannot appropriately communicate the message is unfit to use to worship the Lord. My personal taste is subject to scriptural conviction. Evangelism is a result of my right relationship with God.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Fisher, *The Battle for Christian Music*, 55.

⁶⁷ Fisher, *The Battle for Christian Music*, 55. The passage quoted is originally printed in bolded font.

⁶⁸ Fisher, *The Battle for Christian Music*, 56. The passage quoted is originally printed in bolded font.

Fisher follows this passage with comments that “no one has ever taken the position that music is neutral except for Christians in the last twenty-five years who are trying to justify bringing rock into the church” (emphasis his), and follows this comment with a series of quotes—“the testimonies of history, psychology, medicine, sociology, theology, and even secular rock musicians themselves”—in support of his argument, 56.

Fisher then sums up these opposing viewpoints with: “Either we draw lines or we do not. Either we use all musical styles or we don’t. ... You may never draw the line exactly where I do. ... I do insist, however, that you consider the fact that *a line must be drawn!*”⁶⁹

Since fundamentalists believe that any sin—big or little, seemingly obvious or obscure—separates people from God, they are compelled to divide the good music from the bad. But because listeners may not hear *the* line or even *a* line, music standards become codified in fundamental churches and families so as to eliminate areas that are perhaps questionable to listeners but are certainly not questionable for God. Otherwise the sin of listening to bad music would pull listeners away from God.⁷⁰ For that matter, a fundamentalist’s goal is not to find this elusive but definite line. That is not “the point,” says author and musician Kimberly Smith, but rather, “the goal is how close we can come to God’s standards revealed through Scriptures so that we may obey and please Him in our musical choices.”⁷¹

Levitical purity laws are another means of understanding moral categories, especially in the context of musical elements and how these combine into musical styles. Under Levitical law, a person can become ritually unclean by touching what is unclean, and an unclean person can spread their uncleanness through touch, similar to the cross-

⁶⁹ Fisher, *The Battle for Christian Music*, 56, emphasis his.

⁷⁰ Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 24. Music that is “questionable” can “hurt your testimony and growth in the Lord,” 24.

⁷¹ Smith, *Let Those Who Have Ears*, 158.

contamination of spoiled and fresh food.⁷² Author Richard Peck suggests that a Christian listening to music in popular styles essentially scrounges in garbage for a meal—there might be some “good food mixed in with the trash. ... [but] the ‘good’ food that we might find has been contaminated by the garbage that surrounds it.”⁷³ So with even a miniscule amount of bad added to the good, the good becomes completely unclean—a fresh sandwich will not survive an excursion to the garbage can. By this logic, any bad musical element makes the entire piece unholy.

Music as a Mirror of God’s Nature

While fundamentalist authors base their argument in their readers’ everyday emotional responses to music, their ontological understanding of music begins in the *ex nihilo* creation of the world. When “in the beginning, God created the heaven and the earth,” the world that was made was “very good.”⁷⁴ This goodness, though marred in the post-Edenic age, can still be present in created things such as music.⁷⁵

Fundamentalists argue that music *should* reflect that essential goodness, especially since its aesthetic beauty can exemplify God’s beauty as revealed in creation: “If God is

⁷² “And whatsoever the unclean person toucheth shall be unclean; and the soul that toucheth it shall be unclean until even,” Num. 19:33.

⁷³ Peck, *Rock*, 22. See also Foster, *The Spiritual Song*, 27, 39; and Hamilton, *Why I Don’t Listen*, 76.

⁷⁴ From Gen. 1:1, 31. For the belief that God created music and is, in some capacity, musical himself, see Bachorik, *New Heart*, 33-6; Fisher, *The Battle for Christian Music*, 23-32; Foster, *The Spiritual Song*, 11; and Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 116-9.

⁷⁵ Makujina asserts that “the arts and music are extensions of the *created* world.... The creatureliness of music and art not only makes them finite, but also liable to corruption following the entrance of sin. Music, like the rest of creation, has been disfigured by sin beginning with the fall of our first parents. Music is not infinite; it is created, limited, and, since the fall, subject to corruption,” *Measuring the Music*, 130.

supreme beauty and, therefore, the source of all earthly beauty, it follows that earthly beauty, including beauty in music, is a reflection of the divine.”⁷⁶ This means that music’s power to reflect God resides not only in lyrical content but also in the music itself, the notes, rhythms, performance styles and so on: everything that makes music *music* should work together in reflecting God. Indeed, music can be seen not only as a reflection but an actual “part of God’s very nature” since the scriptures state that God has a “song.”⁷⁷ Blanchard and Lucarini point out that “at the dawn of creation, ‘the morning stars sang together’ (Job 38:7),” arguing that “[i]f God uses a musical metaphor in telling us of the wonder and glory of his creation, we can be certain that he has music in his heart.”⁷⁸ Therefore, others argue, since music can reflect, reveal, or be part of God’s nature, then “by its very sound and nature” it should do so: music “should portray the Savior of whom it speaks.”⁷⁹

When music does in fact accomplish this reflection of the divine through its beauty, it can “redirect the observer’s focus on its beauty to the source of all beauty” (i.e.

⁷⁶ Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 107. Aniol’s focus on music’s aesthetic beauty is the most robust iteration of a musical ontology in fundamentalist literature, see especially 107-16. He frequently argues that Christians “have an obligation to like what is worthy of liking” (*Sound Worship*, 102, emphasis his) and that they must learn to enjoy beautiful music as it is an expression of God’s nature (*Worship in Song*, 120-3). Conversely, “to call something beautiful or take aesthetic delight in something that does not possess these qualities reflective of God’s beauty is tantamount to sin,” *Worship in Song*, 133.

⁷⁷ Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 14. The authors interpret three Old Testament passages (Is. 12:2, Ex. 15:2, and Ps. 118:14—all of which state something like “The LORD is my strength and my song”) to mean that “music is a part of God’s very nature.”

⁷⁸ Blanchard and Lucarini, *Can We Rock the Gospel?*, 7.

⁷⁹ Garlock, *The Big Beat*, 49. Regarding the oft-stated view that music can somehow reflect, depict, or otherwise reveal God’s nature, see also Bachorik, *New Heart*, 66, Blanchard, Anderson, and Cleave, *Pop goes the Gospel*, 161-2; Fisher, *The Battle for Christian Music*, 31-2, 173; Foster, *The Spiritual Song*, 43; and Kurtz, *God’s Word*, 28, 87.

music can redirect the listener from it to God).⁸⁰ God allows his nature to be revealed in music, and when music accurately reflects God to listeners, their attention flows back to God—a circular movement from God to music, music to listener, and listener back to God.

However, if music potentially reflects God as a clean, smooth mirror, then it can also be dirty and rippled, throwing back a distorted image instead of the truth. The reflection that should be beautiful in its accuracy is instead warped, obscured, polluted. Because of its important role in church services, Christian music has an even greater responsibility for accurate reflection and poses a greater danger when distorted than secular music. Aniol voices a frequent fear when he argues that when music “debases or trivializes holy things,” it effectively trivializes God and “the things of God.”⁸¹ Through trivialization, God is “effectively [transformed] into a different God.”⁸² What listeners hear in the music is not a true reflection of God but a false one. Thus, the musical distortion or trivialization of God is not just a mistake or a bad idea: it is “idolatry.”⁸³ As pastor Dean Kurtz writes, “What is really at stake in worship and worship music choices

⁸⁰ Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 116. Previously, Aniol argues, “Successfully reflecting God’s divine glory in music glorifies Him because in reflecting God’s glory, His beauty is magnified,” 111. He concludes, “In summary, in order for music to be enjoyed by Christians, it should redirect the observer’s focus on its beauty to the source of all beauty,” 116.

⁸¹ Aniol, *Worship in Song*, iii.

⁸² Aniol, *Worship in Song*, iii.

⁸³ Aniol, *Worship in Song*, iii. Regarding the view that music that does not accurately reflect God is idolatrous because it distorts his nature, see also Makujina, *Measuring the Music*, 222-6; and Sears, *Apostasy and Deception*, 91. Kurtz argues that the idolatry of wrong worship “is essentially self-worship,” *God’s Word*, 332. On the subject of worshipping the “right” God in the “wrong” way, see also Reimers, *The Glory Due His Name*, 70.

is nothing less than how people understand the nature, attributes, attitudes and actions of God Himself.”⁸⁴ The stakes are indeed high for music to accurately reflect God’s nature.

Decoding Musical Elements

The second foundational argument of fundamentalist music views is that listeners can accurately decipher musical meaning. Not only is music good and bad, but anyone can learn to hear the difference. This section discusses how fundamentalists distinguish good music from bad, and it outlines musical elements, lyrical characteristics, and performance practices that fall into each category.

The specifics of how fundamentalists arrive at these categories require a basic understanding of fundamentalist interpretive methods. Fundamentalist authorities, especially those writing about music, do not usually dissect their interpretive methods or the assumptions on which those methods rely, probably because they expect their readers’ agreement. For readers outside of fundamentalism, this methodology means that these texts can seem unreasonable or outlandish, despite substantial historical precedent for their methods.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Kurtz, *God’s Word*, 87. See also 28 for the connection of music and Trinitarian doctrine.

⁸⁵ Regarding fundamentalists’ self-perception that their methods might not make sense to outsiders, see Ammerman, *Bible Believers*, 102, 165. According to Ammerman, fundamentalist congregants are not likely to know the histories of their interpretive methods but are likely to sense a disconnect between their way of reading the Bible and perceiving the world, and the ways of non-fundamentalists in their social circles.

The assumption that practically anyone can learn to discern musical meaning derives from three different but related intellectual traditions sharing that premise that any sane individual has the commonsensical intellectual abilities to understand the world. First is the appropriately named Common Sense Realism of the eighteenth-century Scottish Enlightenment, that spread to America via higher education in the mid-nineteenth century, particular at Princeton Theological Seminary.⁸⁶ Common Sense Realism posits that the world that people experience is the world that exists, with no intervening ideas getting in the way of their direct knowledge and ability to make free choices. If individuals directly experience the world as it is, then knowledge is available to all. Given the same obvious-to-the-observer facts, reasonable people will arrive at the same conclusions using their God-given faculties of common sense. Second, the Baconian scientific method (originating with Francis Bacon in the late 1500s) informs fundamentalist thought through the inductive gathering and classification of facts ideally unmediated by and outside of interpretation, and which are presented together

⁸⁶ For more on the historical trajectory of Scottish Enlightenment ideology in America, see May, *The Enlightenment in America*. See also and Harris, *Fundamentalism and Evangelicals*, 13-4, 94-130; Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 14-16; and Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism*, 103-31. Noll argues against continuing strands of Common Sense methods in present-day evangelicalism in *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind*, 83-107, and in "Common Sense Traditions and American Evangelical Thought." Fundamentalist historian and BJU faculty member Beale, however, argues that other historians' emphases on Common Sense methods and Baconian induction is misplaced, but does not specify why, *In Pursuit of Purity*, 401. Beale did not respond to my request for clarification.

with unassailable conclusions.⁸⁷ Third, fundamentalists use a biblical hermeneutics of “plain reading,” especially as expressed in baptistic traditions since the 1600s. This hermeneutics fully invests in the belief “that the ‘plain sense’ of scripture is available wherever the reader does not obscure the text with subjective interpretation.”⁸⁸ These intellectual traditions guide fundamentalist authors’ methodologies and shape fundamentalist culture such that authors’ assumptions and methods are presumed to be inherently logical.

Because of these foundational beliefs, fundamentalist authors present their views as “obvious” to anyone “honest” enough to use their inherent mental faculties to understand musical meaning. Terms like “honest,” “obvious,” and their synonyms appear dozens of times in fundamentalist literature regarding lay listeners and their ability to understand authors’ arguments when presented with the evidence authors repeatedly refer to as “facts.” More than this, fundamentalists can insist that readers willfully rebel against God if they understand the author’s arguments but choose not to conform their music listening habits to fundamentalist standards: because their arguments are framed as common sense principles self-evident to any reasonable person, a reader who continues choosing bad music has either misunderstood the author

⁸⁷ Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 55-61. See also Bozeman, *Protestants in an Age of Science*. Fundamentalist author Kurtz criticizes an over-reliance on Baconian methods in *God’s Word*, 102, 344n4.

⁸⁸ Harris, *Fundamentalism and Evangelicals*, 117. For the baptistic “plain” reading hermeneutic, see Dare and Woodman, *The “Plainly Revealed” Word of God?* As a baptistic “plain” reading applies to fundamentalist discourses, see Boone, *The Bible Tells Them So*, 17-22.

(i.e. the reader has not understood “the obvious facts”) or has chosen to rebel against the clear commands of God.

For example, Garlock and his co-author, the pastor Kurt Woetzel, say that in their decades spent teaching their “research and conclusions,” they cannot “recall one person who was eager to find God’s will and who attended or heard every lesson who had serious disagreement with the conclusions and general thrust of the principles and their application to the Christian life.”⁸⁹ Garlock and Woetzel insist that anyone who disagreed was not “eager to find God’s will” while guarding against misunderstandings with qualifying statement about attending all the lectures of a series. Similarly, Smith asserts, “*Every* Christian has the ability to discern all music through the Holy Spirit Who indwells him. We simply must be willing to submit to His will in the area of music, as in all other areas in our life.”⁹⁰ The person who does not adequately discern all music is either untrained or has not submitted to the Holy Spirit.

Statements denying intellectual and spiritual legitimacy to opposing viewpoints saturate the fundamentalists’ literature on music—some 200 times in the 25 core primary source books for this chapter—and typify fundamentalist literature more generally.⁹¹ A preface written by the Dean of BJU’s Seminary, Steve Hankins, represents the pervasive

⁸⁹ Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, xiii.

⁹⁰ Smith, *Oh, Be Careful Little Ears*, 48.

⁹¹ Individuals are granted some latitude for specific applications—for example, is a particular song in question good or bad? See for example, Fisher’s assertion, “You may never draw the line exactly where I do. ... I do insist, however, that you consider the fact that *a line must be drawn!*” in *The Battle for Christian Music*, 56, emphasis his.

nature of these statements, as, in each of the first four sentences, he makes such a declaration by referring not to Christians, disciples, and followers of Christ, but to “[f]aithful Christians,” “[t]he true disciple,” “every mature Christian,” and “any honest follower of Christ.”⁹²

Yet fundamentalist authors paradoxically undercut their confident appeals to commonsense by appealing to their authority as experts in the same breath.⁹³ Authors simultaneously draw on their “expert” position while paradoxically insisting that their views are “obvious” to “honest” listeners. Similarly, when presenting amassed quotes of experts like sociologists, musicologists, and performing musicians, authors destabilize those authoritative voices by claiming that an honest, reasonable layperson would come to the same or similar conclusions as the experts.⁹⁴ In other words, if the authoritative views on music are not clear to readers, then they *would be* if only the readers were spiritually mature Christians with sufficient musical training. Take for example Aniol’s summation of how to apprehend music’s “Intrinsic Meaning.”⁹⁵ He begins by saying, “Discerning musical meaning does not require an advanced degree in musicology or an

⁹² Steve Hankins, preface to Reimers, *The Glory Due His Name*, vii.

⁹³ Appeals to expert authority appear routinely in fundamentalist literature, even as the authors’ interpretive methods are theoretically egalitarian in that men and women, ministers and laypeople alike may apply them to the Bible and to their lives (see Brasher, *Godly Women*, 66-80, for the egalitarian nature, but historical pitfalls, of inductive methods in evangelical women’s Bible studies). See also Boone’s comments on expert authority in *The Bible Tells Them So*, 77-8.

⁹⁴ These appeals to secular expert authority are part of what Nekola notes is an “evangelical reliance on secular sources as somehow unbiased—with the assumption being that if secular sources can even see the danger of rock music, then surely good Christians should be even better equipped to see rock’s evils,” “Between This World and the Next,” 199.

⁹⁵ Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 218.

extensive knowledge of music theory. Consulting experts in these areas is always wise, just like we would consult experts in science to determine whether smoking is harmful to our bodies.... But the fact is that the nature of how music communicates makes it possible for anyone to discern the meaning."⁹⁶ Aniol repeatedly hones in on experts, telling his readers for example that "consulting experts is helpful and wise," while at the same time arguing that music "reflects the natural, detectable manifestations of primary emotions" and that only for more finessed understandings are these experts necessary.⁹⁷

Having considered the fundamentalists' interpretive premises, my discussion moves to musical meaning, focusing first on lyrics and then on music apart from lyrical content—what is often called "music itself."

The Relative Importance and Intelligibility of Lyrics

Fundamentalists treat lyrics as a relatively straightforward aspect of musical communication, requiring little interpretation, in contrast to their view that music itself demands an inherently more nuanced and spiritually mature analysis. Lyrics therefore receive comparatively sparse attention in fundamentalist texts while authors address music itself at great length and in great detail. Moreover, for some authors, lyrics are

⁹⁶ Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 218.

⁹⁷ Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 219-20.

relatively unimportant because they “simply reinforce what the music already proclaims.”⁹⁸

For many fundamentalists, music itself is the true site of music’s power, not lyrics, even though lyrics convey didactic content.⁹⁹ Music is good or godly when it accurately reflects God in both its musical style and, if present, its lyrics, and is bad or ungodly when it fails in either element. In theory and in practice, good music could be corrupted by bad lyrics, but fundamentalists focus on the far more likely event of good lyrics set to bad music.¹⁰⁰ To discuss the relative important of lyrics versus music itself, fundamentalist authors frequently bring up a tone-of-voice metaphor. You can say the words “I love you” all you want, but you have to say it in a way—in a musical style—that conveys what you really mean. For example, Hamilton reminds her readers, “Just as you can say the name of Jesus in love and respect, you can say the name of Jesus in cursing,” to argue that “[i]f godly lyrics are added to *sensual music*, the *sensual music* can

⁹⁸ Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 27. The authors argue, “It is absurd to think that one can unite Christian lyrics with the medium of the world (rock music) and expect the meaning and communication to remain the same,” 31.

⁹⁹ For the oft-stated view that musical content is about music *itself* and not primarily concerned with lyrics, see for example, Garlock and Woetzel’s *Music in the Balance*, which makes this point many times throughout the text including at 17, 21, 27-9, 50, 53, 92, 103, 131-1, 181. See also, for example, Bachorik, *New Heart*, 15-31, 49, 114; and Fisher, *The Battle for Christian Music*, 51-72, 192, 198. This pervasive view is a definite twist in the history of Christian logocentrism. While fundamentalists, like their Christian forebears, insist that the lyrics of Christian songs be completely intelligible, this is not because the lyrics are more important than the music but because the didactic content of a song is in the lyrics—the true power of the song is still in the music itself. Epstein discusses the logocentrism in Christian musical discourse with particular attention to the intelligibility of lyrics in *Melting the Venusberg*, 15-18.

¹⁰⁰ The relationship of bad lyrics and good music is rarely addressed in fundamentalist literature and, presumably in their view, rarely happens in actual music. However, the case of non-English classical vocal music (such as operas and art songs) is problematic to say the least and opera productions at BJU sometimes cut scenes the producers find inappropriate.

change the meaning of the *godly lyrics*.”¹⁰¹ Thus good music preaches the same good message from *every* element of a given piece, both in lyrics *and* music. As Bachorik writes, “If you believe X, and you have music that expresses X, you are reinforcing X in your thinking. However, if you believe X and sing of it with music that expresses theology Y, you are reinforcing something different.”¹⁰² Mixing good lyrics and bad music yields a musical message that distorts true theology instead of clearly teaching it.

Criteria for Secular Lyrics

Given the possibilities of didactic content, lyrics might seem to be a prime site of separation for fundamentalists. After all, non-religious organizations in the U.S. like the Parents Music Resource Center prioritize lyrics in their efforts to protect children from sexual and violent music (the organization’s efforts, spearheaded by Tipper Gore, led to music packaging labels for explicit lyrics beginning in the 1990s), and musical brands like Kidz Bop cater to parents’ concerns about their children’s wellbeing by producing bowdlerized versions of popular songs.¹⁰³ But while fundamentalists reject secular lyrics

¹⁰¹ Hamilton, *Why I Don’t Listen to Contemporary Christian Music*, 23, emphasis hers. The “tone of voice” comparison is common in fundamentalist literature. See for example, Aniol, *Sound Worship*, 67, and *Worship in Song*, 163-4; Fisher, *The Battle for Christian Music*, 93; Foster, *The Spiritual Song*, 35; Smith, *Music and Morals*, 44-5; and Sweatt, *Church Music*, 14.

¹⁰² Bachorik, *New Heart, New Spirit, New Song*, 77. See also Fisher, *Harmony at Home* 82. In *The Battle for Christian Music*, Fisher contrasts absolute concert music with Christian music. Unlike absolute music, Christian music “is a vehicle to carry a spiritual message. The message may be directed to God or to man but *it must be acceptable to God*. It must reveal God in both text and music,” 94. Fisher is not arguing against absolute music, but arguing for a certain quality of spirituality to be present in specifically Christian music such as would be used in church services.

¹⁰³ See Gore’s *Raising PG Kids in an X-Rated Society*, which repeatedly emphasizes the problems of sexually explicit and violent song lyrics (along with music videos exhibiting the same explicitness and

promoting violence, immorality, or sexual expression in general, secular lyrics are generally viewed as blatant enough to easily distinguish good from bad.¹⁰⁴ Thus, though fundamentalist literature does point out the dangers of explicit lyrics, authors give more interpretive attention to musical style because its moral qualities are seen as less obvious.

With the marked exception of classical music, secular music with or without texts is not prioritized by fundamentalists, but not because fundamentalists are troubled by its secular nature *per se*; rather, they approve of secular lyrics with generally moral content with the caveat that these texts “should be profitable, even when fun.”¹⁰⁵ Douglas Bachorik, a missionary and music professor, writes that the Bible admits texted and non-texted secular music for uses including “relaxation, comfort, and refreshment...enjoyment and celebration,” and other uses such as “love songs, civic signals, military calls, celebrations of military victories, lamentations, and songs of comfort.”¹⁰⁶ He also suggests that by limiting oneself to only sacred music, a person

violence). Kidzbp.com advertises the brand as “Today’s Biggest Hits Sung by Kids for Kids” (accessed October 5, 2014).

¹⁰⁴ Comments about the wickedness of rock lyrics abound in fundamentalist texts; see for example, Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 136-7; Fisher, *Harmony at Home*, 104; Fisher, *The Battle for Christian Music*, 74-7; Foster, *The Spiritual Song*, 112-4; Garlock, *The Big Beat*, 41; and Peck, *Rock*, 47.

¹⁰⁵ Bachorik, *New Heart, New Spirit, New Song*, 95.

¹⁰⁶ Bachorik, *New Heart, New Spirit, New Song*, 93-4.

might be tempted to find an entertainment value in such music, instead of finding in secular music an outlet “for fun, relaxation, and laughter.”¹⁰⁷

Fundamentalists’ concerts often use classical music with secular texts, and they also use lighthearted secular music under the collective moniker of “fun music.”¹⁰⁸ Representative of “fun music” is a BJU choir concert entitled “Falling in Love” that featured standards from the Great American Songbook such as “It’s a Grand Night for Singing” (Richard Rogers and Oscar Hammerstein II), “I’ve Got a Crush on You” (George Gershwin and Ira Gershwin), and “Almost like Being in Love” (Frederick Loewe and Alan Jay Lerner), as well as a “pre-concert serenade” from a barbershop quartet called the “Crawdad Boys.”¹⁰⁹ Most fundamentalists regard these secular songs as wholesome, though they are not so highly ranked as sacred pieces. Notably absent from the concert’s lineup, however are more risqué songs in the same genre like Cole Porter’s “Let’s Do It.”

A more likely example of “fun music” for many fundamentalist families are the audio-musicals produced since the early 1980s by Ron Hamilton under the moniker “Patch the Pirate” (Hamilton has habitually worn an eye patch after losing an eye to

¹⁰⁷ Bachorik, *New Heart, New Spirit, New Song*, 47.

¹⁰⁸ The expressions “fun music” or “fun songs” are often used in conversations with fundamentalists about lighthearted secular music, but appears only occasionally in written fundamentalist texts about music. See for example, Fisher, *Harmony at Home*, 9. Fundamentalist-produced fun music includes the bluegrass albums: *The Farm Boys*, *The Farm Boys Have Come to Town*; and *Muddy Creek, Muddy Creek*.

¹⁰⁹ This concert of the University Chorale (dir. Warren Cook) was presented with similar repertoire in the spring semesters of 1993, 1997, and 2003.

cancer in the 1970s). These “adventures,” over 30 of which have been released by his family’s company Majesty Music, feature a moralistic story and complementary songs advertised to parents with the theme of the story and descriptions like: “Your children will glean the crucial lesson of selflessness as they listen to the story and songs in this adventure.”¹¹⁰ While many of the songs are sacred, many are also the secular “fun music” category, with children-targeted songs like “Garlic Breath” from *The Villain of Venice* and “Wiggle Worm” from *Patch the Pirate Goes to the Jungle*.¹¹¹

Because most fundamentalist books on music deal with sacred music, classical music, and the dangers of popular styles, while giving scant attention to overarching categories like secular folk music, I have occasionally brought up the omission to interviewees, asking if they feel that it is important to have songs on themes like love and loss. From their responses, it seems that these kinds of songs are not important to their general conception of what music should do. For example, Mac Lynch, who directed music at The Wilds from 1979 to 2012, asserted unequivocally that the “core” of a Christian’s listening should be sacred music.¹¹² In other words, even though Christians may listen to secular music—and Lynch specifically meant music as *entertainment*—it

¹¹⁰ Majesty Music, Description of “Kidnapped on I-land,” <https://www.majestymusic.com/patch-the-pirate/kidnapped-on-i-land-cd.html> (accessed August 25, 2015).

¹¹¹ See Majesty Music, “Adventures,” <https://www.majestymusic.com/adventures> (accessed August 25, 2015).

¹¹² Mac Lynch, interview with author, February 4, 2015.

should not form the majority of music listened to. Rather, sacred music should predominate because it can “disciple” Christians.”¹¹³

Criteria for Sacred Lyrics

Fundamentalist authors give greater scrutiny to sacred lyrics than secular ones. While secular lyrics only have to espouse basically moral themes, sacred lyrics must be clearly and unequivocally Christian in their doctrine: sacred lyrics fail in their purpose if they merely support generic Christian themes without being unmistakably Christian in theology. For example, Jim Berg, BJU’s Dean of Students from 1981 to 2010, decries sacred lyrics about “God as the majestic Creator over all” without also pointing to Jesus Christ as salvific redeemer, since these could just as easily be sung by “a Unitarian or a Mormon” as an orthodox Christian.¹¹⁴ For instance, to sing, “I love you,” without a clearly Christian context, is to fall not so much into inaccuracy but into unacceptable ambiguity. Garlock and Woetzel criticize such ambiguous songs and their “nebulous *you*,” that could “describe a relationship with a lover, friend, or spouse, or with the Lord.”¹¹⁵ Pop culture commentary on popularly styled Christian songs make similar

¹¹³ Mac Lynch, interview with author, February 4, 2015.

¹¹⁴ Berg, *Created for His Glory*, 90-1.

¹¹⁵ Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 119, 124-5. See similarly critiques of ambiguous Jesus/lover lyrics in Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 212, 214-5; Bachorik, *New Heart*, 87; Blanchard, Anderson, and Cleave, *Pop Goes the Gospel*, 160; Fisher, *The Battle for Christian Music*, 185-8; Smith, *Let Those Who Have Ears*, 132-3; and Peck, *Rock*, 97.

statements; a parody in the television show *South Park*, for example, gibes that these songs knock-off secular love songs by simply replacing “baby” with “Jesus.”¹¹⁶

Similarly, in a sermon series on music, Greenville-area pastor Drew Conley criticizes a song used in fundamental churches, not because the lyrics were immoral but because they were “vague.”¹¹⁷ While the song’s first stanza quotes verbatim from Psalm 103, the song then “compresses the remaining 21 verses of the psalm into this vague generalization, ‘He’s done great things,’” instead of following the Psalm’s pattern of listing specific instances of God’s mercy.¹¹⁸ Truncating the biblical text dilutes the biblical truth, smudging the mirror reflecting God’s nature.¹¹⁹

Instead of ambiguity, fundamentalists want lyrics so explicitly Christian as to be unacceptable to non-Christians.¹²⁰ Fundamentalist lyricists desire to “express and advance the [congregant’s] theological understanding” by permeating their texts “with

¹¹⁶ *South Park*, “Christian Rock Hard” (originally aired October 23, 2003).

¹¹⁷ J. Drew Conley, “The Place of Music in Worship,” sermon at Hampton Park Baptist Church (Greenville, SC, July 24, 2005), <http://www.sermonaudio.com/sermoninfo.asp?SID=8305152326> (accessed November 5, 2014).

¹¹⁸ J. Drew Conley, “The Place of Music in Worship,” sermon at Hampton Park Baptist Church (Greenville, SC, July 24, 2005), <http://www.sermonaudio.com/sermoninfo.asp?SID=8305152326> (accessed November 5, 2014).

¹¹⁹ In *Church Music*, Sweatt argues, Satan “seeks...to dilute the message by making it vague.” Satan can only distort what God already made and here’s how he does it: “As with anything that God has greatly used, Satan is active to destroy its wholesome influence. He seeks to pervert the vehicle by making it sensual, to dilute the message by making it vague, and to corrupt the messenger by making him worldly,” 2.

¹²⁰ For the frequent criticisms of vague, repetitive, indistinctly Christian, or otherwise subpar Christian lyrics, see Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 177, 187-95; Berg, *Created for His Glory*, 90-1; Fisher, *Harmony at Home*, 33-34, 130-2; Garlock, *The Big Beat*, 46-7; Kurtz, *God’s Word*, 139, 162, 241; and Peck, *Rock*, 76, 96-101.

biblical quotations, imagery and allusions.”¹²¹ As the creative minds behind the music group Church Works Media, including Greg Habegger and Chris Anderson, write about their newly-composed congregational music, “The songs we sing in worship should be doctrinally rich and meaty. We want people to meditate on spiritual truths as they sing, both in public worship and in private, so we are endeavoring to provide fuel for such meditation through theologically astute texts, especially regarding the doctrines of God, Christ, and Salvation.”¹²² Furthermore, at least one prominent author, Aniol, argues that hymn texts should reflect current grammatical practices and have sentence structures that are understandable when sung so as to better aid congregants’ worship.¹²³

Decoding Music Itself

For fundamentalists, hearing musical “tone of voice” requires a more nuanced interpretive approach than lyrics do, both in terms of the interpreter’s musical training and in terms spiritual maturity.¹²⁴ Though a difficult task, when a listener has both spiritual discernment and music training, they can identify good and bad elements with

¹²¹ Churchworksmedia.com, “Philosophy,” <http://churchworksmedia.com/philosophy> (accessed November 8, 2014). This main writers and composers of this group are Chris Anderson, Greg Habegger, and Joe Tyrpak, all BJU-grads; see Churchworksmedia.com, ““Authors and Composers,” <http://churchworksmedia.com/authors--composers> (accessed January 5, 2015).

¹²² Churchworksmedia.com, “Philosophy,” <http://churchworksmedia.com/philosophy> (accessed November 8, 2014).

¹²³ Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 215-6.

¹²⁴ Even for those less separatist than BJU fundamentalists, the nuances can be tricky. Regarding her time in the 1980s spent with congregants at Thomas Road Baptist Church (then pastored by Jerry Falwell), Harding writes, “I found in my interviews with couples in Lynchburg that they still worried a good deal about where to draw lines of personal separations. But what lines they worried about—regarding movies, rock ‘n’ roll music, wine—and where to draw them varied. More to the point, they felt it was up to them, not their pastor, to decide,” *The Book of Jerry Falwell*, 173.

specificity rather than vague generalizations. With these two characteristics as a prerequisite, fundamentalists can confidently evaluate musical elements by observing their effects on listeners' bodies and emotions. Bad music results in bad emotions and movements, while good music yields the opposite.

Fundamentalists frequently employ food metaphors to explain categories of music.¹²⁵ Good music—classical and especially sacred—is like healthy food, the food that should be the mainstay of a person's diet. "Fun music," which includes genres like barbershop quartet and bluegrass, is like desserts—enjoyable but unhealthy if eaten too often. And bad music is like recreational drugs—perhaps not deadly on first use but repeated exposure has potentially horrific effects. The metaphor here is of consumption and quantity: not only should you listen to sacred music in acceptable styles, but that music should be the mainstay of your listening and not, say, Gilbert and Sullivan operettas or film scores. Moreover, just as you might enjoy a wide variety of healthy dishes, so too you can enjoy a wide variety of music. Sweatt, for example, encourages musicians to ensure that, "without the bounds of propriety," they "offer a veritable smorgasbord of musical and lyrical styles" in church services.¹²⁶ Metaphors like these work, especially for readers who are not musically trained, both to categorize music into

¹²⁵ For food metaphors used to explain aspects of music, see for example, Aniol, *Sound Worship*, 76-7; Fisher, *Harmony at Home*, 8, 27, 121, 151; Garlock, *The Big Beat*, 31; Hamilton, *Why I Don't Listen*, 60; and Makujina, *Measuring the Music*, 134-7, 57.

¹²⁶ Sweatt, *Church Music*, 25. For other injunctions to have variety in church music, see also Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 180; and Lucarini, *Why I Left*, 34-5, 128.

always good, always bad, and good-in-moderation; and to conceptualize more concretely the powers fundamentalists attribute to music.

Fundamentalists' views on bad music echo themes of secular criticisms of rock 'n' roll music in the 1950s and 60s. For example, Fisher writes, "Rock music appeals to the flesh. Through beat, volume, and repetition, the music is designed to appeal to our sensual nature. Its victims admit that rock music is often more addictive than drugs. It has the power to split families and churches and to alienate teenagers. It grabs hold of our bodies and dulls our minds."¹²⁷ Bad music elicits, strengthens, or uncovers a host of sins, such as sexual thoughts or body movements, rebellion toward authorities, and eventual physical sickness.¹²⁸ According to evangelist Gordon Sears, it brings about ecumenical cooperation, the much-reviled antithesis of ecclesiastical separation.¹²⁹ Moreover, it perverts true Christian worship: it can "invite evil spirits;"¹³⁰ it "has the power to attract us to false worship;"¹³¹ and it turns people toward idolatry.¹³²

Bad music had this power primarily because it causes listeners to lose personal control of themselves, a vulnerability that opens them up to negative influence or that reveals their already-present, but latent, sinful desires. Fundamentalists particularly worry over the propensity of adolescents to be swayed by music's negative powers — a

¹²⁷ Fisher, *Harmony at Home*, 74.

¹²⁸ Smith, *Let Those Who Have Ears*, 49, and *Music and Morals*, 73.

¹²⁹ Sears, *Apostasy and Deception*, 43.

¹³⁰ Sears, *Apostasy and Deception*, 64.

¹³¹ Kurtz, *God's Word*, 76.

¹³² Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 180.

leitmotiv of their literature on music—arguing that since young peoples’ still-developing brains and changing hormones leave them more vulnerable to the pull of sexualized and, in some case, occultist music.¹³³

Fear of evil supernatural influences—variously labeled as satanic, demonic, or occultic—drives much of earlier fundamentalist writings on music along with some later texts, reflecting a concern they shared with other evangelicals.¹³⁴ Authors claim that popular music is a powerful tool of the Devil, “the devil’s [*sic*] masterpiece for enslaving his own children,” a means to assault “the church and the home.”¹³⁵ In other words, popular music is not only a bad influence, but is purposefully deployed as a weapon in the cosmic warfare that they believe Satan continually wages against God.¹³⁶ One frequent underlying reason for this view is popular music’s origins in African music, as Africa is a continent that they believe has been particularly susceptible to demonic influences.¹³⁷

¹³³ Regarding the view that teens are especially prone to musical manipulation, see for example, Blanchard and Lucarini, *Can We Rock the Gospel?*, 139-40; and Garlock, *The Big Beat*, 37-42. Hamilton writes, “The ever-growing pressure from my children’s peers steering them into CCM over the last ten years has burdened my heart and spurred me on to dig deeply into the emergence of rock music with spiritual text,” concerns which resulted in her book *Why I Don’t Listen to Contemporary Christian Music*, 7. See also Nekola, “Between This World and the Next,” 154-71.

¹³⁴ See Nekola, “Between This World and the Next,” 199-218, and “More Than Just A Music,” 413-5.

¹³⁵ Garlock, *The Big Beat*, 49; and Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 8.

¹³⁶ See for example, Fisher, *Harmony at Home*, 116; Schmidt, *Music Matters*, 47; Sears, *Apostasy and Deception*, 31-2. For a fundamentalist perspective on the demonic, see Knapp, *Demons*.

¹³⁷ See for example, Foster, *The Spiritual Song*, 38; Pyle, *The Truth About Rock Music*, 10; and Smith, *Let Those With Ears*, 99-100.

In contrast to bad music, good music can positively influence listener's bodies and emotions—although with good music, emotional benefits are more prominent than any physical ones. Indeed, music's emotional benefits make it not just tolerable to fundamentalists but an "intensely practical tool...in discipleship."¹³⁸ Of fundamentalist writers, Aniol has developed the most intensive claims for music's potential to positively elicit emotions: he claims that "good music actually educates...emotions so that they develop to maturity."¹³⁹ His argument begins with the premise that a person's capacity to appreciate earthly beauty relates to their capacity to "appreciate rightly God's superior beauty;" from this position, he contends that "sanctifying a Christian's ability to apprehend beauty in music is essentially the sanctification of his emotions."¹⁴⁰ For fundamentalists, sanctification is "the ongoing work of God through the Holy Spirit in progressively conforming a believer's mindset and choices to accurately mirror his position and identity in Christ," so when Aniol extends his argument to include sanctification, he literally argues that when listeners learn to appreciate good music, they become holier people—musical education, of a particular kind, is a form of godliness.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ Kurtz, *God's Word*, 269.

¹³⁹ Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 165.

¹⁴⁰ Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 124-5. Throughout his work, Aniol make spiritual education (such a music might accomplish if it is capable of educating emotions, as he argues) an aspect of sanctification.

¹⁴¹ Bob Jones University, "2014-2015 Student Handbook," 7.

Other fundamentalist authors offer a more simplistic version of Aniol's premise. Take for instance a book subtitled "understanding and applying the amazing power of godly music."¹⁴² The author, pastor Cary Schmidt, asks readers, "Would you like for God to win your battles? Would you like to see greater spiritual victory, more abundant fruit, accelerated spiritual growth, and greater understanding? Would you like to pray more, worry less, see more clearly, and understand more biblically? Would you like to walk in truth and experience God's presence in your life moment by moment?"¹⁴³ Good music, Schmidt argues, can do just that for readers—"Godly music is [God's] gift to you to facilitate your daily walk and spiritual growth in His grace—and in a way that you will greatly enjoy!"¹⁴⁴ Schmidt's rhetoric becomes almost ad copy as, after listing twenty positive effects of godly music, he writes: "And that's just the short list! Name one other activity that accomplishes so much spiritually with so little effort! What a great God! And today's modern technology only makes godly music that much more accessible to the surrendered Christian! By merely pressing a button we can experience spiritual growth and life-transformation! What a great use of an iPod!"¹⁴⁵

Emotionalism—meaning here, good emotions without rational basis—sits just outside these categories of good and bad. Just as food consumption can change from good to bad through the sin of gluttony, music with a potential for good can devolve

¹⁴² Schmidt, *Music Matters*.

¹⁴³ Schmidt, *Music Matters*, 65.

¹⁴⁴ Schmidt, *Music Matters*, 70.

¹⁴⁵ Schmidt, *Music Matters*, 71.

into emotionalism, especially in the case of sacred music: a lack of doctrinally-saturated lyrics calls into question the spiritual validity of a listener's emotional responses.¹⁴⁶ Sans doctrinal substance, the feelings of a "highly emotional" music experience are counterfeit.¹⁴⁷ Sweatt uses the metaphor of a roller coaster to explain "a Christian whose life is built on emotionalism without Bible truth," saying, "As long as there are strong emotional stimulants, he lives on a constant 'high,' but without such he has little depth or substance to sustain him in the inevitable valleys."¹⁴⁸ Recall Augustine's consternation "when it happens to me that the song moves me more than the thing which is sung" – feeling pleasure in the music without being first perceiving the lyric's theological content.¹⁴⁹ Aniol comments that "it is not the pleasure itself that caused Augustine to sin, but a kind of pleasure limited to the earthly beauty only and not directed to pleasure in divine beauty."¹⁵⁰ Aniol writes: "It does not take a trained musician to recognize music

¹⁴⁶ "When you sing songs using a rock beat, the result will be excitement. However, it is artificial excitement because it is based on the flesh and not the Spirit. Remember that the Bible says we are to worship in spirit and in truth (John 4:24). Therefore, both spirit and truth need to be present, or it is not true worship. Worshipping with just spirit will produce pure emotionalism. Worshipping with just truth will produce dead orthodoxy. The right spirit (producing the right music and singers) and the right truth (correct doctrine) should be present. When this happens, the music will be exciting as it is accomplished through a Spirit-filled believer," Foster, *The Spiritual Song*, 75. See also Foster's chapter entitled "The Holy Spirit or Emotionalism?," 84-93.

¹⁴⁷ Garlock, *The Big Beat*, 48.

¹⁴⁸ Sweatt, *Church Music*, 17. Sweatt criticizes "an over-emphasis on emotionalism and experience" where a congregation's collective emotional response gauges the effectiveness of a musical piece's message, saying that "while it is true that there is much emotional involved in Bible Christianity, emotional displays are not necessary in response to every truth presented," 16.

¹⁴⁹ St. Augustine, *Confessions* (Book 10), in *Music in Early Christian Literature*, 155.

¹⁵⁰ Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 115. For other comments on Augustine, see Blanchard and Lucarini, *Can We Rock the Gospel?*, 221-2; Fisher, *The Battle for Christian Music*, 132-3; and Lucarini, *It's Not about the Music*, 66.

that is intended to stir up the passions. It may not be wrong in and of itself, but it is certainly not appropriate for congregational worship. Such music inherently bypasses the intellect and runs straight for the passions. It is not deeply felt affection resulting from understanding biblical truth; it is emotionalism, pure and simple.”¹⁵¹

Fundamentalist musicians must carefully avoid eliciting emotions uncoupled from their doctrinal moorings, lest they lead listeners to sinful emotionalized responses such as Augustine’s.¹⁵²

As I show in later chapters, however, music used in fundamental church services (and enjoyed in private sphere in its recorded forms) often intentionally rouses a listener’s emotions, and it is difficult to tell whether such responses are emotional or could be emotionalized. For example as I discuss further in Chapter Three, congregants often sing hymns together with visible enthusiasm that music directors attribute in interviews to congregants’ spirituality and their engagement with the hymns’ lyrics. While this may be the case, congregants’ enthusiasm for singing is also increased, according to pianists, by their skillful accompaniment, and, in my experience of fundamental church services, by verbal inspiration from song leaders. With bombastic accompaniment, a song leader’s encouragement spurring the singing, and even cleverly

¹⁵¹ Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 201.

¹⁵² Among the warnings against musicians whipping up excessive emotions in their listeners, see for example Blanchard and Lucarini, *Can We Rock the Gospel*, 141.

craft arrangements that use a choir's abilities to bolster the congregation's, the boundary between emotion and emotionalism becomes blurred.¹⁵³

The Meanings of Specific Musical Elements

Fundamentalist authors frequently name specific musical elements as good or bad categories, often in chart or list form.¹⁵⁴ The following tables summarize their categorization to show what criteria fundamentalists use to divide good music from bad. Table 4 shows that good musical elements originate in common practice Western art music and in tonal folk music, especially of the English tradition. Table 5 shows that good performance practices derive from Western classical musicians in orchestral and choral settings (people in subdued professional attire with self-effacing demeanors), and vocal performance practice emulates that of classical choral or solo performers. Table 6 outlines elements relating to musical affect and to the origins and cultural associations of music; these prioritize real or perceived relationships with white, upper-class, well-educated, and Christian demographics. Collectively this demarcation of good and bad music places Western art music's most common attributes in the former category and African American vernacular music's most common ones in the latter.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ For an example of arrangements for congregational and choir, see Fred Coleman et al., *Let the People Sing*.

¹⁵⁴ Exemplary lists of specific musical elements appear in Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 91-6; Fisher, *The Battle for Christian Music*, 65-9, 73-89; Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 55-68; Smith, *Let Those Who Have Ears*, 185, and *Oh, Be Careful Little Ears*, 48, 121-5.

¹⁵⁵ Floyd lists "the characterizing and foundational elements of African-American music," most of which are criticized in fundamentalist literature: "calls, cries, and hollers; call-and-response devices;

Table 3: Good and bad musical elements

<p><i>Good Melody</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most important element in the mix • Conforms to common practice structural ideals (e.g. tension and release; regular phrasing) 	<p><i>Bad Melody</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Less important in the mix • Repetitive • Less conforming to common practice structural ideals (e.g. too modular)
<p><i>Good Harmony</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conforms to common practice ideals • Generally consonant • May modulate • Does not overwhelm melody 	<p><i>Bad Harmony</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited chord changes (e.g. only I-IV-V-I) • Generally more dissonant • Overwhelms or distracts from melody, such as through a loud bass register
<p><i>Good Rhythm</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Least important element in mix • Has variety (is not repetitive) • Minimal syncopation • Individual rhythms played exactly as notated 	<p><i>Bad Rhythm</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most important element in mix • Repetitive • Backbeat • Extensive syncopation • Individual rhythms anticipated, delayed, shortened, or extended
<p><i>Good Counterpoint</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conforms to common practice ideals • May include polyphony 	<p><i>Bad Counterpoint</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does not conform to common practice ideals (e.g. parallel fifths)
<p><i>Good Volume</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Has variety (e.g. phrase shaping) • Will not damage hearing 	<p><i>Bad Volume</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consistently loud • May damage hearing
<p><i>Good Lyrics</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Foregrounded in mix (see also Good Melody) • Christian: contains unequivocally Christian content • Secular: contains morally positive content 	<p><i>Bad Lyrics</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Background in mix (see also Bad Melody) • Christian: contains minimal doctrinal content or is religiously ambiguous • Christian: may conflate Jesus with a lover • Secular: praises sex, drugs, violence, rebellion, or generally anti-Christian messages
<p><i>Good Instruments</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Western orchestral • Acoustic (except electronic organs and keyboards) 	<p><i>Bad Instruments</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Electric • Instruments associated with popular music styles (e.g. drum sets, guitars)

additive rhythms and polyrhythms; heterophony, pendular thirds, blue notes, bent notes, and elisions; hums, moans, grunts, vocables, and other rhythmic-oral declamations, intersections, and punctuations; off-beat melodic phrasings and parallel intervals and chords; constant repetition of rhythmic and melodic diaries and phrases (from which riffs and vamps would be derived); timbral distortions of various kinds; musical individuality within collectivity; game rivalry; hand clapping, foot patting, and approximations thereof; apart-playing; and the metronomic pulse that underlies all African-American music," *The Power of Black Music*, 6.

Table 4: Good and bad performance practices

<p><i>Good Vocal Style</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intelligible diction • Pitches sung precisely as notated • Classical vocal training (as in <i>bel canto</i> singing or in the English cathedral choral tradition) • Promotes healthy lifetime use of vocal chords • Belting may be allowed, especially in non-religious contexts, but is not encouraged 	<p><i>Bad Vocal Style</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unintelligible diction • Pitches sung imprecisely (“sloppy” scoops and slides, bent pitches) • Breathy/whispery timbre • Potentially damaging to vocal chords (e.g. screaming)
<p><i>Good Appearance of Musicians</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gender-conforming • Modest • Generally professional attire 	<p><i>Bad Appearance of Musicians</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gender-non-conforming • Immodest • Sloppy or casual • Tattoos • Unnatural hair colors
<p><i>Good Stage Performance</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anti-/a-sexual • Relatively motionless • De-emphasis on musician (especially in religious setting) 	<p><i>Bad Stage Performance</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sexual • Self-aggrandizing • Too much emphasis on musician or on audience/congregation

Table 5: Good and bad affective and contextual elements

<p><i>Good Affect</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Orderly and coherent (defined in opposition to noisy and/or aleatoric music) • Meaningful to listeners (used to define context—what may be appropriate in some settings is not in others) • Peaceful, sincere, serious (defined in opposition to music that is superficial or angry) • Not addictive (includes most or all art and folk musics) 	<p><i>Bad Affect</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chaotic, anarchic, rebellious, noise (e.g. punk; noise music; aleatoric music) • Nihilistic or relativistic • Angry (e.g. death metal; screaming) • Superficial, trendy, commercialized, entertainment (e.g. most or all popular music) • Sexual (e.g. backbeat; vocal breathiness) • Hypnotic, addictive (e.g. trance music; New Age music)
<p><i>Good Associations</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Christian or generally moral 	<p><i>Bad Associations</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unchristian or immoral • Ungodly places (e.g. bars, discos) • Drugs • Sexual promiscuity • New Age • Suicide
<p><i>Good Origins</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • White, European • Elite, upper-class • Educated • Anti-/a-sexual • Western 	<p><i>Bad Origins</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Black, African • Poor • Uneducated • Promiscuously sexual, hyper-sexual • Non-western

The New Song

Fundamentalists use good music to give witness to their status as born-again believers, testifying that God has the power to change the desires of their hearts from bad to good.¹⁵⁶ To make this argument that music has the power to communicate in this way, authors generally begin with this passage from this Psalms:

I waited patiently for the Lord, and he inclined unto me, and heard my cry. He brought me up also out of an horrible pit, out of the miry clay, and set my feet upon a rock, and established my goings. And he hath put a new song in my mouth, even praise unto our God: many shall see it, and fear, and shall trust in the Lord. Ps. 40:1-3

They take this passage to mean that their new songs can have a similar effect in their own communities.¹⁵⁷ Whether they understand “new” to mean that the song is new to the born-again individual, or new as in recently composed music, the “new song” makes the relationship between God and individual audible.¹⁵⁸ For a proselytizing people,

¹⁵⁶ On the view that music affects a fundamentalist’s ability to witness, see for example, Bachorik, *New Heart*, 66, 76; Fisher, *Harmony at Home*, 126, 129-137, 163-66; Foster, *The Spiritual Song*, 12-3, 21, 96-7, 125; Peck, *Rock*, 35; Pyle, *The Truth about Rock Music*, 35; and Smith, *Oh Be Careful Little Ears*, 90-91, 102. Garlock goes so far as to declare that when a person is converted through the influence of music in popular styles, that person will be a weak Christian; see *The Big Beat*, 47-8.

¹⁵⁷ Regarding the “new song,” especially as it related to visible signs of salvation, see for example Fisher, *Harmony at Home*, 81-2; Fisher, *The Battle for Christian Music*, 9-14, 136; Garlock, *The Big Beat*, 26, 42; Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 19-22; Lucarini, *Why I Left*, 21, 23-25, 36; and Smith, *Oh Be Careful Little Ears*, 72-3. Regarding the “new song” in general, see also Kurtz, *God’s Word*, 141, 243.

¹⁵⁸ Authors tend toward the view that the “new song” is most importantly that of the convert and

music's power to outwardly testify their inner faith can powerfully motivate them to choose what their churches hear as good music.

Like other evangelicals, fundamentalists view conversion as an instantaneous transformation from unbeliever to believer. A truly converted person will, without exception, begin living a godly life, manifesting their new spiritual state by evangelizing the unsaved and living a life separated from worldly practices.¹⁵⁹ Conversion does not mean that a believer is suddenly sinless but rather that they, with God's grace, can choose to live a godly life. Although born-again people will still sin, their spiritual trajectory leads toward holiness manifested in visible signs of salvation.¹⁶⁰ Hence the old, unregenerate songs' ill fit with the convert's spiritual state—they need new songs to reflect their changed heart.¹⁶¹

not recently-composed music; indeed, one interviewee, a well-connected music director, expressed shock that any reputable fundamentalist leaders held the view that "new" could mean recently composed. See the following for definitions of "new" as it relates to the "new song": Bachorik, *New Heart, New Spirit, New Song*, 55-8; Fisher, *The Battle for Christian Music*, 9-14; Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 19-22; Kuntz, *God's Word*, 141; Lucarini, *Why I Left the Christian Contemporary Music Movement*, 23, 36; and Smith, *Let Those Who Have Ears*, 46.

¹⁵⁹ Ammerman's ethnographic work shows how personal salvation leads directly "visible signs of salvation," as new converts stop drinking and give up rock music, *Bible Believers*, 82-91 and 154. See also the following fundamentalist authors on the importance of a changed life resulting from salvation: Berg, *Essential Virtues*, 5; Fisher, *The Battle for Christian Music*, 134-5; Kurtz, *God's Word*, 102; Moritz, "Be Ye Separate," 26-8; and Peck, *Rock*, 54-5.

¹⁶⁰ Ammerman, *Bible Believers*, 82-91.

¹⁶¹ Garlock, *The Big Beat*, 27. One checklist for "evidences of spiritual growth and a good Christian testimony" asks the reader typical questions like, "Do you have good music standards, and have you eliminated rock music," alongside other common criteria like tithing, sufficient Bible study, church attendance, and the evangelism of unbelievers (see Dalhouse, *An Island in the Lake of Fire*, 145, where

This belief that conversion will manifest itself in visible ways is founded on the premise that that beliefs result in actions.¹⁶² The pastor and Irish politician Ian Paisley, a frequent speaker at BJU in his lifetime, sums up this common view by preaching that if a person “believes right, he will behave right. If he believes to the saving of the soul, he will behave as a soul that is saved from sin and death should behave.”¹⁶³ Similar statements appear through fundamentalist literature, such as when BJU seminary professor Layton Talbert asserts that “the root of every sin is nourished by some theological error.”¹⁶⁴ Music then is a “barometer,” an index of faith, showing to others “the condition of our spirit.”¹⁶⁵ Some authors, like Fisher, even go so far as to say that music is not only a visible sign of salvation or an important sign, but “one of the most visible features of our *new* life. ... The most visible aspect of our salvation will be seen in the *new* quality of music in our lives!”¹⁶⁶

Dalhouse paraphrases BJU faculty member Walter Fremont’s unpublished “Evidences of Spiritual Growth and a Good Christian Testimony”).

¹⁶² For statements espousing a causal relationship between music and thoughts (that is, music causes thoughts/beliefs, which in turn cause actions), see for example, Bachorik, *New Heart, New Spirit, New Song*, 76-9; Foster, *The Spiritual Song*, 92; and Kurtz, *God’s Word*, 254. Aniol disagrees with a directly causal relationship between these in *Worship in Song*, arguing that emotions as well as the mind must be spiritually educated for proper living to occur, 45-6 (this is, in fact, the main argument of his book—that music can and must be an emotional pedagogue). See also GRACE, “Final Report,” 76-7.

¹⁶³ Paisley, “The Faith, Fire, and Fight of a Fundamentalist,” in *Word of Their Testimony*, 2.

¹⁶⁴ Talbert, foreword to Berg, *Essential Virtues*, vii. See also Bachorik, *New Heart*, 76-9; and Kurtz, *God’s Word*, 254, 256.

¹⁶⁵ Smith, *Oh Be Careful*, 75. See also Lucarini, *It’s Not About the Music*, 50.

¹⁶⁶ Fisher, *The Battle for Christian Music*, 12. In *Harmony at Home*, Fisher writes, “Scripture makes it clear that the most visible identification of a new believer is the new character of music present in his life after salvation,” 50.

However, mental assent to the right things and right actions does not express the fullness of conversion. Heart attitudes—roughly corresponding to deeply-held desires—are just as necessary. Like right thinking, heart attitudes are revealed through actions.¹⁶⁷ Because of music’s emotional aspects, listening choices are particularly apt at “revealing the inner heart.”¹⁶⁸ Outward actions might be simply social conformity without inner regeneration, but the reverse cannot be true: “The believer who refuses to conform to the standards of Scripture will *always* reveal the glaring lack of a right attitude toward God and His holiness,” while the one who “develops the proper perspective toward God and His holiness...will gladly live in conformity to the standards which God sets in His Word.”¹⁶⁹ This is why a continual lack of visible virtue or a lack of growth toward the same causes concern among fundamentalists, even as this emphasis on external behavior as a spiritual indicator has led to criticisms of this being a “showcase mentality” with an “emphasis on being perfect” rather than being genuine.¹⁷⁰ For example, Berg paraphrases a list of Christian virtues in 2 Peter 2, asserting that the

¹⁶⁷ Moritz writes, “Scripture does not emphasize a robot-like conformity to a list of prohibited and prescribed actions. Its emphasis rather is that a right attitude will produce positive actions which reflect the holiness of God. ... *A proper attitude of heart is essential to the right practice of personal separation,*” *“Be Ye Separate,”* 38, emphasis his. See also GRACE, “Final Report,” 64-5.

¹⁶⁸ While many fundamentalist authors make this argument, see in particular Bachorik, *New Heart*, 30, 76-9; Foster, *The Spiritual Song*, 14; and Kurtz, *God’s Word*, 265-7. Kurtz also takes up this view in regards to worship in *God’s Word*, 56, 142, 207.

¹⁶⁹ Moritz, *“Be Ye Separate,”* 39. See also Fisher, *The Battle for Christian Music*, 17.

¹⁷⁰ Grace, “Final Report,” 210. “Some individuals described the spiritual damage experienced at Bob Jones University as resulting from what they termed the showcase mentality, noting, ‘there is this emphasis on being perfect.’ The showcase mentality has been reported to be a cultural attitude at BJU that emphasizes the importance of external appearances. Those who described the showcase mentality explained how this ideal harms victims, enables perpetrators, and distorts their view of God, 210. See 210-13 for “Showcase Christianity.”

biblical writer is “saying in effect, ‘If you do not have these virtues growing and developing in you, and you have no motivation to cultivate them, then you better check to see if you, indeed, possess any saving faith upon which these are built.’”¹⁷¹ Berg continues, “Many believers who show no evidence of growth in Christ still protest that they remember a time when they asked God to save them. Peter, however, wants them to understand that if there is no growth, there is no saving faith. ... *If there is no desire to develop and no evidence of these virtues, there is no saving faith.*”¹⁷² While moral uprightness has no eternal value without the transformative grace of God, a lack of holy behavior throws into question the validity of a person’s conversion experience. If a person claims to be a Christian but does not choose good music once they understand how music is moral and learn to hear the difference, then they possibly are not saved.¹⁷³

A newly converted person or a long-time evangelical who has recently been persuaded by fundamentalist musical arguments, may have a dramatic change in their listening habits—before the MP3 age, conversions resulted in actions like burning records.¹⁷⁴ But more often, the change for adults is simply difficult. In the struggle to

¹⁷¹ Berg, *Essential Virtues*, 10.

¹⁷² Berg, *Essential Virtues*, 10, emphasis his.

¹⁷³ Berg, *Essential Virtues*, 10. Garlock and Woetzel phrase this more moderately as they work to persuade born-again readers of the first two arguments (that music is moral and can be deciphered by listeners): “If the music has not changed in your life, if there is no difference between the music in your life, if there is no difference between the music in your home and that of your unsaved neighbors, if sound in your home has not changed since you have become a Christian, then you are missing out on God’s best for you,” *Music in the Balance*, 20. See similar sentiment in Smith, *Let Those Who Have Ears*, 40.

¹⁷⁴ In reference to destroying records, see Ammerman, *Bible Believers*, 96; and Blanchard and Lucarini, *Can We Rock the Gospel?*, 102. Burning or otherwise destroying records existed in a greater

change a lifetime of music listening habits, believers can experience God's grace in forming new desires or in choosing right when personal desires continue to tend toward wrong.¹⁷⁵ This change is worth it though because, as pastor Chris Williams notes, it's not about what *he* likes, but about what *God* likes.¹⁷⁶

To help listeners recalibrate their tastes in music or at least learn to hear the difference between good and bad music, some authors propose a "music fast" from music in popular styles lasting between one and six months.¹⁷⁷ In the bad music's place, Schmidt recommends "songs that are strong in melody, positive in harmony (as opposed to dissonant or distorted), and light in rhythm and beat," and Smith proposes "classical music, traditional hymns, or other moral music."¹⁷⁸ As with the vigilance a person with celiac disease would exercise against consuming gluten, the person on a music fast must be wary of any traces of bad music. Any "jazz, swing, or big band" music playing on a classical radio station must be turned off, along with TV commercials

historical context; for example, bonfires for Beatles records were held in a number of cities in the southeastern U.S. after John Lennon told an interviewer that the Beatles were "more popular than Jesus;" see for example, Jeff Nesmith, *The Atlanta Constitution*, "Georgia Jockeys Not Stampeded to Disc-Burning Beatle Boycott," August 6, 1966: 17.

¹⁷⁵ In the case of child converts, especially those children raised in fundamentalist households, the need for drastically new music is not so pressing. But this is seen as a blessing, a grace of God, that these young converts would not have to fight sinful temptation to the same degree as those converted as adults, nor would children have to relearn habits to the same degree.

¹⁷⁶ Chris Williams, interview with author, July 30, 2014.

¹⁷⁷ Foster promises, "Listen to classical music for six months, and you will be able to decipher the right sound from the wrong sound," *The Spiritual Song*, 42. Bolded in original as a section heading. See also 75.

¹⁷⁸ Schmidt, *Music Matters*, 78; and Smith, *Music and Morals*, 113-15. See also Fisher, *Harmony at Home*, 169.

and even commercials on Christian radio stations, and if “sensual music” is overheard, Smith writes, then “as soon as possible cleanse your mind with moral music.”¹⁷⁹ Indeed, some fundamentalist authors recommend such vigilance against insidious sources of popular music not only for a musical fast but also for anyone’s everyday life.¹⁸⁰

Through this difficult but necessary purge, believers gain the ability to witness to the people around them. Fundamentalists believe they should evangelize those around them through everyday conversations, visibly Christian lifestyles, and overt proselytizing. Music choices and other aspects of converted living not only demonstrate a person’s conversion, but they also allow for an undiluted, undistracted presentation of the gospel message.¹⁸¹ In other words, holy living is not the be-all and end-all of fundamentalist priorities.¹⁸² Rather, “God’s purpose for the separated Christian life, or holy lifestyle, is...for the believer to have an effective, powerful witness in the world.”¹⁸³

A fundamentalist’s testimony to their neighbors can promote the gospel or it can distract from.¹⁸⁴ Hamilton puts this view succinctly when she says, “God’s reputation is

¹⁷⁹ Smith, *Music and Morals*, 113-14.

¹⁸⁰ For the importance of details in music listening, such as music in commercials or on TV, see also Foster, *The Spiritual Song*, 42, 135; Peck, *Rock*, 117; Pyle, *The Truth about Rock Music*, 18-9; Schmidt, *Music Matters*, 82; and Sears, *Apostasy and Deception*, 102-3.

¹⁸¹ The imperative to win souls for Christ is a constant indicator of evangelicalism from the nineteenth century to the present; see Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, 77-80; Moritz, “*Be Ye Separate*,” 100; and Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism*, 185.

¹⁸² Moritz, “*Be Ye Separate*,” 4.

¹⁸³ Moritz, “*Be Ye Separate*,” 29.

¹⁸⁴ For example, Smith presents a contrasting scenario in which a fundamentalist’s neighbor visits and hears either bad or good music—the latter, she argues, is a far better testimony because it shows the

at stake with everything we do and say.”¹⁸⁵ Fundamentalists believe that if their behavior does not line up with expected standards, then they might jeopardize the salvation of unbelievers.¹⁸⁶ BJU faculty member David O. Beale writes, “Little things are also important; little things may only take a minute, but people do not soon forget. One word spoken in irritation can nullify in a person’s heart all the truth one proclaims. ... Any discrepancy between preaching and practice, between conversation and practice, or between profession and practice can cause the Lord’s enemies to blaspheme.”¹⁸⁷ This belief leads fundamentalists to be wary not only of egregious sins but seemingly minor vices.

If a musical style obscures the gospel, then it potentially risks someone’s eternal life. Listening to and performing the wrong music, performing music have cosmic significance. Therefore, fundamentalists feel called to demonstrate their relationship

neighbor how different the fundamentalist’s life is as a Christian. See Smith *Oh Be Careful Little Ears*, 90-91. See also Foster, *The Spiritual Song*, 33, 97; and Smith, *Let Those Who Have Ears*, 162-3.

¹⁸⁵ Hamilton, *Why I Don’t Listen*, 56.

¹⁸⁶ “Believers claim that the quality of their lives is the best argument in favor of salvation. If they do not live by their faith, they know others will be unmoved by their words. They are keenly aware that nonbelievers will be eager to catch them in hypocrisy. Because they are told that their lives ‘are the only Bible many people will ever read,’ they are scrupulous in their faith, honesty, and uprightness. They publicly exhibit their standards of morality and regular church attendance, hoping that their example will induce others to inquire about what motivates such discipline. They fear that if their fail to live as they should, someone they love might reject Christ and end up in hell,” Ammerman, *Bible Believers*, 91.

¹⁸⁷ Beale, *In Pursuit of Purity*, 357. For the importance of details in fundamentalism, see also see Bachorik, *New Heart*, 83; and Boone, *The Bible Tells Them So*, 72.

with God in outward actions—the individual showing the community God’s power.

Kurtz argues for this viewpoint succinctly:

[P]ublic worship choices are not *just* about our response to God, they are also about how these choices ‘reveal’ God to me and to others. We want to respond to God in ways that He will take pleasure in and reflect well on Him, not in ways that are primarily about what *I* can take pleasure in. Beyond that fundamental desire to please God in our responses, we also need to remember that this reinforces *my* understanding of the person of God, *and* the understanding of those who may observe my worship.¹⁸⁸

When put this way, there is little room for a listener’s personal preference.

Indeed, personal preference has no bearing at all on a Christian view of music. Garlock and Woetzel argue that “[t]here is no merit in discussing likes or dislikes,” but rather, it is only “principles from God’s Word” that allow for a Christian view of music.¹⁸⁹

Schmidt similarly emphasizes, “We’re told to bring our bodies into subjection to His Spirit. We’re never told to bring His Spirit into subjection to our desires. We’re told to submit our heart cravings to Him.”¹⁹⁰ Thus, personal desire may only be considered when already subordinated to God’s will.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁸ Kurtz, *God’s Word*, 142.

¹⁸⁹ Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 7.

¹⁹⁰ Schmidt, *Music Matters*, 64.

¹⁹¹ Fundamentalist authors frequently assert that preference should not be a prime criteria in musical choice, though preference may be a legitimate factor after bad music is weeded out from the

The space for preference is among a selection restricted to morally good music—a selection that, while restricted, should still offer many good options—what Sweatt describes as a “veritable smorgasbord of musical and lyrical styles.”¹⁹² Just like a child with health-conscious parents will still have favorite foods but only from a relatively limited selection, fundamentalists and their families may still have favorite music but only from those options they deem good.¹⁹³ It comes, then, as no great surprise that even as fundamental churches have restricted their music options, they still have their own particular musical preferences as a whole, and a congregants may still choose churches based on musical criteria in areas with more than one fundamental church. In the Greenville area, with its relative density of fundamental churches, congregants’ choice of church can be influenced by factors like the possibility of joining a choir or orchestra, (in)frequent use of recently-composed music (as demonstrated in the conclusion to Chapter One), and individual churches’ idiosyncrasies like the use of a snare drum, foregrounding of organ over piano in congregational singing, and even a preference for one song leader’s style over another’s.

options. See for example, Aniol, *Sound Worship*, 1-2, 101-2; Bachorik, *New Heart*, vii, 23, 32, 73, 75, 80-1; Blanchard, Anderson, and Cleave, *Pop goes the Gospel*, 165, 186; Fisher, *Harmony at Home*, 123; Makujina, *Measuring the Music*, 126-8; Sears, *Apostasy and Deception*, 3, 23.

¹⁹² Sweatt, *Church Music*, 25.

¹⁹³ See for example, Smith, *Let Those with Ears to Hear*, 79, where Smith lists a number of acceptable styles (e.g. Gregorian chant, Austrian folk music), and says, “Each of these styles of music follows biblical principles, and so within the realm of biblically acceptable music, there can be many individual preferences.”

When the Mind Is Most Important

Fundamentalists' theological de-emphasis on the body ironically leads to its prominence in their discourse, especially in relationship to music and its physical effects on listeners. Their concerns frequently relate to music's effects on the body, effects they wish channel appropriately, minimize, or avoid entirely, especially when these effects are viewed as sexual in nature. However, while fundamentalists typically express negative views about bodies in general and many physical responses to music in particular, some heterogeneity of opinion exists, as BJU professor Ron Horton argues that these views are not truly Christian but are the infection of a pagan Neoplatonism. In this final section, I first take up the more negative views coming from the overwhelming majority of fundamentalist authorities, and then complicate those views with a discussion of Horton's work.

A Trichotomous Human Being

Fundamentalist musical authorities routinely reference a trichotomous view of the human person, through with varying ideas on what those three parts should be called—most often, body, mind, and spirit (or, soul). Regardless of how they construe the three parts, they consistently and unequivocally describe the body as the least important of the three. Aniol asserts labels these three parts as the “mind, will, and emotions” and then rephrases them as “the whole of man: his beliefs, his actions, and his

emotions.”¹⁹⁴ But though Aniol implicitly references bodies through his use of the category “actions,” the remainder of the chapter focuses on the mind and on emotions, so his inclusion of the body is minimal at best.¹⁹⁵ Garlock and Woetzel, on the other hand, divide the person into spirit, mind, and body. They then connect the spirit with melody, mind with harmony, and body with rhythm, and repeatedly assert that these are in descending order of importance, with the body a distant last place.¹⁹⁶

The trichotomy explicitly espoused by Aniol, Garlock, and Woetzel and implicitly used by many other authors corresponds with the teachings of other authorities affiliated with BJU: Bob Wood, BJU’s Executive Vice President from the 1970s until the early 2000s when he transferred to an emeritus position in the same role, and Walter Fremont, BJU’s Dean of the School of Education from 1953 to 1990. Wood and Fremont taught a similar tripartite division in their counseling materials, with the three parts labeled as body, soul, and spirit.¹⁹⁷ In their models, the mind connects body to soul (and soul directly to God), so that the body cannot affect the soul without the mind’s permission and enabling—Fremont, for example, notes in a case study that “what was

¹⁹⁴ Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 161.

¹⁹⁵ Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 162-72.

¹⁹⁶ See Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 55-86. The authors seem, at one point, to consider emotions and intellect as parts of the mind, 62.

¹⁹⁷ See also Wood, *Scriptural Principles for Counseling the Abused*, 53:57 to 54:17; and Fremont and Fremont, *Becoming an Effective Christian Counselor*, 42-5. See GRACE report, 245-8 for biographies of Wood and Fremont, and 87-9 for a summary of their views on the human person as a tripartite being.

done to a [victim of incest's] body need not affect her soul or spirit if she chose not to let it."¹⁹⁸

These tripartite conceptions of personhood all place the body in the least important position *vis-à-vis* the other two elements. The relative unimportance of the body in fundamentalist thought is further reinforced in counseling materials and interviews by Bob Wood and another BJU leader, Jim Berg, BJU's Dean of Students from 1981 to 2010 and author of many counseling and devotional materials published by BJU Press. In these, both leaders refer to the body as "the throw away part" of a person, using this expression when counseling victims of sexual abuse, apparently as a means to offer encouragement to someone whose body has been harmed but whose soul and spirit, they claim, are not *de facto* harmed as well. Wood declares, "The body is the throw away part, the least important part," in contrast to other aspects of the person, such as "memory," "conscience," and "an ability to love."¹⁹⁹ Berg also refers to the body as "the throw away part" and compares it to a "Styrofoam cup" that is unimportant relative to its contents—the body is like a Styrofoam cup that, while necessary for holding a beverage, will be thrown away once the beverage has been drunk.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁸ Fremont and Fremont, *Becoming and Effective Christian Counselor*, 154. See also Wood, *Scriptural Principles for Counseling the Abused*, 53:57 to 54:17. See also GRACE, "Final Report," 87-8.

¹⁹⁹ Wood, quoted in GRACE, "Final Report," 88. "Now in closing, I want you to grasp this. The body is the throw away part, the least important part. Someone has offended the body, Satan has taken that, caused the imagination great problems, given the reason a battle, caused the memory to be bad, has hurt the conscience, and robbed the people of an ability to love."

²⁰⁰ Berg, quote in GRACE, "Final Report," 88n29. Because of his stated concern at his words being taken out of context, I reproduce the full quote here: "Dr. Berg also acknowledged to GRACE that he has

Authors on music do not declare the body's relative unimportance in such blunt terms—after all, they are often themselves artists in a physical art form—but they communicate the body's relative unimportance in other ways. First, they generally minimize physical movements and condemn sexually-coded movements ones. Second, they reference physicality with dismissive adjectives. Third, they use prudish references to the body and to sexuality. Before discussing these three areas, it should be noted that while some authors distinguish between the body in general and sexual expression in particular, the differentiation is not always clear in practice. For example, Garlock and Woetzel conflate any bodily practice with sexual practices by writing, "For the Christian,

described the body to sexual abuse victims as 'the throwaway part' and stated that he has analogized the body to a Styrofoam cup when counseling sexual abuse victims. He explained the analogy by stating, "So no matter what has happened in your past, working on becoming the most Godly person you can be...is like this Styrofoam cup. You go out to the athletic field and you buy some hot apple cider on a winter night here, and you drink the cider and you throw away the cup-and the concern is . . . and you throw away the cup because that is not the most important part-the most important part is what is on the inside. I say, 'God is going to resurrect our bodies and our bodies are important; they are a part of our personhood. But the condition of our body, whether I lose a leg in an accident or whether you lose your virginity because of your choices or because of somebody else's choices, the state of your body is not the determining part of your freedom, and your fruitfulness, your joy, your peace. What is going on in the inside is the important part of your soul. God is going to resurrect your body and make it all new at some point.' I make it very clear, 'I am not minimizing what happened to your body. That should have never happened to your body and other people can harm your body and that can have a deep impact on your soul, but God has given you in his sovereignty an ability to change what is in your soul through the Scripture.' . . . That was my take on it, but maybe that was more confusing.... It is intended to be hopeful, not to minimize it. The Styrofoam part is the throw-away part. That does not mean it is not important at all, but the part that can be changed right now is this part. That is the Styrofoam cup illustration."

any preoccupation with body is sensual. Rhythm is the physical part of music.

Therefore, music which is primarily rhythm is sensual."²⁰¹

Fundamentalists' collective discomfort with the body, and especially the sexual body, exists within the broader evangelical community and its "purity culture" that emphasizes sexual abstinence prior to heterosexual marriage.²⁰² When writing about sex in a married heterosexual context, evangelical authors address the experiences of married people who experience shame or guilt over their sexual practices or their sexuality in general, feelings that seem to stem from an inability to instantaneously switch out of the "no-sex" mindset that unmarried evangelicals cultivate in themselves.²⁰³ Such difficulty does not seem uncommon, even though evangelicals speak highly of married heterosexual sex. This is perhaps rooted in childhood training that strongly discourages sexual intimacy outside of heterosexual marriage.²⁰⁴

As regards musical issues, the body's relative unimportance is seen most clearly through discussions of common physical responses to music. A hand-in-hand relationship between music and physical movements does not necessarily trouble

²⁰¹ Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 67. See also 58-68, 80.

²⁰² See for example, broadly evangelical texts, Brownbeck, *Purity: A Godly Woman's Adornment*; and King and King, *True Love Project*.

²⁰³ See for example, Miles, *Sexual Happiness in Marriage*; and Leman, *Sheet Music*, 173-6. Melissa McBurney writes that her childhood impression of sex was simply, "Good girls don't do sex." She continues: "The problem was, this message never got updated. No one every told me sex would be OK after marriage," McBurney and McBurney, *Real Questions, Real Answers About Sex*, 121.

²⁰⁴ See for example Jones and Jones, *How and When to Tell Your Kids About Sex*. Although the authors emphasize sex positivity throughout the book, many scenarios they present belie their general message, such as their story of a parent telling a young child that only married heterosexual couples should have sex, in which a person who has an engaged in premarital sex is compared to a broken walkie-talkie, 121.

fundamentalists—composer and author Shelly Hamilton, for instance, notes that physical responses to music are not bad if they are the “right kind.”²⁰⁵ But the wrong responses—sexual or sexualized responses, usually euphemistically described as “sensual” responses—receive the most attention.

Authorities describe sensual physical responses as torso movements like pelvic thrusts, shoulder movements, swaying, and gyrations.²⁰⁶ Smith in particular distinguishes between sensual torso movements—“thrusting out of the hips or the head (like a chicken), a shimmy of the shoulders, or other independent, hip-swaying movements”—and “non-carnal responses” where “the torso remains fairly still,” like “marching, traditional folk dancing, square dancing, or ballet.”²⁰⁷ Potentially violent movements such as moshing are also considered bad but receive much less attention from authorities, who instead put their primary focus on sexually-coded movements.²⁰⁸

Unlike torso movements, authorities generally consider peripheral movements like toe tapping, hand clapping, marching, and jumping, to be acceptable.²⁰⁹ However, these movements do not seem to be encouraged in any way. The difference between acceptable and encouraged is illustrated in two movements common in other Christian

²⁰⁵ Hamilton, *Why I Don't Listen*, 65.

²⁰⁶ Of many instances, see for example, Garlock, *The Big Beat*, 35-6; Kurtz, *God's Word*, 66; Lucarini, *Why I Left*, 71; Makujina, *Measuring the Music*, 36-41; Pyle, *The Truth about Rock Music* 15; and Smith, *Oh Be Careful Little Ears*, 15, 44, 123.

²⁰⁷ Smith, *Let Those with Ears to Hear*, 31.

²⁰⁸ See for example Makujina, *Measuring the Music*, 41-5; and Smith, *Music and Morals*, 5-6.

²⁰⁹ See Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 42; Hamilton, *Why I Don't Listen to Contemporary Christian Music*, 65; Kurtz, *God's Word*, 66; Smith, *Let Those with Ears to Hear*, 23, 50; Smith, *Music and Morals*, 90-91; and Smith, *Oh Be Careful Little Ears*, 15, 123.

worship traditions. Uplifted hands are an ancient Judeo-Christian posture of prayer (see, for example, Ps. 141:2 which references “the lifting up of my hands” in conjunction with prayer), but while fundamentalist texts do not explicitly discourage this practice, neither is it encouraged, nor is it commonly practiced in fundamental churches.²¹⁰ Similarly, though fundamentalist authorities acknowledge that a physical posture of prostration is one aspect of the word “worship,” they teach that this movement is not necessary for Christian worship today.²¹¹ For example, Aniol references Jesus’ teaching that “those who worship [God] must worship in spirit and truth” (John 4:24) saying that Jesus meant that “the outward forms [of worship] weren’t necessary anymore.”²¹² Thus, though prostration may be a physical expression of worship, such physical movements are not necessary to worship.

In contrast, other Christian denominations use a variety of physical acts as expressions of worship and personal piety. Roman Catholic and Orthodox Christians cross themselves—moving their right hands in a cross shape between brow, chest, and shoulders—as a non-verbal form of prayer. In the Protestant sphere, those receiving communion kneel at an altar in many denominations; and Episcopalian Christians,

²¹⁰ Kurtz and Lucarini both express ambivalence about lifted hands in public worship. See Lucarini, *Why I Left*, 56, and *It’s Not About the Music*, 89-90 and 148-9; and Kurtz, *God’s Word*, 143-6.

²¹¹ Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 25, 29-30 and *Sound Worship*, 40-9. Lucarini makes similar comments in *Why I Left*, 52-55, and *It’s Not about the Music*, 34-40. Unlike these authors, Kurtz writes that prostration is appropriate for Christian worship today and may even be encouraged in corporate worship, see *God’s Word*, 43-4, 80-2, 149-50.

²¹² Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 29.

among others, kneel at various other times during their services. More closer to fundamentalist Christianity, many evangelical churches encourage hand-raising in their corporate practices, especially during singing and prayer.

One form of prostration is more common in fundamentalist services: at the close of a service, people may be invited to come to the front of the church building, kneel and quietly pray (see Chapter Three). But fundamentalists remain seated in their pew to receive the bread and grape juice brought to them by ushers. And while I have occasionally observed a fundamentalist congregant hold their hands at waist-level with open, upturned palms as they pray, this does not draw attention to the individual's personal practice, nor is there a sizable portion of the congregation with hands visibly raised to those around them. I have seen only one fundamentalist pastor make a practice of lifting up his hands while singing and praying; in an interview and subsequent correspondence, he mentioned some congregants' discomfort, but said they primarily expressed gratitude because his posture "encouraged/freed them to do so as well."

Second, authors often refer to bodies with minimizing descriptors such as the word "mere" or similarly connotative language.²¹³ Aniol, for instance, describes an adrenaline rush after a roller coaster ride as "artificially stimulated" and a feeling of

²¹³ See for example, Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 33-4, 53,106; Aniol, *Sound Worship*, 45-7; Blanchard and Lucarini, *Can We Rock the Gospel?*, 226; Lucarini, *It's Not About the Music*, 148-9; and Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 140.

being startled as “merely a chemical response to an external stimulus.”²¹⁴ Because “physical feelings can be stimulated without any thought or spiritual affection whatsoever,” he argues, they are not necessary to worship, unlike the mental and affective aspects of a person.²¹⁵

Third, prudish attitude pervades their texts, as authors censor their sources by altering quotes or refraining from direct quotes altogether. Garlock and Woetzel’s voice typical opinions when by noting that an author’s “conclusion includes graphic language inappropriate for this setting.”²¹⁶ When authors explain their filtering, they variously state that profane language and explicit references to sexuality and genitalia are inappropriate for a Christian readership, a young readership, or any readership at all.²¹⁷ Similarly, words like “sexual” are typically replaced with the euphemisms “sensual,” “fleshly,” or “carnal.”

In contrast, fundamentalists elevate the mind over the body.²¹⁸ In Wood’s and Fremont’s views, “access from the body to soul appears to be through the conscious

²¹⁴ Aniol, *Sound Worship*, 46-7.

²¹⁵ Aniol, *Sound Worship*, 46-7.

²¹⁶ Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 37.

²¹⁷ See Blanchard and Lucarini, *Can We Rock the Gospel*, 105-6, 114; Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 28, 60, 140, 142; Peck, *Rock*, 24; and Pyle, *The Truth about Rock Music*, 24, 43. In *Measuring the Music*, Makujina uses a distinctive practice in which he replaces “offensive language” with euphemisms in brackets, 12; this practice leads him to refer to the musical genre of “cock rock” as “phallic rock,” e.g. 46. However, Blanchard, Anderson, and Cleave’s *Pop Goes the Gospel* is not as prudish, see 36.

²¹⁸ For an elevation of the mind over the body, see for example, Bachorik, *New Spirit*, 74, 78-9; Fisher, *Harmony at Home*, 74; and Fisher, *The Battle for Christian Music*, 104, 141-2. This aspect of their writing is routine, even offhand. For instance, Smith writes, “Remember, we’re talking about [musical] techniques that call forth from our bodies a desire to move in ways that are sensual, or that employ other very subtle

mind, or through aspects of the conscious mind."²¹⁹ This belief has two major ramifications. First, it suggests that a person connects with God through the mind: the mind, by connecting to the soul and spirit, connects to Christ in the born-again person.²²⁰ Second, it suggests that bodily experiences do not affect the rest of a person "unless the conscious mind decides otherwise."²²¹ A person has to consciously decide to let their physical experiences affect the rest of themselves.²²²

If a person connects with God through the conscious mind, while the body remains in the relatively unimportant periphery to the relationship, where does this leave music, since authorities frequently attest to their concerns about music moving listeners' bodies. Smith writes that music "goes past our reasoning, past our judgment, and directly to our behavior and emotions. It bypasses the intellectual part of the mind,

sensual techniques; we are not talking about those musical techniques that stimulate our intellect—four-part harmony, or the counterpoint music of Bach, for instance," *Let Those with Ears to Hear*, 79. See also 94-5.

²¹⁹ GRACE, "Final Report," 87n27.

²²⁰ See Bob Wood, *Scriptural Principles for Counseling the Abused*, 53:57 to 54:17; and Fremont and Fremont, *Becoming an Effective Christian Counselor*, 43. See also GRACE, "Final Report," 87n27.

²²¹ GRACE, "Final Report," 87-8.

²²² This belief allows counselors like Jim Berg to tell victims of childhood sexual abuse, "What happened to you affected your physical body. It does not have to affect your spiritual soul," because victims can, in Berg's view, mentally choose to either allow or disallow their physical experiences to affect them; Jim Berg, quoted in GRACE, "Final Report," 87n23. In an instructional video for counselors working with victims of childhood sexual abuse, Berg says, "What happened to you affected your physical body. It does not have to affect your spiritual soul...I say, 'Please understand how I am saying this. I understand how this can be contrived if you don't understand my tone of voice and what I am saying. But because there is a difference in spiritual and physical, this happened to just your body.' I am not saying that to minimize what was done, only to accentuate what was not touched without my permission, my soul, my spirit. My will has to be involved in rebellion and in anger and all of these things for my soul to be touched by what happens to my body." *Crisis Counseling I, Understanding and Biblically Overcoming Childhood Sexual Abuse*, 4:07 to 5:10. (The full quote has been reproduced because of his stated concern at his words being taken out of context.)

so to speak. ... The music simply bypasses [the concert goers'] reasoning, and they move in response to the music."²²³ However, even though good music will unavoidably speak to the body, fundamentalists argue that it will also speak to the mind. As Aniol argues about emotionalism, "We must be careful not to choose music that appeals primarily to the passions, no matter how beautiful or moving it is. In congregational worship, we should be moved by truth, not by the music itself. The musical style should support the truth, and the music can aid our responses of affection, but it should not control them."²²⁴ The homepage of Joyful Meditations, a fundamentalist internet radio site, highlights good music is framed as music that speaks to the mind and that will, in so doing, bring spiritual benefit to listeners:

"Welcome

"Psalm 19:14 Let the words of my mouth, and the meditation of my heart, be acceptable in Thy sight, O Lord, my strength, and my redeemer.

²²³ Smith, *Music and Morals*, 30. See also Blanchard and Lucarini, *Can We Rock the Gospel?*, 199; Makujina, *Measuring the Music*, 25; and Schmidt, *Music Matters*, 39. Foster argues that if the mind is not engaged, evil can enter the listener: in regards to New Age music he writes, "Because the music lacks dissonance [I assume Foster means "tension and release" in this context], it needs to have something to fill the void. The harmonious sounds then grab hold of the mind and leave the listener susceptible to outside influences," *The Spiritual Song*, 130.

²²⁴ Aniol writes: "It does not take a trained musician to recognize music that is intended to stir up the passions. It may not be wrong in and of itself, but it is certainly not appropriate for congregational worship. Such music inherently bypasses the intellect and runs straight for the passions. It is not deeply felt affection resulting from understanding biblical truth; it is emotionalism, pure and simple. ... We must be careful not to choose music that appeals primarily to the passions, no matter how beautiful or moving it is. In congregational worship, we should be moved by truth, not by the music itself. The musical style should support the truth, and the music can aid our responses of affection, but it should not control them," *Worship in Song*, 201. See also Bachorik, *New Spirit*, 44, 88.

“It’s important to understand that the root word from which we get the word music is ‘muse.’ ‘*To think.*’ Music is thoughts expressed by patterns and combinations of sounds. One note by itself doesn’t say a whole lot. But the minute that note is combined with another, a melody is born, enriched by a supporting harmony, and carried along by the accompanying rhythm. Music is a powerful conveyor of thoughts and emotions. That’s why it is important that, as Christians, we meditate (think) on the right things. **Joyful Meditations** exists to help believers fill their hearts and minds with acceptable things. Things that, as Philippians says [*sic*] are lovely, full of virtue and truth, of a good report, and full of praise. How blessed are we when we think on these things. May the prayer of the psalmist be echoed in our hearts and may the music that we listen to cause our minds to be drawn to our Redeemer.”²²⁵

In the chapters that follow, I show how fundamentalists choose musical genres, specific pieces, and performance styles that lend themselves to intellectual appreciation; and how their performance practices and compositional styles emphasize didactic lyrical content.

²²⁵ Joyful Meditations, “Welcome,” <http://joyfulmeditations.com> (accessed March 23, 2015), emphasis in original.

Further Thinking on Neoplatonism

Scholars outside of fundamentalism such as Mark A. Noll and Joe E. Morris have critiqued fundamentalists' views of bodies as Gnostic.²²⁶ In early Christianity, Gnosticism was the belief that special, esoteric knowledge would deliver a soul from the material world, and as one component of its dualistic ideology, Gnosticism aligns non-corporality with good and corporeality with evil.²²⁷ More specifically to BJU, Berg, Wood, and Fremont have received extensive criticism for their dismissive attitudes toward bodies as they have counseled victims of sexual abuse.²²⁸

In contrast with the views of Berg, Wood, and Fremont, my interactions with fundamentalist musicians have generally given me the impression that they view their bodies as important, or, at least important in the sense that they felt they used their bodies to glorify God through music. Since I could not find dissenting views in written fundamentalist sources or in recorded sermons, I gave a draft of the above section to a few BJU music faculty members who agreed to an off-record interview. I hoped they would nuance the mainstream voices cited above, maybe by pointing out a book I had overlooked, to a sermon, to some fundamentalist authority who disagreed.²²⁹

²²⁶ Noll argues that evangelical approaches to intellectual matters reflect strains of Manichaeism, Gnosticism, and Docetism in *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind*, 52–6. See also Morris's analysis of fundamentalism in *Revival of the Gnostic Heresy*.

²²⁷ For an introduction to Gnosticism, see Rudolph, *Gnosis*.

²²⁸ See for example GRACE, "Final Report," 230-1.

²²⁹ These interviewees read my summary of the interview to ensure I presented their viewpoints accurately.

But they did not disagree. Or, they did not disagree in obvious ways. Rather, they felt that fundamentalist writers on music have attempted, though sometimes in inelegant prose, to “articulate a biblical basis for their philosophy;” and the writers’ “insight was important and appreciated” in fundamental churches, especially in the “early stages of defining a biblical philosophy of music.” One faculty member expressed the view that fundamentalist views on the body differ very little from mainstream American views: people in mainstream American culture, the professor argued, do not generally want to be viewed as “just bodies,” as “just surface,” but rather have the sense that they, as people, are more than their physical selves.

However, another faculty member brought up a Bible verse that appeared to complicate the conversation, a verse that had been quoted to me many time before in interviews with fundamentalist musicians: “your body is the temple of the Holy Spirit” (from 1 Cor. 6:19). This verse was initially stated as marginalia (a comment bubble in a Word document) in regards to Berg’s comparison of the body with trash. The authority of this textual reference—a normative mode of scriptural support in fundamentalist hermeneutics—is the authority of all authorities for fundamentalists: the Word of God. By quoting a single verse to me, the professor was blatantly contradicting the metaphor of a body as Styrofoam cup by using *God’s* words. When I asked for clarification, the faculty member said that “the body it is important to God because it is the temple of the Holy Spirit.” The professor continued by explaining that the actions of the body are

important to God—citing the biblical injunction to “present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service” (Rom. 12:1)—but set that importance in the context of eternity, noting that “the body is not our eternal home; it is a temporary dwelling place [because our] bodies will eventually return to dust, but the spirit lives forever.” In support of this view, the professor mentioned another biblical reference—“for the things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal” (from 2 Cor. 4:18).

While the professors did not offer any other dissent, they—and a number of their colleagues in other interviews—strongly recommended I interview Ron Horton. Horton began teaching at BJU in the 1960s, then earned a PhD at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill in 1972 and returned to BJU where he has taught ever since. At BJU, he chaired the Division of English, taught in the philosophy and professional writing departments, and today, in semi-retirement, continues to teach aesthetics and ancient and medieval philosophy in the School of Religion.²³⁰ That so many music faculty members told me to talk with Horton is not surprising—his aesthetics course description reads: “Concepts of beauty and art and artistic criteria from Plato onward with attention to present issues of artistic validity including the relation of morality and art.”²³¹ His views provide a counterbalance to other authorities’ views and hint at the

²³⁰ Bob Jones University, “Ron Horton,” <http://www.bju.edu/academics/faculty/facultymember.php?id=rhorton> (accessed April 4, 2015).

²³¹ Bob Jones University, Description for Ph 405: Aesthetics on “Ron Horton,”

ideologies that result in the contradiction in belief and practice in fundamental churches. Moreover, I must assume that his views are similar to a substantial portion of music faculty members' given their assiduous recommendations that I speak with him. Horton himself also acknowledges the difference of his views, which he suggests "is due largely to social and educational levels," but notes that he could expect agreement from fundamentalists who engage with his ideas (an assertion supported by BJU Press's publication of his work).²³²

In our lengthy meeting (over three hours at a coffee shop at BJU in a glassed-off room where we could hear each other), a 15,000 word essay, "The Paganization of Early Christian Thought," that he sent me following our conversation, and subsequent correspondence, Horton addressed the influence of Platonic thought on Christianity in minimizing material bodies and emotions, particularly focusing on the minimization and disparagement of sadness.²³³ Against the Neoplatonic views of many fundamentalist authorities and their intellectual predecessors, Horton argues that the Scriptures conceptualize a "total person" that includes the body as a "dispensable part but also a permanent part." By "dispensable...but...permanent," Horton refers to the Christian belief that while a person's current body will turn to dust, that person will be

<http://www.bju.edu/academics/faculty/facultymember.php?id=rhorton> (accessed April 4, 2015).

²³² Ron Horton, correspondence with author, March 15, 2017.

²³³ Ron Horton, interview with author, April 3, 2015. Horton dwells on sadness at length in *Mood Tides*.

embodied as flesh-and-blood in the afterlife. Jesus, he points out, had a real, flesh-and-blood body after his death and resurrection, and so too will believers in their resurrected state. Furthermore, the body is made directly by God and is “an essential part of God’s conception of ourselves.” It is therefore good and “what God has made, he ought to affirm.”²³⁴

However, he distinguishes between “body” and “flesh” — a distinction not always clear in fundamentalist and broadly evangelical writings—where “body” is flesh-and-blood and “flesh” is a Pauline term for “the former corrupt nature still existent in a believer” that is “the enemy of his regenerated self.”²³⁵ While the body is specific and, in the views of most fundamentalists and broadly evangelical people, discrete from other elements of a whole person (variously, spirit, soul, and so on), the flesh is “the entire psyche.”²³⁶ Fundamentalist and broadly evangelical writing about music is often concerned with music’s effects on listeners’ whole persons (and on negative effects on the “flesh,” as defined here), but as I show above, the discourse prioritizes aspects of a person with a person’s body in last place.

In contrast to the fundamentalists quoted above in specific reference to bodies, Horton argues that a negative view of bodies derives not from the Scriptures but from

²³⁴ Horton also quotes from the Bible that every Christian should “possess his own vessel [i.e. body] in sanctification and honour” (from 1 Thess. 4:4) as a sign that the body is something to be respected, not demeaned.

²³⁵ Ron Horton, correspondence with author, February 14, 2017.

²³⁶ Ron Horton, correspondence with author, February 14, 2017.

Platonic and Stoic thinkers who in turn influenced early patristic writers like Augustine and so on down the line of Christian heritage. While the Scriptures priorities the “total person,” he says, the Neoplatonists prioritized reason and minimized the body. In his essay tracing the historical influence of Neoplatonism on Christianity and thus Christianity’s “paganization,” he writes:

Neoplatonic contempt for the body is unacceptable. Though Paul in Philippians 3:1 refers to “this vile body” as a decaying burden, in 2 Corinthians the body is natural to the created being. It is the earthly residence of the soul eventually to be replaced by a “house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens” (5:1) just as the Hebrew tabernacle, faded and threadbare, would be replaced by Solomon’s temple. “We that are in this tabernacle [tent house] do groan, being burdened: not for that we would be unclothed, but clothed upon” (II Corinthians 5:4). The body is the soul’s mortal residence and for the Christian the earthly temple of God (1 Corinthians 6:19). Those who dishonor the body incur the extreme displeasure of God (Romans 1:24; 1 Corinthians 6:18)).

In death the Christian soul does not escape the prison house of the body to resume an earlier pristine existence but sheds its body in expectation of a new body. When Paul writes of one (by implication himself) who was “caught up to the third heaven” to hear “unspeakable words,” he is not certain that the body did not ascend also with his immaterial self. Whether the experience “was in the

body, or out of the body,” Paul says, “I cannot tell: God knoweth” (2 Corinthians 12:3). Resurrected bodies will ascend with their souls at the Second Coming of their Creator. The body, though “sown in dishonor,” will be “raised in glory” (1 Corinthians 15:43). Nothing material could ascend to heaven in Neoplatonic thought.²³⁷

Horton’s views on emotions parallel his views of the body in that he similarly argues they have been minimized in a Neoplatonist mindset. The Bible presents God as a “feeling God—a man of sorrows, acquainted with grief.”²³⁸ “The dominant picture of God,” he said in our conversation, “is a feeling Christ. To say that God doesn’t have emotions is to agree with Plato, not the Scriptures.” In his essay and a monograph, *Mood Tides: Divine Purpose in the Rhythms of Life*, he makes this case at length, writing for example of Jesus’ care of the disciples in his final hours before the Crucifixion:

What has this incident revealed to us of our God? Surely we learn of His affectionate, sensitive care for the emotional state of His loved ones. He bends to them not just physically and spiritually in washing their feet but also emotionally, interrupting His teaching to quiet their minds so He can proceed with what they most need to hear. He is patient with their grief, including insistent demands bordering on expostulation.

²³⁷ Horton, “The Paganization of Early Christian Thought,” 9.

²³⁸ He quotes here from Is. 49:7.

Nothing could be further from the Jesus of John's Gospel than the distant rational divinities of pagan philosophy...or for that matter Augustine and Aquinas's divinity describable only in terms of what He is not.²³⁹

Because of Horton's references to emotions and views of the Church Fathers, I brought up Augustine toward the end of our conversation, rehearsing for him Augustine's concerns of moved more by the music than by the text. Horton replied emphatically that what I described is "not Christian philosophy, it is paganism." "The evil of the body," he continued, "is part of our pagan inheritance." I pressed him—after all, his words were completely at odds not just with his colleagues at BJU who negatively describe the body, but also at odds with the interpretations of Augustine's views on music that fundamentalist writers put forward. No, Horton insisted, Augustine "was speaking as a Neoplatonist, not as a Christian." Me: "Can I quote you on that?" Him: "Yes." What about fundamentalist writers who espouse this thinking, I asked. "That is Platonism, not Christianity," he replied. "If you think the body is not important, you are reading the Bible with blinkers."

The musicians I have interviewed do not generally see their statements that their bodies glorify God as going against the viewpoints in their churches, so perhaps the seeming conflict is actually compartmentalization, wherein these contradictory ideas

²³⁹ Horton, "The Paganization of Early Christian Thought," 19. See also *Mood Tides*, 49-54.

are not held in tension but are so far removed conceptually from each other that they are in different spaces all together. In one compartment is the Body far from God, the Body that is ultimately disposable, the Body whose responses to music must be closely monitored and controlled. But in another space not in conversation with the former, there is the Body that is God's dwelling place, the means by which a person sings to God—glorifying God with their body, God's temple. This latter compartment seems directly related to fundamentalists' eschatology, both in an individual's own afterlife as an embodied person in heaven (since nothing sinful is permitted in heaven, a flesh-and-blood body cannot be automatically sinful) and in the Church's collective worship of God singing around God's throne in heaven. The music-making in fundamental churches shows a more holistic, integrated theology as musicians believe they glorify God through their music-making, and congregants enact the what they believe they will be doing in heaven for eternity: sing in flesh-and-blood bodies as they worship with other saints.

3. Corporate Worship in Fundamental Church Services

In January 2015, I attended a conference at the Wilds Camp and Conference in the mountains of Brevard, North Carolina along with approximately three hundred fundamentalist musicians and pastors. This conference offered workshops and seminars on topics like church music administration, choral conducting, and vocal performance, along with sessions designed to strengthen attendees' theological understanding of music as an aspect of worship.

Congregational singing received substantial attention in the conference's opening sermon by Morris Gleiser, an evangelistic with a long career in fundamentalist circles. In his sermon, Gleiser told a shocking story, which he said truly happened at his friend's church, to drive home the importance of congregational singing by connecting it with soteriological beliefs. This was the story of a leader so concerned for congregants' salvation and their *testimony* of salvation that he had to act drastically to help those in his spiritual care.¹ According to Gleiser, a preacher at this friend's church sat on the platform as the congregation sang, and as he scanned the congregation and listened, he felt that the singing was not as good as it should be. So later, he surreptitiously rigged a hidden camcorder and filmed their singing. Then, he played the film to the congregation to show them just how down in the mouth they all looked as they sang God's praises. In doing this stunt, the preacher (and Gleiser in recalling the event) wanted to show the

¹ Morris Gleiser, sermon at The Wilds Music Conference, Brevard, NC, January 6, 2015.

congregants not just that they had bored faces and correspondingly lackluster singing, but that their salvation was belied by their faces and their singing.

The premise that this preacher was operating on, one that pervades fundamentalist ideas about congregational singing, is that an individual's lack of enthusiastic participation in congregational singing suggests that they do not *really* believe the words they sing. At least, this visible and audible lack of belief implies a lack of salvation, and, at best, it mars the singer's testimony of faith to their fellow believers and to unbelievers. Congregants' vocal timbres, volumes, and even facial expressions demonstrate that they are truly born-again and living a righteous life; the outward expression of their inner spiritual state is their singing "heartily, as unto the Lord" (from Col. 3:23) as they apply the generic biblical command to this specific act.² But congregants who do not sing or seem to sing reluctantly reveal that something is spiritually amiss.

More than just one sign of salvation, fundamentalist authors often assert that participation in congregational singing is effectively where the rubber meets the road in showing a visible change after conversion: a person's singing shows their saved heart, and show that they have continued a right relationship with God post-conversion.³ Music pastor and composer Tim Fisher writes, "Christians who don't sing are out of

² Various psalms reference singing "heartily," such as Ps. 98:4.

³ Foster, *The Spiritual Song*, 12.

fellowship with God,” and warns, “Those who will not sing in church are showing that they may have nothing to sing about.”⁴ Author and professor Scott Aniol claims that Christians who doesn’t sing are “immature” in their faith.⁵ Missionary and music professor Douglas Bachorik tells his readers that if they don’t feel like singing, they should ask themselves if they are in sin.⁶ And pastor and BJU seminary professor Gary Reimers places his commentary on the necessity of singing—“God’s Word says to sing, so people should sing”—within his greater argument that those who do not worship properly (such as by singing joyfully) are cursed, rather than blessed, by God.⁷ Reimers makes an even more pressing criticism of disengaged worshippers, asserting that “[b]oredom with the worship forms that God has ordained” brings “God’s curse instead of his blessing.”⁸ Like other authorities who urge self-examination to those who don’t sing enthusiastically, Reimers writes, “A worshiper who constantly checks his watch, wondering why the time is passing so slowly, needs to check his heart instead.”⁹ These are but a sampling of the pervasive claim that born-again Christian will sing—and will sing eagerly and enthusiastically—in church with their fellow believers.

⁴ Fisher, *The Battle for Christian Music*, 110, 153, emphasis his.

⁵ Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 170.

⁶ Bachorik, *New Heart, New Spirit, New Song*, 55.

⁷ See Reimers’s commentary on singing in *The Glory Due His Name*, 22-4; his larger commentary on the dangers of subpar or “deviant” worship is the main topic of the book.

⁸ Reimers, *The Glory Due His Name*, 95.

⁹ Reimers, *The Glory Due His Name*, 95.

In interviews, music directors stress how importance personal spirituality is to strong congregational singing. One Greenville-area director has “long noticed a positive correlation between a congregant's spirituality and his or her enthusiasm in congregational singing.”¹⁰ Another says that the congregational singing is good because “people are thinking about what they are singing, and it’s personal to them.”¹¹ Similarly Mac Lynch, who directed music at The Wilds from 1979 to 2012, describes increasingly strong singing at his church, saying that since he has begun working at the church, there had been “a growth in private worship” and with a corresponding improvement in congregational singing.¹²

If all this is true, then fundamental churches are indeed full of born-again people with good testimonies: in my ethnographic work, I have never observed someone who would not sing, and congregants typically sing loudly and with visible pleasure. At its best, this joyful singing’s uninhibited exuberance is like a stereotype of singing in the shower (though likely without an overblown operatic timbre). Congregants take delight in the sound of their skillful singing together, their stress hormones decreasing amid social connectedness.¹³ I think here especially of women who harmonize or sing high notes at full volume because they can—because they are trained to do so and enjoy

¹⁰ Peter Davis, correspondence with author, February 25, 2017.

¹¹ Abe Stratton, interview with author, February 6, 2015.

¹² Mac Lynch, interview with author, February 4, 2015.

¹³ Regarding the decrease of adrenocorticotrophic hormone while singing, see Keeler et al., “The Neurochemistry and Social Flow of Singing.”

exercising their physical abilities and musical skills. I think of hearing over 500 congregants cutting off an “s” in unison and ritarding together, not one audibly out-of-synch, of hearing a thousand people singing a stanza *a cappella* in well-balanced harmony and swelling together into a final, triumphant stanza as they follow the song leader’s cues. Among those particularly engaged with given song, I sometimes see a flexibility in their knees, a gentle sway with hymn’s larger phrases, a slight incline of their torsos forward as they balance, a springiness almost bursting into larger motion, rather like a novice symphony-goer’s barely-contained desire to clap between movements. Small movements, not obvious, but present, persistent, and almost overflowing into the bigger movements that might happen in the services of other denominations but not in fundamentalist circles.

To investigate congregational singing and its outworking in fundamental church services in this chapter, I first take up congregational singing as an essential aspect of worship by showing how important “right” worship is to fundamentalists and how this attitude influences the shape of their services. Second, I examine what music fundamentalists sing, and how the means by which this music is transmitted reflects shifting values about having a vetted repertoire of hymns. Third, I consider why joy is the primary affect of their congregational singing, finding it rooted in a “joy of salvation” that persists even while suffering. I then look to the support that instrumental accompaniment gives to congregational singing. Finally, I turn to instrumental hymn

arrangements, the lone form of instruments-only music found in fundamentalist services, arguing that this genre is not only allowed but prized because it furthers congregants' worship through the practice of "inner singing" as congregants mentally follow along with hymn lyrics while listening to the arrangements.

Congregational Music and the Importance of "Right" Worship

Fundamentalists treat music, especially congregational singing, as an integral element of corporate worship. This section explores how most fundamentalists conceptualize music's relationship to worship and links the seriousness of worship with the importance of choosing appropriate music for services. For some fundamentalists, however, congregational music exists not primarily for worship but is an emotional and thematic preparation for the sermon to follow. Both viewpoints influence what music is used in services. Finally, because of their understanding of music's theological function in a service, most fundamental churches conceptualize the music director as a pastoral role.

That music is and should be part of the conversation about worship is almost a given for fundamentalist authorities, with the relationship between the two so close that one term often stands in for the other. For example, in a monograph on worship written by a BJU seminary professor and senior pastor of a Greenville-area church, Gary Reimers uses "worship style" to mean musical styles, particularly the three main categories of services used in evangelical churches (traditional, contemporary, and

blended) whose classification is based largely on musical style.¹⁴ Worship and music are so inextricable for Reimers, and presumably his intended readership, that he does not address the reasons he uses one term for the other.

When other authors discuss worship, most follow a similar pattern of near-conflation, but some more precisely discuss the relationship between music and worship.¹⁵ For example, pastor Dean Kurtz, argues that music is not required *per se* for worship but that “[i]t is impossible...to have worship in the fullest sense without music eventually playing a role,” while Fisher similarly asserts, “Pure worship has nothing to do with music. Worship may be expressed by music, and often is, but worship is not caused by music; it is a result of God’s revelation.”¹⁶

The close-to-overlapping identities and roles of worship and music hinge on fundamentalists’ understanding of worship. Their definitions usually involve two components: an individual’s accurate *knowledge* of God, and that person’s subsequent *response* to the knowledge. Aniol writes “*Worship is a spiritual response to God as a result of understanding biblical truth about God,*” and Kurtz defines worship as “seeing God clearly for who He is and responding with heart, soul, mind, and strength in offering up

¹⁴ Reimers, *The Glory Due His Name*, 51-69.

¹⁵ Only Lucarini dissents from prevailing fundamentalist views in his appropriately titled book, *It’s Not about the Music: A Journey into Worship*.

¹⁶ Kurtz, *God’s Word*, 5; and Fisher, *Harmony at Home*, 184. Fisher seems to make his comments about “worship” with the term “worship music” in mind, as he continues: “The best we can expect from Christian music is to accurately reveal or reflect the character and nation of God. Only in a performance that reveals Him in the text clearly sung, in the music that portrays the message, in the style with which we perform, and in the spirit with which we approach such an offering can we properly use the term ‘worship music,’” *Harmony at Home*, 184.

sacrifices of praise and service to Him within the context of an obedient life.”¹⁷ Music is inextricably linked to both components, given that fundamentalists believe music can reveal or reflect God’s nature (i.e. music can transmit accurate knowledge of God) and that a person’s response to that knowledge may well occur through music in what Kurtz terms “sacrifices of praise.”¹⁸ Aniol also further specifies a definition of congregational worship: “a unified chorus of spiritual responses toward God expressed publically to God, as a result of understanding biblical truth about God.”¹⁹ Aniol’s peers argue that music fulfills this definition as well, given that it unifies those who sing together, or, conversely, results from their shared faith.²⁰

This understanding of worship, with its emphasis on mental engagement, is among the many areas that set fundamentalist congregational singing apart from broader evangelicalism. Gordon Adnam’s ethnographic description of “just singing” versus “really worshipping” highlights how, for many evangelicals, worshipping through congregational singing is not primarily about a congregant’s knowledge of God and subsequent response, but rather, about how individuals *feel* about their response—whether they feel that they are emotionally engaged with their singing, an engagement that could be compared with fundamentalists’ idea of response but not so strongly

¹⁷ Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 30, emphasis his; and Kurtz, *God’s Word*, 155.

¹⁸ Kurtz, *God’s Word*, 15.

¹⁹ Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 155, emphasis his.

²⁰ Garlock and Woetzel make the former argument in *Music and the Balance*, 158-60, while Kurtz argues the latter in *God’s Word*, 240.

connected with and preceded by knowledge.²¹ Even further away from fundamentalists' conception of worship is that described by Joshua Kalin Busman in his ethnography of evangelical Passion conferences and megachurch worship music, where participants conceptualize worship "as an unmediated encounter with God," even though, he argues, worship music actually mediates it.²²

This difference from broader evangelicalism is one reason fundamentalists insist on using the "right" kind of music for worship—"right" in the sense of appropriate, justified, and correct.²³ If, as Reimers writes, worship style is equivalent to musical style, and if, as Reimers asserts through his monograph on worship, God is so deeply concerned with worship as to kill and curse people who do not worship in the right ways, then the importance of having a right musical style cannot be overstated.

After briefly introducing worship styles through traditional, contemporary, and blended service types, Reimers lays out his views that "God punishes wrong worship" and "God blesses right worship."²⁴ As proof for the first assertion, Reimers dwells on the Old Testament statement, "For I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate

²¹ Adnams, "The Experience of Congregational Singing," 191, 196-7.

²² Busman, "(Re)Sounding Passion," 145.

²³ This use of "right" is not uncommon in Christian circles. For example, a similar use of "right" is found in many English translations of the *Sursum Corda*, a dialogue included in many Christian liturgies, in which the congregation responds with "It is meet and right." (Or, "It is right and just.") to the presider's statement of "Let us give thanks to the Lord our God."

²⁴ Reimers, *The Glory Due His Name*, 52, 61; these statements are made as bolded, capitalized headings for the chapter's main sections.

me" (from Exodus 20:5), and an account of two men who disputed Moses' and Aaron's authority in worship and who were subsequently consumed by the earth along with their families. Later, Reimers discusses a passage from the Old Testament book of Malachi to argue: "There are consequences for wrong worship. [Malachi 1:9] is full of irony: after offering God such deficient worship, go ahead and try asking for His help. You will find that God senses no obligation to answer your prayers. In fact, He would prefer no worship at all instead of the emptiness of ongoing wrong worship."²⁵ Not only does Reimers consider some worship/music styles to be right and some to be wrong, but he asserts that God's displeasure with wrong worship/music is so great that he will punish the book's readers who choose to worship in the wrong way, will punish their descendants, and likely will not heed their prayers.

Because Reimers's intended readership is primarily fundamentalist, any typical reader would presumably know what worship/music style are the right kinds and which deserve God's punishment. In case of any confusion, however, Reimers eventually cites music in popular styles with Christian lyrics as "a modern parallel to pagan worship," the worship that he previously described as deserving a horrifying death.²⁶

²⁵ Reimers, *The Glory Due His Name*, 94.

²⁶ Reimers, *The Glory Due His Name*, 79-81.

Reimers's arguments are not anomalous. Rather, they are quite similar to those made throughout fundamentalist texts on music, though Reimers's arguments are sustained at greater length (not surprising, given that his is a monograph specifically on worship). These texts frequently cite two stories from the Old Testament to make the case that God does not accept subpar, deviant, or otherwise unworthy worship: first, the story of Cain and Abel, in which Cain's sacrifice to God is not considered worthy (subsequently, Cain murders his brother and is cursed by God), and second, the story of Aaron's sons, Nadab and Abihu, who offered "strange fire" in the Tabernacle and were then killed by fire sent from God.²⁷

With stories like these so frequently highlighted as proof for the important place of the right kind of music used for the right kind of worship, fundamentalist texts give the overwhelming impression that worshipping God properly is an incredibly difficult, even dangerous, task. Kurtz calls worship "a daunting task worthy of our passionate prayer and careful consideration" and later says candidly, "It makes your head spin doesn't it? Every worship choice, even our choice of voice inflection as we speak, makes a difference in our understanding of the Lord. Every choice we make either helps or hinders our ability to respond wholeheartedly."²⁸ Reimers makes these feelings clear

²⁷ For these accounts, see Gen. 4:1-15 and Lev. 10:1-2. For fundamentalist interpretations of these texts, see for example, Kurtz, *God's Word*, 29-33; and Lucarini, *It's Not about the Music*, 168-71. See also Bachorik, *New Heart*, 42, 62-7; Blanchard and Lucarini, *Can We Rock the Gospel?*, 64; Fisher, *The Battle for Christian Music*, 94; Foster, *The Spiritual Song*, 40; and Lynch, *Gospel Music*, 22-3.

²⁸ Kurtz, *God's Word*, 83, 120.

throughout his text as he repeatedly asserts God's dissatisfaction with the worship

Christians offer in statements like these:

- "The Lord deserves better worship than He is currently receiving."
- "The Father is actively, continually seeking people who will worship Him by following the pattern Christ has just described [in John 17:17]. It is appropriate to infer from this statement that God is not satisfied with the current quality or quantity of worship He is receiving. He is looking for something more and something better."
- "Unfortunately, in spite of the clarity of His Word, God does not receive the worship He describes in the way that He demands. This constitutes a serious problem, not only because wrong worship has unpleasant consequences for us, but more importantly because God's glory is our most important function."²⁹

Despite this seemingly dark or oppressive understanding of worship, fundamentalists' musical worship is typically marked by its joyfulness, suggesting that any intimidation felt by congregants during their actual acts of worshipping through singing is hidden, if indeed it is felt at all.

Competing Views on the Purpose of the Song Service

While worship is usually considered the primary purpose of congregational singing and other music used in fundamental church services, other purposes compete

²⁹ Reimers, *The Glory Due His Name*, 2, 12-13, 99-100.

with or take precedence over worship in the minds of some church leaders. Some argue that the song service should function as a preparation for the sermon to follow (the song service, as discussed in the Introduction, is the first half of a fundamental church service, and usually includes singing, instrumental music, prayers, and sometimes a scripture reading and announcements). Though this main purpose does not necessarily exclude worship as a secondary purpose, its primary emphasis is to point congregants' emotions and mindsets toward the sermon.³⁰ Relatedly, some argue that the song service should focus on evangelism by priming unbelievers for a conversion-focused sermon, or by attracting them to Christianity and to that particular church through musical means.

By saying "some argue" for these positions, I mean that some leaders do this through their actions and through the way they speak about the service's structure—an evangelist calling the song service "a glorious preparation" for the sermon, an author describing the purpose of a "Traditional" worship service (in contrast to the purpose of "Contemporary" worship service) as "prepar[ing] the hearts for the preaching," or a church describing its Sunday morning service as a "Preaching Service"—but not that fundamentalists generally write or speak at length in support of these positions.³¹

³⁰ One might compare the music-sermon connection to the way some other denominations rely on lectionary readings to guide the themes of music and sermon. However, in fundamentalist services, this thematic connection is based on freely chosen topics for the sermon which then influence musical selections that exist as a preamble of sorts to the sermon, whereas in churches that use a lectionary, both sermon and musical choices are derived from previously chosen scripture passages.

³¹ Morris Gleiser, sermon at the WILDS Music Conference, January 6, 2015; Lucarini, *Why I Left*, 120; and Reimers, *The Glory Due His Name*, 21-2. See also Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 159. One exception is Foster's defense of revivalism, especially in its nineteenth-century iterations, and its associated music; he

Rather, they typically write and speak *against* these positions to assert the importance of believers worshipping in the here-and-now of the song service.

The larger issue here is whether or not music should be used in Sunday morning church services to attract and/or evangelize unbelievers (explicitly evangelistic services, such as a week-long “Revival” or “Evangelistic” series of services, have greater leeway in the matter). While authorities are not uniform in their stance, most agree that the music used in church services is primarily for believers and their worship, not for unbelievers.³² However, they grant that Christian music *can* be a testimony to unbelievers, in the sense of the “New Song” as discussed in Chapter Two, though not its primary purpose.³³ In other words, though a focus on music as worship does not rule out attracting unbelievers to God and to a given church, fundamentalists typically view these purposes as distinct from each other.³⁴

Fundamentalists who argue against music’s primarily roles of preparation and evangelism do so as part of a generational shift within broader evangelical Christianity and as an ongoing engagement with the Worship Wars. Since the 1970s, Baptist circles

presents a long series of anecdotes to argue that unbelievers “are greatly moved by the singing” used in revivalistic efforts and that believers also “are moved by the songs,” in *The Spiritual Song*, 62-72.

³² See Fisher, *The Battle for Christian Music*, 4; and Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 113. Foster, in contrast to most other authorities, argues that music should be used to evangelize unbelievers, in *The Spiritual Song*, 12, 86-7.

³³ See Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 184; and Lynch, *Gospel Music*, 31, 34.

³⁴ Kurtz, *God’s Word*, 200-1, 206, suggests that music used for worship does not rule out the possibility of attracting unbelievers as a by-product.

have generally trended away from an emphasis on evangelism to an emphasis on worship, making the narrative that I have encountered among fundamentalists of a similar shift in their circles unsurprising.³⁵ For example, a pastor in his 60s, Rick Arrowood, described his earlier practices where music's role was to "prepare the hearts for preaching," then a transformative season brought about by his personal study of worship (which included Reimers's *The Glory Due His Name*) and a sermon series he preached on the topic, and finally, a resulting change in how music was viewed and used in his church.³⁶ Without that change, he noted, he would "be stuck somewhere in the past."

The Worship Wars also loom large in this conversation because many evangelical churches are "seeker-friendly" or "seeker-sensitive," one aspect of which is their use of music to shape their services to the preferences of unbelievers and disaffected Christians.³⁷ Fundamentalists dispute the spiritual legitimacy of such services, suggesting that seeker-sensitive churches signal their disbelief that God is himself sufficient to bring unbelievers to faith.³⁸ When fundamentalist services *are* geared explicitly to unbelievers, leaders do not present those services as a means of catering to the preferences of unbelievers but rather as a means of persuading unbelievers to be converted and to subsequently follow fundamentalist norms of Christian behavior.

³⁵ Music and Richardson, "I Will Sing the Wondrous Story," 464.

³⁶ Rick Arrowood, interview with author, June 18, 2015.

³⁷ See Sargeant, *Seeker Churches*.

³⁸ See for example, Smith, *Let Those with Ears to Hear*, 59, 64-6.

On a broader level, many fundamentalists teach that adjusting music selections to the preferences of unbelievers and believers alike puts an unseemly focus on people, making them into “the objects of worship” instead of God.³⁹ According to Kurtz, music selected according to preference—what he calls, “music that makes us feel good and even encourages our sinful nature”—“is constructed to stimulate your emotions at the expense of your mind, while bringing God down to your level. In this worship system, the focus ultimately is not on God, but on me.”⁴⁰ Once again, the focus returns to the preeminence of worship, and worshipping in the right way, in the song service.

For all the rhetoric against attracting unbelievers to church through musical means, fundamental churches do structure elements of their services to appeal to visitors, particularly fellow fundamentalists. They typically give first-time visitors a “welcome packet” that includes information about the church, a branded pen, and a “follow-up” card to be filled out with personal information (such as address, phone number, and sometimes one’s age and the ages of one’s family members) so that a person from the church can contact the visitor in the following week. But some packets are much more lavish. During my ethnographic work, for example, I received one that included: a welcome letter, a pamphlet covering the history of the church, a list of Sunday school classroom schedules, a tract geared toward unbelievers, a large glossy

³⁹ Kurtz, *God’s Word*, 78. See also 28, 76-9; and Hamilton, *Why I Don’t Listen*, 81.

⁴⁰ Kurtz, *God’s Word*, 78.

bookmark printed with the church's "ministry core values" and another with the church covenants and Baptist distinctives, two coupons to the church's on-site bookstore, a CD recording of a sermon from the senior pastor, a branded pen, and a branded LED flashlight; all this, in a gift bag emblazoned with the church's logo.

This attraction is, for fundamentalists, qualitatively different than gearing their music or any other part of the service to the preferences of unbelievers or to non-church-members. Consider the letter contained in another church's welcome packet. Senior pastor Tony Miller presents a litany of reasons why a visiting fundamentalist should choose his church:

We are committed to help you know Christ and to grow strong spiritually. We emphasize the relevance of God's word to meet your needs. Our services are designed with the entire family in mind. We offer Sunday School classes for every age, excellent music, an exciting singles ministry, dynamic youth and children's programs, quality nursery care, and a wide range of activities. Most of all, our folks demonstrate a genuine friendly atmosphere that reflects the attitude of the Lord Jesus Christ.⁴¹

In attracting potential church members, Miller only lists church features that are within acceptable fundamentalist standards—features that would appeal to

⁴¹ Tony Miller, "A Personal Invitation to Morningside Baptist Church," included in the visitor's packet at Morningside Baptist Church, Greenville, SC, March 2, 2014.

fundamentalists looking for a new church to attend. On the other hand, using the wrong music, even for evangelism, would be like Cain's unacceptable sacrifice or Nadab and Abihu's "strange fire."

Influences on the Shape and Planning of the Song Service

Church leaders' views directly influence the structure and elements of the song service, especially depending on whether they view music as primarily a means of worship or of preparation for a sermon. For example, when Reimers discusses his experience at a church with a "Preaching Service" on Sunday morning, he notes that the pastor revealed his sermon-focused mindset by talking with his neighbor during congregational singing and looking over his notes during the choir anthem.⁴² These actions showed that "[t]he congregational hymns, choir and soloist were not so much ways to worship the Lord as they were means for preparing the hearts of people to hear the message" — a mindset that Reimers notes is "actually a common viewpoint in many churches."⁴³ Similarly, in narrating his transition to a worship-focused view of the song service, Arrowood mentioned changes he and his staff made to the song service itself.⁴⁴ While songs may still be selected to accord with certain moods (he mentioned choosing a variety of slow and fast songs), the music's purpose has shifted and services now include a time of quiet meditation toward the beginning. Furthermore, announcements

⁴² Reimers, *The Glory Due His Name*, 21, emphasis in original bulletin, which Reimers notes was bolded.

⁴³ Reimers, *The Glory Due His Name*, 21.

⁴⁴ Rick Arrowood, interview with author, June 18, 2015.

are no longer made during the song service (so as not to interrupt the worship) but are instead made at the end of the whole service.

Another likely difference between worship-focused and sermon-focused services is in how they are planned. Some churches select congregational songs based on a sermon's topic (choral and instrumental music, because it needs lengthier preparation, may be divorced from the sermon-hymn topic), and others prefer to coordinate all the music of a service, and possibly scripture readings, around a given theme, whether or not that aligns with the sermon. Choosing music based on a sermon can tend more easily to last minute decisions. When playing piano in churches with this emphasis, I was often handed a list of congregational songs only minutes before a service's start—or even discovered the hymns as they were announced to the entire congregation. But in churches with themes, music directors may plan much further in advance than they would otherwise.

Unlike musicians in churches who follow a lectionary (a set calendar of scripture readings), fundamentalist music directors have wide latitude in their choice of themes. This freedom demands their creativity and time. Peter Davis, a music director in the Greenville area and music faculty member at BJU since 1985, describes summers as his time to originate themes for the following years' services, themes that he typically

choses from the Psalms, though “Christianized for the New Testament church.”⁴⁵ With themes like “Be Filled with the Spirit,” “Rejoice, Ye Righteous in the Lord,” and “By His Wounds We Are Healed” in hand, he can then select congregational hymns and propose related options for choir, soloists and other musicians. This long-range planning also allows him to equitably schedule the church’s many musicians (approximately 100 people who sing solos or in small ensemble, or who play offertories and preludes) several months ahead.

The Pastoral Role of Music Directors

That music directors may spiritually lead the congregation through thematic planning and overall music selection suggests a pastoral component to their role, making it a position for men only. In fact, in my survey of fundamental church websites, roughly two-thirds of churches with a listed music director consider him to be part of their pastoral staff, while the others designate that position as lay staff.⁴⁶ These pastoral and lay positions have various designations. “Music Director,” “Minister of Music,” and

⁴⁵ Peter Davis, interview with author, February 6, 2015.

⁴⁶ 23 out of 55 sample set churches named a music director on their website; of these, 15 were clearly considered pastoral staff, 6 were lay staff, and 2 were ambiguous. I examined the websites of churches in the Greenville area that are approved for BJU student attendance in the 2014-2015 academic year (35 of the 42 English-language churches they list have working websites); websites from the 7 churches pastored by, founded by, or with a pastor emeritus on BJU’s Board of Trustees and Associate Board in 2015; and websites of 6 additional churches with BJU-ties in a Southeastern metropolitan area and a Midwestern metropolitan area where I interviewed staff members and/or attended services. For BJU’s list Greenville-area churches approved for student attendance, see Bob Jones University, “Greenville Area Churches,” <http://www.bju.edu/life-faith/greenville/churches.php> (accessed July 29, 2014), and “Choosing a Church in Greenville,” <http://www.bju.edu/admission/admitted-students/before-you-get-here/choosing-a-church.php> (accessed May 20, 2015). For BJU’s Board of Trustees and Associate Board, see Bob Jones University, “University Board of Trustees,” <http://www.bju.edu/about/board-trustees.php> (accessed May 20, 2015).

“Pastor” with a music designation (e.g. “Music and Youth Pastor” and “Pastor for Music and Worship”) are most common.⁴⁷ Yet the music director’s job may include tasks that, in some churches, could be filled by different people, sometimes including women: the music director may coordinate schedules of musicians, thematically plan services and select corresponding music, lead the choir and other ensembles as a choir director, and lead congregational singing as a song leader. For convenience, I use “music director” as a general term throughout this study, and use “choir director” and “song leader” when discussing those specific functions, even though the choir director, song leader, and music director are most often the same person.

Only some of these roles are pastoral in nature and thus limited to men. Lead pianists can be male or female, and sometimes they coordinate the schedules of other musicians’ playing in church services. While I have no personal knowledge of a female music director and/or choir director, interviewees have attested to this possibility on multiple occasions (one composer, Molly Ijames, cites the Old Testament figure Miriam—Moses’ sister—as a musical leader of the Israelites in support of that possibility).⁴⁸ However, only men plan service themes.

⁴⁷ Of the 23 named positions, 5 were Music Directors, 2 were Minister of Music, and 11 were Pastors with a musical designation. There were 5 other terms used once each: “Worship Leader,” “Music Leader,” “Music and Children’s Ministry” (a lay staff position), “School Administrator” (a pastoral position that included music duties), and simply “Pastor.”

⁴⁸ Molly Ijames, interview with author, February 14, 2015.

Similarly, only men lead congregational singing. But a song leader is not necessarily the same person as the church's music director—a church might invite a student intern to lead music, or a small church might choose someone to lead simply because he has a knowledge of metrical patterns and a willingness to engage in a modicum of public speaking as he announces hymn selections to the congregation. The song leader's role is unquestionably male for fundamentalists because it may include pastoral-like exhortation of the congregation and explication of doctrine, such as when a hymn text is discussed before the singing. Ijames notes that while a women might lead the choir, she couldn't turn around during an anthem and cue the congregation to sing a stanza with the choir.⁴⁹ That move to direct the entire congregation's worship would not fit with the role a woman could play in the musical leadership of a church, no matter her musical skill level or the comparative musical training of men in the church. The importance of song leading is such that male students at BJU who enroll in the Christian Ministries bachelor's degree at BJU must take a course in "Congregational Song Leading," a course that, unlike any other offered by the Department of Church Music, is only open to male students.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Molly Ijames, interview with author, February 14, 2015.

⁵⁰ Bob Jones University, "2015-2016 Undergraduate Catalog," 204, 278.

The Core Repertoire of Fundamentalist Hymnody

Congregational singing is the primary corporate expression of worship in fundamental churches. Hymns fulfill the knowledge aspect of worship by advancing congregants' theological understanding, and they also can be a worshipful response to that knowledge—indeed, they are the whole congregation's *only* collective response, since no other service elements use unified voices (as would be the case with collective spoken prayers).⁵¹ As a means of worship then, hymn lyrics must be both explicitly Christian and specific in their doctrine for fundamentalists, so that the lyrics will “express and advance the [congregant's] theological understanding” (see further discussion of criteria for sacred lyrics in Chapter Two).⁵² This criteria results in a core repertoire largely comprised of nineteenth-century gospel songs and newer music written by fundamentalists themselves—a repertoire whose familiarity to congregants is one factor in their ability to wholeheartedly participate in congregational singing. But fundamentalists do not always concur on what songs best meet the criteria for worship; whether or not the repertoire should be codified in hymnals; and how new songs should be vetted, added to that repertoire, and transmitted throughout their circles—all

⁵¹ Very rarely, a fundamental church might use responsorial scripture readings.

⁵² Churchworksmedia.com, “Philosophy,” <http://churchworksmedia.com/philosophy> (accessed November 8, 2014). Fisher denies that congregation singing is a means of spiritual education, but “rather, it is an opportunity for us to affirm together what we already know and have experienced,” *Harmony at Home*, 28.

disagreements whose power to trouble is rooted in deep concerns over what is fitting for worship.

Before moving to an analysis of these issues, it is worth noting one particular absence in fundamentalists' understanding of hymnody. Though a response of worship could be addressed to God, and thus termed a prayer, fundamentalists do not typically understand corporate singing as prayer *qua* prayer. There seems to be a distinction made between spoken and sung address to God, or between individual and corporate addresses to God, with only the former properly constituting prayer. Writer Dan Lucarini, for example, bemoans the minimal amount of prayer found in most services, suggesting that he does not see the potential for prayer in singing.⁵³ Similarly, Reimers argues for more prayer in fundamentalist services, which he believes is unacceptably insufficient in quantity; though he notes that many hymns "address God directly," he continues, "[W]e typically *sing* [hymns] rather than *pray* them."⁵⁴ However, though fundamentalists do not typically write of congregational singing as collective prayer, some in their related religious circles do make this connection.⁵⁵

Standard Repertoire of Hymnals Popular in Fundamental Churches

The hymnals used by fundamentalists include a stable base of hymns shared across denominations that use traditional hymnody, a repertoire that includes hymns

⁵³ Lucarini, *It's Not About the Music*, 85-92.

⁵⁴ Reimers, *The Glory Due His Name*, 29fn25.

⁵⁵ See for example Jones, *Singing and Making Music*, 10-17, which considers prayer to be a possibility for congregational singing and even instrumental sacred music.

like Martin Luther's "A Mighty Fortress," Francis of Assisi's "All Creatures of Our God and King," and Joseph Mohr's "Silent Night." For fundamentalists, as with other Baptist and baptistic-leaning groups, the repertoire is strongly skewed toward Baptist and Methodist hymnody. To this base they add music by fundamentalist authors and composers.

To arrive at these conclusions, I examined seven hymnals used in fundamentalist circles, five of which are published by fundamentalists:

- *Worship and Service Hymnal for Church and Home*, 1957, published by the evangelical Hope Publishing Company
- *Great Hymns of the Faith*, 1968, edited by the evangelical songwriter John W. Peterson
- *Soul Stirring Songs and Hymns*, 1989, published by the company founded by John R. Rice, a fundamentalist leader contemporaneous with Bob Jones, Sr.
- *Majesty Hymns*, 1997, published by Majesty Music
- *University Hymnal*, 2001, published for use in services held at BJU
- *Hymns of Grace and Glory*, 2002, edited by BJU faculty member Joan Pinkston
- *Rejoice Hymns*, 2011, published by Majesty Music

Of these, *Majesty Hymns* and *Rejoice Hymns* are by far the most popular today in fundamental churches (only three churches I attended did not use one or the other).⁵⁶ *Great Hymns of the Faith* was once popular in many fundamental churches, especially before *Majesty Hymns* was published, and continues to be used by some. *Worship and Service Hymnal* was used at BJU before the school produced its own *University Hymnal* in 2001.

Don E. Saliers refers to “[t]he publications of a new hymnal” as “an intervention into the life-stream of worshipping assemblies” — one that results from and reveals the desires of clergy and laity.⁵⁷ While fundamentalists hymnals are not the projects of denominational committees (unlike the United Methodist hymnal that was the object of Saliers’s reception study), they perform similarly work in reflecting generational change and in making that change happen. The following tables demonstrate this change, especially in gradual shift away from gospel songs.

Table 7 shows the authors and composers whose hymns were included at least ten times in at least one of the hymnals. These twenty authors and composers show the hymnals’ emphasis on Baptist and Methodist music, especially that associated with the nineteenth century Revivalism of Dwight L. Moody and Ira D. Sankey. Only two of the

⁵⁶ Of the 20 churches whose services I attended, all but one used one of these seven hymnals. The outlier, a very small church (c. 30 people on Sunday morning), used Fettke and Barker, *The Hymnal for Worship and Celebration*, a more broadly evangelical hymnal. Fundamental churches outside of BJU spheres may also choose Foxx and Stockton, *Bible Truth Hymns*, and Smith, *Living Hymns*.

⁵⁷ Saliers, “Aesthetics and Theology in Congregational Song,” 342.

authors and composers (Isaac Watts and Charles Wesley) were active before the nineteenth century. Of the rest, two are nineteenth century Britons (Frances Ridley Havergal and John B. Dykes), six are fundamentalists (Flora Jean Garlock, Frank Garlock, Ron Hamilton, Shelly Hamilton, Mac Lynch, and John R. Rice), and of the remaining ten, all but one are Americans with Baptist or Methodist affiliations (Lowell Mason, the founding father of music education in American public schools, is the outlier). Furthermore, of those ten, only two were active to any great extent in the twentieth century (John W. Peterson and George C. Stebbins).

Table 6: Number of hymns by the most common composers and lyricists in hymnals used in fundamental churches

	<i>Worship and Service</i>	<i>Great Hymns of the Faith</i>	<i>Soul Stirring Songs and Hymns</i>	<i>Majesty Hymns</i>	<i>University Hymnal</i>	<i>Hymns of Grace and Glory</i>	<i>Rejoice Hymns</i>
Bliss, Philip P. (1838-1876)	13	15	12	11	9	17	14
Bonar, Horatius (1808-1889)	5	4	1	0	5	14	1
Bradbury, William B. (1816-1868)	10	11	7	6	6	9	4
Crosby, Fanny (1820-1915)	19	23	23	18	22	28	18
Doane, William H. (1832-1915)	11	12	13	10	9	12	10
Dykes, John B. (1823-1876)	14	8	1	3	5	6	3
Gabriel, Charles H. (1856-1932)	12	8	16	6	7	15	8
Garlock, Flora Jean (b. 1930)	—	—	—	33	3	3	9
Garlock, Frank (b. 1930)	—	—	—	59	6	4	18
Hamilton, Ron (b. 1950)	—	—	—	79	12	2	63
Hamilton Shelly (b. 1954)	—	—	—	8	—	—	1

Havergal, Frances Ridley (1838-1870)	11	9	6	6	5	12	5
Hewitt, Eliza E. (1851-1920)	6	5	1	5	2	14	4
Kirkpatrick, William J. (1838-1921)	15	16	17	10	10	20	10
Lowry, Robert (1826- 1899)	6	8	8	6	6	11	9
Lynch, Mac (b. 1953)	—	—	—	11	10	2	9
Mason, Lowell (1792-1872)	21	15	5	7	10	19	9
McGranahan, James (1840-1907)	8	11	11	7	11	25	7
Peterson, John W. (1921-2006)	—	47	6	15	3	5	15
Pinkston, Joan J. (b. 1947)	—	—	—	2	5	66	1
Rice, John R. (1895- 1980)	—	—	21	—	—	—	—
Stebbins, George C. (1846-1945)	12	11	7	5	5	8	4
Sweney, John R. (1837-1899)	7	9	6	4	4	15	4
Watts, Isaac (1674- 1748)	14	13	9	12	13	25	10
Wesley, Charles (1707-1788)	17	15	8	13	14	30	16
Whittle, Daniel W. (1840-1901)	6	7	7	5	6	11	5

Sources: Bob Jones University, *University Hymnal*; Garlock, *Majesty Hymns*; Hope Publishing Company, *Worship and Service Hymnal for Church, School, and Home*; Hamilton, *Rejoice Hymns*; Pinkston and Hicks, *Hymns of Grace and Glory*; Peterson, *Great Hymns of the Faith*; and Hutson, *Soul Stirring Songs and Hymns*.

Gospel Songs

Most of the songs written by the nineteenth-century Americans on table 7 are Sunday School and gospel songs. Sunday School and gospel songs have far more similarities than differences, and fundamentalists group them together as “gospel songs” in their commentaries. The songs share “the unquestioned dominance of the melody, the use of simple meters, repetitive rhythms, plain harmonies (principally the primary chords [tonic, subdominant, and dominant]), and almost invariable major

keys,” and they often include a refrain.⁵⁸ Both were intended, in revivalistic language, “for the ‘seeker,’ either a child learning his or her basic catechism, or an unconverted adult who needed to hear the message of salvation” with the Sunday School song being more simplistic than the gospel song, given its target audience of children.⁵⁹ Philip P. Bliss’s “Jesus Loves Even Me” exemplifies the direct, heartfelt message, with a first verse that proclaims, “I am so glad that our Father in Heav’n Tells of His Love in the Book He has given; Wonderful things in the Bible I see, This is the dearest, that Jesus love me.” The refrain drives the point home: “I am so glad that Jesus loves me, Jesus loves me, Jesus loves me. I am so glad that Jesus loves me, Jesus loves even me.”⁶⁰

While gospel songs continue to be popular among fundamentalists as their hymnals show, some fundamentalists disparage these songs for their relatively superficial doctrinal engagement and potential for sentimentality, a criticism related to the distaste for “vague” sacred lyrics discussed in Chapter Two.⁶¹ Some music directors noted that they still programmed gospel songs for congregational singing as a concession to the many congregants who enjoy them, even though the songs were not the directors’ preference.⁶²

⁵⁸ Music and Richardson, “*I Will Sing the Wondrous Story*,” 311. See also Cross, “The Development of Sunday School Hymnody.”

⁵⁹ Music and Richardson, “*I Will Sing the Wondrous Story*,” 333.

⁶⁰ “Jesus Loves Even Me,” text and tune (GLADNESS) by Philip P. Bliss.

⁶¹ See for example, Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 192-201.

⁶² For example, Chuck Bumgardner, interview with author, January 27, 2015.

Kurtz, however, argues that such simplicity does not disqualify a song from being spiritually beneficial, even if such a song “begins to show its lack of depth” with repeated singing.⁶³ Rather, these songs are “immediately accessible” and “emphasize that God is a God who is immediately accessible.”⁶⁴ He argues that churches should use both simpler and more complex hymnody—both the immediately accessible that may become tiresome with repetition, and songs that “may take some time to become ‘ours’ but may have the benefit of greater staying power,” because both “are essential in accurately picturing the many sides of God.”⁶⁵

Newer Songs

In recent years, some fundamentalists have turned away from gospel songs’ simplicity toward newer songs with more doctrinally dense lyrics. Take for example, the first stanza of a recently-written hymn that has achieved much popularity in fundamental churches: “My Jesus, fair, was pierced by thorns, / By thorns grown from the fall. / Thus He who gave the curse was torn / To end that curse for all.”⁶⁶ In just two sentences, Chris Anderson’s text alludes to unlimited atonement (that Jesus’s death was for all people, not a select few) and to Jesus both initiating and ending the curse on humanity begun with the Adamic fall. The lyrics also provide a personal response to Jesus’s suffering and

⁶³ Kurtz, *God’s Word*, 45.

⁶⁴ Kurtz, *God’s Word*, 45.

⁶⁵ Kurtz, *God’s Word*, 45-6.

⁶⁶ Anderson, “My Jesus, Fair,” <http://churchworksmmedia.com/my-jesus-fair> (accessed November 13, 2015).

death through adoration of a beautiful Christ and what the chorus refers to a “joyful grief” at his death.

A desire by congregants for comparatively rich texts (as well as the songs’ lyrical, Anglo-folk inspired melodies) has motivated the growing, yet contentious, acceptance of music by more liberal evangelical groups like Sovereign Grace—music whose lyrics are largely in line with fundamentalist beliefs but whose stylistic origin is popular (see the discussion of their music in the conclusion to Chapter One). This desire also prompts the creation of new songs by fundamentalists like Anderson, whose affiliated group Church Works Media describes their congregational music as “doctrinally-rich, [and] Christ-centered.”⁶⁷ By this, they mean texts “filled with biblical quotations, imagery and allusions” and that express their theological views with “accuracy.”⁶⁸

The 2011 *Rejoice Hymns*, the most popular recently published hymnal in fundamental churches, includes songs written by this rising tide of fundamentalist authors and composers. While that hymnal’s predecessor, *Majesty Hymns* (1997) features many songs by the Garlock and Hamilton family members who edited and published it but comparatively few by other fundamentalists besides Lynch, *Rejoice Hymns* includes a much wider variety of fundamentalist sources, even as those fundamentalists with ten or more songs continue to be limited to the Garlock and Hamilton families. Other

⁶⁷ Churchworksmedia.com, “Vision,” <http://churchworksmedia.com/vision> (accessed November 13, 2015).

⁶⁸ Churchworksmedia.com, “Philosophy,” <http://churchworksmedia.com/philosophy> (accessed November 13, 2015).

fundamentalist hymnals include music written by those in fundamentalist circles, a selection of which are shown in table 8. While songs written by fundamentalists are often extremely popular within their circles, their music has rarely moved into other circles, if hymnals are any indication: in 2015, Hymnary, an online database of over 5,500 hymnals, listed only one hymnal outside of fundamentalism that included a song by any of the better known fundamentalist composers.⁶⁹

Table 7: Number of hymns by selected fundamentalist composers and authors included in fundamentalist hymnals

	<i>Majesty Hymns</i>	<i>University Hymnal</i>	<i>Hymns of Grace and Glory</i>	<i>Rejoice Hymns</i>
Anderson, Chris (b. 1971)	—	—	—	4
Coleman, Fred (b. 1953)	—	—	—	1
Coleman, Ruth (b. 1953)	—	—	—	1
Gustafson, Dwight (1930-2014)	3	4	2	2
Habegger, Greg (b. 1973)	—	—	—	4
Jones, Bob III (b. 1939)	—	1	—	—
Jones, Bob Jr. (1911-1997)	3	5	4	3
Jones, Bob Sr. (1883-1968)	—	1	—	—
Pettit, Steve (b. 1955)	—	—	—	1
Pinkston, Joan (b. 1947)	2	5	66	1

Sources: Bob Jones University, *University Hymnal*; Garlock, *Majesty Hymns*; Hamilton, *Rejoice Hymns*; and Pinkston and Hicks, *Hymns of Grace and Glory*.

Through hymnody both old and new, fundamentalists continue to embrace what Bachorik calls the “rich treasure” of historic hymnody while also fulfilling the command for a new song that applies to “every generation.”⁷⁰ Hymns themselves are valued for their promise of historical continuity and fundamentalists are well aware that singing

⁶⁹ Ron Hamilton’s “Rejoice in the Lord” is included in the conservative Presbyterian *Trinity Hymnal*, though with a different tune than his original composition. A number of hymns written by fundamentalists are also included in the conservative evangelical hymnal, Webb, *Hymns of Grace* (2015).

⁷⁰ Bachorik, *New Heart, New Spirit, New Song*, 56. See also 54-67.

today's "new song" does not rule out singing older songs. Author and musician Kimberly Smith expresses her belief that "it's comforting to know that God's people have sung the same hymns throughout the ages" — reflecting her sense of hymns' timelessness that she shares with several other authors.⁷¹ She points to a genealogical continuity of hymn writers, "each one closer to the time when Jesus walked the earth," as a reason for congregations today to continue singing these received songs and in so doing, "handing down the faith that has been handed down to us."⁷² But more consistent with typical fundamentalist teachings on tradition is Fisher's point that hymns, even well accepted ones, are not guaranteed to be doctrinally pure is more consistent with typical fundamentalist teachings on tradition.⁷³ He suggests instead, "The better we know the texts of great hymns, the more effectively we will be able to compare them with the Bible and put them to the test of scriptural purity," and recommends altering inadequate texts.⁷⁴

Hymnals and Their Supplements

Many fundamental churches have begun projecting hymn texts onto screens in the last ten to fifteen years—a practice that allows for the swift adoption of new songs

⁷¹ Smith, *Oh Be Careful Little Ears*, 28. See also Foster, *Spiritual Song*, 71; and Sears, *Apostasy and Deception*, 54.

⁷² Smith, *Oh Be Careful Little Ears*, 28.

⁷³ Fisher, *Harmony at Home*, 33-4.

⁷⁴ Fisher, *Harmony at Home*, 33-4.

instead of a years-long wait for a new hymnal edition.⁷⁵ Though projection is unremarkable now, its acceptance has not been without rancor, and today, many fundamentalists still emphasize the need for churches to own hymnals because of how these documents legitimize a given repertoire through the vetting process of trusted editors. They also advocate for individuals and families to own hymnals for their private and family worship.

Hymnals themselves have contents that have been evaluated by respected community leaders. Through this gatekeeping, a church guards itself against the whims of an individual music leader who might steer the congregation's singing toward contemporary styles or to doctrinally superficial, unbalanced, or inaccurate texts. For these reasons, Lucarini asserts that "you can trust [hymnals] far more than you could ever trust any worship leader."⁷⁶ He cautions his readers that to reject hymnals is to reject "God-given protections against doctrinal drift, heresy and shocking musical worldliness" being promoted by the "ecumenical music industry."⁷⁷ Evangelist Gordon Sears takes a more cynical view of leaders who reject hymnals and hymns. In his view, they are not just immature or naïve, but consciously reject hymns so as to ignore doctrines they find inconvenient—for example, a proponent of the prosperity gospel, he

⁷⁵ The increasing use of projected texts in fundamental churches reflects a nationwide trend: 11.9% of U.S. congregations in 1998 used visual projection equipment, 26.5% in 2006-2007, and 35.3% in 2012. National Congregations Study, *Religious Congregations in 21st Century America*, 42.

⁷⁶ Lucarini, *It's Not About the Music*, 145.

⁷⁷ Lucarini, *It's Not About the Music*, 149.

presumes, would not choose a hymn such as Isaac Watts’s “When I Survey the Wondrous Cross” since it includes the lines “my richest gain I count but loss, and pour contempt on all my pride.”⁷⁸ Yet, as mentioned above, hymnals’ contents are also driven by what congregants want to sing (gospel songs, Sovereign Grace songs, and so on)—meaning that their contents “[reflect] both top-down and bottom-up aesthetic and theological decisions.”⁷⁹

Hymns and hymnals are also prized for their devotional value. Authorities encourage the personal and familial study of hymn texts and hymn singing as part of an individual’s “quiet time” or a family’s Bible study.⁸⁰ Hymnals are available for individual purchase, and one recent hymnal supplement, *Hymns Modern and Ancient*, was designed to promote such a use through a spiral binding that lays flat on a table for easier study as well as an attractive cover, one that the editor felt would look appropriate sitting next to a Bible.⁸¹ Literature based on hymns’ origin stories and on the personal lives of hymn writers furthers the devotional possibilities of hymnody itself.⁸²

Yet supplementary music to hymnals is truly supplementary in a Derridian sense because fundamentalists’ desire new music: the hymnal lacks new music so the

⁷⁸ Sears, *Apostasy and Deception*, 39.

⁷⁹ Saliers, “Aesthetics and Theology in Congregational Song,” 335.

⁸⁰ See Fisher, *Harmony at Home*, 34-5; and Foster, *Spiritual Song*, 140.

⁸¹ Fred Coleman, interview with author, April 24, 2015. The hymnal’s cover was modeled after Wesley, *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns*.

⁸² Such devotional literature includes the following sold by the BJU Campus Store (www.bjucampusstore.com, accessed November 11, 2015): Loock, *Open Your Hymnal*; Morgan, *Then Sings My Soul*; and Tyson, *Assist Me to Proclaim*.

supplement, though seemingly unnecessary, is actually necessary.⁸³ The result is fundamental churches' adoption of new songs that are incorporated into their services by projecting or printing hymn text, while still keeping hymnals in their auditorium's seating.⁸⁴

Fundamentalist publishers also supplement hymnals with songbooks like *Hymns Modern and Ancient* and the volumes of *Praises* published Majesty Music. These contain newer music as well as older music outside the standard repertoire of their hymnals.⁸⁵ The *Praises* collections prioritize music written by members of the Hamilton and Garlock families, especially the religious songs included in the children's adventure dramas figure-headed by Ron "Patch the Pirate" Hamilton (see the section on "fun music" in Chapter Two). *Hymns Modern and Ancient*, edited by Fred Coleman (head of BJU's Department of Church Music since 1988), features a wider range of newer music as well as older texts outside of common usage and that Coleman felt should be resurrected, though it also includes several songs written by him and the entire collection is harmonized by his wife, Ruth Coleman. (Notably, *Hymns Modern and Ancient* was initially conceived for personal use, not as a hymnal supplement even though it has been

⁸³ Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, *passim*.

⁸⁴ In my ethnographic work, I never encountered a church that did not have hymnals housed in its auditorium's seating, even if the hymnals were not necessary to that day's service.

⁸⁵ It is not unusual for a denomination to produce supplementary hymnals, especially to suit differences in stylistic tastes across parishes. One notable example is The Episcopal Church's *Lift Every Voice and Sing II: An African American Hymnal*. Fisher describes such a supplement as "a chorus book of newer songs and appropriate Scripture choruses," in *Harmony at Home*, 41-2.

used in that way.)⁸⁶ The Wilds produces a songbook, now in its 8th edition, that may appear similar to these supplements on first glance, but unlike them, it is geared toward providing a range of music to be sung at their camp and conference center. It includes newer songs but also a subset of the songs that would be included in a hymnal like *Majesty*. While a wealthier church might buy this songbook for its youth group or supplement its regular hymnal, personal and familiar use is more likely outside of The Wilds.

Songbooks are vetted just like hymnals, but projected texts (and to some extent, music printed in a service bulletin or on leaflets) caused concern because they were perceived as easily allowing for a shift in a church's musical repertoire.⁸⁷ In recent years, even Frank Garlock, one of the vanguards of fundamentalists' music philosophy, has suggested that a church combine the use of both projected texts and hymnal, noting that when singing from projected texts, congregants can look up, sing loudly in unison, and "better concentrate on the spiritual message of the text" than if they were singing four-part harmony; they can also "segue" between hymns "without the interruption of having to turn to different hymnbook pages."⁸⁸ However, Garlock still advocates for both of the hymnal's benefits, especially the potential for four-part singing, along with

⁸⁶ Fred Coleman, interview with author, April 24, 2015.

⁸⁷ Lucarini, *It's Not about the Music*, 147-8.

⁸⁸ Garlock, afterword to Hamilton's *Why I Don't Listen*, 91-2. See also Lucarini *Why I Left*, 137, and *It's Not about the Music*, 147. Aniol also notes that a projector or bulletin can easily designate service elements, *Worship in Song*, 229.

its importance as a gatekeeper. In contrast, Coleman, even though he has published a hymnal supplement, has long advocated to his students at BJU that the best hymnal for a given church is the one that that church develops for itself.⁸⁹ Yet he acknowledges that this ideal is impractical for most congregations, leading to a second-best version where a church owns a hymnal and actively and intentionally supplements it with music suited to their particular needs and wishes.

The Joyful Sound of Congregational Singing

Although fundamentalists embrace a wide range of musical affects under the reasoning discussed in Chapter Two, a significantly narrower palette is present in their church services. By far the most common affect of congregational singing and its instrumental accompaniment is joy—joy described as “enthusiastic,” “heartfelt,” and “hearty” by fundamentalists. Other less common moods include contemplativeness and somberness (though these are used more frequently in instrumental music than congregational singing) and a firmness that can read as majestic, resolute, or militaristic depending on the text being sung.

In the opinions of music directors I interviewed, robust participation in congregational singing is largely the result of individuals’ personal spirituality. Each person’s relationship with God yields a desire to participate fully in worship by singing joyfully with fellow Christians. Besides this primary reason, directors also point to direct

⁸⁹ Fred Coleman, interview with author, March 16, 2015.

exhortation to sing from song leaders and to musical accompaniment as secondary drivers of participation. Later sections deal with musical reasons for this enthusiastic singing, but this section takes up the claims for what personal spirituality can do for singing to examine why their singing is *joyful*. Why joyful singing, and not, say, solemn or angelic or gentle or soulful or any other affect?

Given that fundamentalists sing many hymns that are not expressions of praise but rather prayers for comfort and spiritual sustenance, songs of personal testimony, and so on, the nearly unrelenting positivity of congregational singing is almost certainly not due to the hymns themselves or a direct result of a duty to praise God, even if many fundamentalists seem to take for granted that joy would predominate in their singing. Reimers, for example, writes that a Christian must not only sing, but that “it is the duty of God’s people to praise Him with joy. This duty, then, must become a delightful task; otherwise it fails to fulfill the purpose.”⁹⁰ This joy, he asserts, is the proper “response to truth about God,” namely God’s “greatness” and “goodness” — a belief he finds rooted in the many commands in the Psalms to sing joyfully.⁹¹ Rather, it seems connected with another outworking of salvation in addition to the general necessity of singing discussed in the opening to this chapter. This result of salvation is happiness — or what the

⁹⁰ Reimers, *The Glory Due His Name*, 23.

⁹¹ Reimers, *The Glory Due His Name*, 22-4.

psalmist calls “the joy of [God’s] salvation” (from Ps. 51:12). In her ethnography of a fundamental church, Nancy Tatom Ammerman writes about this kind of happiness:

The promise of heaven means for Southside members that they should be able to face life with a smile and endure hardships with a song in their hearts. One of the most persistent themes in the pastor’s sermons is that Christians ought to be happy. When they find themselves worried or lacking in enthusiasm, they reflect that they must not be as close to God as they should be, and they pray with the psalmist that ‘the joy of their salvation’ will be restored. Being visibly happy is one of the ways Christians see themselves as distinctive.⁹²

Visible happiness is an obvious part of fundamentalists’ vocal performance practices. Congregations, as described in the introduction to this chapter, are exhorted to have visibly happy facial expressions because, as Lynch explains, congregants’ faces are “evidence” of their spiritual state.⁹³ Soloists and choir members as well are trained to have expressive faces when they sing, and a happy face is among the most common of these expressions (see Chapter Four for further discussion).

Gleiser’s sermon discussed above further illustrates the practical outworking of these views, especially as they relate to personal testimony, as he described teenagers at a church “[rebuking] him” with their constant smiles.⁹⁴ He then reminded the adults,

⁹² Ammerman, *Bible Believers*, 74.

⁹³ Mac Lynch, interview with author, February 4, 2015.

⁹⁴ Morris Gleiser, sermon at the WILDS Music Conference, January 6, 2015.

“Young people are watching you when you walk into church.” In other words, adults have an obligation to show their salvation to those around them, including the young people in their church, a testimony that includes visible elements like joyful facial expressions while singing. An older but similar example of this visible happiness and its importance is in the proud declaration of the host of BJU’s television show *Show My People* as he describes the school on its inaugural episode in 1977: “When visitors come to our campus, the one thing they remark about the most is the happy faces and joyful spirit of our University Family.”⁹⁵

Joy in Trials

Fundamentalists’ discussions of happiness and sadness most often relate to the idea of “joy in trials,” or “peace in the midst of a storm” — sayings that are not just glib phrases but that are supposed to be visible and audible life experiences for fundamentalists. Gleiser’s sermon once again illustrates the connection between joyful singing and joy in trials: the sermon itself was about a “proper” response to trials and anecdotes about singing were couched within the main points: “Don’t complain about anything. Worry about nothing. Pray about everything.”⁹⁶

A similar move to focus on a positive response to trials is illustrated in “Beyond Suffering: Seeing God and His Purposes in Times of Trouble,” a 2016 conference hosted

⁹⁵ *Show My People*, episode 1, 1977, 06:38-06:47.

⁹⁶ Morris Gleiser, sermon at the WILDS Music Conference, January 6, 2015.

by BJU's seminary and marketed primarily to pastors and other church leaders. The conference advertisement's rhetoric highlights the "beyond" narrative—pushing past suffering itself toward the appropriate response to suffering by an individual, who "as a 'saint'" is able to "respond to his plight as a 'sinner' and as a 'sufferer.'"⁹⁷ A presentation by Steve Hankins, a BJU seminary professor, contrasts a sinful response to suffering—"a believer's gaze can turn inward in paralyzing fear and shame, and/or turn outward in blame-shifting, bitterness, and sinful responses"—with the appropriate response of turning to God and "[h]ealing' God's way."⁹⁸ Another presentation by Bobby McCoy, a pastor and BJU alum who became a quadriplegic in a car crash, focuses the narrative on the "[u]nexplainable joy [that] comes with a deep trust in God," even in seemingly tragic circumstances.⁹⁹

This mentality pervades many of BJU's "Vespers" performances—religious music and drama programs that date back to BJU's founding in some form or another.¹⁰⁰ The Vespers programs and stage plays available in the BJU archives (primarily from 2000 to 2014) generally have a spiritual theme supported by sacred music intertwined

⁹⁷ Bob Jones University Seminary and Graduate School of Religion, homepage for the conference "Beyond Suffering: Seeing God and His Purposes in Times of Trouble," hosted February 15-16, 2016, <http://www.bju.edu/seminaryconference/2016/> (accessed December 7, 2015).

⁹⁸ Steve Hankins, "God's Provision in Suffering: A Suffering and Sufficient Savior," presentation abstract, <http://www.bju.edu/seminaryconference/2016/> (accessed December 7, 2015).

⁹⁹ Bobby McCoy, "Living Joyfully in Suffering," presentation abstract, <http://www.bju.edu/seminaryconference/2016/> (accessed December 7, 2015). Bobby McCoy's personal website furthers his narrative of joy in suffering: <http://bobbymccoy.com> (accessed December 8, 2015).

¹⁰⁰ The earliest of these in the late 1920s were called "Twilight Musicales" and featured a mix of sacred and secular musical selections alongside prayers, readings, and sometimes short plays.

with spoken pieces such as dramatic scenes played by actors and recited scripture passages. One program, for example, consisted of hymns with themes of praise like Charles Wesley's "O for a Thousand Tongues to Sing My Great Redeemer's Praise," and readings of Psalms 145-150, a series of praise-oriented psalms including the lines "Praise him the sound of the trumpet: praise him with the psaltery and harp."¹⁰¹ But many of the Vespers programs explicitly teach that Christians should respond with joy to whatever life brings—that trials will come but since God is good, Christians must still rejoice. Dramas on this theme frequently feature grim conditions—birth defects, life-changing illness, disintegrating families, murdered missionaries—complemented by music revealing the proper response to such trials.

A program from 2004, *Peace Like a River*, illustrates this theme succinctly.¹⁰² It begins with three monologues, one from the fiancée of a man just paralyzed in a car accident, another from an engaged man with Hodgkin's lymphoma on the waiting list for a heart transplant, and the last from a person whose friend was killed in a car accident. The speaker in the last monologue describes her shock and despair at her friend's death but ends with this turn toward peace: "Life was still going on around me. And God was still on His throne orchestrating all of this. He created life around me and he sustained it. I remember thinking of something I heard...at church—nothing,

¹⁰¹ *Ornaments of Praise*, performed at Bob Jones University, October 16, 2005, *BJU Archives*.

¹⁰² *Peace Like a River*, directed by Anne Nolan, performed at Bob Jones University, September 26, 2004, *BJU Archives*.

absolutely nothing happens to us that hasn't first been lovingly sifted through the hands of God." Her personal tragedy resolves into peace at God's will, her sadness turns to joy, and the music reveals this turn throughout the program with hymn texts about peace. This turn, this *but God* motivates the joyful affect of congregational singing as believers give testimony of the joy of their salvation, even and in spite of trials.

This turn toward joy is exemplified in one of the most popular songs written by a fundamentalist composer. Ron Hamilton lost an eye to cancer as a young man in the 1970s, and the song he wrote out of that experience begins, "God never moves without purpose or plan, When trying his servant and molding a man, Give thanks to the Lord though your testing seem long, In darkness he giveth a song." Then comes the turn, the *but God* in the chorus: "O rejoice in the Lord. He makes no mistake. He knoweth the end of the path that I take. For when I am tried and purified, I shall come forth as gold."¹⁰³ Here in the song, as in commentary about his experience, Hamilton "[turns] what many people would call a tragedy into an opportunity for the Lord."¹⁰⁴

There is minimal divergence from this view on suffering or on sadness in general. BJU faculty member Ron Horton argues that this emphasis on happiness is lopsided (and, especially, misunderstands sadness as sin) and misrepresents God's

¹⁰³ "Rejoice in the Lord," text and tune (SHERRILYN) by Ron Hamilton.

¹⁰⁴ Bob Jones III, describing Hamilton's experience in an interview with him on episode 26 of the 1979 season of *Show My People* (05:22-05:27). Throughout this interview (02:18-10:38), Hamilton describes his experience as an "asset," a "blessing," and a "tool," while Jones III holds up Hamilton as an "example" of "giving thanks for suffering." Later in the episode, Hamilton sings "Rejoice in the Lord" (10:39-14:10).

character—it ignores Jesus’ call to the “weary and heavy laden” and the many times that Jesus is described as less than happy—Jesus, “the man of sorrows and acquainted with grief.”¹⁰⁵ But in Horton’s writings, it is clear that he feels he is pressing against both fundamentalist and Protestant mainstreams even though his *Mood Tides*, which deals with sadness and depression at length, was published by an imprint of Bob Jones University Press.¹⁰⁶ Reflecting a similar push against fundamentalists’ typical treatment of ongoing sadness or depression as sinful, John Monroe, the senior pastor at a Greenville area church preached about these topics and spoke frankly about his own struggles, but after emphasizing that everyone goes through difficult emotional times, said in some surprise, “Some of you are looking at me like this is completely foreign,” a disconnect that seemed to continue throughout his sermon.¹⁰⁷

However, one site of potentially sorrowful congregational singing—or at least, not joyful singing—does exist in some church services during an “altar call” immediately after the sermon’s conclusion as people may respond publically to the sermon. The altar call’s original purpose was as a time for unbelievers to “come forward” and receive Christ by praying at the front of the room or perhaps meeting with

¹⁰⁵ Quotes are from Mt. 11:28 and Is. 53:3. See Horton, “The Paganization of Early Christian Thought” and *Mood Tides*.

¹⁰⁶ Horton acknowledges the difference of his views—a difference he attributes to “social and educational levels”—and says he expects that most fundamentalists who engage with his ideas would be in agreement. Ron Horton, correspondence with author, March 15, 2017.

¹⁰⁷ John Monroe, sermon at Faith Baptist Church (Taylors, SC), March, 2, 2014, evening service.

a counselor in another room to pray.¹⁰⁸ In the 1930s and 1940s, the use of altar calls expanded to include “an invitation for believers to receive further assurance of their salvation, to dedicate or rededicate their lives to God, to surrender themselves to God’s service, or to testify to a ‘definite call’ to a particular field of service.”¹⁰⁹ Besides these public declarations, altar calls can be used for semi-private prayer as believers come forward to pray at the steps of the platform without declaring the content of their prayers publicly. The hymns sung during altar calls may have texts that express sorrow at past sin or may be pointed appeals to repentance, and they may have corresponding affects of sadness or contemplativeness.

This last time of singing during a service, whether or not for an altar call (not all services use altar calls, but most end with a final congregational hymn), may also reflect congregants’ collective worship for the preceding hour or more. As discussed above, many music directors connect personal faith with participation in congregational singing. Davis points to the last congregational singing in the service as evidence of this, since “some of our best singing occurs” at this point “after our spirits have been revived

¹⁰⁸ Altar calls were developed in the nineteenth century by the revivalist Charles Finney to encourage people to make public commitments to Christ. Beale notes the connection of Finney’s altar calls and pragmatism in *In Pursuit of Purity*, 73-4. The continuing use of altar calls in present-day services hearkens back to a time when Baptist and baptistic services were explicitly evangelistic in purpose, a purpose, that although present, is less of a focus in many fundamentalist services today; see Music and Richardson, “*I Will Sing the Wondrous Story*,” 464.

¹⁰⁹ Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, 77. See also Stevick, *Beyond Fundamentalism*, 57-8. Reimers frames an altar call as a time when “those who are unsure how to respond” to a sermon can receive counseling, *The Glory Due His Name*, 50fn43.

by the preaching of the Word of God.”¹¹⁰ For example, Davis describes *a cappella* congregational singing without a song leader that follows “a message on Christ's atoning work, then a time of silent meditation and personal repentance, then the actual partaking of the sacred symbols” of the Lord’s Supper: “During this singing many of the congregants have their eyes closed and sing with a noticeably heartfelt joy in fresh awareness of their forgiveness. This time of singing I feel is some of my own best singing, but it is measured not by loud volume or fast tempos, but rather by personal warmth and sincerity.”¹¹¹

Finally, another possible secondary reason for the joyful affect is in the emotional possibilities of congregational singing itself. In discussing the funeral of Princess Diana, Eric Clarke, Nicola Dibben, and Stephanie Pitts suggest differing emotional roles for congregational and non-congregational hymns.¹¹² The congregational hymns, they contend, could be seen as “emotionally supporting and rousing” the congregants. But “non-congregational music,” such as sung by a choir or soloist, allowed for “a cathartic outlet” for “more negative emotions of grief and anger.” They also note that, since it is relatively “difficult, for untrained singers in particular, to sing while in the grip of powerful negative emotions, it is also practical to give the more painful expressions of grief to the trained singers who have more highly developed vocal control, and more

¹¹⁰ Peter Davis, correspondence with author, February 25, 2017.

¹¹¹ Peter Davis, correspondence with author, February 25, 2017.

¹¹² Clarke, Dibben, and Pitts, *Music and Mind Everyday Life*, 6-7.

experience of singing in emotionally charged situations” — something common in fundamental church services where soloists and small vocal ensembles are more likely to sing with somber affects.

Leadership of Congregational Singing

Though fundamentalists themselves attribute wholehearted participation in congregational singing and its joyful affect primarily to salvation and its outworking among congregants, the leadership of congregational singing—via its musical accompaniment and the song leader’s conducting—fosters these results in a more concrete way even as fundamentalists such as the music directors I interviewed considered them subsidiary to spirituality.

Congregational singing is typically “led” by multiple people. First, a song leader whose actual leadership may range from simply announcing a hymn to conducting changes in tempo, dynamics, and phrasing. Second, the lead pianist, who sets the starting tempo of a hymn through their short, solo introduction, maintains that tempo throughout the hymn (barring directives from the song leader), and interprets a hymn’s text through an affective accompaniment. Third, other instrumentalists who follow the song leader and lead pianist.

Of these three, piano-playing requires the most training and is most prized when skillfully done. Although some bigger churches, especially in the Greenville area, experience a surfeit of pianists, most churches operate with only one or two lead

pianists, complemented by a rotating crew of lesser-skilled pianists playing on a second, quieter piano or electronic keyboard. A church without any pianist will make do, perhaps by attracting a pianist from a larger church, either long-term or just temporarily. Foster writes of “a very talented piano player from a big church in the area (a church that had several talented piano players) [who] came over to [a recently-planted church] to help by playing for the congregational and special numbers.”¹¹³ He praises the pianist for her humility in choosing to play at a small church even though “she could easily have been the main piano player at a bigger church,” and highlights the benefit she brought to the smaller church through her playing, noting that it “was a tremendous blessing to this new work.”¹¹⁴ If a small church finds itself without an accompanist, it is likely to encourage a current church member to brush off long-unused abilities and accompany with much effort, or, failing that, to sing *a cappella*. But it is not likely to use taped accompaniments. These are uniformly criticized on the grounds that they often have problematic musical styles, that they dampen musical creativity, and that they discourage amateur instrumentalists from offering their gifts to God.¹¹⁵

Leadership between song leader and instrumentalists is not shared equally, and the balance between song leader and lead pianist can vary greatly depending on each person’s musical abilities and the number of other instrumentalists playing at a given

¹¹³ Foster, *The Spiritual Song*, 56-7.

¹¹⁴ Foster, *The Spiritual Song*, 57.

¹¹⁵ See for example, Fisher, *Harmony at Home*, 192-8; and Sweatt, *Church Music*, 21, 27-9.

service. In larger churches with orchestras and multiple keyboardists, a pianist's leadership is significantly diminished since they mesh with an instrumental ensemble that requires a song leader's coordination. Even with an orchestra, however, pianists remain the most prominent in the mix, their percussive sound popping through the wet texture through both the piano's timbre and how it is amplified. In smaller churches, the pianist's potential to lead the congregation in song and to influence the mood of services through solo music is second only to the pastor's.

This authority is possible regardless of the pianist's sex, and pianists in fundamentalist services are more often female than male. This makes the position of pianist (or, the lead pianist of a service in a church with multiple lead pianists on rotation) the primary and almost exclusive means of female leadership during a church's services, with the possible exception of solo singing.

When I ask pianists about themselves in terms of leadership, they usually note that the song leader is actually the leader, "*but....*" — a however that reflects a reality where some song leaders have minimal musical training and pianists may lead out of necessity: to "avoid a train wreck," as one pianist put it, to keep a steady tempo, to guide the congregation's mood from stanza to stanza, or to end a song "on a high note" (i.e. a positive, energetic mood). Song leaders, on the hand, sometimes voice frustration if a pianist expects to lead, but others with less training might not even conduct a metrical pattern for the congregation and only announce the hymn.

Regardless of who is leading more or less in a given moment, the song leader, lead pianist, and other instrumentalists form a musical team that greatly influences the quality of congregational singing. This section looks particularly at three features of their leadership most directly related to the congregation's engagement with singing: song leader's commentary on the singing, pianist's accompanimental style, and performance practices of tempo and duration. It then concludes with a description of my own interpretation of a hymn for congregational singing, drawing on my experience playing over a thousand fundamentalist services as a lead pianist.

Directives to Sing and Praise of Singing

Song leaders and other pastoral leaders can contribute to the quality of congregational singing by directly telling congregants to sing and by praising their singing, though in services I attended as an ethnographer, praise was far more common than commands. Leaders often expressed thankfulness for the congregation's singing and the singing efforts of choirs and other ensembles, sometimes in the same moments before or after hymns where they highlight a doctrinal aspect of a hymn text or point out thematic continuity between hymns. "Thank you, mixed ensemble," says Lynch following a special and then introduces the hymn "Come Thou Fount" by defining an archaic term ("Ebenezer") included in the lyrics; "You have done such a remarkable job praising God with your faces, with your lips, with your voices," says a pastor immediately after a hymn concludes; "Thank you, girls, I really enjoyed that," says one

leader after an ensemble of four young girls sings, and, “Great singing. You may be seated,” after a hymn concludes; “Good engaging of your affections to mirror what we’re singing,” says a director to the BJU student body as they sing for an album of congregational music.¹¹⁶

Far more rare—but still possible—is actual exhortation to sing well. During my ethnographic work I only heard one director even hint at this approach, and that, only in a lighthearted manner. Immediately following a bombastic choir anthem, accompanied by a polished orchestra and plentiful coloristic percussion, Fisher joked to the congregation, “All right! You sing like that!” as the service transitioned to a set of two congregational pieces. His tone was clearly jovial, praising the choir’s own singing and the anthem’s vibrancy, and was addressed to a congregation that was certainly capable of musicality, given that a full 25% of the church’s regularly attending members participate in some aspect of the church’s music program.¹¹⁷

Yet exhortations like the one Gleiser describes in his sermon—the preacher being so invested in the congregation’s singing as to surreptitiously film them—do take place. For example, Lynch recalled that when he began his current position as a church’s music

¹¹⁶ In order of quotes: Mac Lynch, Cataba Springs Christian Church (Apex, NC), February 22, 2015, morning service; Chris Barney, Hampton Park Baptist Church (Greenville, SC), July 19, 2015, morning service; Chuck Bumgardner, Bethany Hills Baptist (Raleigh, NC), March 29, 2015, morning service; and Warren Cook, on “Making the Album ‘Complete in Thee,’” 01:28-01:35, <http://www.bju.edu/media/video.php?vid=100> (accessed March 22, 2015).

¹¹⁷ Tim Fisher, Faith Baptist Church (Taylors, SC), March 2, 2014, evening service; and Tim Fisher, interview with author, February 6, 2015.

director, “a lot of guys were not singing.”¹¹⁸ So he chose to be “didactic about congregational singing,” reminding them from the pulpit that congregational singing has “a biblical mandate” — there is, he told the congregation, a “command of scripture” to sing.

Similar directives were normative in my experiences as a fundamentalist youth at a church that maintained connections with BJU both as firm and as tenuous as any other non-Greenville-area church I consider in my study: the pastor was BJU-trained, high school students attended summer camps at BJU and at the Wilds, and high school grads overwhelmingly chose BJU for college. At this church, smiling while singing was expected, and cajoling and outright commands to sing enthusiastically were frequent, especially during Sunday evening services, that, like evening services at other fundamental churches, tended toward informality and where those in attendance were almost always regularly-attending church members. In these services, the pastor would call people out who did not sing with visible happiness, sometimes by name and sometimes more generally. This happened most often during a greeting time—a “handshake chorus”—where I, the lead pianist, played the same chorus every week, a jolly 1920s ditty in 6/8 called “Make Me a Blessing,” while people mingled, then sang the chorus together as they returned to their seats.¹¹⁹ When he felt that the singing was not

¹¹⁸ Mac Lynch, interview with author, February 4, 2015

¹¹⁹ “Make Me a Blessing,” words by Ira B. Wilson and tune (SCHULER) by George S. Schuler.

spirited enough, the pastor would have the congregation sing it over again in the manner of a speaker who says “Good morning” but receives only a mumbled response from the audience and doggedly insists, “I said, Good morning!” in hopes that the audience will actually reply the second time around. Sometimes he would half-seriously warn that he might call a glum singer up to the platform to sing the chorus. Years later, I cannot remember if he ever made good on his threats, but that he made them shows just how important visible happiness was and how, on tired evenings, the congregation’s flagging efforts were revived by his directives as they sang the chorus one more time with feeling.

Piano Accompaniment of Singing

Pianists connect the quality of their accompaniment with congregational singing, asserting that congregational singing improves with stronger accompanying. Ijames, for example, says, “I want [the congregation] to sing what they couldn’t sing *a cappella*,” and she fully expects to accomplish this through her playing.¹²⁰ According to Reba Snyder, the long-time lead pianist of the Steve Pettit Evangelistic Team, pianists’ playing is a “vehicle to help people worship God,” an “aid,” a “middleman” that helps people “effectively worship” through congregational singing.¹²¹ Indeed, the pianist’s own attitude of worship can influence his or her own playing and its effects on the

¹²⁰ Molly Ijames, interview with author, February 14, 2015.

¹²¹ Reba Snyder, interview with author, January 15, 2015.

congregation's singing, though this attitude is likely more personally meaningful than publically apparent in their playing.¹²²

Fundamentalist pianists share a foundational approach to improvised accompaniment that they learn from other pianists by imitation (either strictly by ear or through private lessons), by playing and imitating written hymn arrangements, or by studying pedagogical books (though almost no pianists I interviewed cited pedagogical books in their descriptions of how they learned or how they teach their students).¹²³ This style thickens a hymn's four-part texture to five-parts by moving the tenor line to the right hand and doubling the bass line at the octave in the left hand. Next, pianists fill in longer note values with embellishments, appropriately termed "fill-ins," that preserve the tempo into the next sung note. These fill-ins help to propel momentum forward, especially in churches with orchestras, since the pianists' embellishment is heard through the rest of the ensemble's sustained note. Figure 1 and figure 2 show the first phrase of a hymn in its four-part hymnal version, then the five-part texture with simple left-hand fill-ins. Having mastered these basics, pianists may further thicken the texture of their playing by using a larger range of the piano's registers (such as by playing the

¹²² Shelton Love, interview with author, February 9, 2015.

¹²³ My summary of fundamentalists' basic hymn playing style is drawn from Bonam and Ream, *A Guide to Hymn Playing*, and Hamilton and Coleman, *The Art of Improvising*. One of the earliest pedagogical guides to evangelistic piano playing is Schuler, *Evangelistic Piano Playing*. Glover and Gunther's *How to Play Hymns*, published in the 1970s, remains in print under the Alfred Music Publishing label; this text, which is not specific to fundamentalism, shares the same basic style with the fundamentalist ones by Bonam and Ream, and Hamilton and Coleman. Steeves's "The Origin of Gospel Piano" is a history of the style.

right hand chords up an octave) and may draw from an extensive catalog of idiomatic embellishments as they improvise.¹²⁴



Figure 1: The first phrase of WYE VALLEY by James Mountain in four-part harmony

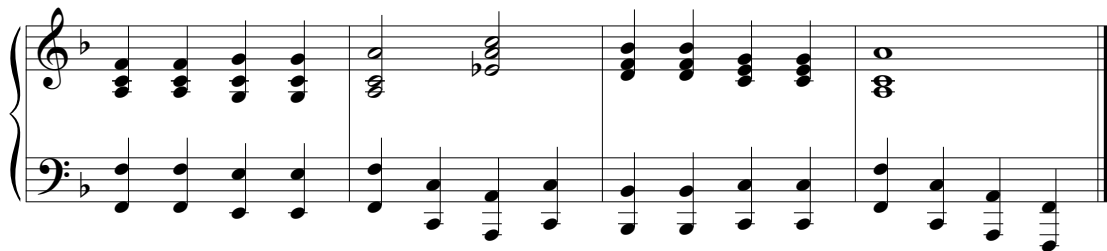


Figure 2: The first phrase of WYE VALLEY by James Mountain in five-part harmony with left-hand fill-ins in measures two and four

¹²⁴ Fundamentalist texts do not discuss improvisation at any great length. However, one striking passage explicitly criticizes improvisation; though the authors only say “improvisation” their ensuing description seems to be of aleatoric or other indeterminate improvisation: “The word in contemporary music is improvisation. When an instrumentalist or vocalist improvises, he composes and performs simultaneously on the spur of the moment without any specific preparation, New Age music is also constructed on this idea. ... In other words, ‘do your own thing,’ blend in, but not in any regimented, prescribed, or planned manner. Again, this same philosophy, which is teaching relativism and promoting music which exemplifies it, is the basis for the New Age Movement. That is the opposite of unity, the opposite of ‘one sound.’ Can it be said of this music that it is ‘one sound’? The answer is a resounding no! It is sound which is characterized by polarization and discord rather than oneness and unity. The sound of sacred music needs to be the opposite of the sound which was just described. It needs to be ‘as one,’” Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 155-6.

At its fullest, this accompanimental style requires upper-body strength to play repetitive octaves and full chords that crash from upper to lower registers, and fleet fingers to play runs and other ornaments. Even as they usually have other instrumentalists rounding out the timbre, a pianist's percussive playing punches through the softer attacks of other instruments in a workout that may well leave a pianist's muscles tired after a service. Duane Ream, a BJU music faculty member who teaches hymn accompanying to pianists, says that pianists have to maximize the sound they get out of a piano, and he describes teaching his students to play in a way that could support three hundred people, noting that they can always "scale back" if they play for only thirty, whereas as a person trained to only support thirty could not accomplish the reverse.¹²⁵ Similarly, Kristen Mancroni, a church pianist and music teacher, describes playing louder for services without an orchestra (in her church, Wednesday night services) since she has to do more to support the congregation's singing.¹²⁶

Yet most pianists do not play with unvarying figurations or a consistently loud dynamic level, and interviewees criticized those who do. "Loud is just loud," notes Ijames, as she contrasted her restrained style, especially its relative simplicity, with the unrelenting styles of some pianists.¹²⁷ Ream qualified his statements about support

¹²⁵ Duane Ream, interview with author, January 24, 2015.

¹²⁶ Kristen Mancroni, interview with author, June 9, 2015.

¹²⁷ Molly Ijames, interview with author, February 14, 2015.

through volume by pointing out that he teaches “what’s appropriate for a hymn’s style” and played examples for me that illustrated differences in affect between a majestic eighteenth-century hymn tune and a hopeful, yearning early twentieth-century gospel song.¹²⁸ Mancroni says she thinks about a song’s text and affect, and “if it’s a nice, sweet song, I’m not going to play big and dominant, even though I’m still leading.”¹²⁹

In discussing volume, and especially in criticizing unvaryingly loud volumes, pianists also highlighted a trend toward softer accompaniments with arpeggiated left-hand chords rather than octave bass lines. Most pianists attributed the shift to the style of newer songs, especially those from Sovereign Grace, Getty/Townend, and fundamentalists influenced by them—songs whose chord progressions and voice leading do not lend themselves to a blocky five-part texture. Some pianists describe this shift as a rejection of virtuosic playing: according to Ream, some older pianists feel that playing virtuosically is a way for them to be good stewards of their gifts, while younger pianists have trended away from virtuosic playing toward quieter, simpler styles because they see the former as “ostentatious” and “braggadocios.”¹³⁰

However, another explanation that seemed plausible to pianists when I suggested it, is that pianists are now routinely miked. In past decades, a pianist had to ensure their audibility (and thus, their leadership of the congregation) through volume

¹²⁸ Duane Ream, interview with author, January 24, 2015. The tunes were LYONS by Joseph Martin Kraus and BEULAH LAND by C. Austin Miles, respectively.

¹²⁹ Kristen Mancroni, interview with author, June 9, 2015.

¹³⁰ Duane Ream, interview with author, January 24, 2015.

and an accompanimental style that enabled it, but today, pianists can play quiet broken chords and still be heard.

Tempo and Durations

Song leading and pianist's accompanimental style are the most obvious musical features that lead to robust congregational singing, but performance practices related to tempo and durations also influence singing by making the music feel brisk or even compressed rather than drawn-out and potentially boring. The practices are most prominent in comparatively clipped introductions, transitions and conclusions; shortened hymns; and quick tempos.

First, introductions are almost invariably short: pianists typically play only the last line of a hymn (usually two to four measures total) and lead directly—metronomically—into the first stanza.¹³¹ The tempo is typically set by the lead pianist's introduction which must be “crisp” and “direct,” with no ambiguity in the tempo, but also appropriate to the song's affect.¹³² When they are played well, pianists often say, the congregation will be primed to sing enthusiastically, not hesitantly.¹³³ In contrast, traditional hymnody in other circles is usually introduced with a significantly longer introduction consisting of either the whole stanza or the first and last lines of a stanza.

¹³¹ See for example the markings for introductions in *Rejoice Hymns*, which follow this practice.

¹³² Gina Sprunger, interview with author, February 2, 2015.

¹³³ Among others, Molly Ijames, interview with author, February 14, 2015; and Gina Sprunger, interview with author, February 2, 2015.

Similarly, space between stanzas is rhythmically inelastic with no note values or breath added to a stanza's concluding measure. This rhythmic precision leaves many congregants literally breathless, and they miss the first beat or half-beat of the following stanza. The song leader's amplified voice is often at its most prominent in the first moment of a stanza due to so many congregants catching a breath as a stanza begins instead of between stanzas. In contrast, traditional hymn singing norms outside of fundamentalism lengthen the printed note values of a stanza's final chord (usually by fifty or a hundred percent) or at least have an audible but unmeasured pause that allows for a collective breath between the stanzas.

As with the inelastic movement stanza to stanza, the endings of hymns are usually clipped with rhythmic precision and the sound disappears abruptly, rather than being slightly lengthened and allowed to decay for even a second. Other vocal and instrumental music also typically ends with an abrupt disappearance of the sound.

Second, many churches sing only some of the stanzas printed for a given hymn in their hymnals (hymnals that already typically cap their printed stanzas per hymn at four, even for those hymns with many more stanzas), most often stanzas one, two and four of a four-stanza hymn.¹³⁴ Though this practice is not directly related to musical

¹³⁴ I have heard fundamentalists joke that this practice might lead to leaving out the Holy Spirit in a hymn whose construction extols the members of the Trinity in order by stanza (Father, Son, Holy Spirit) with a fourth stanza praising them together—and in fact, this very thing happened at one church I attended during my ethnographic work, an omission that apparently did not register with the song leader.

speed, it contributes to the brisk, even compressed effect of musical portions of the service.

Finally, the actual tempos for congregational songs frequently feel slightly too fast—as if I’m walking alongside someone with much longer legs than mine or who is eager to get to our destination. From the perspective of a song leader or pianist, these peppy tempos may promise to keep singers engaged, not bored with a song they have known their entire lives. Congregational songs can accommodate this quick tempo without compromising musical or textual integrity because auditoriums are almost always relatively dry spaces (designed more for the spoken word than choral singing that would benefit from longer reverberation times) and even in more boomy, box-like spaces, amplification ensures that people across the room hear the accompaniment without a marked delay.

Interpreting a Hymn for Congregational Singing

As an example of how a pianist can interpret ion a hymn through accompaniment, consider “My Song Is Love Unknown,” a seventeenth-century meditation on the Passion set to a tune by the English composer John Ireland.¹³⁵ The first four stanzas begin with an expression of wonder at the love of God then continue with an account of Palm Sunday and Passion Events—Jesus entering Jerusalem on a road

¹³⁵ “My Song Is Love Unknown,” text by Samuel Crossman, tune (LOVE UNKNOWN) by John Ireland. Text here as printed in Pinkston and Hicks, eds., *Hymns of Grace and Glory*.

strewn with palm branches, surrounded by people shouting “Hosanna,” then surrounded by another crowd, this time shouting “Crucify him.” Hymns like this one are particularly well suited to the affective interpretation that the fundamentalist accompaniment style offers—a deeply personal text with rich emotional contrasts from stanza to stanza and within stanzas in their grammatical and thematic grouping of four plus four lines:

1. My song is love unknown,
My Savior’s love to me,
Love to the loveless shown,
That they might lovely be.
Oh, who am I,
That for my sake
My Lord should take
Frail flesh and die?

2. He came from his blest throne,
Salvation to bestow;
But men made strange, and none
The longed-for Christ would know:
But oh, my friend,
My friend indeed,
Who at my need
His life did spend!

3. Sometimes they strew His way
and sweetest praises sing;
Resounding all the day
Hosannas to their king:
Then “Crucify!”
Is all their breath,
And for his death
They thirst and cry.

4. They rise and needs will have
My dear Lord made away;
A murderer they save,
The Prince of Life they slay.
Yet cheerful He
To suff’ring goes
That He His foes
From thence might free.

Interpreting these texts as a pianist, I play the first two stanzas simply and softly, with a phrasing that highlights each concluding couplet’s exclamation—the adoring first stanza, turning introspective and diffident in the final couplet, the second stanza’s “But” in disconcerting wonder at the terrible sacrifice for the unworthy “I.” The narrative of the third and fourth stanzas offers the opportunity for more explicit word painting and

emotional contrast. The hosannas swiftly become “crucify” as those who had welcomed Jesus into Jerusalem become a bloodthirsty mob. I first play an octave-melody in the upper register and triplet arpeggios in the left hand that sweep upward. On the word “Crucify,” I shift abruptly to dense block chords punched out loud and marcato into the piano’s lowest notes. In the fourth stanza, the crowd continues to clamor for his death, so I continue to play aggressively. But once again, the last two lines change tone: the lamb goes cheerfully to his slaughter, all to save his enemies from death themselves. So with a marked breath before the last “Yet,” I simplify my playing, stripping down the chords, and gradually slow and fade through the hymn’s close.

Inner Singing and Instrumental Hymn Arrangements

Though congregants worship through music first and foremost by congregational singing, they also worship through inner singing as they mentally follow along with hymn lyrics while listening to instruments-only hymn—arrangements usually played while a monetary offering is collected and thus called “offertories.” The lone instruments-only used in fundamentalist services, hymn arrangements are able to facilitate worship because they transmit well-known tunes with their melodies intact, and because they interpret a hymn through musical affect and word painting.

Hymn arrangements may be written for any configuration of instruments, but solo piano arrangements are the most common and form the basis of my analysis below. Though they may be improvised during a service, they are usually composed ahead of

time. Arrangements are generally sold in collections by a single arranger (though collections with multiple arrangers are not uncommon) and with a single skill level ranging from easy to advanced. Due both to individual abilities and the need for many lead pianists to play multiple offertories a week, intermediate and late-intermediate arrangements are most popular, but easy arrangements appeal to students who may only play in church services occasionally, and some collections are marketed as “concert” level and may be used in competitions in addition to church services.¹³⁶

Though the arrangements could be construed as background music since they usually accompany the activity of taking up a monetary offering from congregants, background music is emphatically not their purpose—at about two to five minutes long, the music often lasts several minutes longer than the activity it accompanies. Rather, the arrangements’ purpose is worship as the arrangements guide listeners’ meditation on a hymn tune’s associated lyrics. As missionary and music professor Douglas Bachorik warns, an offertory is not a time to “go into ‘auto pilot’” nor “check messages on your cell phone,” but rather, “it’s time to listen and learn from what’s being sung or

¹³⁶ Faye López notes that the market for intermediate level arrangements is so strong that her publishers have only asked for this level for two years (2013-2015); interview with author, February 6, 2015. For an advanced-level collection marketed as concert music, see for example, Bonam, *Spirituals for the Concert Pianist*.

played.”¹³⁷ This meditation is what makes instruments-only music not just acceptable in fundamentalist services but a prized art form.¹³⁸

Listeners’ meditation likely takes form as inner singing—a musical version of inner speech (sometimes described as self-talk, internal monologue, or internal dialogue) that Ijames describes as the desired result of her arrangements: “I want [listeners] to feel like they are singing inside.”¹³⁹ Inner singing is predicated on listeners’ familiarity with hymn tunes and their associated texts (though Aniol notes that those who do not know a text can find it in a hymnal and Garlock praises using projected texts during offertories because it “enables the congregation to more easily meditate on the message of the music”), and on arrangements that have a clear setting of the tunes.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ Bachorik, *New Heart, New Spirit, New Song*, 45.

¹³⁸ For comments justifying vocal music with instrumental accompaniment and justifying instruments-only music, see Kurtz, *God’s Word*, 268; Lucarini, *It’s Not about the Music*, 65-6; and Smith, *Let Those with Ears to Hear*, 98, 109. Regarding instruments-only music revealing God’s character, see Kurtz, *God’s Word*, 268. For the necessity of music used in church services to have an accompanying text, see Bachorik, *New Heart, New Spirit, New Song*, 107; and Lucarini, *It’s Not about the Music*, 65-6. In all my years of attending fundamentalist services, I have only heard one untexted piece: a Klezmer-inflected instrumental piece was played as an offertory to accompany a slideshow projection of photos of the Holy Land, taken on the senior pastor’s recent trip. A couple sitting in front of me whispered back and forth, trying to decide what hymn it was, but eventually gave up. Friendship Baptist Church (Raleigh, NC), February 23, 2014, morning service.

¹³⁹ Molly Ijames, interview with author, February 14, 2015. Grimshaw and Garner summarize theories of inner speech as they consider imagined sound in *Sonic Virtuality*, 140-6. Perhaps inner singing is a reason for fundamentalists’ marked tendency to emphasize non-texted classical music over texted: Aniol, Peck, and Smith make lengthy lists of recommended music for personal musical libraries, but amid pieces by composers ranging from Bach to Berlioz and Stravinsky to Strauss, the only recommended vocal works are Handel’s *Messiah* and Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony. Moreover, although Aniol recommends music from operas by Verdi and Wagner, he only lists instrumental selections from their operas. See Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 257-60; Peck, *Rock*, 143-8; and Smith, *Let Those with Ears to Hear*, 169-74.

¹⁴⁰ Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 227-8; and Garlock, afterword to Hamilton, *Why I Don’t Listen*, 92. See also Lucarini, *It’s Not About the Music*, 66. Many albums of fundamentalist instrumental music include the

Arrangements guide listeners' meditations toward deeper textual understanding by word painting and by heightening the musical affects that underpin a text (as discussed further below). As Aniol puts it, listeners should "meditate on the words of the music and notice how the musical arrangement strengthens the message of the text" while they listen to these arrangements.¹⁴¹ Arrangements thus accomplish a slightly different spiritual function than congregational singing by illuminating texts in a way that would not be possible or likely during group singing.

Association of One Tune with One Text

Congregants can usually connect a tune with a particular hymn text without any spoken or printed announcement of the hymn name (until the relatively recent development of projected texts) because tunes and texts are almost always paired, one with the other, in fundamentalists hymnals. In contrast, non-fundamentalists hymnals, on the other hand, repeat tunes (one given tune with multiple texts) much more often. Of the hymnals listed in table 7, those published by non-fundamentalists (*Worship and Service Hymnal* and *Great Hymns of the Faith*) repeat 41 and 22 tunes with different texts, respectively. But fundamentalist hymnals *Soul Stirring Songs and Hymns* and *University Hymnal* repeat no tunes, *Majesty Hymns* repeats two tunes, and *Rejoice Hymns* repeats

arrangements' associated words in their liner notes, a further indication of the text's importance in experiencing the music; see for example, Majesty Music, *Victorious Strings*.

¹⁴¹ Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 227-8. See also Kurtz, *God's Word*, 141.

sixteen tunes. Only one fundamentalist hymnal, *Hymns of Grace and Glory*, is outside of this marked preference for one tune, one text pairing. It repeats over 70 tunes (many for psalm settings), a number that puts it closer to the norm of mainline denominational hymnals. By comparison, the hymnal of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, *Evangelical Lutheran Worship*, repeats over 80 tunes, the hymnal of the Episcopal Church, *The Hymnal 1982*, repeats over 110 tunes, and strikingly, the Roman Catholic hymnal *Worship* (4th ed.) uses only 350 tunes for over 600 texts.

A further indication of fundamentalists' association of one tune with one is that, unlike the normative practice of many churches that use traditional hymnody to list both hymn name and tune in a printed order of service, if a fundamentalist bulletin lists a service's hymns (common, but not a given), it lists only the hymn's name, not its tune. This pattern carries over to published hymn arrangements, which typically list their contents by hymn name alone.¹⁴²

This is not to say that fundamental churches never use alternate tunes for texts. It is not uncommon for a new text to be learned in pairing with a familiar tune, and Fisher suggests substituting tunes found via the metrical index of a hymn because "[o]ften our singing becomes stale when we always sing the same words with the same tune."¹⁴³ Rather, it is simply far more common for one tune to be associated with one text only,

¹⁴² Hymn arrangements produced outside of fundamentalism vary in their use of tune and/or text name, but frequently list both.

¹⁴³ Fisher, *Harmony at Home*, 41.

thus allowing instrumental hymn arrangements to reliably call to mind a particular text through tune alone.

Form and Melody in Published Arrangements

As would be expected for a genre that grows out of congregational singing of strophic hymns and relies on melodies for its *raison d'être*, arrangements present melodies in their entirety, stanza by stanza. In other words, melodies are not fragmented, except when a motive is pulled into use in an interlude or introduction, nor are melodies deconstructed and developed as they might be in some classical theme and variations. In addition to being kept whole, melodies are not ornamented to the point of being unrecognizable. Such wholeness and recognizability promote text associations, even if these practices limit composers' creativity.

Even as the arrangements' purpose makes the foregrounded melody a consistent feature of their style, it is not much discussed in fundamentalist literature. Garlock and pastor Kurt Woetzel make much of their view that "the most prominent part of the music should be the melody," because of their views that melodies speak to the spiritual part of a person, harmonies to the mind, and rhythms to the body.¹⁴⁴ But their purpose in writing about the importance of melody is to contrast what they find to be good music with genres that emphasize rhythm, not to discuss melodies as they should be used in hymn arrangements. Furthermore, in discussing arrangements with pianists

¹⁴⁴ Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 56-8, 74. See also Foster, *The Spiritual Song*, 10, 129.

who write arrangements, few brought up melodies in particular, though sometimes noting, as Ream did, that arrangements can be thought of, in simple terms, as melodies plus accompanimental patterns.¹⁴⁵ Perhaps this is unsurprising. After all, Ijames says, “people have to be able to follow the melody,” so her arrangements can’t stray “so much people can’t follow it.”¹⁴⁶ Yet composers’ willingness to conform to a tradition that so limits their creativity speaks to the importance of text in fundamentalist worship.

Arrangements’ modified strophic form complements the desire for melodic wholeness, typically breaking down in to an introduction, first stanza, interlude, second stanza, interlude, third stanza, and closing material.¹⁴⁷ For those who take what they see as a more “composerly” approach to arrangements, introductions and interludes generally use a recurring idea; Ruth Coleman notes the idea can be a rhythmic, harmonic, motivic, or accompanimental pattern.¹⁴⁸ These recurring ideas may function as “glue” between stanzas and contrast with the accompanimental patterns used for different stanzas.¹⁴⁹

Despite the form’s overwhelming dominance, some composers emphatically insist that a particular form is not predetermined. Instead, they prefer, as BJU alum Shelton Love does, to focus their compositional energies on developing thematic

¹⁴⁵ Duane Ream, interview with author, January 24, 2015.

¹⁴⁶ Molly Ijames, interview with author, February 14, 2015.

¹⁴⁷ Variations on this form include: omitting interludes, using only one or two stanzas, and repeating or omitting refrains.

¹⁴⁸ Ruth Coleman, interview with author, February 9, 2015.

¹⁴⁹ Reba Snyder, interview with author, January 15, 2015.

material.¹⁵⁰ While Ijames grants that she works with stanzaic material whose melody must remain coherent to listeners, her goal is to make her arrangements “as cohesive as possible,” not a collection of “bits and pieces,” and she describes each arrangement as a “sound world” built from thematic material that she develops just as she would a non-hymn-based piece.¹⁵¹ Similarly BJU alum Brian Būda highlights his identity as a composer, an artist, who writes arrangements that are “intentional and inevitable,” not arrangements that conform to a formulaic chart.¹⁵²

While this form would normally be analyzed as a modified strophic form, most pianists I interviewed describe this form as through composed, regardless of whether sections use recurring thematic or accompanimental material or vary these throughout. One pianist also suggests a “loose” ABA’ when the third stanza uses a similar accompanimental pattern to the first.¹⁵³ However, none describe this form as modified strophic or as modified theme and variations, with some forcefully rejecting the latter designation for their own arrangements.¹⁵⁴ Assuming that the pianists I interviewed have a general understanding of formal analysis (all have at least a bachelor’s degree in music), their lack of recognition of a typical analysis of their own compositions’ formal structure as modified strophic is not likely due to an ignorance of academic norms that

¹⁵⁰ Shelton Ridge Love, interview with author, February 9, 2015.

¹⁵¹ Molly Ijames, interview with author, February 14, 2015.

¹⁵² Brian Būda, interview with author, March 6, 2015.

¹⁵³ Duane Ream, interview with author, January 24, 2015.

¹⁵⁴ Interviewees who mentioned theme and variations did so to express their dislike of arrangements that are formulaic, that is, arrangements’ whose form is theme and variations.

place analytical emphasis on melody. Rather, their understanding of their use of form flips the academic norm. Instead of using melody to label the form as modified strophic (or even a modified theme and variation), they focus on what *they* compose—their accompanimental patterns that vary stanza to stanza, and their new thematic material that may or may not recur between stanzas—a focus that leads them label the form through composed. This flip places analytical emphasis on their own creative work and makes their work resistant to interpretations that they simply fill in a chart of introduction, stanza, and so on, even though the arrangements' iterations of melodies usually result in a modified strophic form in the end.

Word Painting and Affect

Textual interpretation through affect and word painting is high in the minds of pianists as they compose their arrangements—the first and foremost consideration of nearly all the pianists I interviewed. When Snyder begins a new arrangement, she reads through the text, and as she arranges, her own meditation on the text influences the compositional process, similar to her practice in service playing where the meditation is worship for both her and congregants.¹⁵⁵ That pianists might themselves meditate on the

¹⁵⁵ Reba Snyder, interview with author, January 15, 2015.

text of the arrangement they perform is underscored in collections like *Love's Redeemer & Friend*, which reproduces hymn texts alongside their associated arrangements.¹⁵⁶

Word painting or other underscoring of individual words is usually used sparingly—no madrigalistic high notes on the word “sky”—restraint that contributes to a cohesive soundscape in the arrangement. As important as she finds word painting, Faye López notes that using it on too “many different words...will likely be lost on a listener, and can cause an arrangement to be disunified.”¹⁵⁷ Similarly, Büda notes that he uses reharmonizations intentionally, not “harmony for harmony’s sake,” to make well-known melodies “fresh” to listeners and thus help them focus their hearts on the text.¹⁵⁸ Since most congregants are familiar with hymnal harmonizations, reharmonization of specific words can be an especially effective means of highlighting them. Though several pianists noted that textual specificity is less useful after the first stanza since listeners are less likely to know the words of subsequent stanzas by heart, projection has begun to influence composers’ approach. For example, Coleman notes that she has begun to reflect more of the text in her arrangements because she can be assured that a specific stanza will be called to congregants’ minds as they presumably read along.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ Love noted how the collection reproduced the hymn texts as an example of the importance he places on text painting in his arrangements. Shelton Ridge Love, interview with author, February 9, 2015.

¹⁵⁷ Faye López, correspondence with author, February 1, 2017.

¹⁵⁸ Brian Büda, interview with author, March 6, 2015.

¹⁵⁹ Ruth Coleman, interview with author, February 9, 2015.

Yet Ream's arrangement of "Be Still My Soul," published in 1995 (well before projection became common), deploys word painting only in the second and third stanzas: a diminished seventh to point up "His voice" in the line "Be still my soul: the waves and winds still know / His voice Who ruled them while He dwelt below" (figure 3) and a modulation from Db-major to Bb-major occurs mid-stanza as the text moves from "sorrow forgot" to "love's purest joys restored," word painting reinforced by Lisztian arpeggios once the key change is accomplished (figure 4).¹⁶⁰ "Mysterious" could benefit from an unusual harmony (figure 5), but Ream deliberately refrains from emphasizing it to increase the impression of the diminished seventh on "His voice" eight measures later.

¹⁶⁰ "Be Still My Soul," text by Katharina von Schlegel, translated by Jane L. Northwick, and tune (FINLANDIA) by Jean Sibelius. Duane Ream, "Be Still My Soul," sacredsheetsmusic.com, 1995. Duane Ream, interview with author, January 24, 2015.

The image displays three systems of musical notation for the song "Be Still My Soul". Each system consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment line. The key signature is one flat (B-flat major/D minor) and the time signature is 4/4.

- System 1 (Measures 31-33):** The vocal line begins with the lyrics "Be still, my". The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note bass line and a right-hand melody with a *rit.* marking.
- System 2 (Measures 34-36):** The vocal line continues with "soul: the winds and waves still know". The piano accompaniment maintains the eighth-note bass line and a right-hand melody with a *rit.* marking.
- System 3 (Measures 37-39):** The vocal line concludes with "His voice who ruled them...". The piano accompaniment includes dynamic markings: *rit. e dim.* (ritardando and diminuendo) in measure 37, *a tempo* in measure 38, and *poco rit.* (poco ritardando) in measure 39.

Figure 3: Word painting through diminished 7th on "His voice"

Source: Duane Ream, "Be Still My Soul," sacredsheetsmusic.com, 1995.

The image shows two systems of musical notation for piano accompaniment. The first system, starting at measure 56, features a treble clef with a key signature of three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat) and a common time signature. The melody includes the lyrics "sor - row for - got love's" with a fermata over "got" and a second fermata over "love's". The accompaniment includes markings for *cresc.*, *molto rit.*, and *tempo rubato*. The second system, starting at measure 58, features a treble clef with a key signature of two flats (B-flat, E-flat) and a common time signature. The melody includes the lyrics "pur - est joys re - stored" with a fermata over "re - stored". The accompaniment includes markings for *8va* and *8vb*.

Figure 4: Word painting through modulation on "Sorrow forgot, love's purest joys restored"

Source: Duane Ream, "Be Still My Soul," sacredsheetmusic.com, 1995.

The image shows a system of musical notation for piano accompaniment starting at measure 20. It features a treble clef with a key signature of three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat) and a common time signature. The melody includes the lyrics "all now mys - te - rious" with a fermata over "te - rious". The accompaniment includes a marking for *cresc.*.

Figure 5: No word painting on "All now mysterious"

Source: Duane Ream, "Be Still My Soul," sacredsheetmusic.com, 1995.

Affect or mood deployed across a stanza (rather than the depiction or underscoring of an individual word or a short phrase as discussed above) also ranks high as a tool to communicate hymn texts, especially in a way that is musically

satisfying to the composer. Ijames declares that “the text is center, that’s a given” but also states that “beauty and truth need each other;” in other words, she wants her arrangements to reveal the text through beauty, not necessarily through extensive word painting.¹⁶¹ Similarly, while Coleman makes some effort to “portray the text” in her arrangements, and has increased that aspect of her arrangements with the advent of text projection, she strives to find a balance between textual inspiration and “what’s satisfying musically” without veering into entertainment.¹⁶² A focus on text also leads composers to focus on a text’s mood. BJU music faculty member Gina Sprunger, for instance, shapes her arrangements to communicate “the most important words in the world,” especially through creating a mood that reflects the text and heightens its dramatic effect, rather than focusing on individual word painting.¹⁶³

Ream’s arrangement of “Be Still My Soul” provides an example of how affect can be deployed stanza by stanza: following a sparse introduction with a low open fifth situated several octaves away from two-note chords played by the right hand, Ream’s first stanza emphasizes stillness through a simple accompanimental pattern and thin texture (figure 6). The second stanza as well uses a simple pattern of right-hand melody in octaves and broken arpeggiation on subdivisions of the beat in the left (figure 7). The relatively thin texture in stanzas one and two allows for the affective transition to the

¹⁶¹ Molly Ijames, interview with author, February 14, 2015.

¹⁶² Ruth Coleman, interview with author, February 9, 2015.

¹⁶³ Gina Sprunger, interview with author, February 2, 2015.

third and final stanza with its busier triplet accompaniment and a performer marking of “With a sense of urgency” to match the stanza’s text beginning with “Be still my soul: the hour is hastening on When we shall be forever with the Lord” (figure 8). Following the modulation on “sorrow forgot, love’s purest joys restored,” the arrangement climaxes with a Tchaikovskian descent of octave triplets into the final iteration of “Be still my soul” (figure 9) after which the texture and dynamic level gradually reduces until, a dozen measures after the climax, the piece ends with thick pianissimo chords in a low register.

Arr. by Duane Ream

The musical score is presented in three systems. The first system is marked *Andante, reflectively* and *p*. The second system is marked *poco piu mosso* and *p*. The third system is marked *mp*. The score includes dynamic markings *pp* and *mp*, and features octave triplets in the bass line in the first and third systems.

Figure 6: Introduction and opening of stanza 1 of Ream's "Be Still My Soul"

Source: Duane Ream, "Be Still My Soul," sacredsheetmusic.com, 1995.

The musical score for the opening of stanza 2 consists of two systems of piano accompaniment. The first system starts at measure 40 and includes a fermata over a chord in the right hand. The bass line features a triplet of eighth notes marked *poco rit.* followed by a section marked *f a tempo*. The second system starts at measure 43 and features a *decresc.* marking in the right hand and a *mf* marking in the bass line. The texture is thin, with few notes per measure.

Figure 7: Opening of stanza 2 with continuing thin texture

Source: Duane Ream, "Be Still My Soul," sacredsheetmusic.com, 1995.

The musical score for the opening of stanza 3 is identical to the score in Figure 7. It consists of two systems of piano accompaniment. The first system starts at measure 40 and includes a fermata over a chord in the right hand. The bass line features a triplet of eighth notes marked *poco rit.* followed by a section marked *f a tempo*. The second system starts at measure 43 and features a *decresc.* marking in the right hand and a *mf* marking in the bass line. The texture is thin, with few notes per measure.

Figure 8: Opening of stanza 3 with thicker texture and triplet pattern

Source: Duane Ream, "Be Still My Soul," sacredsheetmusic.com, 1995.

The image displays three systems of a piano score for the climax of Duane Ream's "Be Still My Soul". The music is in a key with three flats (B-flat major or D-flat minor) and a common time signature. The first system (measures 55-57) features a treble clef with a melodic line and a bass clef with a simple accompaniment. The first system includes the instruction "cresc." and dynamic markings of *8^{ma}*. The second system (measures 58-60) shows a more complex accompaniment in the bass clef and a melodic line in the treble clef. It includes the instruction "molto rit." and dynamic markings of *8^{ma}* and *8^{va}*. The third system (measures 61-63) features a treble clef with a melodic line and a bass clef with a complex accompaniment. It includes the instruction "tempo rubato" and dynamic markings of *8^{va}* and *8^{va}*. The score is marked with various dynamics and articulations, including accents and slurs.

Figure 9: Climax of Ream's "Be Still My Soul"

Source: Duane Ream, "Be Still My Soul," sacredsheetsmusic.com, 1995.

Ream's climax in the third stanza is in line with common practice (though some arrangements are deliberately quiet throughout, such as Ijames's collection *Meditation Moments*). Coleman declares, "There has to be a climax," then describes teaching her

students to connect the need for a climax with the form of their arrangements—since there must be a climax, they shouldn't put it in the first stanza with two more to go.¹⁶⁴

A climactic last stanza is also common in the accompaniment of congregational singing. Snyder uses the example of “In Christ Alone” to show how the text climaxes in the fourth stanza (which speaks of Christ’s resurrection from the dead) and how that textual climax is amplified through her relatively bigger, more bass-heavy accompaniment.¹⁶⁵ Even so, regardless of text, accompaniment the last stanza is likely to be relatively more bombastic—some fundamentalists would say spiritually “uplifting”—for all but the most contemplative hymns.

Conclusion: An Unknown Hymn

Throughout this chapter, I have pointed instances that light up what is most important to the music used for worship in fundamental churches. In conclusion, my experience as a pianist shows how congregants may still find music conducive to worship so long as they hear it as beautiful, even though it conforms to little of the accepted practice. Like other young fundamentalist pianists, I learned improvisatory and accompanimental idioms partially through direct instruction but largely by playing published arrangements. Beginning when I was almost twelve and for years afterward, I played two to three a week for offertories as my church’s lead pianist. But gradually, I

¹⁶⁴ Ruth Coleman, interview with author, February 9, 2015. She notes this longer-range conception of form is often difficult for students to master

¹⁶⁵ Reba Snyder, interview with author, January 15, 2015. “In Christ Alone” by Keith Getty and Stuart Townend.

developed an idiosyncratic improvisation style that I deployed primarily in solo piano offertories—a style that did not prioritize recognizable melodies or melodic wholeness.

Though I usually chose a tune ahead of time, I did not otherwise plan my improvisation—a loose approach at odds with the practices of many Greenville-area pianists, who frequently plan even their modulations between hymns in a medley played before the beginning of a service, when few people are listening attentively. Instead, I usually opened the offertory with a few phrases of a melody or sometimes played it entirely, then developed melodic or rhythmic fragments motivically, rarely returning to more than a phrase or two of the whole tune unless I recapped it in a climactic conclusion. Yet my playing did not elicit any criticism; rather, I was frequently asked to play offertories and praised for them even in settings where I was not the regular lead pianist.

Further taking my improvisations away from the norm, I occasionally chose tunes that were unlikely to be familiar to congregants, but they still seemed to have great emotional effect and were still welcomed. For example, once I played “My Shepherd Will Supply My Need,” Isaac Watt’s paraphrase of Psalm 23, to the American folk tune RESIGNATION, which is not included in any of the hymnals in table 7 except *Rejoice Hymns* (published after this event took place).¹⁶⁶ As I played, I noted several congregants with tears in their eyes. Afterwards, they approached to express the

¹⁶⁶ RESIGNATION was first published in *Southern Harmony* in 1835.

“blessing” that my “beautiful” playing had been to them, and when I asked if they recognized the song, none did. Though it was outside any rational given for instruments-only music used in fundamentalist services, nevertheless my playing moved people in ways they perceive as spiritual solely through its non-textual musical content.

4. Effective Ministry in Solo Song

At the closing concert to Majesty Music's MusiCollege, a two-day workshop for fundamentalist musicians held at Colonial Hills Baptist Church in Indianapolis in 2014, Ray and Ann Gibbs sing hand in hand, gradually scanning the crowd of at least 600, exhorting them to "bow the knee" to Christ.¹ The Gibbs sing with the full force of their operatic training—Ray has had a long professional career singing leading roles such as Rinuccio in Gianni Schicchi and Pelléas in Pelléas et Mélisande at New York City's Metropolitan Opera, and they have both spent decades as voice teachers at the fundamentalist school Pensacola Christina College (Pensacola, FL).² Though no longer young, their vocal tone exemplifies the longevity that classical vocal training promises.

Their delivery is supple, teasing at rhythms to emphasize particular words and reinforcing their communication through subtle but deliberate head movements. Their eyes are wide open as if to make direct eye contact with each member of the crowd. Earlier in the day, Ray taught a workshop for vocalists on "The Procedure of Preparing a Song."³ "Words," he said, "carry the objective message" of a song, so he suggested that vocalists learn lyrics first, speaking

¹ Ray Gibbs and Ann Gibbs in concert at Majesty MusiCollege, Indianapolis, IN, August 1, 2014. "Bow the Knee," lyrics by Ron Hamilton and Cheryl Reid, music by Ron Hamilton, in *The Best of Ron Hamilton, Vol. 1*, 16-17. For a studio recording of the same song, see Gibbs et al., "Bow the Knee," in *Magnify the Lord*. For amateur videos of Ray Gibbs and Ann Gibbs performing this song, see Ray Gibbs and Ann Gibbs, "Bow the Knee," Youtube video, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3N2F-5QV6gU> (accessed August 16, 2014); and Ray Gibbs and Ann Gibbs, "Ray and Ann Gibbs—Bow the Knee," Youtube video, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y3AzjdS11Ss> (accessed August 16, 2014).

² Ray Gibbs, "Biography," "About Ray Gibbs," <http://www.raygibbs.com/biography> (accessed May 1, 2016).

³ Ray Gibbs, "The Procedure of Preparing a Song," lecture at Majesty MusiCollege, Indianapolis, IN, July 31, 2014).

them with meaning, even with a “theatrical voice,” to get the delivery fully engrained. Once the tune and text are joined back together, he emphasized that the words are still paramount: if a tune doesn’t stress the words a vocalist feels are most important to the song’s meaning (as might happen in a strophic song), the rhythm should be changed—“don’t be afraid to alter the music in order to bring out the message,” he said, encouraging attendees to vary a song’s tempo, dynamics, and phrasing to that end. Now in the evening, his and Ann’s singing illustrates this attention to communication through flexible rhythmic delivery.

Though the piece they sing was written just a decade ago by the prominent fundamentalist musician Ron Hamilton and his collaborator Cheryl Reid, “Bow the Knee” is already an established favorite in fundamental churches.⁴ The diatonic melody spans only a tenth from B3 to D5—well within a congregational range—and, in C major, many less-experienced pianists can still comfortably read the piece. In the Gibbs’ duet, however, “Bow the Knee” takes on a distinctly soloistic, dramatic quality. During the stanzas, the Gibbs and the accompanying

⁴ “Bow the Knee” was first published in 2004. In addition to hearing “Bow the Knee” sung congregationally several times during my field work, over twenty albums including the song have been released from 2004-2016: Christian Edition, *Midnight Cry* (2004); Christy Galkin, *Consider Him*, (2005); First Voice Choir and Orchestra, *First Voice Favorites Vol. 1*, (2006); Ron Hamilton, *Songs of Home and Heaven* (2006); Mike Paramore, *Pickin’ on Patch* (2007); William Jessup University Alumni and Community Choir, *Bow the Knee* (2007); Noblesse, *In Christ Alone* (2011); Pasadena Tabernacle Singers, *Amazing Grace* (2011); Ray Gibbs, Ann Gibbs, and Christina Gibbs, *Magnify the Lord* (2012); Shelly Hamilton and The Majesty Orchestra, *Majesty Masterpieces* (2013); Jared L. Batac, *Meditations* (2014); Joe Bedwell, *Songs of Praise and Worship* (2014); Berean Baptist Church Music Ministry, *Deep, Deep Love* (2014); Jason Harris, *A Closer Walk* (2014); Jonathan Reid, *Arise, My Soul* (2015); The Rochesters, *Keep On* (2015); Chris Shafer, *Magnify* (2015); Mary Lynn Van Gelderen, *Christ Lives in Me* (2015); Merilee Barnard, *Treasures of Darkness* (2016); Justin Bird, *Woodhaven Worship* (2016); Benjamin Everson, *A Cappella Refuge* (2016); Hamilton Family, *Shepherd of My Soul* (2016). While most of these albums are squarely within the stylistic parameters used by fundamentalists in the BJU orbit, two country-styled covers can be heard on The Rochester’s *Keep On* and Merilee Barnard’s *Treasure of Darkness*.

piano and organ remain quiet, and the organ's deep pedal notes heighten the mixolydian-tinged, root position chord progression from I-bVII-IV. This warm set-up of low, limited range (B3-F4), coupled with a narrative text delivered mostly in eighth notes, builds the anticipation for the coming chorus: "Bow the knee, bow the knee, He is King of all the ages, bow the knee!" Suddenly the register jumps an octave, and stressed words are sustained for three beats. Ray and Ann's voices brighten as they sing high in their registers, and Ann ornaments the main melody. The chorus peaks early, and together the soloists and accompanists pull back to conclude back in the opening melody's low register and quieter dynamic level.

Later pieces in the concert—solos by Ron Hamilton, Mac Lynch (director of music at The Wilds from 1979 to 2012), and another duet by the Gibbs—show the practices that many fundamentalist vocalists share with each other, while also calling attention to key differences between performers. Both Hamilton and Lynch sing with attention to textual delivery and personal communication. Like the Gibbs, their enunciation makes every word clear, and they emphasize words with head gestures and open eyes. But though their rhythms are still supple, their delivery feels more aligned with congregational practices than the Gibbs' rubato, and they eschew melodic ornaments and sweeping dramatic changes. Even more noticeably, Hamilton's and Lynch's voices contrast markedly with the Gibbs' operatic style. They both sing with what fundamentalists sometimes call a "folk" style that reflects mainstream choral singing in the U.S. Author and musician Kimberly Smith describes this as "the singing style of a very small child," though the singers in question are adults in their early 60s, and of course as professional

musicians, are far more musical than the choir of small children and the elementary-aged soloists who also sing in the same concert.⁵

All four vocalists hold much respected positions in their community, having ministered for decades in various socially prominent capacities from composer, lyricist, and arranger, to music administrator and pastor, and teacher and college professor. Their backgrounds give them spiritual creditability: though most in the crowd are not personally close with the vocalists, they can assume the vocalists' spiritual faithfulness.

Tonight in particular, personal circumstances add to the feelings of sincere personal faith that the vocalists project. The Gibbs' second duet is a song premiered the year before at a funeral held for one of Colonial Hills' pastors, his wife, and their unborn child, who were killed in a bus crash. This tragedy's lasting effects have reverberated throughout the conference on this, the one-year anniversary, especially as Colonial Hills' senior pastor, Chuck Phelps, frequently referenced what was the death of his own son, daughter-in-law, and grandchild.⁶ The song's lyrics—written by Chris Anderson just before the crash and then set to music by Greg Habegger in the days leading up to the funeral—proclaim God's faithfulness in the midst of hardship: "I am with you, says the Father; Through the floods, I calm and keep. Though the swelling waves surround you, I

⁵ Kimberly Smith, *Music and Morals*, 94.

⁶ Colonial Hills Baptist Church, "Overview and Response," <http://www.colonialindy.org/bus-accident-memorial.html> (accessed April 15, 2016).

*surround the waters deep. Fear not, loved one; feel My presence. You will never be alone. Trust me, loved one; you are precious. You are Mine—My very own.”*⁷

Like “I Am with You,” the song Hamilton sings carries with it the added weight of personal history. “You Are Always Good” began as a tune written by Hamilton’s son, Jonathan, who later took his life in 2013. Following that tragedy, Hamilton and his wife Shelly asked Anderson to write a fitting text for the tune.⁸ The stanzas reflect a sense of confusion and insecurity (“There were times when Your way would make no sense,” “I can see my frailty,” “I doubt myself”) counterbalanced by the knowledge of God’s love (“You have never left,” “Your mercy shelters me”)—a tension of faith in the midst of confusion expressed most fully in the chorus’s proclamation: “You are always good, You are only good; You are always good to me. Though my eyes can’t see, help my heart believe You are always, only good.” Through these songs, Hamilton and the Gibbs proclaim continued faith during tragedy—proclamations reinforced through their personal reputations as believers, and through the performance practices that they use to portray their sincerity.

Though Hamilton, Lynch, and the Gibbs sing in concert, fundamentalists conceive of sacred singing, whether in church or concert, not as entertainment but as

⁷ Church Works Media, “Introducing Our Latest Hymn, ‘I Am with You’” <http://churchworksmedia.com/blog/13878912> (accessed April 15, 2016). For a studio recording and sheet music, see “I Am With You” in Hamilton and Hamilton, *Look Up* (CD and sheet music).

⁸ For Chris Anderson’s discussion of the hymn’s backstory, along with the text and links to the music, see “You Are Always Good” <http://churchworksmedia.com/you-are-always-good> (accessed April 15, 2016). For a live performance, see Ron Hamilton, “You Are Always Good,” Youtube video, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dxTFC91FXM8> (accessed April 15, 2016). For studio recordings, see “You Are Always Good,” in Hamilton Family, *Shepherd of My Soul*, and Hamilton and Hamilton, *Look Up* (CD and sheet music).

“ministry in song.”⁹ While entertainment brings attention and adulation to a performer, ministry directs aptitudes and skills outward toward fellow Christians and to unbelievers, as a vocalist sings not for personal glory but for God’s glory and listeners’ spiritual benefit.¹⁰ While entertainment may have elements of sensuality or elements fundamentalists find “distracting,” ministry in this sacred context is laser-focused on one thing: communicating the truth effectively to listeners. Effective communication could include the aspects of preaching (teaching and actively persuading listeners to respond to doctrine), discipling (spiritually mentoring), or giving testimony (sharing a personal spiritual experience) to listeners, but regardless of what area a person’s song most speaks to, that song must have a spiritually beneficial message and be sung in a way that does not distract from the lyric’s message but rather reinforces it.¹¹ Put in other

⁹ Formerly, such music was called “special music” (or simply the noun “special”), but that term has fallen out of favor because of the perception that it marks solos as better—as more “special”—than congregational singing or treats the solos as entertainment rather than a spiritual ministry. Despite their strong preference for “ministry in song,” many interviewees still said “special music” or referenced a vocalist “performing” because of the unwieldy grammatical construction of “ministry in song”—saying, for example, “When she sang the special” or “During the performance,” but then correcting themselves to clarify that “ministry in song” was preferred. For convenience and simplicity, then, I refer to solos as “ministry in song” but use the verb “perform” with the understanding that “perform” can take on a different-than-usual meaning in this setting, with an emphasis on ministry and corresponding de-emphasis on entertainment. For commentary against the term “special music,” see for example, Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 230. Musicians in broader evangelicalism also dislike the term “perform,” leading Ingalls to write it and its variants with a strikethrough (e.g. ~~performance~~) in “Awesome in This Place,” 202.

¹⁰ For the view that music used in worship should direct attention to God and not performers, see for example, Bachorik, *New Heart, New Spirit, New Song*, 41. Dwight Gustafson comments, for example, in criticizing popular music used in church, that “sacred music is an act of worship, is not an entertainment,” on *Show My People*, episode 26, 1981, 07:14-08:42. Writing in support of this viewpoint, fundamentalists often assert that popular music styles, by their nature, draw attention to the performer. See Fisher, *Harmony at Home*, 103, and *The Battle for Christian Music*, 138-46; Foster, *The Spiritual Song*, 61; and Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 178.

¹¹ Sometimes fundamentalists refer to a sacred vocal solo as a “testimony in song.”

terms, an effective vocal ministry involves singing words considered true by the vocalist, and singing them in a way that the reality of their truth is conveyed to listeners—a performative sincerity.

The stylistic hallmarks of trained fundamentalist vocalists' singing are: vocal techniques normative to classical music, especially a smooth transition from chest to head voice without a break in the *passaggio*; precisely enunciated lyrics—verbal intelligibility enabled through amplification and recording techniques that foreground vocalists over instrumental accompaniments; and minimal body movement and studied facial expressions linked to the norms of classical vocal training. This analysis is based largely on my interviews with several former and all members of BJU's voice faculty in 2014, along with other faculty members and non-BJU-employed vocalists and music directors.¹² With few exceptions until my conclusion, this chapter deals with the ideals and practices of vocalists with formal vocal training.

Fundamentalists writing about music set these stylistic hallmarks in stark contrast to many vocal techniques employed in popular music. Indeed, though vocalists in general have a wealth of strategies for conveying their songs with sincerity to their listeners, fundamentalist vocalists restrict their techniques because many of these

¹² I conducted interviews with all of BJU's voice professors as of 2014: Laura Brundage (March 4, 2014); Troy Castle (March 3, 2014); Pam Dunbar (March 4, 2014); Jean Greer (March 3, 2014); Christa Habegger (March 1, 2014); and David Parker (January 29, 2014). I also interviewed several former voice faculty members including Chris Gilliam (April 15, 2015) and Bill McCauley (January 23, 2015 and February 9, 2015), and one BJU graduate who was later hired in 2016 as a BJU voice professor, Shellie Beeman (July 30, 2014).

options are marked as sexually expressive or self-aggrandizing in their churches. By limiting themselves, fundamentalist vocalists minimize the culturally sexualized status of singing and potential perceptions of their singing as entertainment.

Fundamentalist vocalists' performance practices are problematized, however, even undercut by several factors. First, I argue that amateur vocalists' ministry reveals that a vocalist's "good testimony" — the public appearance of a private life that accords with fundamentalists' standards of personal conduct—is far more important than performance practices.¹³ A vocalist can use accepted performance practices but fail to minister effectively without a good testimony, and a vocalist can use none of these practices but succeed if their "heart is in the right place." Second, the imperative to minister to as many people in a congregation as possible leads to a situation where, even though these performance practices are closely linked with classical music, vocalists rarely select sacred art music but instead choose songs oriented toward congregational participation—songs that any congregant could conceivably sing away from church or sing corporately in another service. Finally, cultural associations of musical ability with innate talent (rather than skill acquired through training) connect difficult musical

¹³ As noted elsewhere, "testimony" can refer to the narrative of a person's conversion experience and also to how their actions accord (or not) with their beliefs—a person can have a "good testimony" or "bad testimony" depending on how their life seems to reveal the actuality of their conversion.

techniques with pride and showmanship, further constraining vocalists as they seek to minister with sincerity.¹⁴

In this chapter, I analyze the webbed relationship of performative sincerity, classically-associated performance practices, and testimony by first discussing three broad areas related to fundamentalists' vocal style—classical vocal training, verbal intelligibility, and movement—and illustrating them through three case studies. Second, I discuss vocalists' song selections, arguing for the paramount importance, not of classically styled music, but of congregants' perceptions of and engagement in vocalists' solos. Third, I compare sincerity and testimony with their close relations, authenticity and persona, showing how fundamentalists employ the former in different ways from how many secular and broadly evangelical musicians employ the latter. In conclusion, I use untrained vocalists' ministry to highlight the importance of a person's good testimony to their ministry.

Classical Vocal Training

At the broadest level, fundamentalists typically discuss good vocal techniques through reference to two categories—classical and folk—of their overall grouping of all music into classical, folk, and popular categories. Voice professors at BJU usually refer to the former as “*bel canto*” and to the latter as “folk,” and several compare the difference to

¹⁴ Though these cultural connotations are largely outside the scope of this project, they include Jean-Jacques Rousseau's ideas on simplicity in music, and Romantic era conceptions of the Artist and of genius.

that between the collective sound of the Robert Shaw Chorale and of the Cambridge Singers (directed by John Rutter), respectively.¹⁵ Speaking generally, both categories ideally have a smooth *passaggio* that does not “break” or go into falsetto in the upper register, and vocalists do not color their singing with growls, rasps, sighs, or other paralinguistic techniques. Their basic differences are in vibrato and overtones: *bel canto* singing has more vibrato and overtones, while a folk style minimizes vibrato or is straight-tone and has fewer overtones (in higher voices, a folk style is reminiscent of the head voice used by boy sopranos in the English cathedral choir tradition).

Musician and author Kimberly Smith’s description of these styles highlights the morality and sincerity that many fundamentalists associate with them: both are “without pretense or worldly vocal gymnastics, and the voice lands directly on each note as if we were playing a tune on the piano. This is the singing style of a very small child or classically trained opera performer. We don’t all have to become opera singers; however, we should sing without pretense or artifice, doing our best as honestly as we can before the Lord. This is a moral style of singing.”¹⁶ Besides connecting classical and folk styles to morality and sincerity, Smith also associates entertainment with popular music vocal style through the descriptors “pretense,” “worldly,” and “artifice.” Perhaps ironically, many fundamentalist congregants seem to find classical singing to be full of

¹⁵ The term *bel canto* is often used by classical voice teachers to describe the style they teach. It can also refer specifically to a lighter operatic style as opposed to a heavier, Wagnerian one. See Stark, *Bel Canto*.

¹⁶ Kimberly Smith, *Music and Morals*, 94.

pretense and artifice, leading to the odd situation that I discuss in a later section in which vocalists who argue for the superiority of classical vocal techniques moderate them in a church setting and sing instead in a more “folk” style, and select songs based in hymnody but not sacred art music.

BJU voice faculty members describe vocal techniques in terms of health and musical excellence, an emphasis they share with past and present American colleagues outside of fundamentalism. In my interviews with all current (as of 2014) voice faculty members and several former ones (collective experience that goes back to the 1960s but which is concentrated in the 1980s to the present), most framed their approach to teaching through the language of health, physical discipline, and positive or morally good musicality, by describing *bel canto* as a “great” style that uses “good, efficient breathing,” “beautiful, well-modulated phrases,” and “dynamic variety.”¹⁷ In sum: a style that it is “healthy” and “excellent.” Even more than this, “*bel canto* gives the best of your body to God,” and should therefore be studied and practiced by vocalists intent on following the Bible’s command, “Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might” (from Ecc. 9:10).¹⁸ One former faculty member compared this vocal approach to doing the athletic program CrossFit since both train the body to the full extent of its

¹⁷ Most BJU voice professors expressed a belief that their individual views were markedly heterogeneous with their colleagues. However, in the specific case of *bel canto* singing and pedagogy, they expressed similar views that the associated vocal techniques and style had intrinsic musical quality and were a way of healthy singing.

¹⁸ For example, Shellie Beeman noted that “it’s been proven that classically trained technique is the best” in terms of healthfulness and vocal longevity, interview with author, July 30, 2014.

abilities while another faculty member compared it to the difficulty of training for the Olympics.¹⁹

However, several faculty members said that health was not a primary criteria in singing specifically with a *bel canto* style since other singing styles can also be healthy and since classical vocal training does not guarantee a vocalist will not sustain damage to their vocal folds.²⁰ Indeed, all faculty members described a folk style as generally healthy, though none directed their students to sing with a folk style (several noted that they are specifically classical voice teachers and so teach only that general style). Faculty members' views also diverged on popular vocal techniques: most but not all considered them to be "sloppy" and "unhealthy" because popular vocal styles can include imprecise pitches, timbral variety (rather than a smooth, unbroken *passaggio*), techniques that might result in harm to the vocal folds, and unintelligible enunciation.

In critiquing popular vocal styles, voice faculty members focused on health and musical quality but did not usually bring up the sexual connotations of popular vocal styles. In contrast, fundamentalist authors often criticize pop vocals as sensual. The effects they consider especially egregious are related to pitch-content (scooping and/or sliding into notes, bending pitches, and using a deliberately slow vibrato) or a whispery vocal quality, especially if they are so breathy as to require a microphone to be audible

¹⁹ Chris Gilliam, interview with author, April 15, 2015; and Christa Habegger, interview with author, March 1, 2014.

²⁰ For example, David Parker, interview with author, January 29, 2014.

in a performance.²¹ Frank Garlock and pastor Kurt Woetzel, for example, write that “worldly music can be identified by its sound,” and lists three vocal techniques that contribute to this “sensual sound”: “scooping” or a “vocal slide,” “flipping below and above the actual written melody line,” and finally “the use of a whispery, breathy, and airy voice” —all techniques that “[give] a feeling of closeness.”²² Authors don’t usually say it explicitly, but given that scoops and whispers are off-limits, any orgasmic utterances are verboten as well. This is not to say that amateur fundamentalist vocalists never use any of these vocal techniques—in fact, leaders like music pastor and composer Tim Fisher comment that an untrained vocalist will almost certainly scoop into pitches—but vocalists are trained to avoid them, and when untrained vocalists use them too liberally, they are likely to be coached into more accepted techniques.²³

BJU voice professors’ focus on health and musical excellence, and fundamentalist authors’ concerns about popular music techniques, reflect mainstream American views. American voice teachers and classically trained vocalists in the early twentieth century used similar rhetoric to discuss their music, as Allison McCracken’s analysis of crooning in the 1920s and 1930s demonstrates. According to these authorities, good techniques involved “hard work,” “strong muscles,” “control,” “proper hygiene,” and a consistent

²¹ Regarding singing “accurately”—i.e. singing pitches and rhythms exactly as notated—see for example, Foster, *The Spiritual Song*, 61; Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 98; and Sweatt, *Church Music*, 15. For descriptions of unapproved vocal styles, see for example, Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 94; and Smith, *Oh, Be Careful Little Ears*, 124-5.

²² Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 92-4

²³ Tim Fisher, interview with author, February 6, 2015.

passaggio.²⁴ The two groups also share concerns over “cultural degeneration” through popular vocal techniques (a topic I return to in the chapter’s conclusion).²⁵ However, unlike those earlier teachers and vocalists, fundamentalists’ praise of classical vocal techniques is not clearly rooted in fears of effeminacy and emasculation.

Present-day classical voice teachers outside of fundamentalism also use similar language of health to discuss their craft. Marti K. Newland describes voice lessons at Fisk University, a historically black university, as encompassing a “complicated and conflicting conflation of vocal ‘health,’ genre categorization, and cultivated vs. vernacular singing that racializes vocality” as all the Fisk Jubilee Singers train in *bel canto* techniques and use them to sing their core repertoire of concert Spirituals, but often sing with different techniques outside of the ensemble and their voice lessons.²⁶ Nina Sun Eidsheim’s “Race and the Aesthetics of Vocal Timbre” discusses the views of her interviewees (American classical voice teachers and students interviewed in 2005 and 2006) who linked their understanding of personal “honesty” with “healthy” vocal techniques.²⁷ However, unlike professors at BJU, for Eidsheim’s interviewees, “practices that [they] considered ‘healthy’ and ‘honest’ were ultimately correlated with each student’s race and ethnicity.”²⁸ They conceptualized vocal health as “a voice freed of

²⁴ McCracken, *Real Men Don’t Sing*, 232-3, 235.

²⁵ McCracken, *Real Men Don’t Sing*, 332; see also 232-8.

²⁶ Newland, “Sounding ‘Black,’” 47, 58-9. See also 42-3.

²⁷ Eidsheim, “Race and the Aesthetics of Vocal Timbre,” 341-5.

²⁸ Eidsheim, “Race and the Aesthetics of Vocal Timbre,” 342.

blockages” (what vocalists often call “tensions”) and considered the result “honest” because, without those blockages or tensions, the “inner essence” of a vocalist is revealed in what they “assumed to be an unmediated sonorous conduit of the subject.”²⁹ In other words, Eidsheim’s interviewees believed that by singing with a healthy technique, a vocalist inevitably reveals their race, ethnicity, and/or nationality because those factors are part of the vocalist’s true self (a viewpoint that Eidsheim critiques in her article).

BJU voice faculty members’ emphasis on health and musical excellence also has surprising correlations with Christian classical voice teachers in South Korea who advocate for a “clean” operatic voice that eliminates “wobbly vibrato and a raspy or fuzzy sound;” this style contrasts with the traditional Korean style of singing (*p’ansori*) which restricts the vocal folds to yield a raspy sound and leads to intentionally developed callouses on vocalists’ vocal folds (similar to the finger callouses a string player develops).³⁰ More than stylistic differences, training for the two vocal styles is based in strikingly different goals for vocal production and in different physical values: like fundamentalists’ general perspectives to classical and popular vocal techniques, South Korean classical vocal teachers connect “spiritual enlightenment” with classical

²⁹ Eidsheim, “Race and the Aesthetics of Vocal Timbre,” 342.

³⁰ Harkness, *Sounds of Seoul*, 33. See also 89-102, 112-37.

vocal values and corresponding “unclean, murky, and unhealthy” attributes to the relatively “undeveloped” *p’ansori* style.³¹

The vocal techniques that fundamentalist authors criticize as sexually-expressive and that some BJU voice faculty members consider “sloppy” and “unhealthy” are historically associated with African American vocal styles, especially those used in blues and gospel music.³² This paradigm reflects long-standing American interpretive modes that have coded jazz, rock ‘n’ roll, rap, and other genres that originated among African Americans as simultaneously sexual, black, dangerous, and unhealthy, with one association standing in for another depending on the context.³³ But the issue is much more complicated than these interpretations appear at first glance: while there is no physical basis for timbral differences between vocalists of different races, vocalists can be, and often are, racially marked within genres.³⁴ Eidsheim, for example, demonstrates how African American opera singers are perceived as sounding black, even though classical vocal norms allow for relatively little personal interpretation of the repertoire—an “acousmatic blackness” that is “the perceived presence of a black body in a voice that

³¹ Harkness, *Songs of Seoul*, 114.

³² Jungr, “Vocal Expression in the Blue and Gospel.”

³³ See especially Kennaway, *Bad Vibrations*, 99-110. In James Kennaway’s framework of music as pathogen (discussed further in Chapter Two), the favored music is healthy, the bad/sexual/black music is a cause of sickness—a framework that, like many other classical voice teachers, fundamentalist voice teachers use when using the language of health to promote classical singing and condemn popular music techniques, and which fundamentalist writers use when discussing music more generally. For rhetoric with pathogenic overtones, see for example, Foster, *The Spiritual Song*, 150; and Smith, *Oh Be Careful Little Ears*, 22, 77.

³⁴ An Xue and Hao, “Normative Standards for Vocal Tract Dimensions by Race.”

otherwise meets all of the standards of a professional classical voice."³⁵ This racial marking is almost always of non-Caucasian races, whereas the voices of white vocalists are usually treated as racially neutral, a paradigm that typifies racial marking in music more generally.³⁶

As this paradigm applies to fundamental churches, a fundamental church may welcome an African American member's vocal solo (which is likely perceived as racially marked), but at the same time, prohibit a vocal solo by anyone blues or gospel techniques—all without seeming ideological dissonance. Similarly, fundamentalist hymnals typically include Spirituals like "Were You There When They Crucified My Lord?" and "Go Tell It on the Mountain," and archived programs of recitals at BJU show that Spirituals have made regular appearances alongside Sacred Harp and Southern Harmony music since at least the late 1980s.³⁷ But fundamentalists do not use other genres common in historically black churches, such as black gospel, because of their connections with popular music.

Making Truthful Words Intelligible in Vocal Performance

Verbal intelligibility is integral to effective ministry and is a hallmark of fundamentalists' vocal style because ministry cannot occur if listeners don't understand song lyrics. Fundamentalist vocalists make their lyrics intelligible in quite literal ways:

³⁵ Eidsheim, "Marian Anderson and 'Sonic Blackness' in American Opera," 647.

³⁶ Radano and Bohlman, *Music in the Racial Imagination*, and Brown, *Western Music and Race*.

³⁷ Similarly, spirituals are not uncommon on fundamentalist recordings, see for example, SMS Men's Chorus, *Get On Board* (2002).

they sing with clear enunciation and sometimes project or print texts so the lyrics can be read as well as heard; they make their voices audible in live performance and on recordings by foregrounding voices above instrumental accompaniments through amplification and mixing; and their use of rhythm can prioritize text over musical phrasing either by adhering closely to notated rhythms or by stretching those rhythms to emphasize particular words or grammatical constructions.

Clearly Enunciating Lyrics

Clear enunciation is an uncontested given of their style, yet this goal of clarity is rarely if ever referenced as a priority in fundamentalist materials, likely because it is taken to be obvious: to communicate a true text, one must sing with intelligible diction.³⁸ To do otherwise is, as former BJU voice faculty member Chris Gilliam notes, to be like the New Testament believers who spoke in tongues but without an interpreter; far better to “sing with the spirit, and...sing with the understanding also.”³⁹ Instead of directly advocating for clarity, authorities are more likely to reference “sloppy” pop vocal styles, of which imprecise diction may be an attribute. Christa Habegger, a voice faculty member at BJU, for example, made that connection in an interview as she contrasted classical, *bel canto* vocal techniques with popular vocal styles, suggesting that someone

³⁸ For directives to sing intelligibly, see for example, Fisher, *Harmony at Home*, 184

³⁹ Chris Gilliam, interview with author, April 15, 2015. He quotes from 1 Cor. 14:15.

singing to communicate Christian truth should obviously sing with understandable diction, unlike a pop vocalist.⁴⁰

To this end, vocalists consistently enunciate with crisp consonants and pure vowels. Ending consonants often take on a choral aggressiveness, even in recordings where no acoustic reverberance might obscure the particular word, or when a filler word like “and” would be clearly understood from grammatical context without a hard /d/ distinct from the following word.⁴¹ Both live and recorded vocalists strive to sing with this strict precision and aural clarity, though acoustics in live settings do not always allow for the desired effect.

Choir directors coach their ensembles toward the same goal. Lynch instructs his choir to modify their vocals and to over-enunciate their ending consonants to clearly convey lyrics despite the boomy acoustics of their church’s gymnasium-turned-auditorium, since there’s “no purpose to be there if you can’t be understood.”⁴² Though many choirs do achieve a high degree of intelligibility in church services, this goal is less likely to be realized in practice than it is with solo vocalists and small ensembles, given the cumulative sounds of upwards of a hundred singers and the big box acoustics that plague many congregations’ auditoriums.

⁴⁰ Christa Habegger, interview with author, March 1, 2014. See also, for example, Fisher, *The Battle for Christian Music*, 189, which criticizes a Christian popular artist, Amy Grant, for inarticulate diction.

⁴¹ For an example of over-enunciated consonants, see Harris, *A Closer Walk* (2014).

⁴² Mac Lynch, interview with author, February 4, 2015.

To alleviate any confusion over what is sung—or perhaps to reinforce the importance of the text, or to aid congregants who are hard of hearing—some churches choose to project or print the texts of sung pieces. A church using this strategy typically projects the text for choral and small ensemble pieces, but not for solos or duets (presumably the solos and duets are more easily understood).⁴³ Paul S. Jones, a Presbyterian musician who is read in fundamentalist circles, suggests that by printing lyrics of choral and solo pieces in a bulletin, “the congregation [will] experience better textual clarity (irrespective of vocal diction, projection, or volume)” and notes that this practice “speaks to intention—one is *meant* to understand and participate in what is being sung.”⁴⁴ The presence of visual lyrics also further minimizes the attention given to vocalists by literally turning a congregant’s gaze to the text.⁴⁵

Foregrounding Text in Live and Recorded Performance

A song’s text is further emphasized through its prominence in both live performance and recordings. In live settings at virtually all services, vocalists’ voices are amplified.⁴⁶ Though the accompanying instruments may also be amplified, they are

⁴³ I attended one church that printed all the stanzas for congregational hymns, even when some stanzas were designated for soloist alone.

⁴⁴ Jones, *Singing and Making Music*, 11, emphasis his.

⁴⁵ Lucarini describes a vocalist projecting all the lyrics of the songs he sang so as “to move the focus from himself onto the all-important words,” *It’s Not About the Music*, 66.

⁴⁶ I have never attended a service at a fundamental church that was not amplified, though a very small congregation could conceivably do without the sound system.

typically—and ideally—at a lower volumes than the vocalist.⁴⁷ Similarly, studio engineers and producers prioritize textual intelligibility in their recording processes. For example, Max Masters, a sound engineer at BJU for over thirty years, states that one of his primary considerations in recording and mixing is “making sure the words are clear.”⁴⁸ The desire for intelligibility is so high that some fundamentalist albums place vocalists in an unrealistic spatial relationship to accompanying instruments foreground the text, as discussed in Chapter Five.

Prioritizing Text Through Musical Phrasing

Vocalists’ phrasing is on a spectrum from highly rubato to highly rigid, with most vocalists’ practices falling somewhere in the middle. On one end is an expansive rubato that highlights particular words and phrases, a style akin to that of crooners like Bing Crosby; and on the other, rhythmic regularity to the point of inflexibility in vocalists’ adherence to notated rhythms, almost as if they were singing with a metronome or click-track in their ear. The former style tends to be used more by trained vocalists and older vocalists, while the latter approach predominates among less-trained vocalists, younger ones, and those trained at BJU as opposed to other fundamentalist schools. Both ends of the spectrum, though different in effect, privilege text over other considerations of melodic phrasing, in that the highly rubato style may emphasize

⁴⁷ Written sources point only to negative examples in which vocalists are covered up by the loud volume of their accompaniment. See for example, Blanchard and Lucarini, *Can We Rock the Gospel?*, 168; and Sears, *Apostasy and Deception*, 55.

⁴⁸ Max Masters, interview with author, Nov 22, 2011.

words of the vocalist's choice regardless of their place within a musical line while the more rhythmically rigid style uses altogether minimal phrasing and in so doing, foregrounds the precisely enunciated text.

The latter style has comparatively little said for it by leaders but the more rubato style is discussed as an intentional tool used to communicate a song's message. Ray Gibbs's workshop on "The Procedure of Preparing a Song" — taught to a class of what seemed to be enthusiastic amateurs, judging from the Q&A — illustrates both his reasons for the style and the unpredictable effects of it.⁴⁹

He recommends a four-part process for learning a song—a process that heavily favors the text at every stage. First, study the lyrics and decide how best to interpret them; this must be done first since "words carry the objective message" but "can be distorted after the music is added." At this step, he also suggests learning the history of the given song, and doing "a Bible study on the words of the song" (presumably an inductive study of specific words, reflecting the Common Sense, Baconian methods fundamentalist often use, as discussed in Chapter Two). Second, having decided on the interpretation of the words, speak them according to the music's rhythm while "striving to keep all the interpretation details you had before," and then decide if any notated rhythms should be stretched to better fit the lyrics. Third, learn the music apart from the

⁴⁹ Ray Gibbs, "The Procedure of Preparing a Song," lecture at Majesty MusiCollege, Indianapolis, IN, July 31, 2014).

words, giving special attention to musical phrasing. Finally, marry the two, but still “prioritize words.”

Gibbs particularly suggests bending musical lines to the text when a strict adherence to the melodic precision obscures a text’s meaning, citing a hymn text that begins “My sin—oh the bliss of that glorious thought!”⁵⁰ When sung with metronomic regularity and with phrasing that matches the length of the musical phrases, a vocalist would breathe as follows: “My sin—oh the bliss of that glorious thought! / My sin, not in part but the whole, / Is nailed to the cross, and I bear it no more.” This phrasing could lead a listener to think that “glorious thought” refers to sin rather than that the sin “is nailed to the cross, and I bear it no more.” To preserve the sense of the text, despite how the sentence construction misaligns with the tune’s musical phrase lengths, Gibbs suggests singing “My sin,” followed by a significant pause, then, “oh the bliss of that glorious thought! / My sin, not in part but the whole, Is nailed to the cross, and I bear it no more.”

Adding to the potential for rhythmic unpredictability, or the appearance of it, Gibbs gives a “rule” to “never sing the words and the same melody in the same song the same way twice.” In other words, repeated sections, such as choruses, must be varied in tempo, dynamics, breaths, and especially, phrasing. “Don’t be afraid,” he says, “to alter the music in order to bring out the message. ... Do whatever is necessarily to bring out

⁵⁰ Text “It Is Well” by Horatio G. Spafford, and tune (VILLE DU HAVRE) by Philip P. Bliss.

the message.” In classical music, the vocalist is supposed to communicate the “composer’s intent...but in Christian music,” he continues, you can and should “violate” the music because the message is so important. I have not found criticism of vocalists’ rubato in fundamentalists’ literature, so it seems that vocalists’ limits in this area are only self-imposed or imposed by the constraints of coordinating with accompanying musicians.

As an adolescent, I often accompanied vocalists singing with expressive, unpredictable phrasing like Gibbs’, so I was trained to follow vocalists’ lead by watching their mouths as they sang, matching my accompaniment to their delivery. A convenient sight line increased my ability to follow a vocalist’s phrasing: sitting at the piano with my right side toward the congregation, the vocalist was straight ahead of me at the pulpit, their face in profile. Even without rehearsal, I could follow a vocalist’s rhythmic lead—the visiting evangelist could lean over the top of the upright, silently showing me a selection from the hymnal during a prayer, then sing with unpredictable phrasing just a few moments later.

However such attentiveness to the vocalists’ lead is rarely required since many vocalists do not sing with the flexible and unpredictable phrasing that Gibbs advocates for—as I discovered both in accompanying certain vocalists at my childhood church (including some trained at BJU), and in moving to Greenville and working as an accompanist throughout my undergraduate study at BJU. These vocalists often sang

perfunctorily—a straight-jacketed rendition of a congregation’s steady tempo throughout a hymn. Though this latter style is not as discussed, both my experiences as a pianist and those of other pianists suggest that for at least some vocalists, the style is less a result of intentionality than of inexperience: many vocalists sing infrequently, so their wooden phrasing is perhaps related to discomfort with singing in public. Yet many highly trained vocalists also hew closely to notated rhythms. Perhaps a reason for their practice is its relationship to vocalists’ close adherence to notated pitches, as a desire to precisely place each pitch leads some vocalists to use the same precision for durations as well.⁵¹ Regardless, this style does not usually distract from the text’s intelligibility, except in cases like the one discussed by Gibbs, where musical lines and a text’s sentence structure does not align.

Vocalists’ Movements and Use of Pulpit Space

Fundamentalist vocalists’ comportment while singing further supports their communication: they use strategic facial expressions, especially a serious demeanor, and head nods and shakes to emphasize words and the heartfelt nature of their faith; and they make eye contact with people in the congregation, especially with their eyes wide

⁵¹ Some fundamentalist writers seem to suggest that notated music should be adhered to, not just in terms of avoiding the scooping and sliding they associate with popular vocal styles. Sweatt, for example, relates an extended metaphor of adherence to the Bible to a similar approach to notated music: “Attitudes of pride, jealousy, and envy should be foreign to the servant of God. He must learn his place as an instrument in the hands of the Master Musician. The Great Orchestrator of our lives may have a solo part written into our score here and there or He may bury us in the violin section with forty others. It must always be as *He* chooses if the music is to be harmonious. It is the Christian musician’s business to ‘stay in tune’ and follow closely the score,” *Church Music*, 30-1.

open, sometimes with eyebrows raised. While these physical strategies might seem minimal within the whole of vocalists' performance practices, they allow vocalists to communicate their faith in a way that they feel is sincere and does not distract from a song's message. They are also particularly visible because vocalists' other body movements are minimized. This section examines these strategies, then sets them in contrast to way preachers use their bodies and the pulpit space, showing that preachers use a much wider range of movements than vocalists in their ministry. These performance practices are specific to vocalists: instrumentalists do not use and are not expected to use them.⁵²

Facial Expressions, Eye Contact, and Head and Body Movements

Facial expressions and head nods and shakes are intended to heighten communication and empathetic responses from congregations.⁵³ Head nods and shakes especially correspond to lyrical emphasis—the singer's way of saying, "I want to make sure you know that word."⁵⁴ A serious facial expression demonstrates the gravity of the singer's purpose while also priming viewers to experience a similar seriousness about

⁵² The striking difference between vocalists' and instrumentalists' comportment, and especially their facial expression, is highlighted in the musical numbers on *Show My People*—on these, instrumentalists almost invariably have neutral expressions while vocalists' are highly expressive. See for example the female vocalists' beatific expressions while singing the folk hymn "What Wondrous Love Is This?" in contrast to the bland, even bored flutist and guitarist. *Show My People*, episode 2, 1977, 06:45-08:43.

⁵³ For example, Fisher writes, "Soloists who cannot properly communicate through their facial expressions are actually hindering the message. ... No matter how good your voice may sound, you confuse the truth you proclaim when you do not back it up with appropriate facial expression [sic]," *The Battle for Christian Music*, 145.

⁵⁴ Bill McCauley, interviews with author, January 23, 2015 and February 9, 2015.

the song's topic, and happy facial expressions similarly invite an empathetic response from listeners.⁵⁵ Unlike congregational singing where a happy, enthusiastic affect prevails (as discussed in Chapter Three), vocalists are more likely to use serious expressions, perhaps because they are often directly communicating to others on serious topics.

Open eyes are seen as a means of communication—the “windows of the soul,” as music director and retired BJU music faculty member Bill McCauley puts it, quoting the common idiom—because they are thought to reveal the inner self to others.⁵⁶ This is not surprising, given that eyes reveal emotional states—often unconsciously and unintentionally—through pupillary dilation and movement in the muscles surrounding the eye.⁵⁷ For this reason, women in the choir McCauley directs, though they wear hats, must not wear ones with brims because the congregation needs to see the choir members' faces—“they need to minister with their faces.”⁵⁸ When a singer has their eyes closed—as is common among other evangelicals, he notes—they make their singing

⁵⁵ Neuroscientists have shown that seeing the emotion of another person's facial expression primes the viewer to be open to a similar emotion—a response of empathy. See van der Gaag, Minder, and Keysers, “Facial Expressions: What the Mirror Neuron System Can and Cannot Tell Us.” Thanks to Jing Hu and Brandon Tan for their insights on empathy and neuroscience. Regarding the relationship between what audiences see and hear during a performance, see also the empirical research described in Thompson et al., “Seeing Music Performance.”

⁵⁶ Bill McCauley, interview with author, February 9, 2015. Jesus is quoted, describing the eyes as “lamps,” in a similar phrase; Mt. 6:22-23.

⁵⁷ Muscle movement, especially in making a “crow's feet” pattern around the eye, is well documented as a sign of true pleasure when it is done unconsciously. Recent research indicates that pupil dilation is also linked to sexual and social interest and engagement; see Mathôt and Van der Stigchel, “New Light on the Mind's Eye.”

⁵⁸ A handful of fundamental churches in BJU's orbit prescribe head coverings for women during worship services. To my knowledge, two churches in the Greenville area follow this practice.

more personal, in that it becomes more of a prayer to God, a vertical relationship rather than a horizontal communication from them out to the congregation.

Finally, most vocalists sing with minimal motion from their shoulders down; some may gesture with their hands occasionally, but this is the exception, and is much more likely to be used by older male singers than younger and/or female ones. The relative lack of motion may read as passivity, and certainly, when contrasted with the movements that preachers can use—from flailing arms and fist pumps to across the platform—vocalists’ movements are much restricted. However, their stillness can also be read as a distinct form of physical discipline—the difference between the restraint of a reporter on national television versus the repetitively flickering hands and arms of a new hire at the local station, where the latter draws attention to him- or herself through the needless movement.⁵⁹ This latter interpretation aligns with BJU faculty member since 1979 Christa Habegger’s comment that “there’s a stillness about a person who is vocally trained” in comparison with an amateur.⁶⁰

These practices differ from the means evangelicals outside of fundamentalism may use to convey their sincerity or authenticity. Take for example, the related performance practices of Kristyn Getty, one member of the Getty/Townend team discussed in Chapter One as an example of music that is divisive in fundamental

⁵⁹ Fisher, among others, writes that movement calls attention to performer (and thus away from the message) and should therefore be minimized, *The Battle for Christian Music*, 140-1.

⁶⁰ Christa Habegger, interview with author, March 1, 2014.

churches.⁶¹ While singing in professionally produced music videos or singing live in church services or stage performances, Getty frequently closes her eyes, sometimes for just a few seconds, sometimes for a musical phrase; she often portrays her intensity and authenticity through the strained facial expression of a Valsalva maneuver modified with an open glottis; and she uses open and raised hands to emphasize words and to connote prayer. Fundamentalist vocalists rarely, if ever, use these techniques.

Vocalists' Use of Pulpit Space

Vocalists who use more movement than normative may be perceived as attracting attention to themselves, rather than to their words.⁶² One off-the-record anecdote brought up by several interviewees involved the troubled reaction among some at BJU when a vocalist raised an arm during a chapel solo—a movement that was perceived as distracting from the song's message and directing attention instead to the vocalist. Yet when a vocalist sings a solo, they are literally the center of attention, both in terms of their physical place in a church's auditorium as they stand behind the pulpit, and in that congregants are expected to give their attention to the vocalist (in other words, fundamentalist soloists are not cantors as in some Lutheran and Roman Catholic traditions who sing the verse of a hymn then cue the congregation to join together on a

⁶¹ As a widely recorded vocalist, many videos of Getty's performances are available online, including at KeithandKristyn Getty, "Videos," <http://www.gettymusic.com/videos2.aspx> (accessed April 5, 2016), and KeithandKristyn Getty, Youtube Chanel, <https://www.youtube.com/user/KeithAndKristynGetty> (accessed April 5, 2016).

⁶² For example, Jim Bishop, interview with author, June 18, 2015.

refrain). In contrast to vocalists' practices, preachers, with their institutional authority and even ownership of the pulpit space, can move across and around the platform space and may use physical gestures far and above the few that vocalists employ (they also have a wider use of paralinguistic features as discussed below).

Fundamental churches' auditoriums are arranged to support preaching and to support the authority of preachers, especially pastors, leading to possible contention when the arrangement is change and some vocalists' discomfort with singing from the same site as preaching occurs. Fundamental churches' auditoriums are essentially lecture halls with rows of pews or seats oriented toward a pulpit at the center-front of the room. This pulpit is usually raised up several steps on a platform and is generally surrounded by musical instruments, a backdrop of chairs for the choir, and often additional chairs (immediately behind the pulpit) for non-musician church leaders and for the song leader to sit between songs. This arrangement, although common in evangelical churches, is dissimilar to that of churches that prioritize the celebration of the Eucharist in their weekly worship. Most churches in the latter category (such as Roman Catholic, Episcopal, and Lutheran ones) have an altar in the center-front of the room while a lectern or lecterns for preaching and scripture reading are placed to one or both sides. In making an argument about the primacy of preaching in Baptist churches, Ellis notes that they have historically used this spatial arrangement as both "a symbolic embodiment of the importance of scripture to Baptist worship" and "a practical

indication that so much of a service [relates] to preaching.”⁶³ In other words, the spatial focus of the auditorium accords with the actual focus of historical Baptist service practices, a focus that, he argues, is not on the “word of God” itself, but rather on “the preaching of the word of God.”⁶⁴ Scripture does not stand alone, but must be interpreted, and this necessary interpretation issues from the pulpit—most typically from preachers but also from musicians who may function as such. The importance tied to the physical site of preaching recalls fundamentalists’ history as militant separatists where leaders like pastors would not speak from the same preaching venue as those with whom they disagreed and would not invite anyone to speak from their pulpits without being fellow fundamentalists, positions described in idioms like “platform separation” and “platform fellowship.”⁶⁵

Fundamental churches that disrupt this arrangement may experience contention. Two examples surfaced during my fieldwork. First, the arrangement of BJU’s 6,500 seat Founder’s Memorial Amphitorium (used for weekday chapel services, other school-

⁶³ Ellis, “Gathering Around the Word,” 105.

⁶⁴ Ellis, “Gathering Around the Word,” 109.

⁶⁵ For use of “platform” to stand for pastoral association, see for example, Kevin T. Bauder, “I’m OK With This,” *Religious Affections* (blog), May 9, 2014, <http://religiousaffections.org/articles/in-the-nick-of-time/im-ok-with-this/> (accessed May 1, 2016); and Jones Jr., *Cornbread and Caviar*, 154. Pickering titles a section “Whom to invite to your platform,” noting that some people “look only at the messages [a less conservative minister] delivers from the platform which, in themselves, may be without fault. But a man is more than his pulpit messages. He brings to the pulpit a lifetime of associations, actions, and perhaps writings. He comes as a total person,” *Biblical Separation*, 229. In using expressions like “platform separation,” fundamentalists metaphorize the physical site as do others in discussing “platform” as a site for public expression; see discussion and use of platform as an extended metaphor in Steingo, *Kwaito’s Promise*, 59.

wide events, and formerly for a Sunday morning service) shifted after Steve Pettit became the school's president in 2014. From 1973, when the building was built, until 2014, a hulking wooden pulpit was centered on the platform that stood chest-height above the floor, with the pulpit forming its own second platform a step up, so big a half-dozen people could stand in it comfortably.⁶⁶ A long row of cubby-like seating ran along the back wall and above it curved a balcony. It was on this balcony that the piano and electronic organ were placed on opposite sides of the building—the piano, pulpit, and organ roughly forming a straight line from left to right, though with great distances between them. In 2014, the massive wooden pulpit was replaced by a much smaller one made of glass and light-colored wood; the row of built-in seating was covered up by a series of colorful screens filling the center of the platform; and the remaining space had only the piano on the left and a handful of chairs on the right. According to faculty members, this new arrangement eased coordination between the pianist and song leader, but also prompted rumblings that the new arrangement signaled the new administration's openness to changes in musical style—a fear of music leading down a slipper slope, as discussed in Chapter One. Similarly, when one of the churches I attended moved a handful of musicians from the periphery toward the center of the platform, the spatial change resulted in or contributed to the decision of some members

⁶⁶ Dates from BJU librarian Patrick Robbins, email to author, September 28, 2016.

to leave the congregation because they felt it signaled impending stylistic changes in the music the church used.

Given that the pulpit is consistently gendered as a space of male authority, it is no surprise that some women feel uncomfortable speaking or singing from that space, even if they are allowed to by their church's norms.⁶⁷ Indeed some male vocalists also prefer to not sing from that space because of the implied spiritual authority people have when occupying it. Several staff members at a church outside of Greenville described how some amateur vocalists in the church—both male and female—much preferred to sing from a music stand positioned to the side of the pulpit. Likewise, Lynch commented that his wife—a pianist and vocalist—preferred to speak from her seat at the piano (a practice I observed when they co-led a session at a conference for church musicians), even though she would sing from the pulpit space.⁶⁸ In neither scenario were women or vocalists actually disallowed from speaking or singing from behind the pulpit; rather, the individuals themselves chose to sing and speak at a visible remove from a site they felt gave them authority that they did not in fact have (or perhaps, did not desire to have).

⁶⁷ For the masculinity of the pulpit, see Harding, *The Book of Jerry Falwell*, 176-81. Ammerman notes that women in her field study of a fundamental church were allowed to sing but not speak from behind the pulpit, *Bible Believers*, 120-1.

⁶⁸ Mac Lynch, interview with author, February 4, 2015; and Mac Lynch and Beth Lynch, "Composition for the Local Church," workshop at Majesty MusiCollege, July 31, 2014, Indianapolis, IN.

Vocalists' Performance Practices in Three Case Studies

This section uses three case studies of vocalists' performances to highlight the shared stylistic features of fundamentalists' performances between individual vocalists, mediums and performance venues, and different time periods. It also delineates what is on the periphery acceptable but still within bounds for trained vocalists (amateurs, as mentioned above, are discussed in the chapter's conclusion). First, Dwight Gustafson, BJU's Dean of the School of Fine Arts from 1954-1994, sings on BJU's television show *Show My People* in 1980. Then in the early- and mid-2010s, two members of the Galkin Evangelistic Team sing in a church service, and a student sings during a BJU student chapel service while backed up by a student vocal ensemble. Both performances were filmed and later uploaded to social media.

"Jesus, Jesus, rest your head. You have got a manger bed." Gustafson sings the American folk lullaby on a Christmas Special episode of *Show My People*.⁶⁹ He looks fondly, tenderly at a crèche as he sings those opening lines accompanied by an unseen orchestra, the strings' warmth complementing his resonant bass voice. He turns his head

⁶⁹ Dwight Gustafson on *Show My People*, Christmas Special, 1980, 07:55-11:18. See also *Show My People*, Christmas Special, 1985, 10:33-13:58, in which Gustafson is filmed again for the same song, but with an apparently identical audio track. A video of the 1985 performance is available at "Dwight Gustafson Sings 'Jesus, Jesus, Rest Your Head,' Show My People, Christmas, 1985," Youtube video, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4QJCPc44kLg&list=PL8zi9TdHtRYXJP6v1NEVZUtbgmCzIZ1Vp&index=4> (accessed April 4, 2016). Another example of Gustafson's vocal performance is available at "Dwight Gustafson Sings 'I Will Praise Him' on Show My People, 1983," Youtube video, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sn1cFS2uHvo&index=2&list=PL8zi9TdHtRYXJP6v1NEVZUtbgmCzIZ1Vp> (accessed April 14, 2016). "Jesus, Jesus, Rest Your Head" is a folk song collected by John Jacob Niles in Elizabethtown, Hardin County, Kentucky.

to address the viewer seriously, continuing with, “All the evil folks on earth sleep in feathers at their birth,” then sings the title line again to finish the opening refrain while the visual cuts to an image of Christmas-themed Baroque art drawn from the large collection of religious Baroque art held at the Museum and Gallery at BJU — art that seems to reinforce the ideal of “cultural excellence” through the fine arts promoted by BJU leaders like Gustafson.⁷⁰

“Have you heard about our Jesus? Have you heard about his fate? How his mother went to the stable on that Christmas Eve so late?” Each word clear, even over-pronounced — heavy /d/ on “heard,” lengthened /f/ on “fate.” The viewer sees Gustafson’s upper body and face. He smiles — crinkled eyes, rounded cheeks, and upturned lips — and looks penetratingly into the camera, arresting eye contact that under American norms would feel rude to break and yet can be uncomfortable in its intensity. In his handling, these song questions become oriented toward salvation, Gustafson’s face suggesting the joy at his own born-again state and inviting unbelievers to consider the source of such happiness at Jesus’ birth.

As the song unfolds, the visual continues to alternate between images of Baroque art and Gustafson singing next to the crèche. He highlights the text with his head

⁷⁰ Many of the Museum and Gallery’s holdings were collected by BJU’s second president, Bob Jones II, on behalf of BJU in the 1950s. While its main location is on the BJU campus, in 1996 it became a private non-profit. See <http://www.bjumg.org/mgs-beginnings/> (accessed January 9, 2017). Lewis frequently references the Museum and Gallery’s collection as a indication of BJU’s emphasis on “excellence” in *Romancing the Difference*.

movements by nodding, and shakes his head slightly at words he wishes to emphasize, sometimes combining the two movements into a quick shake-plus-nod; and he continues to make eye contact with the viewer or direct his gaze to the crèche, and to use emotive facial expressions of tenderness, seriousness, and happiness to further his communication of the text.

His clear diction, facial expressions and eye contact, and his classically trained voice are all key elements of the singing style that most fundamentalist vocalists employ. Over three decades after Gustafson's performance, Christy Galkin's reflects much the same approach as she sings in a church service, "Lord, change my heart from deep within; purify me once again; renew my mind to love Your truth; make me more and more like You!"⁷¹ Like Gustafson, she precisely enunciates the lyrics and sings with a resonant tone that reflects her classical vocal training. Her face is serious, sometimes with her brows raised enough to wrinkle her forehead, and she often shakes her head slowly for several beats or nods her head to emphasize a word. Later in the song, she will have glimmers of smiles, crinkling her eyes and lifting her cheeks. But during a short interlude as the accompanying cello and piano rise in volume, her face relaxes.

⁷¹ For an amateur video of this live performance at Yates Thagard Baptist Church in Carthage, NC, see Galkin Evangelistic Ministries, "Galkin Evangelistic Ministries—More and More Like You," Youtube video, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aVsSfMfi1YU> (accessed July 5, 2014), music begins 0:44, head nods from singer on the viewer's right 1:06, 1:27, 1:38 and *passim*. For a studio recording of the same song, see Galkin's performance on Galkin Evangelistic Team, *Consider Him*. "More and More Like You," text and tune by Bob Kauflin (a musician affiliated with Sovereign Grace Ministries discussed in Chapter One).

“Lord, cause my will to choose Your ways in each temptation that I face; until Your glory's shining through, make me more and more like You!” Galkin sings a second stanza, this time joined by another vocalist, Sarah Roe. Though the text is a prayer, their performance practices make the song almost sermonical—this ought to be your prayer, you too should pray, “Do whatever You must do to make me more and more like You.” The contrast between Galkin’s and Roe’s singing highlights what are considered ideal performance practices and what are slightly less skilled but still good ones. Galkin is among the most prominent fundamentalist vocalists today.⁷² She sings at this service as part of her husband’s travelling evangelistic group and in previous years worked in the evangelistic group led by Steve Pettit. At the time of this church service, Roe has recently finished her schooling and joined the team. Galkin’s vocal tone is more resonant than Roe’s softer voice. Whereas Galkin’s face is highly expressive and nods her head often, Roe raises her brows but otherwise keeping her face and head neutral; whereas Galkin looks directly out at the congregation, commanding their attention through her own purposeful gaze, Roe sometimes drifts into the middle distance before coming back to focus on the people.

⁷² For a brief biography of Christy Galkin, see Galkin Evangelistic Ministries, “The Team,” <http://www.galkins.org/about-us/our-ministry-team> (accessed April 5, 2016). For representative studio recordings of her work, see (chronologically), Steve Pettit Evangelistic Team, *O Love Divine* (2000), *Jesus, My Love, My God, My All* (2003); Galkin, *Let Christ Be Lifted Up* (2005); and Galkin Evangelistic Team, *Give Me Jesus* (2007), *Consider Him* (2010), *By Faith* (2012), and *Each Day I Live* (2014).

While Gustafson's, Galkin's, and Roe's singing styles are well within the range of good and acceptable for fundamentalist vocalists, Rachel Georges's 2015 performance of the Spiritual "Great Day" demonstrates the reach of this spectrum. She gave a testimony to her grandmother's born-again salvation and then sang in a BJU chapel service with the backing of BJU's most elite choral ensemble—a performance that was at Pettit's request after he heard the group sing the piece for a donor event. Before that event, Georges, an African American student who was then a senior, had made clear to her choir director that she would sing it "[her] way" despite some people thinking that her singing style was "sensual": "I told him I'm not going to hold back. I'm going to sing it my way or I'm not going to sing it."⁷³ Even so, she was still "apprehensive because [she] knew some people would be offended" by her singing. And even though Pettit enthused about the performance after the donor event and said he wanted her to sing the piece in a chapel service, she didn't expect to actually be scheduled.

She approached the chapel performance with the same mix of confidence in how she would sing and apprehension at the response she might receive. But, she says, "In the moment of singing that piece, I realized how far the school had gone since I came as a freshman." The piece ended to thunderous applause (a response to music almost always eschewed in BJU's services), BJU posted an official video of the performance and social media lit up with praise of her singing, and she received dozens of letters and

⁷³ Rachel Georges, interview with author, July 23, 2015.

emails from people saying how her singing had “blessed them,” “changed them,” and “drawn them closer to God.” In fact, she says, “I have yet to hear anything negative about it.” In retrospect, she feels that her singing was spiritually beneficial—“God used me...to touch other people’s lives”—as well as institutionally transformative since “that one moment set the precedent for what music will be at Bob Jones in future years.”

But in BJU’s footage of the performance, there is little that immediately seems like Georges “wanted,” in her words, “to shake things up at Bob Jones.”⁷⁴ The arrangement is by Howard Helvey, a conservatory-trained composer and church music director active in the Episcopal tradition, whose music has been performed by groups like the Mormon Tabernacle Choir and the Choir of King’s College Cambridge, and released on American recording labels like Gothic, Innova, and Pro Organo as well as European ones.⁷⁵ Its thick harmonies, bouncing piano accompaniment, and soaring solo line all seem stylistically unremarkable, from a fundamentalist perspective, for music sung by leading university choirs like Concordia University’s and performed at conventions of the American Choral Directors Association.⁷⁶ Likewise, Georges’s bright, resonant tone is squarely in the operatic tradition of singing Spirituals exemplified by vocalists like Jessye Norman and Kathleen Battle.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Bob Jones University, “‘Great Day’ arr. Howard Helvey performed by BJU Chamber Singers,” Youtube video, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0WemyIntuTw> (accessed May 4, 2016).

⁷⁵ Howard Helvey, “Biography,” <http://howardhelvey.com/biography/> (accessed May 4, 2016).

⁷⁶ Howard Helvey, “Biography,” <http://howardhelvey.com/biography/> (accessed May 4, 2016).

⁷⁷ Battle and Norman, *Kathleen Battle and Jessye Norman Sing Spirituals at Carnegie Hall*.

Given that nothing about the arrangement or Georges's vocal technique seems out of line with BJU's musical standards, the apprehension is surprising. The only element of her performance that seems like it might "shake things up" is her movements and perhaps those of the choir members. As she sings, she shifts her weight back and forth, sometimes with enough correspondence to musical phrase lengths that her movement becomes a whole-bodied sway. Similarly, many choir members gently move their whole bodies back and forth a few inches each way, but they do not move in time with the music or together as an ensemble. Georges also moves her hands. They are variously held limp at her side, or palms open to the audience at hip- and waist-height, or at her waist. In the last few beats of the song, she raises her open hands up to shoulder-height as she leans back slightly, then quickly brings them over her heart and flings them back out as the cut-off to the piece. She "didn't plan to do that in the first place" — to "raise [her] hands in chapel" — "but in the moment...it made complete sense." These movements—more minimal than even those used by Norman and Battle in their performance of Spirituals—are perhaps what is at the edge of acceptable in her performance, as, in Ashon T. Crawley's argument, the "[m]oving flesh speaks back and against problematic conceptions of blackness" by "[undoing] the distinction between movement and sound."⁷⁸

⁷⁸ Crawley, *Blackpentecostal Breath*, 28.

Classical Music and Congregational Participation in Solo Song

Given the performance practices discussed above, and fundamentalist literatures' insistence on the superiority of western art music, one might expect that vocalists would tend to sing English-language sacred art music in church or, to open the discussion further, that choirs would sing music selected from the extensive catalogue of stylistically-comparable anthems.⁷⁹ Instruments-only classical music is almost completely absent from fundamentalist services (save a rare chorale prelude), but its absence is unsurprising given that the instrumental music used in the services is always based on hymnody. But even though there is an abundance of sacred English-language art music for solo voice or choir, fundamentalist vocalists and choirs do not draw on this extensive repertoire with any regularity.⁸⁰

In this section, I examine the odd, but overwhelmingly consistent avoidance of sacred art music in favor of hymns arranged for solo voice or choir, showing that vocalists and music ministers make their selections on the grounds that classical music cannot minister effectively because it is off-putting to many congregants.

Before officially beginning my ethnographic work, I was already aware of this anomalous absence, so I made a point to ask many interviewees for their thoughts on

⁷⁹ By "English-language sacred art music," I refer to a wide range of classical music from vocal solos like Charles Gounod's "O Divine Redeemer" to choral anthems like Thomas Tallis's "If Ye Love Me."

⁸⁰ This is not to say that sacred art music is absolutely never used, but that it is rare and a cause for remark. For example, Bill McCauley, a retired BJU voice professor, notes that his church has occasionally programmed pieces like John Stainer's *The Crucifixion* or a translated excerpt from an oratorio by Felix Mendelssohn; interview with author, January 23, 2015.

why this is the case (over 30 interviewees in all). Given the high praise for classical music in fundamentalist writings on music, and especially the accompanying insistence that readers educate and improve their musical tastes so that they can enjoy and appreciate this kind of music (as discussed in Chapter Two), I was surprised by interviewees' pragmatism.

Collectively, they argued that music used in church should minister to as many people as possible within the bounds of "right" worship (as discussed in Chapter Three). Since the vocalists and choir directors selecting music believe that solo and choral hymn arrangements or similar song-based material are far more approachable to most congregants than art music, it follows that they would choose the former music over the latter, regardless of their personal preferences. Warren Cook, BJU's Director of Choral Activities, spoke of an archetypal non-musician who would enjoy and be receptive to the message of John Newton's "Amazing Grace" but not music by Thomas Morley; since both are morally good, he contended, "Amazing Grace" is preferable for ministering, of "[putting] our arms around as many people as we can."⁸¹ Similarly, David Parker, a BJU voice professor, noted that "communication is at the forefront" of the music's purpose in church, so "art" might have to "take a backseat" because "people need to feel

⁸¹ Warren Cook, interview with author, April 2, 2015.

comfortable” at church and because classical music might not speak to them effectively due to “different cultural references.”⁸²

Indeed, not only might sacred art music not be the most effective means of communicating a spiritual message to most congregants, but its style might be an actual barrier. Interviewees said that many congregants felt it was “artificial,” “too formal,” and even “arrogant” when used in a church setting.⁸³ American culture, writ large, tends to treat classical music as an “elitist” art form, says Paul Overly, BJU music professor since 1986, so it is not surprising that many fundamentalists would harbor similar feelings toward it.⁸⁴ By extension, even a seemingly-minor display of skill requiring substantial training, such as singing in a higher register than can be managed by most amateurs, might be frowned upon as prideful—a perception that as a number of vocalists cited as they explained their decision to not “sing a high note” at the conclusions of their solos or their decision to moderate their classical style for solos at church and sing instead in an “everyday” style that more congregants would appreciate.⁸⁵ For example, Laura Brundage, BJU voice faculty member since 2007,

⁸² David Parker, interview with author, January 29, 2014.

⁸³ For example, David Parker, interview with author, January 29, 2014; and Bill McCauley, interview with author, January 23, 2015. Parker took exception to the criticism of “artificial,” comparing the training required for *bel canto* singing to the upkeep of a “natural” lawn—saying that neither was “artificial,” but that both required extensive work to develop and maintain.

⁸⁴ Paul Overly, interview with author, January 23, 2015, and correspondence with author, February 2, 2017. Overly notes that he strongly supports classical music as a “meaningful” art form that “can be understood” by listeners.

⁸⁵ Many vocalists referenced this tension over “singing a high note;” they were not discussing a song whose melody was high in their register, but of arrangements that conclude with a sustained note

distinguished between the style she used for classical music and her “everyday voice” that she used in a church setting for solos based on hymns: both are “healthy” and use the “same technique” but she tailors her singing to the musical style so as to be “stylistically authentic.”⁸⁶

The professional musicians I interviewed did not usually perceive a problem with sacred art music *per se*, and many wished it could be used more effectively in their churches. But in programming solo and choral selections, they tended to give up their particular preferences for the greater good of reaching as many congregants as morally good music possibly could. Soloists especially did not enjoy singing music that most congregants were unreceptive toward. When singing at her church in Indianapolis, Shellie Beeman (hired as a BJU voice professor in 2016) described people “glazing over” if she sang a sacred art song because “people just don’t understand it.”⁸⁷ In contrast, when she sang the more accessible hymn arrangements, congregants would pay attention and make eye contact with her as she sang.

pitched a third, fifth or octave above the melody’s usual final note. Bill McCauley discussed his decision to cease from singing high notes at the ends of songs because he felt they promoted a “sensual thrill” (he was careful clarify that he used “sensual” in the sense of “sensory”); interview with author, January 23, 2015.

⁸⁶ Laura Brundage, interview with author, March 4, 2014, and correspondence with author, February 2, 2017.

⁸⁷ Shellie Beeman, interview with author, July 30, 2014.

Classical Music, a Distraction from the Message

Discussions over BJU's Vespers programs provide a case study of this tension between musicians' desires to communicate to as many as possible in a religious setting and the deep appreciation for classical music on the part of most interviewees and their colleagues writing about music. As mentioned in Chapter Three, Vespers were initially programs in the musicale style held for and by BJU students. Over time, the programs shifted to include more dramatic narrative on religious themes intertwined with complementary music. This change put classical music selections into an odd place. Classical music has had a prominent place at BJU since its founding due to a mandate to "refine" students' musical tastes, and many music professors then (and now) believed that classical music is part of a "pursuit of excellence" mandated by God.⁸⁸ But a series of memos from 1994 between then-BJU president Bob Jones III, music professor Duane Ream, and then-Dean of the School of Fine Arts Dwight Gustafson shows how secular classical music was pushed aside in favor of hymn arrangements on the Vespers programs because of a desire to communicate to as many students as possible—and sacred art music was apparently not in the conversation at all.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Turner's "Fundamentalism, the Arts, and Personal Refinement" deals largely with this mandate and its ramifications. Among my interviewees, Turner was one of the few who suggested sacred art music (such as the occasional Bach cantata) be used to elevate congregants' tastes, interview with author, April 11, 2015.

⁸⁹ I point again to the unexplained absence of sacred art music from fundamentalists' published lists of classical repertoire suitable to a personal listening library. In Chapter Three I proposed that the absence of secular vocal music could be related to an expectation of inner singing with any form of vocal music, but why should Handel's *Messiah* be the only sacred vocal work recommended among dozens and

Jones III began the conversation by commenting on a note from a visitor who felt that a classical instrumental piece was a “distraction” to the “mood of Vespers,” and, in his note to Gustafson, suggested they do away with classical selections entirely.⁹⁰ Around the same time (and apparently without knowing of Jones’ memo), Ream also wrote to Gustafson to dispute the comment’s sentiment, noting that he programmed classical pieces regularly because of their “traditional” use in the programs, and that some directors actually preferred “secular” (i.e. classical) offertories since the taking up of an offering was already a “distraction” that prevented a sacred piece from developing the theme of a given program (reasoning that apparently does not apply to the always sacred offertories played in fundamental church services).⁹¹

dozens of classical pieces? That listeners simply wouldn’t “appreciate” or “understand” sacred art music is not a valid reason for its absence, since these lists exist for the very purpose of classical music education and appreciation. See lists in Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 257-60; Peck, *Rock*, 143-8; and Smith, *Let Those with Ears to Hear*, 169-74.

⁹⁰ In concordance with the visitor, Jones writes, “I couldn’t agree more. This has bugged me ever since I was a student. Can’t we finally be rid of it forever? There is no reason that we shouldn’t have an offertory to match the program theme and get rid of these often far-out pieces that some instrumentalists do.” Bob Jones III to Dwight Gustafson, March 3, 1994, *BJU Archives*.

⁹¹ “I’ll be honest then I say that I try to use classical numbers as often as I can, because I do not want to lose that part of the traditional Vespers concept. In the last several years we have used classical pieces as either preludes or offertories, but not in both positions, so that at most, we have one classical number per program. And this year, out of 10 programs, only 6 will have had classical numbers—and of the 6, only three will have been offertories.

“As far as the numbers not fitting into the mood of the program, Dr. Bob, Jr., at the first program of the year, told me himself that he would like to have bright numbers at the offertory spot. I inferred from his comments that even if the mood of a program was more devotional in nature, the offertory should still be bright. I have tried to do this consistently.

“Several of the directors have indicated to me that they prefer a secular offertory, since the theme of their programs is not advanced while the plates are being passed anyway. To them, the distraction of the

Despite reasons like those Ream described, Jones III's viewpoint won out: Gustafson issued a memo to those planning Vespers programs effectively ending any inclusion of "secular music numbers" except those that "have a strong reason for existing in terms of" a given program's theme.⁹² Though the programs had formerly "regularly contained classical selections for the sake of cultivating good taste in the students, and this was a deliberate effort on the part of the University," it was of paramount importance that the programs "have as strong a spiritual impact as possible."⁹³

Inviting Congregational Participation in Solo Song

Despite the pragmatic perspective interviewees took when I broached the question of sacred art music in church and the evidence of discussions like that between Jones III, Ream, and Gustafson, I felt that something was missing from this particular puzzle. In my experience as an organist and choir director in mainline Protestant churches—churches with a range of educational and cultural backgrounds among their

offering itself makes a thematic number of lesser effect to the overall program." Duane Ream to Dwight Gustafson, March 13, 1994, *BJU Archives*, emphasis his.

⁹² Dwight Gustafson, memo to "Vesper Speech and Music Supervisors, Vespers Directors," March 25, 1994, *BJU Archives*.

⁹³ Though the specific topic in question is a contrast of sacred music in general with absolute classical music in particular, Fishers comments on "music for music's sake" are relevant here: Christian music is not absolute—it is a vehicle to carry a spiritual message. The message may be directed to God or to man but *it must be acceptable to God*. It must reveal God in both text and music. We must make the music as excellent in quality as possible, without merely striving to 'music for music's sake.' This too would give our worship services the improper focus of a man-centered music," *The Battle for Christian Music*, 94.

congregants—I have often played and directed sacred art music with the support of other church leaders and of congregants.⁹⁴ This is a biased perspective since those who do not enjoy classical music would presumably self-select out of attendance at these churches, but fundamental churches could similarly self-select along musical line—especially in Greenville with its many fundamental churches. In fact, many Greenville churches *do* have distinctive flavors to the music they use: some churches emphasize recently-written music, some churches favor gospel songs, some use only piano to accompany hymns, some tend toward lush orchestral accompaniments, some have a choral piece in every service, and at least one has made their choir only an occasional gathering. Why couldn't even one of the many churches lean toward classical music, I wondered, especially since so many interviewees wished their churches were more receptive to it? And why didn't music directors push for this music in their churches? (For the record, none said they did.)⁹⁵

I found a more satisfying answer in congregational participation—the same wholehearted, attentive participation discussed in Chapter Three.⁹⁶ A hymn arrangement puts forward a melody that congregants can learn and internalize in a way

⁹⁴ I have also programmed many secular/untexted classical pieces for preludes, offertories, and postludes.

⁹⁵ A number of interviewees discussed musically educating their congregations, but this was in the context of teaching things like music reading skills so people could sing harmonies, as Mac Lynch did with his small church over the course of decades, interview with author, February 4, 2015. They did not, however, mention actively pushing for sacred art music against the prevailing tastes of their congregation.

⁹⁶ Participation is also contrasted with “performance” (here denoting entertainment) in settings of Christian popular music, as discussed in Ingalls, “Awesome in This Place,” 197-8.

that they might not with a song that they couldn't be expected to sing themselves. As several interviewees noted, non-congregational music used in church—whether instrumental or vocal—is almost always a hymn arrangement that the congregation could sing.⁹⁷ But music that a congregation *cannot* sing could be construed as entertainment because the congregation cannot expect to participate in it in contrast to hymn arrangements or newly composed songs that a congregation could learn. With the latter music, congregants can participate not just in the moment by listening and/or singing internally but they can also carry their participation into the future by singing the hymn aloud away from church or at a different service.⁹⁸

Like the solo piano hymn arrangements discussed in Chapter Three, hymns arranged for solo voice (as well as other hymn arrangements, especially for choir) preserve hymn tunes in a format suitable for inner singing by listeners—melodies are usually presented in their entirety without significant ornamentation or polyphonic imitation. But many fundamentalist albums feature lush orchestral accompaniments that evoke the post-romantic styles of John Williams and Alan Menken—accompaniments whose complexity far exceeds the mostly-diatonic, moderately-ranged melodies they foreground.⁹⁹ That composers, arrangers, and orchestrators often focus their creative energies on accompaniments demonstrates both their own interest in making music in a

⁹⁷ For example, Shellie Beeman, interview with author, July 30, 2014.

⁹⁸ One music director, Mark Egerdahl, mentioned that congregants may even sing along with a solo, interview with author, December 14, 2016.

⁹⁹ Some of the largest fundamental churches play these arrangements live in services.

classical style as well as the continual need for fundamentalists' music to prioritize what is accessible not only to an average congregant's ear but also their singing abilities.¹⁰⁰

Yet even in the context of a sacred art music performance—BJU's 2014 production of excerpts from Handel's *Messiah*—audience members' spiritual participation is still expected to be possible. As BJU music faculty member Michael Moore welcomes the audience in his brief opening comments, he highlights this possibility by saying, "We trust that your hearts will be warmed and blessed as you meditate on these texts from Scripture that point us to our Christ's coming, his death in our place, his resurrection, and our ultimate glorification."¹⁰¹ Then in the following prayer, he reinforces this point by beginning, "Our dear heavenly Father, we thank you for giving us the stewardship tonight of enjoying this music, of performing this music, of meditating on it, and ultimately bringing glory to you in our hearts."

The importance of congregational participation also plays into the disparity between the virtuosity that fundamentalist vocalists and pianists use in services, regardless of their skill levels: while pianists can freely play cadenza-like passages if they have the aptitude, no soprano sings pieces on par with coloratura arias. Beeman hypothesizes that "singing is something we all do" (and it just happens that a particular

¹⁰⁰ Albums with representative, classically-inflected orchestral accompaniments include (chronologically): Hamilton, *Wings as Eagles* (1987), SMS Orchestra, *Meditations for Orchestra* (1999), The Wilds Music, *Immortal, Invisible God* (2001); and Bob Jones University Singers and Orchestra, *King of Love* (2008).

¹⁰¹ Bob Jones University, "Handel's Messiah," <http://new.livestream.com/BJU/20141213messiah> (accessed December 20, 2014), 00:16-1:30.

person sings a solo) while pianists have a distinct skill recognizable as such.¹⁰² Singing a coloratura aria, and even singing a particularly high note, could be construed as prideful or as entertainment because it sets the vocalist apart from fellow congregants who all sing to various degrees and calls attention particularly to the vocalists' skills—even as, in Dwight Gustafson's interpretation of a biblical passage, "everything that goes into a Christian's life also must be done well, it must have solid content, it must be beautiful, it must be the *best*, the *finest* that he can give to the Lord."¹⁰³ Hymn arrangements, on the other hand, maintain the possibility of congregants' participation—a fraught balancing act for vocalists since "God demands excellence and skill in worship...[b]ut to show off one's talents through virtuosic or 'flashy' performance draws attention to the performer and away from worship."¹⁰⁴

Musical ability is usually associated with innate talent, rather than skill acquired through labor and training, so when it is deployed conspicuously, listeners are culturally primed to hear its difficulty as exhibitionism and thus potentially, in a fundamental

¹⁰² Shellie Beeman, interview with author, July 30, 2014.

¹⁰³ Dwight Gustafson on *Show My People*, episode 30, 1977, 18:06-19:44. Gustafson's broader commentary is critique of a decline in church music in light of Paul's Mars Hill discourse recounted in Acts 17:22-31.

¹⁰⁴ Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 214. A number of fundamentalist writers warn against "showing off" through virtuosity (their comments are not limited to vocalists, but in practice, instrumentalists have a disproportionately larger latitude in what is acceptable and what is considered to be showing off). Aniol writes, "Performers must also be careful not to draw attention or worship to themselves through flashy or virtuosic performing. Congregational music needs to sit on the knife-edge between distracting shoddiness and distracting flashiness," *Worship in Song*, 178. Later he later warns of the dangers of music wherein "clarity of truth and undistracting [*sic*] excellence are sacrificed for virtuosity and showmanship. ... The musicians strive to demonstrate their great musical abilities, showing off their every skill and, ultimately, drawing all attention to themselves," *Worship in Song*, 230-1; see also 230-4.

church setting, as entertainment. It may be that this disjuncture reflects the “fraught relationship between obvious technical facility and emotional sincerity” that other evangelical musicians, both vocalists and instrumentals, may experience.¹⁰⁵ Joshua Kalin Busman connects punk musicians’ amateuristic musicality and their corresponding authentic image with evangelicals’ own need to project authenticity and/or sincerity— even though their music’s technical demands are actually quite high in comparison with punk.¹⁰⁶ This conflict leads some evangelical musicians to downplay their abilities by eliminating showiness in their performances and even to describe their musical training as practically non-existent.¹⁰⁷ Though fundamentalist vocalists similarly limit their virtuosity, they do not treat musical training itself as a problem but rather understand it as a means to achieving the musical excellence they desire.

Sincerity in Fundamentalist Vocalists’ Ministry

The practice of “ministry in song” relies on vocalists’ ability to convey truth to their listeners by singing words the vocalist believes to be true and by singing them in a way that reflects the vocalist’s personal sincerity. Sincerity, as I use it here, is subtly different from the related concept of authenticity, but both affects are facilitated by techniques forbidden to fundamentalist vocalists; as a result, their movements and paralinguage are significantly narrower in scope than those available to vocalists

¹⁰⁵ Busman, “(Re)Sounding Passion,” 180.

¹⁰⁶ Busman, “(Re)Sounding Passion,” 180-2.

¹⁰⁷ Busman, “(Re)Sounding Passion,” 174-6.

singing in other genres that also value the appearance of truthfulness. Fundamentalist vocalists' use of testimony, on the other hand, relates to but seemingly bypasses the concept of persona as it is deployed by many popular vocalists, including those in broader evangelicalism. This section examines the differences between sincerity and authenticity, the reasons for fundamentalists' avoidance of many vocal techniques that convey sincerity or authenticity, and the concepts of "testimony" and "persona" as they relate to fundamentalist vocalists.

Sincerity and Authenticity in Fundamentalist and Evangelical Singing

Sincerity and authenticity describe forms of truthfulness and the appearance of it. Authenticity connotes being true to your origins or group rather than "selling out" for personal gains such as money or fame, and being self-realized or actualized rather than hiding or being ignorant of integral aspects of your identity. In the realm of music, the concept of authenticity is used to discuss whether music or a musician is true to itself or him- or herself in these senses, or to question whether such a thing is possible.¹⁰⁸ But fundamentalists reject the moral relativism authenticity implies: I have often heard the quoted scripture, "The heart is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked," (from

¹⁰⁸ Moore summarizes theories of authenticity in relationship to music criticism and musicology in "Authenticity as Authentication." For authenticity in relationship to music or musicians being true to themselves, see for example, Tetzlaff, "Music for Meaning" and Weisehaunet and Lindberg, "Authenticity Revisited." Authenticity is also used to discuss the relationship between contemporary and past performance practices for the same musical piece or style; see Le Huray, *Authenticity in Performance* and Taruskin, *Text and Act*. See also Upton, "Concepts of Authenticity" and Weiss, "Listening to the World."

Jer. 17:9) in sermons warning against following your heart, against self-realization.¹⁰⁹ Fundamentalists believe that God's laws are not relative, and that every person has a "sin nature," so why should vocalists seek authenticity to themselves, sinners such as they are? Indeed, one fundamentalist composer I interviewed noted that their music, despite their best intentions, was inevitably "tainted" by their sin nature.

Sincerity's meaning, on the other hand, shades toward being without hypocrisy or dissimulation, or, to phrase it positively, being who you say you are.¹¹⁰ In *Sincerity and Authenticity*, Lionel Trilling defines one conception of sincerity as "communication without deceiving or misleading" and "a single-minded commitment to whatever dutiful enterprise [one] may have in hand," along with being "oneself, in action, in deeds."¹¹¹ As I use the term sincerity here, I emphasize especially the sense of "communication without deceiving or misleading" — saying true words and believing them to be true. For example, in the performance described in the introduction to this chapter, Hamilton sings the *true words* that God "is always good." Presumably, he *truly believes* what he says since his personal testimony gives credence to his words. And the performance practices he uses are ones accepted by fundamentalists as *indicative of truthfulness*. This kind of sincerity disallows what fundamentalists refer to as

¹⁰⁹ On authenticity and moral relativism, see Taylor, *The Ethics of Authenticity*.

¹¹⁰ The Oxford English Dictionary defines "Sincerity" as "containing no element of dissimulation or deception; not feigned or pretended."

¹¹¹ Trilling describes this as an English style of sincerity, in contrast to a French one which involves not just "telling the truth about oneself to oneself and to others," but also a "confrontation of what is base or shameful in oneself," *Sincerity and Authenticity*, 58.

“distractions” from the message, anything extraneous to the truth—a musical version of the United States’ sworn courtroom testimony formulation of “the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.” Though the term sincerity is not much used by fundamentalists to discuss their vocal performance practices, this concept connects the various means fundamentalist vocalists “communicate a message” to their listeners.¹¹²

In contrast, evangelical vocalists singing in popular styles are relatively more concerned with personal authenticity, and especially with using their music to foster “authentic worship.”¹¹³ Monique M. Ingalls shows that authentic worship, for these musicians and their churches, “[focuses]...wholly on God” and “necessitates active participation” (rather than spectatorship), and its “goal...is a transformed life.”¹¹⁴ Their more commercialized setting, relative to fundamentalists, complicates their task. A performer’s “onstage expression [must be] seen to grow out of the fabric of his or her everyday life— especially, in the case of the worship leader, the *spiritual* life,” Ingalls argues, even though they use styles that derive from secular ones, and sometimes

¹¹² Danny Sweatt, writing as a music director in the early 1980s, summarizes this viewpoint on the role of performer in conveying their message: “A performer's style can also help or hinder the audience's comprehension of the message. The more attention focused on the performer, the less that will be focused on his message. Someone has said, 'True art is invisible.' Technique must not overshadow the message, and worldly characteristics must not hinder communication. ... Sacred music should avoid the *distraction* of worldly elements. When good sacred music is properly performed, the listener's attention is drawn to the text,” *Church Music*, 14.

¹¹³ This is not to say that sincerity, as I define it, is not of concern to them (see Ingalls, “Awesome in This Place,” 199-200), but that authenticity is far more important to them. Busman discusses authenticity in relationship to popularly styled Christian music in “Re(Sounding) Passion,” 229-37.

¹¹⁴ Ingalls, “Awesome in This Place,” 187. See 185-230 for her extended discussion of authenticity in worship music.

perform in extremely large and seemingly commercialized settings such as festivals with tens of thousands of attendees.¹¹⁵ To a much greater extent than fundamentalists, these artists must show that they have not “sold out” and are still true to themselves and their faith even though they are likely more famous and richer than attendees: “audiences must trust that the musician still identifies and lives within their community, and their music must resonate with the audience’s experiences and expectations.”¹¹⁶

Fundamentalists’ Criticisms of Popular Music Performance Practices

Fundamentalist texts on music are replete with comments on how *not* to sing, calling out many practices as inappropriate: vocalists should avoid most movements; they must not scoop or slide into pitches, bend notes, or delay or intentionally slow their vibratos; and they must not use breathy, groaning, sighing, or gravelly vocal techniques.¹¹⁷ Though fundamentalist writers rarely give directives on how to sing, their praise of classical music and musical training presents that general style as the obvious,

¹¹⁵ Ingalls, “Awesome in This Place,” 207.

¹¹⁶ Ingalls, “Transnational Connections,” 440. See also 437-41.

¹¹⁷ Their writing is often a criticism of specific, named vocal techniques combined with a directive to their readers to not sing in such ways. See representative critiques by Bachorik, *New Heart, New Spirit, New Song*, 101-103; Fisher, *Harmony at Home*, 103; Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 92-7; Hamilton, *Why I Don’t Listen*, 39-46; and Smith, *Music and Morals*, 95-7. Hamilton distinguishes between the grace notes found in classical music and the sliding and scooping she associates with a sensual popular style, *Why I Don’t Listen*, 42-3. Fundamentalist writers also criticize screaming and yelling, but these techniques are somewhat set apart from those coded as “sensual” in a sexual sense. Notably, fundamentalist vocalists avoid cry breaks, but these are not named in fundamentalist literature on music, though some writers reference strain on the voice, and Bachorik criticizes a “crack” in the voice, *New Heart, New Spirit, New Song*, 103. Kayes’s *Singing and the Actor* provides a technical overview of these vocal techniques and how they are physically accomplished.

even binaristic, alternative to music in popular styles.¹¹⁸ Classical vocal performance norms discourage both most movements outside of staged performance, as well as most paralinguistic additions to the realization of notated music.

The performance practices that fundamentalist vocalists train to avoid are employed by other vocalists to express a wide range of emotions and, in so doing, aid listeners' impression of vocalists' truthfulness. Simon Frith notes that emotional expression in classical genres "is a matter of musical organization" wherein "the sound of the voice is determined by the score," while vocalists singing in popular styles have wider interpretive options.¹¹⁹ Serge Lacasse argues that vocalists can express emotions that seem truly their own (if the vocalist sings as themselves) or their song's character because of the technical exactitude with which they replicate the verbal sounds of "everyday" language and "stylize" them.¹²⁰ But nearly all the emotional sounds he discusses—popular music examples chosen from striking but relatively representative songs—are the sounds of emotions fundamentalists do not wish to have present in their music such as anger, fear, sexual desire, and pain.¹²¹ Similarly, Nicola Dibben shows how movement can be a seeming window into the true self of a popular vocalist, but

¹¹⁸ Hamilton goes so far as to set "the pop singing style" in direct contrast "to what is called a legitimate singing style" (by which she means a more classically trained vocal style) in *Why I Don't Listen*, 14; see also 39. Later she describes the "legitimate" and "pop" styles as being on opposite ends of a spectrum, 71.

¹¹⁹ Frith, *Performing Rites*, 186.

¹²⁰ Lacasse, "The Phonographic Voice," 226-7. Lacasse draws on linguist Fernando Poyato's model of paralinguage, which allows for the classification of hundreds of discrete vocal sounds, 228-30.

¹²¹ Lacasse, "The Phonographic Voice," *passim*.

these movements, like the emotions Lacasse references, are almost all ones fundamentalists find distracting to a song's message.¹²² The movements she discusses include pantomiming and dancing, but the category of "adaptors" — "small movements of which one is often unaware, such as tossing the hair or scratching the face" — are particularly important because they are often perceived as showing a vocalist's authenticity since they seem out of their conscious control.¹²³ Because adaptors are in fact out of the control of many amateur vocalists (think of a repetitive hand movement), fundamentalist vocalists train to avoid them as a matter of professionalism. Furthermore, as I discuss further in regards to testimony and persona, the seeming glimpse into a performer's inner self is irrelevant to fundamentalist vocalists because their ministry is predicated on their public and private selves being the same.

While fundamentalists' training to eliminate adaptor movements is largely about avoiding distractions, most of their criticism of other performance practices that connote truthfulness stem from their perception that those practices are sexually expressive or entertaining. This is especially the case with paralinguistic utterances like cry breaks, bent notes, and whispers — what Frith describes as the "sounds of pain, lust, ecstasy...vocal noises that seem expressive of [singers'] deepest feelings because we hear

¹²² Dibben, "Vocal Performance and the Projection of Emotional Authenticity," 321-8.

¹²³ Fundamentalists would allow many versions of these movements in secular settings. Dibben synthesizes a number of other scholars' models to arrive at her categories.

them as if they've escaped from a body that the mind—language—cannot control."¹²⁴ Such techniques give the impression of a vocalist's authentic emotions but are particularly singled out by fundamentalists for censure. These techniques also connote musical styles associated with African Americans; Olly Wilson describes several key attributes of "black music" including "a common approach to music-making in which a kaleidoscopic range of dramatically contrasting qualities of sound (timbre) in both vocal and instrumental music is sought after. This explains the common usage of a broad continuum of vocal sounds from speech to song."¹²⁵ In contrast to this aesthetic, fundamentalist vocalists stick to a narrow range of songlike techniques, and in the context of sacred music, they almost never veer into the range of speech.¹²⁶

The difference between the vocality of fundamentalist vocalists and preachers underscores this distinction between speech and song. Unlike vocalists, fundamentalist preachers have a much more expansive vocal range that they often deploy for rhetorical effect. Though many preachers use a style similar to college lecturers', they are by no means limited to a conversational volume and speaking style—they can shout and whisper or use character voices when narrating a story, for example. This latter style can be seen as an aggressive or dominant display, especially among preachers influenced by fundamentalism's militancy. According to Joel A. Carpenter and Betty A. Deberg,

¹²⁴ Frith, *Performing Rites*, 192.

¹²⁵ Wilson, "Black Music as an Art Form," 3.

¹²⁶ Their singing styles for "fun music" (discussed in Chapter Two) can include speech elements.

fundamentalist pastors' preaching style and rhetoric has historically been warlike and "bullying," in part due to fundamentalists' self-assertions of masculinity in reaction against Christianity's characterization as overtly feminine in Victorian culture.¹²⁷ While many pastors in the BJU circle of fundamentalism have tended toward more moderate demeanors in recent years, they have continued to invite evangelistic speakers to their churches (such as BJU's now-president Steve Pettit) who preach in much more aggressive modes and use a far greater range of sonic and physical devices than do singers.¹²⁸ Beyond the greater authority that preachers have in the context of fundamental church services, their speaking is culturally associated with reason and masculinity whereas singing is associated with the body and femininity. Even though preachers in fact can engage their bodies in much more visible ways than do vocalists and project a wider range of emotions than do vocalists, their associated masculinity and the reason of their medium—sermons—keeps them from dangerous connotations that vocalists would have if they deployed comparable techniques through the medium of song.

¹²⁷ Carpenter describes "brow-beating from the pulpit," sometimes veering into "bullying," as an increasingly typical aspect of sermons in the 1930s and 1940s in *Revive Us Again*, 66-7. See Deberg, *Ungodly Women*, 76-86 on the decreasing power of women in fundamentalism, and 86-98 for an extended treatment of warlike and masculine rhetoric by fundamentalist leaders.

¹²⁸ Fundamentalist leaders' writing styles have similar moderated in recent decades, but praise for "fighting fundamentalists" was common at least into the 1990s by those in BJU circles. See for example, Beale, *The Pursuit of Purity*, 357; and Jones Jr., introduction to Dollar, *A History of Fundamentalism in America*, vii.

Finally, fundamentalist vocalists continue the legacy of musical criticism of popular vocal techniques dating to the 1920s when crooners' "soft, trembling, often sensually breathy sounds" and their sliding and scooping approach to melodic realization began to be heard on recordings and on radio and were intended and perceived as signs of sincerity or authenticity.¹²⁹ The litany of complaints against crooners around the 1930s includes many that fundamentalists make against popular music: "In addition to effeminacy, crooners were subject to a range of contradictory descriptors, including being immoral, immature, sensuous, base, coarse, profane, imbecilic, primitive, untalented, abnormal, insincere, artificial, pretentious, and corrupting of the nation's youth."¹³⁰ Effeminacy, McCracken argues in her work on crooners in the 1920s and 1930s, was the foremost charge against crooners, and that their "popularity...instigated the imposition, for the first time, of masculine norms for voices on a mass scale in American society."¹³¹ At the same time, the vocal practices that were praised by authorities like the American Academy of Teachers in Singing—namely, classical practices—were comparable to "other forms of masculine body-building or self-discipline in vogue at the time."¹³² These authorities argued that "public singing was intended not primarily for self-enjoyment or as a means of personal expression but for the appreciation and erudition of others. It was to be the product of long-term study and

¹²⁹ McCracken, *Real Men Don't Sing*, 3.

¹³⁰ McCracken, *Real Men Don't Sing*, 5.

¹³¹ McCracken, *Real Men Don't Sing*, 4.

¹³² McCracken, *Real Men Don't Sing*, 19.

professional training, where it could be carefully developed and monitored.”¹³³ While fundamentalists’ own writings on music are rarely explicitly concerned with effeminacy, these other values permeate their approach to vocal performance, demonstrating the reach these values have across a century.

In contrast, evangelicals using popular styles have rejected this older viewpoint, both in its disapproval of crooning performance practices and in its historical ramifications in which, as McCracken’s book title makes clear, *Real Men Don’t Sing*. Evangelical vocalists are men in even higher proportions than are fundamentalist vocalists—that is, very high. And they clearly intend to express personal authenticity through the styles fundamentalist find sexually connotative. Facial expressions are an especially vivid example evangelicals’ break with older interpretations of performance practices. Like many secular popular vocalists, evangelical vocalists often portray their intensity by furrowing their brows while tightly closing their eyes and narrowing their cheek and mouth muscles—what Ingalls describes as “contorting the face into a serious, impassioned expression” that, along with “straining to reach certain notes,” is a way many evangelical popular vocalists convey authenticity.¹³⁴ Outside of a musical context, this facial expression usually accompanies the Valsalva maneuver (sometimes modified by an open glottis) used during activities like orgasm, defecation, and weight lifting, but

¹³³ McCracken, *Real Men Don’t Sing*, 19.

¹³⁴ Ingalls, “Awesome in This Place,” 211.

it is particularly iconic of orgasm. Its use by secular artists seems unremarkable, but evangelicals' adoption of it demonstrates the gulf between their and fundamentalists' understandings and uses of popular performance practices.

Fundamentalists' Testimony versus Popular Vocalists' Persona

Only the area of personal testimony bears any great semblance to how it is deployed by popular artists to convey sincerity or authenticity, but fundamentalist vocalists do not signal any knowing participation in using their testimonies in this way. Frith suggests three simultaneous areas that relate to the perception of authenticity or sincerity in a vocalist's performance—that of the vocalist's own self (i.e. a singer being "personally expressive"), of the their "star personality" (or, star persona), and of their "song personality" (the persona of a song's character).¹³⁵ While the first is least likely to be accessible to listeners in a popular music setting, it is the most relevant to the context of fundamental church services. As members of the congregation or another similar congregation, vocalists strive to be "personally expressive" as they sing, in the sense that their testimony must accord with their singing—indeed, some vocalists that I interviewed only choose songs that they have personally found to be spiritually beneficial before sharing them with their fellow believers. But the star persona and song persona, while certainly present in a fundamentalist vocalist's performance, are far less

¹³⁵ Frith, *Performing Rites*, 186, 212. Auslander labels these areas the "real person," "performance persona," and "character" in analyzing physical movement during vocal performances, in "Musical Persona," 305-309.

apparent in their circles since both are taken to be one and the same as the vocalist's true self.

In the relatively small circle of fundamentalism, if a congregant does not personally know a vocalist, they are still within a few degrees of separation from each other. Such social proximity heightens the perception that the vocalist's true self is one and the same as their star persona, such as it is. For example, while many people listening to the performance of Hamilton's "You Are Good" discussed above in the introduction do not know him personally, his star persona is wedded to his own self in an almost indistinguishable way, and the character of the song's first person narrator declaring that God is good is similarly taken to be the same as Hamilton himself. At the same time, extra-musical elements such as Hamilton's spoken references to his son's death serve to intensify the perception of his own sincerity because they reveal at least a part of his actual private life, a move that Rupert Till argues is commonly used by secular artists to convey authenticity to their fans.¹³⁶

In discussing persona as it pertains to evangelical vocalists who use a popular style, Allan F. Moore argues that singing (unlike speech) necessarily involves a vocalist and the vocalist's persona, and he further argues that evangelical popular music styles cue listeners to interact with vocalists' personas as they would with secular popular

¹³⁶ Till, "Singer-Songwriter Authenticity, the Unconscious and Emotions."

vocalists' personas.¹³⁷ He maintains that this is the case even when these evangelical vocalists are singing as worship leaders along with a congregation—a situation that he calls in his title an “inherent contradiction in worship music.” Whether or not Moore’s views are actually the case is debatable, but his emphasis on the connection of popular music styles with the necessity of a vocalist’s persona seems to accord with fundamentalists’ thinking that popular music styles always constitute entertainment. Fundamentalists, in eschewing popular vocal techniques, remove what they would consider a barrier to their ministry and, in so doing, further the understanding of vocalists as *not* having a performance persona when singing in a church service. My discussion of testimony and amateur vocalists in the following section further reinforces this interpretation, since their ability to sing in church is so closely linked with their testimonies.

Vocalists’ Personal Testimony and Their Authority to Minister

The amateur vocalists’ ministry—more specifically, vocalists with limited or no formal vocal training—does not necessarily adhere to the performance practices discussed above, but it conforms to a higher standard: both more and less trained vocalists must have good personal testimonies to minister in church services. In this conclusion, I examine the spiritual authority that vocalists have as they minister—authority predicated on personal testimony. Then I problematize the archetypal amateur

¹³⁷ Moore, “On the Inherent Contradiction in Worship Music,” 184-5.

vocalist's ministry — what many BJU music faculty members called the “country” vocalist: the acceptable ministry of country vocalists is coded as white but a similar perceived lack of training counts against vocalists using a vocal style more clearly influenced by popular music styles coded as African American.

Pastoral Authority and Preaching

The authority of pastoral leadership is extended to individual vocalists, giving them limited but substantive leadership roles in a church service. Vocalists' authority is derived from their pastor's implicit approval of their singing and in their institutional role as ministers, but their testimonies are the ultimate basis of their authority. This section deals with vocalists' position in the institutional hierarchy of most fundamental churches and how vocalists' singing can be considered a kind of preaching.¹³⁸

Fundamentalist pastors have historically occupied the top position in their churches' organizational structure. Nancy Tatom Ammerman describes the power relationship between congregants and pastors as like that of all social power relationships under their understanding of a biblical model: “At home, there are husbands and fathers to be obeyed; at work, there are bosses and in the government, there are duly elected officials.”¹³⁹ In most churches, this deference to pastoral authority

¹³⁸ Some churches that are loosely affiliated with BJU have a much more diffuse organizational structure than the majority, as with some Presbyterian churches and some Bible churches that govern through a group of church leaders (usually called elders), one of whom is roughly equivalent to the “senior pastor” of more baptistically-structured congregations but with more limited institutional power.

¹³⁹ Ammerman, *Bible Believers*, 56. See also 120-33 for pastoral authority in the local congregation.

does not mean that congregants never hold different views from their pastor or pastors, but rather, that they are expected to not make those differences contentious or to leave and find a different church to belong to. This is not because most fundamentalists expect uniformity on matters that they believe pertain more to opinion than doctrine, but because they expect deference to spiritual authorities—children to parents, wives to husbands, laity to clergy. Jim Berg, BJU's Dean of Students from 1981 to 2010, frames submission to God-given authorities such as pastors not just as deference but as obedience, asserting, "*A God-fearing believer will submit to his authorities. He will not be disobedient, demanding more freedom.*"¹⁴⁰ Even if an authority's leadership "is unreasonable" but not "unbiblical," the lay person is not only obligated "to submit" but also to "learn to want what our authorities want—because that is what *God* wants for us until our authorities change their minds."¹⁴¹ While Berg writes as an advocate for this system, many fundamentalists have for decades noted that it allows for and even encourages authoritarian behavior from leaders.¹⁴² However, regardless of a specific pastor's means of expressing his authority or a particular church's choice to diffuse or concentrate that authority through its organization of leadership positions, the pastoral position and its chief role as preacher carries with it great spiritual authority.

¹⁴⁰ Berg, *Created for His Glory*, 260, emphasis his. See also Moritz, "*Be Ye Holy*," 37-42.

¹⁴¹ Berg, *Created for His Glory*, 266, emphasis his.

¹⁴² For fundamentalists' comment on the potential for abuse of power, see for example, Dollar, *A History of Fundamentalism in America*, 105-43, and *The Fight for Fundamentalism*, 6; and McLachlan, *Reclaiming Authentic Fundamentalism*, 22-52.

Vocalists, as people who “speak” with spiritual authority from the pulpit, take on greater spiritual responsibility than those ministering in most other lay roles (though anyone who ministers in a fundamental church is expected to have a personal testimony that displays their active commitment to following Christ) because they are communicating the message as a kind of preacher: they are communicating theological truth that often is intended to persuade listeners to action.¹⁴³ Drew Conley, a fundamentalist pastor of an approximately 1,000 member congregation, highlights this gravity by describing vocalists as “preachers” and exhorts them to use theologically-sound lyrics and musical styles that complement those messages, warning, “Preaching that is vague and ambiguous is dangerous, and teaching that is false is deadly. The same thing is true of music.”¹⁴⁴

Theoretically, vocalists can be barred from this ministry if they select such “vague and ambiguous” music, sing in unaccepted ways, or if their personal testimony is found wanting. One interviewee notes that singing is a public testimony of private life, and just as pastors aren’t permitted to preach when their private life contradicts

¹⁴³ “[T]he same principles that apply to preaching apply to the way in which truth is sung. Both methods of presenting truth are important to the life of the Church, and with both presentations we must be concerned with form. In reality, sacred music is a form of preaching; it preaches to the heart through the head,” Aniol, *Worship in Song*, 245. Similarly, Foster equates vocal solos with preaching by outlining three areas vocalists use to preach—musical style, lyrics, and performance practices (“dress, mannerisms, body movements and vocal style”), *A Spiritual Song*, 60-1.

¹⁴⁴ J. Drew Conley, “Biblical Light on Music” (sermon, Hampton Park Baptist Church, Greenville, SC, July 10, 2005), audio file, <http://www.sermonaudio.com/sermoninfo.asp?SID=71305115636> (accessed July 10, 2014).

their public one, neither are vocalists.¹⁴⁵ Several others point to “pride,” especially pride in one’s own singing abilities, as a disqualifying trait (see this chapter’s earlier discussion of pride). Such barring is likely to be informal, in that the person who administers a church’s music schedule could eliminate musicians or reduce their frequency on the schedule. However, no interviewees pointed to actual occurrences of this happening in their churches, just to its possibility.

Representative of actual practice are Garlock and Woetzel’s criteria based in testimony for musicians who minister in the church: musicians “should know the Lord as their personal Savior, possess a good testimony, be members of that church, and be faithful attenders of all the services unless prevented by unusual circumstances.”¹⁴⁶ Interviewees also mentioned the occurrence of helping vocalists select and sing songs in more stylistically acceptable way, and of seeing perceived pride as an opportunity for discipleship by encouraging humility in ministry. Furthermore, at least some fundamental churches (two that were mentioned to me) have discontinued all solo singing in their services, apparently over concerns about musicians’ pride in their abilities.

An odd result of this conceptualization of solo singing as preaching, is that female vocalists’ singing can be thought of as preaching, despite fundamentalists’

¹⁴⁵ Warren Cook, interview with author, April 2, 2015.

¹⁴⁶ Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 173.

consistent prohibitions against women preaching and most other speaking in church services.¹⁴⁷ Fundamentalist literature does not address the seeming anomaly. In evangelical churches that use music in popular styles, women are often supporting vocalists but less frequently lead vocalists, and the playlists of Christian radio stations are heavily weighted toward male vocalists.¹⁴⁸ In contrast, fundamental church services and recordings features female vocalists in similar proportions as male vocalists, and their ministry has the full blessing of male church leadership.

Testimony and the Ministry of a “Country” Vocalist

The performance practices used by trained vocalists in fundamental church services are associated with classical music, an elite European art form, and fundamentalist authors criticize techniques they associate with a lack of education and with sexual expression, which are also techniques with stylistic roots in African American music-making. In contrast to this paradigm, another voice associated with limited education and with poverty or the working class, but that is coded as white, is allowed and even welcomed on the grounds of ministering to as many as possible, provided that the vocalist sing in this “country” style with good intent and a pure

¹⁴⁷ Women can minister to other women in formalized leadership positions in fundamental churches (e.g. a woman who teaches a women-only Sunday School class), but not to groups of men and women, such as a typical congregation gathered for a Sunday service. Occasionally female missionaries, particularly unmarried ones, are allowed to speak from the pulpit to a mixed-gender congregation, but these talks are not sermons.

¹⁴⁸ Busman discusses women musicians and their less frequent singing and almost non-existent instrumental playing in comparison with male musicians at the evangelical Passion conferences, practices that reflect common practice at many evangelical Megachurches in “(Re)Sounding Passion,” 193-6. For radio frequency, see for example playlists available at www.klove.com (accessed January 9, 2017).

heart.¹⁴⁹ Here, the BJU-centric scope of my research is at its most crucial, since influences of country music, bluegrass, and southern gospel are far less common in BJU circles than in other fundamentalist ones.¹⁵⁰ Though fundamentalists in the BJU orbit write against country music, their critiques are directed at country music's formerly folk style having been sinfully influenced by popular music especially in terms of rhythm, but they do not usually critique the twang of country vocal styles.¹⁵¹ While country music is not an exclusively or even primarily white art form across its history, its consumption by white listeners and its production of nostalgia lead to its perceived whiteness.¹⁵² Both reasons likely contribute to the "country" vocal sound's acceptance in fundamental churches since a number of interviewees mentioned, usually off-record, that they occasionally listened to country and bluegrass music, especially when those styles reminded them of their youths. Furthermore, the way several interviewees discussed the "country" vocalist suggested that they believed many congregants in their churches listened to country music.

¹⁴⁹ On the middleclass perception of country music as a musical genre of uneducated, working-class people, see Hubbs, *Rednecks, Queers, and Country Music*, 23-50.

¹⁵⁰ Chris Williams and Shellie Beeman, both at a church in Indianapolis at the times of interview, highlighted the stylistic differences, noting that while their church did not use country styles (especially a vocal "twang"), many churches further west of them did. Beeman, interview with author, July 30, 2014; Williams, interview with author, July 30, 2014. Bluegrass was the style used by now-BJU-president Pettit's traveling evangelistic team, a fact that caused much consternation among some at BJU when Pettit's appointment was announced; see Chapter One for further discussion of his installation.

¹⁵¹ See Fisher, *Harmony at Home*, 52, 101-109; Foster, *The Spiritual Song*, 101-118; and Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 144-9. Some authors also suggest that they think their readers have been tempted to substitute country for popular music; see Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 144-9; and Peck, *Rock Music*, 116.

¹⁵² Mann, "Why Does Country Music Sound White?"

The archetypal “country” vocalist—a term several interviewees used along with “hillbilly” and “redneck” to describe people with southern, western, Appalachian, or simply rural backgrounds—lacks classical vocal training, may sing with a timbral twang, and might also scoop into pitches (especially when executing an upward leap into a different part of their register) instead of landing on them precisely.¹⁵³ Older country vocalists are more likely to sing with more rubato than rhythmic precision. These performance practices, especially the twang and scooped pitches, might seem to automatically rule out such a soloist’s ministry, and the same *would* rule out the ministry of a vocalist with classical voice training and who was steeped in fundamentalist musical traditions, one who is expected to hew closely to accepted performance practices. But many fundamentalists grant wide latitude to the “country” vocalists because they are amateurs whose personal intent is judged worthy—amateurs giving their best to God.¹⁵⁴ To use a fundamentalist idiom, “their hearts are in the right place” and cannot be expected to use the performance practices of a tradition in which they have not been trained.

¹⁵³ Bill McCauley, for example, referenced the “hillbillies” at his church in Greenville, saying that he himself was a “Tennessee hillbilly” by background; interview with author, January 23, 2015. Hamilton notes that an amateur’s slide into a note due to inability is not necessarily a sensual vocal effect, in contrast to intentional slides in popular vocal styles, *Why I Don’t Listen*, 43. On very rare occasions, a classically trained fundamentalist vocalist might scoop into a pitch, as on “I Wonder as I Wander,” on Bob Jones University Chorale and Symphony Orchestra, *Proclaim His Birth* (1996); perhaps the scoops on this song were chosen as a stylistic effect for a folk melody.

¹⁵⁴ Dwight Gustafson makes this point clear when he says, “A simple Christian in a small country church might sing a different song on a Sunday morning than I would sing, and the Lord will use and bless his ministry. He’s giving his very best to the Lord.” Gustafson continues to discuss the importance of giving one’s best to God. *Show My People*, episode 30, 1977, 18:06-19:44.

In contrast, vernacular singing coded as African American is not accepted in fundamental churches, even with a vocalist's good testimony. One interviewee, a music director who declined to be named, recounted the experience of an African American woman in his congregation who sang, in her words, "like [her] grandmother." During the sound check for her solo, she received criticism for her singing style and so changed it in the subsequent service, but because of the criticism, chose not to sing a solo in the church again. Though the interviewee made it clear that he disagreed with his church's collective interpretation of her singing style (because it took prohibitions against sexual singing styles so far as to eliminate what he viewed as an acceptable "folk" style), the end result was still the literal silencing of the congregant's voice.

Some fundamentalists discuss these prohibitions through the lens of cultural suitability, arguing that what is appropriate in one culture may not translate with the same meaning into another. For example, a voice faculty member told me about visiting a church in Africa. She praised "the clapping and raising of hands," saying that, "it's ok there, not in South Carolina—it's about, as I said, cultural connotations."¹⁵⁵ Similar reasons are given by British Anglican churches who struggle to open their traditions to more diverse vocal types, a struggle that, according to June Boyce-Tillman, is apparently motivated by stylistic historical precedent.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ Christa Habegger, interview with author, March 1, 2014.

¹⁵⁶ Boyce-Tillman, "Tune Your Music to Your Heart: Reflections for Church Music Leaders," 57.

In the opening fieldnote to this chapter, I described how personal spirituality and perseverance of faith through tragic circumstances aided the effective ministry of vocalists like Hamilton and the Gibbs, as their reputations enhanced the perception of their sincerity while singing in concert. A similar scenario takes place with country vocalists, except in the case of these amateurs, their singing is not subject to the same depth of criticism. Missionary and music professor Douglas Bachorik writes, for example, that “[w]hen people present special music, it’s not time to critique their singing; it’s time to think about what message they are communicating. Perhaps they aren’t the most gifted musicians, but we can learn from their life, and from their song.”¹⁵⁷ Indeed, though fundamentalists are often concerned with vocalists’ techniques, it is each individual’s personal testimony that is non-negotiable: “The person with the best voice in the church is not necessarily the best qualified to sing the solo before the message. Growing up in a particular church or holding a degree from a Christian college is not in itself sufficient scriptural qualification for ministering music in the church.”¹⁵⁸ Rather, Fisher writes, “the standard of Christlikeness in the life of the performer” is

¹⁵⁷ Bachorik, *New Heart, New Spirit, New Song*, 45. He continues: “This is the beauty of music in the local church. Of course, we want to give God our very best.”

¹⁵⁸ Fisher, *The Battle for Christian Music*, 126. Similarly, Sweatt writes, “A person finding himself with talents and abilities should feel a profound sense of responsibility to develop his talents and to use them for God,” and argues that a musician “must be available, prepared, and practiced with an understanding of his privileges and corresponding responsibility. But, the power of God must also be present. There is no useful service apart from God’s blessing. Without the power of God, the most carefully prepared musician becomes but ‘sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal,’” *Church Music*, 33.

what is truly essential.¹⁵⁹ A bad testimony wrecks the vocalist's potential for ministry, but a good one shows God's power to transform individuals' lives and give them a new song—and amateurs and professionals alike are called to that reality in their lives.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹ Fisher, *The Battle for Christian Music*, 126.

¹⁶⁰ "Performers must be Christlike because they validate that the Bible is what it says it is. The Bible says that when we are saved we become new creatures, yet there are many claiming to be saved who look and sound like the world. Why should anyone give himself to a God who does not seem to be able to change lives? Worldliness makes a mockery out of a profession of faith. If we indeed are ministers of God, we must live up to the scriptural standard of ministers," Fisher, *The Battle for Christian Music*, 126.

5. Models of Listening and Virtual Space in Recorded Music

Fundamentalists' theology of music is often made aurally manifest in causal ways, in that their beliefs usually result in practices through an explicitly and intentionally linear process. Some aspects of belief and practice fall outside the lines, demonstrating the logic's boundaries, omissions, and anomalies that often seem small in the greater scheme of fundamentalists' overarching philosophy. But this chapter takes up a more significant feature than the rest: I argue that music is, for fundamentalists, dangerous in its very nature.

This argument moves beyond their discourse's most straightforward statement about music, which is that musical styles and individual pieces are *either good or bad*. A deeper belief about how music affects listeners grounds this moral dichotomy: music controls listeners in a way that they are largely unable to resist. Because of this power, music is, ontologically speaking, dangerous like fire is, with its great potential for utility when contained but its correspondingly great potential for devastation if unrestrained. A listener can learn to manage music's intrinsic dangers by choosing only morally good music, but any music will still affect them: music cannot be a neutral backdrop but must always enter the body, controlling behavior and shaping moral character. Indeed it seems that this perceived passivity, this loss of personal control while listening is the crux of fundamentalists' understanding of music: their apprehension towards anything

that lessens the control of the mind over the body suggests that their views are directly opposed to the actual physicality of music in its insistent entrance to the body.

In this chapter, I examine fundamentalists' approach to recorded music because the lack of performers' visible physical presences on recordings underscores how fundamentalists' concerns about music's intrinsic dangers are about musical sound itself. Musical sound is the dangerous factor that must be controlled for music to be useful (not primarily elements like performers' appearances or movements). When restrained, recording allow music's benefits to extend beyond church services and into daily lives and homes, making them a large part of fundamentalists' ministry through music.¹ For similar reasons, I limit my discussions to sound (and not sound and the moving image, though there are obvious visual parallels to the sonic impressions of sexual intimacy that fundamentalists strive to avoid) to more fully focus on this aspect of fundamentalists' understanding of music. A secondary reason for my focus on recorded music is that, though fundamentalists' views on listening apply to both live and recorded music, they generally express them through a discussion of recordings because they usually assume that live experiences are obvious in their sexual expressions while recordings present a less-obvious and correspondingly more insidious danger.

¹ In private life, fundamentalist individuals can choose to listen to recorded music nearly constantly in waking-hours, and even play music for their sleeping babies and small children. Most strikingly, The Wilds Camp and Conference Center uses music not only in services, but also broadcasts it across open-air spaces and pipes it into dormitories and other buildings.

This belief that music controls listeners, even sometimes unwillingly or unwittingly, dates back millennia, as discussed in Chapter Two, with fundamentalists developing historical models to argue that music's power must be carefully controlled and embraced only after thorough vetting. In broader evangelicalism, however, this same power is taken to be universally good, leading some to argue that music can be used for personal listening and evangelistic outreach regardless of its style.

Musicologists and other scholars writing on music have made similar claims about music's potential control of listeners (or, viewed from another angle, listener's susceptibility to music's control). Like fundamentalists, musicologists often conceptualize this control in sexual terms, but their specific models of listening differ from fundamentalists' in the particulars. Fundamentalists tend to think of music's possibility to be pornographic—music's ability to cause listeners to lust for musicians or to arouse listeners without a specific object of desire.² But some scholars, notably Suzanne G. Cusick, Sam Abel, and Fred Maus, treat music as a listener's sexual partner,

² Sensual music is compared with pornography, as, for example, Fisher asks the reader if they would be unaffected by movies or pornography, suggesting that it would be equally preposterous for someone to expect to be unaffected by listening to sensual music, in *Harmony at Home*, 167. More generally, when discussing the dangers of sensual music, fundamentalists tend to equate aural sensuality with visual sensuality; see for example; Fisher, *Harmony at Home*, 139; Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 183; Smith, *Let Those With Ears to Hear*, 92. Authors suggest that people do not seem to experience aural sensuality with as much force as visual counterparts possibly because of habituation, comparable to the desensitizing effects that changing clothing fashions in the twentieth-century had on perceptions on what was acceptable in public; see for example, Hamilton, *Why I Don't Listen*, 68.

comparing the act of listening to music to sexual intercourse.³ Imbuing this scholarship is the knowledge that such musical control causes discomfort for some people, even if it is also the source of listeners' pleasure. Maus, for example, argues that the analysis of musical scores can be theorists' maneuver away from having to address their own pleasure in listening to music, and Cusick's assertion of her relationship with music as a valid topic for scholarly insight is written in light of other musicologists' aversion to the topic.⁴ However, some scholars push against these viewpoints; for example, Jonathan Sterne critiques the view of sound as a "special case" in terms of physical responses to it, arguing that it is rooted in flawed Christian teachings that should not be adopted by secular scholars.⁵

Both fundamentalists' model and the models of listening proposed by scholars like Cusick, Abel, and Maus rely on a belief that listeners are physically susceptible to music, in that listeners cannot easily keep from hearing sound waves. While eyes can be

³ See especially Abel, *Opera in the Flesh*, 79-96; Cusick, "On a Lesbian Relationship with Music"; and Maus, "Masculine Discourse in Music Theory." In the views of scholars like Maus, this model make music a dominant partner over a passive and/or submissive listener. Cusick, on the other hand, describes a more egalitarian relationship between music and a musician-listener in which they give and take power. Similarly, scholars like Koestenbaum in *The Queen's Throat* and Poizat in *The Angel's Cry* see the potential for listeners' intense, and likely sexual, pleasure in music. Abel takes this model much further, positing a sexual relationship between music and listener that can lead to literal sexual climax in the listener. In contrast to this listener-music relationship, McClary in *Feminine Endings* posits sexual tension within music itself and compares sexual climax with the teleological climax that structures much of Western art music.

⁴ Maus focuses on what he argues is one particular outworking of this anxiety, namely the tendency among music theorists to confine their studies to the notated page rather than opening their analyses to listening experiences—a rejection of passive/feminine listening and instead, an active/masculine gaze on what is controllable. Such a dichotomy in approach need not be the reality for theorists, as Cumming helpfully points out in *The Sonic Self*, 274-84.

⁵ Sterne, *The Audible Past*, 14; see also 10-19 and "The Theology of Sound."

closed to avoid unwanted sights, ears cannot be so easily or so thoroughly closed off, nor can they respond as some other sensory organs do (eyes are both seen and can see, skin is touched and can touch)—a relative physical passivity that leads some, like Jacques Derrida, to link ears with vaginas.⁶ For fundamentalists, listeners' emotional and physical experiences are almost entirely beyond their control from the moment music is heard. In other words, listeners can be unwillingly held in music's sway, leading some fundamentalists to comment that their readers may want to avoid situations where music in popular styles is audible, especially if a reader has only recently stopped listening to it habitually.⁷ In contrast, scholars like Cusick, Abel, and Maus imply that listeners can choose to let music influence them: listeners must be willing to be the recipients of the music's effects, even if they must always physically hear audible music. Similarly, other Christian groups that understand music to be good or bad do not always insist that bad music will necessarily have bad effects on listeners, as Smith notes in her work on an African American fundamentalist congregation.⁸

Fundamentalist author and musician Tim Fisher highlights this distinction in response to the hypothetical query "I'm strong enough to handle any type of music.

⁶ Derrida, "Tympan," in *Margins of Philosophy*.

⁷ See for example, Peck, *Rock*, 117-8.

⁸ Members of this congregation understand blues music as "literally music of the devil" (259) but some will listen to it at home because, as one deacon put it, "I believe you can have something and it not be a part of you. I'm not afraid of my faith is what I guess I'm saying. ... I can listen to Aretha Franklin, I can listen to Patti LaBelle, but it doesn't have to become a part of me," in Smith, "Music and Religiosity among African American Fundamentalist Christians," 260.

What if the music doesn't affect me the way you say it does?"⁹ First, he implies music does in fact "affect [listeners] the way" he describes elsewhere in his book, even if someone mistakenly thinks it does not. Second, he argues that the question itself is fundamentally misguided: "The question is not, 'Can I handle this?' but rather, 'Am I pleasing the Lord by doing this?'"¹⁰ Indeed, the question can never be "Can I handle this?" in Fisher's framework because listeners cannot refuse music's influence. "We are in a dangerous position," he asserts, "when we proudly affirm that we cannot be affected by music that clearly communicates a morality foreign to Scripture."¹¹ Even listeners who do not seem to feel the influence of bad music are not truly immune to it, only seeming this way because they have dulled their senses to it.¹² Because listeners cannot escape the influence once in the act of listening, it behooves them to choose only good music in the first place and for fundamentalist musicians to do their part in ensuring a safe, beneficial listening experience.

Because of the music's danger, fundamentalists' main concern is listeners' participate in it. Music is never a neutral background but always something that listeners engage with, either to good or bad effects. In the case of recorded music, listeners can participate with it in good ways, such as when they are given the impression of becoming a fellow music maker with the recorded ensemble or of

⁹ Fisher, *Harmony at Home*, 167.

¹⁰ Fisher, *Harmony at Home*, 167.

¹¹ Fisher, *Harmony at Home*, 169.

¹² Fisher, *Harmony at Home*, 169. He writes that "we are all capable of deadening our consciences."

listening to a vocalist minister in song just as would happen in a live church service. But they can also participate in negative ways, as when a vocalist seems to sing sensually in a listener's ear.

While fundamentalists understand instrumental and vocal music to both have the potential to be good or bad, their concerns over music's dangerous nature are particularly evident when discussing vocal music so this chapter often focuses on the voice as a prime site of investigation to make the broader point about how fundamentalists conceive of music's fundamental dangers. The importance of the voice is especially noticeable when considering the framework that undergirds how fundamentalists' conceive of listeners' participation in music. In this conceptual framework, singing voices engage in a one-sided conversation with listeners (a vocalist is talking *to* listeners, not simply overheard by them), and the in-person experience of physical proximity is equated with the impression of physical space and distance that amplified voices give listeners in both live and recorded music. (While this chapter focuses primarily on recorded music, the model of a one-sided conversation applied to both live and recorded music, so in this context, I discuss both.) In this framework, people listening to unamplified live music experiences the distance between themselves and a vocalist, but people listening to *amplified* live music will likely experience two distances from a vocalist: both their actual physical distance from each other (such as the distance from a particular spot on the stage to a particular seat) and the distance from

the vocalist's mouth to the microphone as a listener's ear becomes roughly equivalent to the microphone. When listening to a recording, a listener will similarly experience both whatever virtual proximity is suggested as well as the apparent distance from microphone to mouth. For example, listening to a recorded voice that seems three feet away is effectively the same experience as listening to someone singing or talking three feet away in person, and hearing a close-miked vocalist, whether live or recorded, is effectively the same as having one's ear next to the vocalist's mouth.¹³ Fundamentalists take this conceptual framework so literally that the virtual proximity they allow between a listener and a recorded singer is equivalent to the physical distance that would be socially acceptable were they to meet in person.

The following sections provide several interpretations of this viewpoint and its ramifications. First, I examine how recorded music functions as a vehicle for ministry in song, and how the goal of ministry affects aspects of recording including the use virtual space. Second, I connect fundamentalists' understanding of lust and its origins with their views on "sensual" (i.e. sexual) music; this and the following section on the types of intimacy implied by virtual space provide examples of how music's intrusive nature can be deployed in both good and bad ways. Then, I show how other factors, including financial constraints and aesthetic preferences, affect their recordings' use of virtual

¹³ For singing as conversation between singer and listener, see for example, Bachorik, *New Heart, New Spirit, New Song*, 102-3; Hamilton, *Why I Don't Listen*, 42; and Smith, *Let Those Who Have Ears to Hear*, 22. All of these sources depict a scenario which asks the reader how she/he would feel if a "sexy" or "sensual" recorded voice were talking with the reader's spouse with that same tone in person.

space. Finally, I circle back to a participatory model of listening by examining fundamentalists' philosophical understanding of the relationship between live and recorded music, suggesting that both have equal influence over listeners.

The recordings I discuss here have been released by the following entities: SoundForth (BJU's in-house music publishing company from 1990 until it was sold in 2012), The Wilds Camp and Conference Center (Brevard, NC), Majesty Music (a publisher), and Sacred Music Services (hereafter SMS; primarily a record label), as well as music groups that release albums and sometimes publish arrangements, such as the Steve Pettit Evangelistic Team (hereafter Pettit Team) and the Galkin Evangelistic Team (hereafter Galkin Team). Most of these recordings have been made in three recording studios—BJU's own recording studio, Aire Born (Zionsville, IN), and Brightwater Digital (Greenville, SC)—and as part of my research, I visited the first two studios and interviewed engineers affiliated with them. Though BJU has released recordings since the 1930s, I focus primarily on recordings made since the 1980s because music from this time span reflects fundamentalists' need to provide alternatives to popularly styled Christian music (before the rise of the Worship Wars in the late 1960s, recordings made by fundamentalists were not so much alternatives to other kinds of sacred music as they were part of the many kinds of sacred music fundamentalists found acceptable) and because that is approximately when several other fundamentalist companies I include here began to release recordings.

Ministry through Recorded Music

As with live music in church services, the foremost purpose of fundamentalists' recorded music is ministry. When I brought up "the purpose of recordings" in an interview with Mac Lynch, who for decades dealt with the production of recordings at The Wilds, he, without a moment's hesitation, declared the purpose to be "discipleship." All music, Lynch said, should be "exalting to the Lord," theologically "didactic," and "confronting" (i.e. confrontational about a person's sin). By being these things, recorded music can disciple its listeners.¹⁴

Using recorded music to extend the power of morally uplifting live music into daily life goes back to the early years of recording in America: Mark Katz describes how phonographs were used in the first decades of the twentieth century in music education programs, especially those in rural areas, under the belief that this dissemination of recordings "could foster positive social change" because of classical music's benefits to listeners.¹⁵ Recorded music could be listened to repeatedly—a crucial feature of recordings that allowed listeners "to differentiate good music from bad, and to help listeners appreciate the classics."¹⁶ Recordings allow fundamentalist listener to learn to distinguish between good and bad music, and to listen to good music on a regular basis—both key ways of living out their philosophy of music.

¹⁴ Mac Lynch, interview with author, February 4, 2015.

¹⁵ Katz, *Capturing Sound*, 57. See especially 57-62. See also Morton, *Off the Record*, 28-32.

¹⁶ Katz, *Capturing Sound*, 60-61.

Fundamentalist recordings are specifically designed to bring the music of church services into private life, and there is a long history of this particular purpose of fundamentalist music, perhaps most famously by Rudy Atwood and the Old Fashioned Revival Hour Quartet on the eponymous radio show that reached 15-20 million listeners on Sunday afternoons in the 1930s and 1940s.¹⁷ But while these earlier recordings and radio shows may have had some purpose as an alternative to worldly music, recordings from the last few decades are more explicitly seen in this way since the rise of the Worship Wars and fundamentalists' more explicit stance against popular music. Fundamentalists do not need popularly styled Christian music when they can fill their soundscapes with music they consider good on physical recordings, downloads, internet radio stations like Joyful Meditations and the Bible Broadcasting Network (BBN), and traditional radio from sources like BBN's 130+ stations across the U.S.¹⁸

Besides being a soundtrack for daily life, recordings also minister by facilitating spiritual meditation, especially during an individual's daily "quiet time" — a time that can include activities like prayer, Bible reading, devotional readings, and writing a journal filled with spiritual insights or prayers. Harriet A. Harris explains that, "[w]hile [quiet times] are intended partly for the acquisition of biblical knowledge, and Bible dictionaries and commentaries are generally considered to be helpful aids, their primary

¹⁷ Gasper, *The Fundamentalist Movement*, 78. For fundamentalist radio programming in the 1930s and 1940s, see Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, 124-40.

¹⁸ Joyful Meditation, joyfulmediations.org (accessed May 1, 2016); and Bible Broadcasting Network, bbnradio.org (accessed May 1, 2016).

aim is that the believer develops his or her relationship with God. It is expected that through one's prayerful meditation on the scriptures, God will speak some personal truth or bring guidance for one's present circumstances."¹⁹ Recorded music, especially when sung along with, can support this daily practice and aid in a continuously spiritual mindset throughout the day.

Fundamentalists' use of recordings is similar in this way to that of other evangelicals, who often treat recordings, along with other spiritually-marked commodities, as part of a "lifestyle" imbued with worship.²⁰ Anna E. Nekola argues that marketing for this lifestyle "offers the potential to display both difference and membership in a community...; it offers pleasure and experience...; and it offers the possibility of not just self-improvement, but also spiritual transformation."²¹ While fundamentalists' focus is not on the same kind of "worship" as that in the broader evangelical sphere—one where "worship is an 'experience' that should 'overwhelm' the listener with feeling"—they similarly include the experience of listening to recordings under the umbrella of an explicitly Christian lifestyle.²²

¹⁹ Harris, *Fundamentalism and Evangelicals*, 199. See also 199-204.

²⁰ Nekola, "Negotiating the Tensions of U.S. Worship Music in the Marketplace," 523-6. See also Nekola, "The Promise of Transformation in the Marketing of Worship Media," which discusses private listening and worship; and Porter's ethnographic discuss of the experience of worship music in and outside of church services in *Contemporary Worship Music and Everyday Musical Lives*.

²¹ Nekola, "Negotiating the Tensions of U.S. Worship Music in the Marketplace," 526.

²² Nekola, "The Promise of Transformation in the Marketing of Worship Media," 127-8.

Yet, as with the recordings made in broader evangelicalism, fundamentalist recordings' ministry is reliant on present recordings' profit so future recordings can be made.²³ Live music in church services and publications like sheet music require no or comparatively small financial outlays to produce, and the musicians heard in church services are rarely paid for their ministry.²⁴ In contrast, the professional recordings that fundamentalist companies release require several tens of thousands of dollars to pay those involved in their making (from musicians and graphic designers to sound engineers and recording studios), so if a recording did not recoup its production costs, that loss would jeopardize the production of future recordings.²⁵

In contrast, recordings made under BJU's SoundForth label (1996-2012) were not necessarily constrained by a need for profit since BJU underwrote them.²⁶ Instead, they needed to fulfill three interrelated purposes, according to directives from then-presidents Bob Jones III and Stephen Jones to SoundForth's business leaders and album producers. First, these albums needed to provide BJU's constituents with sacred music

²³ According to some interviewees, profit was not as much a necessity with SoundForth recordings compared with recordings released by other entities. Interviews on this point include Rick Nichols, interview with author, April 6, 2015; and Kurt Stephens, interview with author, April 6, 2015.

²⁴ Some music directors, who may for example direct a choir or sing a solo, are paid staff of the church, and some musicians may be given an honorarium; however, the vast majority of musicians in fundamental services are exclusively volunteers in those settings. Music groups like the Galkin Evangelistic Team could be said to be at least partially driven by profit in their performances in church services, since those performances encourage the album sales that are a part of these musicians' livelihoods.

²⁵ According to Mac Lynch, the music division of the Wild's had to be financially self-sufficient, and profits from recordings enabled sheet music publishing, interview with author, February 4, 2015.

²⁶ Information on SoundForth recordings drawn from Warren Cook, interview with author, April 2, 2015; Rick Nichols, interview with author, April 6, 2015; Kurt Stephens, interview with author, April 6, 2015; and off-the-record interviews.

that has a “high aesthetic” (as one interviewee described the style) but that could reach listeners who would not tend to choose sacred art music. Second, this “accessible” but still “high quality” music needed to evangelize unbelievers. These first two goals reflect BJU’s longstanding approach to attracting non-fundamentalists and especially non-Christians through high culture events such as their opera productions and through their Museum and Gallery (which boasts an immense collection of Baroque religious art), as Camille K. Lewis demonstrates in her work on BJU’s interactions with outsiders.²⁷ Third, by reaching BJU’s constituents, the recordings needed to promote the school to prospective students and their parents and pastors. Because of this last purpose, SoundForth’s albums were generally the explicit product of BJU student and faculty musicians and, as such, had to be recorded in the Greenville vicinity, often using student musicians with limited prior experience making recordings. This necessity, though it resulted in higher production costs than comparable recordings by other fundamentalist companies, was also seen as a compelling attraction for prospective students, since they could hope to be part of a future recording.

Virtual Space and Listeners’ Participation in Recorded Music

One important aspect of recordings’ ministry is their encouragement of listeners’ participation in the music, as their use of reverb and echo, compression, equalization,

²⁷ Lewis, *Romancing the Difference*, which examines BJU’s interactions with outsiders through Kenneth Burke’s rhetorical framework of comedy and romance; see especially 59-60 and 131. See also Turner, *Standing Without Apology*, 189.

and microphonic staging, give listeners the impression of being in the same physical space as the recorded musicians.²⁸ This is not to deny that live performance can elicit a more “intensified participation” than recorded, but to say that recorded music can invite this participation and is expected by fundamentalists to do so reliably.²⁹ Fundamentalist authors’ statements on the danger of sexually connotative recorded music imply that recorded music will affect listeners just as strongly as live music (perhaps even more strongly given the relative privacy allowed when listening to recorded music versus live), though at least one fundamentalist author suggests that the live performance of classical music can offer a listening richer experience than a comparable recording.³⁰

The physical impressions that these effects elicit can be discussed through three main features: the location where sound is made, the physical arrangement of sound sources within that location, and the listener’s position in relation to the first two. Allan F. Moore theorizes these factors, especially the arrangement of sound sources within a location, through his sound-box model—“a four-dimensional virtual space within which

²⁸ Reverb and echo refer to the length of time required for a reflected sound wave to come back to a listener after the original sound was made, the length of which gives listeners both an impression of the size and physical construction of the virtual space they are in, as well as their distance from the source of sound; these elements can be present during a recording session or added afterwards. Compression limits the range of decibel levels on individual tracks or a mix, thereby opening the possibility of a clearer sound that can seem closer to listeners. Equalization, when used to make a sound seem closer, boosts middle and high frequency ranges since those are more quickly lost than lower ones as a sound source moves away from listeners. Microphones can be used for the effect of close-miking, which suggests that a musician, especially a vocalist, is close to the microphone.

²⁹ Barker argues that “intensified participation” is a key element of live music in “Live at a Cinema Near You,” 20. See also similar arguments in Radbourne, Johanson, and Glow, “The Value of ‘Being There.’”

³⁰ Peck, *Rock*, 116, 141.

sounds can be located through: lateral placement within the stereo field; foreground and background placement due to volume and distortion; height according to sound vibration frequency; and time.”³¹ To this can be added the size and material of the sound-box and the listener’s position vis-à-vis the sound-box, though neither is Moore’s primary analytical concern.³² Because fundamentalist recordings are intended to correspond to live settings, the comparison is analytically useful, but along with scholars like Katz, I would argue that recordings are their own performances, not simply an aid to score study or a way to hear a version of a live performance.³³

In a church service, the only typical spatial relationship between musicians and listeners is that of the space between platform and pews. But fundamentalist recordings present several more spatial relationships. The first approximates the live church setting, though the location is likely more reverberant than an actual fundamental church.

³¹ Dockwray and Moore, “Configuring the Sound-Box,” 181. Moore first proposes the sound-box model in *Rock*, 105-10. For further elaboration on the model and its application to understanding recording norms in rock music, see Moore, “Where Is Here?,” and Moore and Dockwray, “The Establishment of the Virtual Performance Space in Rock.” Other taxonomies of virtual space are summarized and proposed by Zagorski-Thomas in “The Stadium in Your Bedroom,” see especially 252. Doyle criticizes the sound-box model’s reliance on stereo technology in *Echo and Reverb*, 24-7, and throughout this text, he demonstrates how virtual space was created on monaural recorded music.

³² Regarding the listener’s position in relation to the sound-box, see Middleton’s discussion in “Popular Music Analysis,” 179.

³³ Katz, *Capturing Sound*. In a slightly different argument, Gracyk sees a difference between recordings of rock music (and other genres that originated primarily as recorded music) and genres that primarily predate recording. For rock and related genres, the recording is the primary artifact whereas, “[f]or musical traditions in which works routinely circulate by means other than recording, performance retains ontological priority over recordings. (One can have performance without recordings, but not vice versa.)” *Rhythm and Noise*, 38. Even though recordings are not the primary medium for fundamentalist music, I treat them as artifacts in their own right, not just as means by which to review live performances. Day shows how this use of recordings by musicologists is a relatively late development in the field, *A Century of Recorded Practice*, 228-31.

Recording artist Terry Snow describes it as a “stage sound where you’re taking it in from the second row” and the sound of being “right across the room from somebody.”³⁴ The second produces a similar reverberant location, but places the listener much closer to the musicians, as if the listener is the conductor of the musical ensemble. Max Masters, a sound engineer at BJU for over thirty years, describes this as being “across the kitchen table,” while Warren Cook (BJU’s director of choral activities) describes it as “close, in your ears recording.”³⁵ The third situates the listener within the musical ensemble (what Lynch describes as the sound of being “in the middle” of a musical ensemble).³⁶ The last is the mostly likely of the three to suggest that the musicians’ location is a studio rather than a church or small concert space.

From the 1980s to the present, fundamentalist recordings have gradually shifted in their use of virtual space. Earlier ones are more likely to suggest the platform-to-pew environment, while later ones, especially those released since about 2005, are more likely to use the second and third options. While these shifts map onto similar changes in non-fundamentalist music in related styles, such as recordings of bluegrass or classical choral music, interviews with producers (discussed later in this chapter), demonstrate that models of participatory listening are among their priorities. The Pettit Team’s albums

³⁴ Terry Snow, interview with author, November 10, 2011.

³⁵ Max Masters, interview with author, November 22, 2011; and Warren Cook, interview with author, April 2, 2015.

³⁶ Mac Lynch, interview with author, February 4, 2015. He describes this sound as “being in the middle of everything,” and clarifies that is it not the same as surround sound.

reveal this change, though their recordings only began to be released in the mid-1990s. Their earlier recordings tend toward an idealized platform-to-pew acoustic, especially in the sound of vocalists.³⁷ But on their last album, *Before You Now* (2012), listeners seem to be in the studio, jamming with the ensemble, while the guitars and vocalists are so closely-miked that their finger squeaks and breaths are audible.³⁸

This shift over three decades is especially notable because it is among the main features fundamentalist recordings have in common in terms of their technological production.³⁹ Other recording features vary depending on the producer and musical group. For example, the ways vocal ensembles are recorded and produced varies greatly among recordings released in the 2000s. On Pettit Team and Galkin Team albums, the timbres of individual vocalists are often distinguishable from the rest of the ensemble, whereas on SoundForth recordings, vocal ensembles usually have the timbral consistency of a classical collegiate choir, and on many recordings released on the

³⁷ See for example, "Weep No More," on Steve Pettit Evangelistic Team, *Weep No More* (2002). As is common on albums by other fundamentalist groups, quieter instruments like guitar like are often close-miked for the sake of audibility, regardless of the virtual space and proximity of the other musical elements on the recording.

³⁸ For mid-2000s albums with a shift toward third category, see for example, Steve Pettit Evangelistic Team, *Creator of All* (2006) and the instruments-only album, *A Firm Foundation* (2008). For this sound of their last recording, *Before You Now* (2012), see especially tracks "Shout to the North," "I'll Never Forsake You Now," and "Still, My Soul, Be Still." For an earlier, contrasting example of recorded guitar, see "O Love Divine," Steve Pettit Evangelistic Team, *O Love Divine* (2000).

³⁹ Compare, for example, the vocal staging on Ron Hamilton's 1981 album *Rejoice in the Lord* versus on the vocal tracks on the Hamilton Family's 2016 album *Shepherd of My Soul*; or the orchestral placement on Bob Jones University Symphony Orchestra, *Blessed Assurance* (1989) with its staging on Bob Jones University Student Body, *Complete in Thee* (2014).

Majesty Music label, the vocal ensemble is usually timbrally homogenous because it consists of only a few vocalists whose tracks are layered multiple times.⁴⁰

Listeners' Susceptibility to External Influence

Among the various ways of conceptualizing music and listener interaction discussed above in the introduction, the model expressed in fundamentalists' philosophy of music relies on a comparison of sexual music with pornography. This model works on two premises. First, fundamentalists treat lust as the practically inevitable result of exposure to any potentially arousing object, and music's deleterious effects (including but not limited to lust) are similarly inevitable. Second, lust originates with the object of desire, rather than with the person who desires, and music's bad effects similarly originate with the music rather than with the listener.⁴¹

This understanding of lust, susceptibility to it, and personal responsibility for it, illustrates the core of fundamentalists' understanding of listeners interaction with music: listeners are essentially malleable in the hands of music, either to their benefit or their detriment depending on the music itself. Listeners can be influenced by whatever they allow into their soundscape, whether willingly or not. So the best way to prevent

⁴⁰ Both the SoundForth and Majesty albums are likely to have layered vocal tracks; the timbral contrast is between degrees of homogeneity; compare BJU Singers, *Promises* (2010) with Hamilton and Hamilton, *Look Up* (2014).

⁴¹ Some fundamentalists might argue that the potential for lust and other transgressions is already in a person's heart and things like pornography and sexual music simply elicit those sins. However, the practical result is the same: something outside a person causes that person's almost inevitable, sinful response.

negative musical influences is to avoid bad music in the first place, and the best way to have good musical influences is by choosing only good music to listen to.⁴²

This model has other important implications. First, it suggests that sexual desire is permissible in and of itself, and is only problematic when inspired by or directed at a non-spouse. Second, not all fundamentalists disavow sexual music entirely, but rather, some do allow for sexual singing between spouses. Third, fundamentalists' concerns over "sensual music" are not so much about musicians expressing themselves sexually as they are about a listener's potentially lustful response to such music. So, while authors focus on directing musicians to avoid "sensual" musical techniques, their directives are not written as if to musicians who actually intended to express themselves sexually. Finally, musicians have the responsibility to avoid any musical techniques that might unwittingly cause a listener's sin and, in so doing, distract from the music's message.

In this section, I examine this model and its implications by first looking at how responsibility for lust is framed in fundamentalist devotional literature and how it relates to its broader cultural and historical contexts. I then illustrate how this understanding of lust illuminates why sexual music is so troubling for fundamentalists, showing that the concern is not over sexual desires themselves but of sexual desires not

⁴² Listeners do seem to be afforded more agency when listening to sacred music—music whose lyrics they can choose to actively engage with (see discussion in the context of instrumental hymn arrangements in Chapter Three).

caused by and directed toward a person's own spouse (the marriage here is assumed to be heterosexual since fundamentalists uniformly teach that homosexual relationships are sinful).

Moral Responsibility for Lust

Fundamentalists most clearly express their views on responsibility for lust when they discuss women's clothing, although a displacement of responsibility sometimes occurs in other areas. Consider this representative commentary by Jim Berg (BJU's Dean of Students from 1981 to 2010) that frames a woman-being-viewed as the source of lust while describing a male viewer as basically powerless against his lust:

A women who dressed in a sexy fashion to attract a man erodes the character of every man who views her as her clothing seduces him to lust after her in his mind. [Berg's footnote: A women may not be dressing that way to attract a man, but to be thought of as 'cute' among her friends. As long as what is deemed 'cute' is 'sexy,' the effect upon the men who see her is the same though her intention may be different.] She may attract a man by her immodesty, but the kind of man she will get will bring her great disappointment because he will have no character, and she has helped to destroy it. He has to abort his

commitment to Christ to lust after her, and his lack of self-control has thwarted any further development of moral strength or courage.⁴³

Similar discussions take place in broader Evangelicalism. Women and girls are expected to conform to standards of dress and comportment not only out of religious obligation but also because of their consideration and even Christian love for men, especially Christian men: by choosing modest clothing, women show love and care to their male counterparts, who are unable to stop themselves from lusting if they see a woman in immodest clothing.⁴⁴ Immodesty, on the other hand, is usually described as resulting from a person not really understanding how her choices influence others, not from ill will or evil intent on her part. Tim LaHaye and Beverly LaHaye write, for example, that if women “realized the thought problems which their indecent exposure causes the average man, many of them would dress more modestly.”⁴⁵

Fundamentalist musicians are encouraged to avoid sensual music techniques in similar language as women are encouraged to dress modestly: writers seem to think that musicians might cause lust inadvertently, not deliberately. The musicians’ willingness to self-limit their creative expressions seems quite reasonable given this context: what

⁴³ Berg, *Essential Virtues*, 166.

⁴⁴ See for example, Etheridge and Arterburn, *Every Young Woman’s Battle*, 89-96; and Paulson, *Emotional Purity*, 48, 55, 107. Fundamentalists often recommend evangelical texts like these. For example, one large Greenville-area church includes many evangelical texts on its “Recommended Resources” page on “Moral Purity,” including texts about sexuality. One of these (Gresh, *The Secret Keeper: The Delicate Power of Modesty*) is described as “For the parents of middle school aged girls” (emphasis theirs). See Calvary Baptist Church (Simpsonville, SC), “Recommended Resources: Moral Purity,” <http://calvarysimpsonville.org/resources/recommendations/moralpurity> (accessed April 19, 2015).

⁴⁵ LaHaye and LaHaye, *The Act of Marriage*, 30-2.

devoted Christians would want to cause listeners to sin (and thus to sin themselves) and, in so doing, prevent any possibility of ministering to them? Even secular performances by fundamentalists take care in this area. While BJU routinely produces operas and plays that could lend themselves to productions that might incite lust, directors and actors strive to prevent this by bowdlerizing texts (for example, cutting Act 4's garden of delights with Helen of Troy and her companions in productions of Arrigo Boito's *Mefistofele*), and by careful choreography that suggests, but does not realize, amorous physical interaction between unmarried actors.⁴⁶ However, unlike their general commentary on lust's marked tendencies to single out women and women's attire for comment and to assume that men are much more likely to lust than women, fundamentalists' commentary on lust-causing musical techniques is not usually directed at women musicians in particular, except in regards to musicians' appearances.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ BJU's student newspaper describes their 2015 production of Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew*: "[T]his is the first time BJU has not used a married couple to portray the play's main couple, making for some interesting and, at times, humorous responses to Petruchio's repeated line, 'Kiss me, Kate.' 'Some of the challenges we've had is there are so many kisses that [Petruchio and Katherine] have to have, and we're not going to have [the actors Philip Eoute and Annette Pait], who are married to other people, kiss each other,' Stegall said. As a result, Stegall dubs the play their 'creative stage-kissing production' and said they have come up with some creative solutions to the problem." Nathan Pittack, "Taming of the Shrew To Be 'Rip-roarin' Good Time,'" *The Collegian*, November 14, 2014, <http://www.collegianonline.com/2014/11/14/taming-of-the-shrew-to-be-rip-roarin-good-time/> (accessed April 23, 2015).

⁴⁷ Fundamentalist authors very occasionally grant that women might lust for male musicians; see for example, Makujina, *Measuring the Music*, 47. Their discussions of musicians' appearance have much in common with commentary on women's clothing. For example, Lucarini writes that by working together on a praise band (a common designation for the vocal and instrumental ensemble leading a church services in a contemporary Christian style), musicians open themselves up to adultery—"If you put hot-blooded males and females into a passionate rock music group [i.e. the praise band], there will be strong temptation for sexual sin," *Why I Left*, 71. He argues that men are likely to lust for female musicians, especially when

Historical and Cultural Contexts

Such displacement of moral responsibility is hardly a recent development in fundamentalism. Betty A. Deberg details fundamentalists' criticism of changing women's fashion and sexuality in the early twentieth century (changes that were seen as increasingly immodest and sinful) to argue that fundamentalists' condemnation of lust-inducing clothing or behavior, instead of or in addition to lust itself, and the focus on women's responsibility to protect men from their passions, signaled a shift of moral responsibility from an individual onto another—in this case, a woman and/or her clothing.⁴⁸ For example, in a sermon published in the 1940s, Bob Jones Sr. asserts that the biblical characters Samson, Herod, and Felix all sinned because of the influence of their female partners, declaring, for instance, "It was a woman [Drusilla] who stood in the gate of Heaven and shoved Felix down to Hell. Listen! There are millions of men being damned by women!" and then rhetorically emphasizes the point: "Oh the grip of a woman's power over a man!"⁴⁹ Broad assertions like these not only dealt with women's supposed sexual appeal but also, Margaret Lamberts Bendroth argues, upended the previously-accepted Victorian wisdom that women were more intrinsically spiritual

women dress "immodestly," or when men and women (but especially women) "dance and sway in a worldly manner, while they sing praise and worship songs to God. [...] When you combine the sensual dancing with immodest dress of the women on the platform, you place a *very large* stumbling block in front of the men of the congregation," *Why I Left*, 71, emphasis his. See also 34, 70-74.

⁴⁸ DeBerg, *Ungodly Women*, 69, 99-117.

⁴⁹ Jones [Sr.], *Bob Jones' Revival Sermons*, 124-5.

than men and replaced it with “the belief that it was men, not women, who had the true aptitude for religion.”⁵⁰

Like their tendency to sexualize women’s bodies far more than men’s bodies, and to assume heterosexual scenarios where men lust for women but rarely the reverse, fundamentalism’s displacement of moral responsibility for lust is an iteration of the mainstream American cultural tendency to blame women for any unwanted sexual attention they receive from men. Such an attitude results in startling statements about music by fundamentalists. Musician and author Shelly Garlock Hamilton, for example, claims that the music of female African slaves caused their rape by slave traders.⁵¹ Similarly, sexual abuse and rape victims are regularly blamed for these crimes in mainstream American society.⁵² Even fundamentalists’ well-established antipathy to “feminism,” as they understand it, is not at all uncommon in mainstream American views.⁵³

⁵⁰ Bendroth, *Fundamentalism and Gender*, 3. See also 32, 41-53, 112; and Deberg, *Ungodly Women*, 43, 59-74.

⁵¹ Hamilton, *Why I Don’t Listen*, 30. Hamilton attributes this view to the slave trader turned Anglican cleric and abolitionist John Newton and bolsters her argument with it.

⁵² That victims of rape are often blamed for the crime is well-established in scholarly studies. See for example, Grubb and Turner, “Attribution of Blame in Rape Cases”; Loughnan et al., “Sexual Objectification Increases Rape Victim Blame and Decreases Perceived Suffering”; and van der Bruggen and Grubb, “A Review of the Literature Relating to Rape Victim Blaming.” BJU’s institutional responses to victims of sexual abuse also suggests victim blaming; see GRACE, “Final Report,” 47-56.

⁵³ See for example, Grudem, *Evangelical Feminism*, and *Evangelical Feminism and Biblical Truth*.

Sensual Singing Between Spouses

This line of thinking about the source of lust illuminates why sexual music is so troubling for fundamentalists. It is not that people must never have sexual desires, but that they should only be caused by and directed toward a heterosexual person's own spouse. For example, missionary and music professor Douglas Bachorik asserts that the problem with sexual music is not hearing the musical sensuality, *per se*, but hearing it from a non-spousal source.⁵⁴ The sexual feelings music elicits are sinful only because they are caused by listening to a non-spousal singer, *not* because they are brought on by music in general. In fact, both Bachorik and pastor Dean Kurtz allow for sexual singing between spouses, since for fundamentalists, theirs is the only kind of legitimate sexual relationship and thus the only site of legitimate sexual expression.⁵⁵ Similar statements on sexual desire occur in fundamentalist and evangelical commentary suggesting that sexual fantasy or mental desire as well as physical pleasure is allowable, but only when directed toward a person's spouse.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Bachorik, *New Heart, New Spirit, New Song*, 89. Hamilton suggests a slightly different view by mentioning that she knows Christians who listen to music in popular styles in order "to get...in a romantic mood with their spouse," and she does not make an explicit judgment against this practice, in *Why I Don't Listen*, 80. Hamilton's only stated concern is that "if Christians listen to CCM at home, eventually CCM will not bother them at church either," 81.

⁵⁵ Bachorik, *New Heart, New Spirit, New Song*, 89; and Kurtz, *God's Word*, 159-63.

⁵⁶ When these sources do mention a "good" version of sexual fantasy, they exclusively focus on women's fantasies toward their husbands, though not explicitly forbidding men's fantasies toward their wives. For a fundamentalist source on this area, see especially Fremont and Fremont, *Becoming an Effective Christian Counselor*, 160-2, which recommends sexual fantasy as a strategy to combat female frigidity. See also the evangelical text McBurney and McBurney, *Real Questions, Real Answers*, 177. In some sources, the allowance for sexual fantasy is coupled with warning against lust; see LaHaye and LaHaye, *The Act of Marriage*, 246-8; and McBurney and McBurney, *Real Questions, Real Answers*, 177, 237-41. Approval for sexual

Musician and author Dan Lucarini makes a similar argument against public displays of spiritual intimacy with God, but not against that kind of intimacy itself, contending, “Just as the intimacy of a marriage relationship should be kept private, I also believe that demonstrating deep spiritual intimacy with the Lord is best kept private.”⁵⁷ Though believers may want to develop a closer relationship with God and misguidedly think spiritual intimacy can be achieved through a particular kind of church service, they are instead “[giving] Satan more opportunities to ensnare and bring about the spiritual downfall of many unsuspecting victims,” as Satan uses the intimacy of the services to weaken their “sexual inhibitions” and urge them toward “sexual immorality.”⁵⁸

Fisher takes issue with sexuality itself in music. He argues that sexual expression in music is not anything that Christian spouses would want in their sexual relationship, describing it as “unbridled, without restraint or modesty,” and without “taboos.”⁵⁹

desire and physical pleasure within the context of heterosexual marriage is a common theme throughout the history of broadly evangelical resources. Notable sources in addition to LaHaye and LaHaye’s *The Act of Marriage* (1976) include in chronological order: Rice, *The Home* (1945); Geldenhuys, *The Intimate Life* (1952); Miles, *Sexual Happiness in Marriage* (1967); Wheat and Wheat, *Intended for Pleasure* (1981); and Leman, *Sheet Music* (2003). However, Berg explicitly recommends *against* LaHaye and LaHaye’s *Act of the Marriage*, “because of the mixture of contemporary psychological views of man with the biblical view of man and their prevailing “give-to-get” focus,” Jim Berg and Pat Berg, “Recommended Reading List,” www.jimberg.com/downloads/bergfamilyresources.pdf (accessed February 26, 2017).

⁵⁷ Lucarini, *Why I Left*, 73.

⁵⁸ Lucarini, *Why I Left*, 72-3.

⁵⁹ Fisher, *Harmony at Home*, 122, and interview with author, March 3, 2014. “Rock musicians have stated without any hesitation that the sensuality of their music is unbridled, without restraint or modesty. Is

Because of this, musical sexual expression cannot be part of a Christian's life (it is not, for example, analogous to the poetry of the scriptural Song of Songs: unlike music in popular styles, that biblical text has "modesty" and "restraint," and, most importantly, "love"), and a married person should not sing with pop-inflected sexuality to their spouse.⁶⁰

Types of Intimacy in Amplified and Recorded Music

The impression of physical proximity between a vocalist and listener on recorded music can be used to evoke a feeling of intimacy, an effect that has been deployed at least since directional microphones began to be used regularly in the 1930s.⁶¹

Fundamentalists usually associate this closeness with sexual intimacy, so their recordings avoid certain production techniques like close-miking vocalists (something that they also avoid in amplified live music). But sexual intimacy is not the only kind of intimacy that physical proximity can suggest.

this the physical relationship you want to have with your spouse as a Christian? Is this the type of love that you would foster? Without taking on the role of marriage counselor, let me state that there are better ways of building a physical relationship than through the perverted, twisted message of rock music. Romantic music is fine in its place and time, but the perversion that most rock offers is contrary to anything that would promote a healthy Christian physical relationship built on loving and giving instead of lust," *Harmony at Home*, 122.

⁶⁰ Fisher, interview with author, March 3, 2014. To my knowledge, the Song of Songs' sexually-explicit scriptural poetry has not been set to music by fundamentalists.

⁶¹ McCracken, *Real Men Don't Sing*, 237.

Nicola Dibben argues that virtual proximity is used on popular music recordings as a component of the “the star system, within which the private life of a celebrity is an important part of their public persona.”⁶² But as I discussed in Chapter Four in relationship to sincerity and authenticity, fundamentalist musicians do not have a star persona, at least in the same way as popular musicians. Even for professional fundamentalist musicians, their public and private lives must be in accord in the sense that their public actions are taken as evidence of their true self (see Chapter Two for discussion of testimony), neither can they adopt a character in which to sing sacred music. In other words, the kind of intimacy that Dibben describes is irrelevant to fundamentalists’ recording process because they have no star persona to maintain.

Furthermore, fundamentalist listeners do not need to feel that they know a fundamentalist musician’s true self as they might if listening to a popular music star, first because a vocalist’s personal testimony—their life as it is visible to others—is taken to be a direct result of that person’s inner state. And second, because they actually do know the person they are listening to, or if not, their degrees of separation between them are significantly reduced and they could conceivably know the person. For example, I could convey a personal message to any fundamentalist I wished to while conducting my research and talked with people who are personal friends of even the most prominent fundamentalists. Both conditions would be reasonably possible to most or all

⁶² Dibben, “Vocal Performance and Emotional Authenticity,” 321.

fundamentalists, but had I conducted a study on a popular music star would like have been impossible.

However, virtual intimacy can also be coded as familial or collegial. Many fundamentalist recordings suggest this kind of intimacy by situating listeners within a musical ensemble, as if the listener were making music alongside the recorded musicians. Furthermore, some of these recordings suggest a conversational space as if a vocalist is telling their story—their testimony—to listeners. In this way, they recreate the sincerity of their live performances, especially of music explicitly connected with their personal life (as was the case with the live performance by Ron Hamilton discussed in Chapter Four). In this kind of intimacy, fundamentalist recordings recall conversational intimacy used in some early microphone singing and spoken radio broadcasts in the 1920s and 1930s—a virtual space that Paula Lockheart argues made singers and announcers “[seem] like visitors in people’s homes.”⁶³ It was no mistake that then-president Franklin D. Roosevelt’s radio broadcasts were called “fireside chats,” and that he spoke in a “familial, friendly tone.”⁶⁴ So too, fundamentalist vocalists may communicate “from across the kitchen table,” as Max Masters put it—a space close enough for a warm word of testimony but far enough away to avoid any untoward impression of sexuality.⁶⁵

⁶³ Lockheart, “A History of Early Microphone Singing,” 376.

⁶⁴ Lockheart, “A History of Early Microphone Singing,” 376.

⁶⁵ Max Masters, interview with author, November 22, 2011.

Sexually Intimate Virtual Space

When discussing virtual space, fundamentalist authors usually focus on vocalists and close-miking. Frank Garlock and Kurt Woetzel provide the most extensive commentary on the topic, suggesting three “zones” for face-to-face conversations where the size of the zone determines the number of people allowed in it.⁶⁶ The two larger include zones for “most conversation and personal communication” and for “very close friends or family members,” while the smallest—the “intimate zone”—is “a space of one to two inches and touching” and for only the closest family members, especially a spouse.⁶⁷ The unnamed “sociologists” that Garlock and Woetzel derive their schema from likely draw on Edward T. Hall’s anthropological field of proxemics—the space between people in their interactions—which divides such space into intimate, personal, social, and public zones (Garlock and Woetzel only discuss the first three of these).⁶⁸ Garlock and Woetzel argue that recordings and live performances approximate this intimate zone through microphone singing—singing where “the microphone is clutched

⁶⁶ Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 95-6. The only other relatively extended treatment of virtual space in recorded music comes in an appendix in which Daniel Skubik and Bernadette Skubik write of “auditory ‘space’”: “Slower rhythms of music tend to fill this auditory space with an overall sense of continuity and positive holistic compatibility. The fast rhythms of rock music tend to break up this space, regularly producing perceptions of sharp angles and dark colours because of the sharing in auditory and visual space by polysensory neurons. This preservation or breaking of space in turn mediates behaviour: experiments have shown variations in levels of agitation and anxiety linked to types of behaviour (such as lowering the threshold for irritability or impatience) while slower rhythms produce calming effects,” in Blanchard and Lucarini, *Pop Goes the Gospel*, 189.

⁶⁷ Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 95-6. Regarding the “intimate zone,” see also Foster, *The Spiritual Song*, 38 and 61.

⁶⁸ Hall, “A System for the Notation of Proxemic Behaviour” and *The Hidden Dimension*. For Garlock and Woetzel’s reference to “sociologists,” see *Music in the Balance*, 95.

and caressed as it is held virtually touching the lips of the performer” – finding this intimacy to be not only sexual but also physically intrusive.⁶⁹

Musicological scholars similarly apply proxemics to the analysis of virtual space. Allan F. Moore, Patricia Schmidt, and Ruth Dockwray propose three categories of musical characteristics for Hall’s four zones – “Distance” (which they subdivide into the distance between persona and listener, and the level of “intervening musical material” between the them), “Persona/environment,” and “Articulation of persona.”⁷⁰ In the first category, distance between persona and listener range from very close/touching to a “sizeable distance,” and the musical material between them ranges from nothing to a “high degree.”⁷¹ In the second, vocals move from the front to the rear of the sound-box as the zones move from intimate to public, and the persona moves from in front of the environment to within and at the back of it.⁷² In the third, the persona is expressed in the intimate zone through whispers and other clearly audible sounds of breath, likely coupled with intimate and/or sexually coded vocals addressed to an individual, while in the public zone, persona is expressed with loud, even shouted, vocals addressed to a big

⁶⁹ Garlock and Woetzel, *Music in the Balance*, 96. They write, “When was the last time you had about a four-minute discussion with a member of the opposite sex (other than your wife or husband) only one to two inches apart? That conversation took place the last time you listened to any one of the popular secular or Christian vocalists who employ the previously mentioned technique. It may have been a one-way conversation, yet it took place within your intimate zone. Your intimate zone was violated without your knowledge or consent.”

⁷⁰ Moore, Schmidt, and Dockwray, “A Hermeneutics of Spatialization for Recorded Song,” 102-3. Regarding the application of proxemics to the analysis of virtual space, see also Moore, “One Way of Feeling,” 215-6.

⁷¹ Moore, Schmidt, and Dockwray, “A Hermeneutics of Spatialization for Recorded Song,” 102-3.

⁷² Moore, Schmidt, and Dockwray, “A Hermeneutics of Spatialization for Recorded Song,” 102-3.

audience.⁷³ But Moore, Schmidt, and Dockwray's analysis is markedly different from Garlock and Woetzel's in one key aspect: Garlock and Woetzel take this use of space to be literal (i.e. the actual musician sings into the actual listener's ear) whereas the use of "persona" makes clear its fictional nature within a musical piece.⁷⁴

Other fundamentalist writers make similar arguments against close-miking and accompanying vocal techniques, though they do not usually describe their objections through the use of zones. Hamilton, for example, writes that "[w]hen you combine a sensual singing style with the intimacy obtained by the use of a microphone, you enhance the sensuality of the already sensual singing."⁷⁵ Though this virtual proximity and resultant intimate sound is "so normative that is it only when it is deliberately highlighted or disrupted during performance that we become aware of its presence at all," fundamentalist authors do not view its normative use as a sign of its acceptability.⁷⁶ Rather, that normativity further indicates the sensuality inherent to popular music. Any vocal technique that requires close-miking in order be to heard, according to pastor Danny Sweatt, is "calculated by those who developed it to give a feeling of intimacy between the listener and the singers" who "whisper their sensual messages into the ears of their listeners."⁷⁷

⁷³ Moore, Schmidt, and Dockwray, "A Hermeneutics of Spatialization for Recorded Song," 102-3.

⁷⁴ Moore, "The Persona-Environment Relation in Recorded Song," 1.

⁷⁵ Hamilton, *Why I Don't Listen*, 42.

⁷⁶ Dibben, "Vocal Performance the Projection of Emotional Authenticity," 320.

⁷⁷ Sweatt, *Church Music*, 20.

Writers also share a marked tendency to characterize spousal intimacy as the closest analogue to the virtual intimacy of close-miking and vocal techniques associated with it, repeatedly comparing close-miking to an unwanted and inappropriate conversation between singer and listener. Their specific examples of unwarranted intimacy are generally of a vocalist one-sidedly conversing with the listener, even actively seducing or at the very least extravagantly flirting with the listener—a listener who in these scenarios is either “you” or a person’s spouse. This singing is, according to Bachorik, like “a wife whispering intimate secrets or plans into the ear of her husband,” and when it is not a person’s spouse doing the whispering, the result is “a sensual aural experience that is inappropriate for a believer.”⁷⁸ Similarly Hamilton protests that a “Christian woman would never dream of speaking to another woman’s husband with the breathy, sultry vocal quality so often demonstrated by female popular music icons. Yet, in many churches, it has become acceptable for a female vocalist to ‘bless’ the congregation in this way.”⁷⁹ Sweatt contrasts this kind of singing with what he sees as appropriate Christian singing, declaring, “The message the Christian has to give to a dying world is not the sort to be whispered into someone’s ear; it is to be proclaimed from the rooftops.”⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Bachorik, *New Heart, New Spirit, New Song*, 102-3.

⁷⁹ Hamilton, *Why I Don’t Listen*, 42.

⁸⁰ Sweatt, *Church Music*, 21.

Collegial Intimacy on Fundamentalist Recordings

It is no surprise then that this kind of aural intimacy is not present in fundamentalist recordings. But though fundamentalists emphatically reject close sexually-coded physical proximity, they do elicit other kinds of intimacy on their recordings, and some of their recordings suggest closer relationships between musicians and listeners than comparable classical recordings. More specifically, the recordings suggest the intimacies of friendship and companionship through the impression of standing directly in front of a musical ensemble (as in the place of a conductor) and of being part of the ensemble as a fellow musician.

This collegial intimacy is a virtual space not in the “intimate” proxemic zone but rather in the “personal” and “social” ones. When recording, Masters tries to find a distance that’s not too close, not too far: if it’s too close, the vocalist is in the listener’s “private space” — “More popular types of recording [are] almost in your face...sometimes that’s a little uncomfortable.”⁸¹ But since his main goal in recording is “making sure the words are clear,” he also doesn’t want the sound “to feel like you’re trying to communicate from the other end of the room.” For him, sitting “across a kitchen table” is a communicative distance between the vocalist and listener that is close enough to communicate the message of the song but still far enough away to avoid any suggestion of sexual intimacy.

⁸¹ Max Masters, interview with author, November 22, 2011.

Comparing earlier and later SoundForth choral recordings demonstrates the shift towards collegial intimacy, as later SoundForth recordings place the listener much closer to the musicians than earlier ones. This change is especially noticeable when SoundForth recordings are compared with other non-fundamentalist groups' recordings of the same choral works. For example, SoundForth's 1996 album *Proclaim His Birth* includes David Willcocks's *a cappella* arrangement of the Christmas hymn "Infant Holy, Infant Lowly" and John Rutter's "Candlelight Carol," both of which have been widely recorded.⁸² *Proclaim His Birth* is quite similar to other recordings of the same pieces in terms of the distance between choir and listener (however, the location sounds smaller on *Proclaim His Birth* than the cathedral-like spaces on many British recordings of the same pieces). In contrast, later SoundForth recordings bring the listener much closer to the choir even though other groups' recordings of the same piece usually do not. In other words, SoundForth recordings' virtual space shifted over the year towards a more collegial intimacy while comparable mainstream recordings did not. For example, demonstration recordings of Howard Helvey's arrangement of "Give Me Jesus" use a platform-to-pew sound, but SoundForth's 2008 recording of the arrangement places the listener directly in front of the choir, a closeness that even the orchestral accompaniment (in place of

⁸² David Willcocks, "Infant Holy, Infant Lowly," Oxford University Press, 1969; and John Rutter, "Candlelight Carol," Oxford University Press, 1985. "Infant Holy, Infant Lowly" and "Candlelight Carol," on Bob Jones University Chorale and Symphony Orchestra, *Proclaim His Birth* (1996). For comparison with albums recorded around the same time, see "Infant Holy, Infant Lowly" on Tewkesbury Abbey Choir, *Christmas Carols from Tewkesbury* 1994); and "Candlelight Carol," on Cambridge Singers and the City of London Sinfonia, *The John Rutter Christmas Album* (2002).

Helvey's original piano and flute) does not detract from.⁸³ Even more telling is the difference between the 2010 SoundForth recording of Alice Parker's *a cappella* arrangement of "Hark, I Hear the Harps Eternal," that places the listener close to the choir in a barely reverberant studio, and comparable recordings that give the illusion of more distance between listener and musicians.⁸⁴

Priorities for Virtual Space

Despite the goal of reproducing the sounds of live music, fundamentalist recordings sometimes produce composites of multiple sites of listening. The soundscape on *Complete in Thee* (2014) is a prime example.⁸⁵ This album features the BJU student body singing hymns as a youthful congregation in the 6,500 seat Founder's Memorial Amphitorium (FMA). Throughout the album, the student body's voices are blurred as they reverberate in the huge space (its potential liveness only curtailed somewhat by absorbent materials like carpeting and padded seats), though their melodic clarity is aided by diatonic hymn tunes with relatively slow harmonic progressions. In contrast, the orchestra sounds from a studio where each section was individually miked. On some

⁸³ Howard Helvey, "Give Me Jesus," Beckenhorst Press, 2005. Recording at <http://www.beckenhorstpress.com/give-me-jesus/> (accessed October 25, 2016). "Give Me Jesus," on Bob Jones University Singers and Orchestra, *King of Love* (2008).

⁸⁴ "Hark, I Hear the Harps Eternal," on BJU Singers, *Promises* (2010). Alice Parker, "Hark, I Hear the Harps Eternal," Lawson-Gould Music Publishers, 1967. For comparison, see for example, "Hark, I Hear the Harps Eternal," on San Francisco Symphony Chorus, *Voices 1900/2000: A Choral Journey Through the Twentieth Century* (2001).

⁸⁵ Bob Jones University, "New Recording Featuring Student Body," <https://www.bju.edu/recordings/complete-in-thee.php> (accessed March 20, 2015). Information on the recording process for *Complete in Thee* from Max Masters, interview with author, April 6, 2015; Kenon D. Renfrow, interview with author, April 13, 2015; and Matthew Steel, interview with author, April 6, 2015.

tracks, the piano evokes a platform-to-pew space (though without the reverberation of the FMA's actual platform to seats below) as it leads the accompaniment, but on other tracks, it melds into the orchestral ensemble.⁸⁶ This section considers the various production factors that lead to spatial composites like those heard on *Complete In Thee*: cost-saving measures, desire for vocalists' verbal intelligibility and quiet musical instruments' audibility, and aesthetic preferences all come into play.

Even though the spatial impressions of these recordings may not correspond to a live event, the recorded music still seems a faithful reproduction, in part because listeners always seem situated in a physical space with the musicians (even if the physical relationship is impossible). The easy acceptance of such aural illusions is perhaps comparable to the brain's processing of optical illusions with a preference for speed and efficiency over accuracy in novel situations. Another explanation is proposed by Moore, Schmidt, and Dockwray in their application of Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner's "conceptual blending" theory to aural spatial perception.⁸⁷ Such conceptual blending occurs throughout daily life through language, such as when one refers to events held at the same location—if you think of Marian Anderson singing at the

⁸⁶ For tracks with a prominent piano accompaniment, see "The Power of the Cross" and "My Jesus, I Love Thee," in contrast to tracks with the piano as part of the instrumental ensemble, such as "O God, My Joy" on Bob Jones University Student Body, *Complete in Thee* (2014).

⁸⁷ Moore, Schmidt, and Dockwray, "A Hermeneutics of Spatialization for Recorded Song," 111-2. See Fauconnier, *Mappings in Thought and Language*, and Fauconnier and Turner, *The Way We Think*. Zbikowski applies Fauconnier and Turner's ideas to musical analysis, but not listeners' perceptions of virtual space in recorded music, in *Conceptualizing Music*.

Lincoln Memorial in 1939 and of Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I Have Dream Speech" at the same location in 1963, you have just conceptually blended the space in your mind.

Moore, Schmidt, and Dockwray posit that a similar move could be brought about with blended spaces on many recordings, especially since the frequent use of blended spaces normalizes them.⁸⁸

Competing Priorities on Virtual Space

The history of recorded music is filled with make-shift solutions and serendipities brought about by competing aesthetic desires and constraints both physical and financial as scholars like Albin Zak demonstrate, and fundamentalist recordings are no different in that regard.⁸⁹ Given a larger budget and an ideal recording space, musicians would all be recorded in the same location, with the same ambiance, and the listener placed in the same location respective of the ensemble: "If I had my druthers," Masters says, "I'd rather have a real, nice acoustic room where that space responds well" and where the vocalist could be recorded along with accompanying musicians.⁹⁰

But the first competing factors are financial and logistical constraints. For example, on the recordings BJU released on the SoundForth label, vocalists were often recorded at BJU's own studio housed in the basement of the Founder's Memorial Amphitorium, and vocal ensembles recorded there might be layered multiple times to

⁸⁸ Moore, Schmidt, and Dockwray, 112.

⁸⁹ Zak, *The Poetics of Rock*, 97-127, which details solutions to acoustic problems such as drumming on a cardboard box or outside to reduce volume or using stairwells to produce reverb.

⁹⁰ Max Masters, interview with author, November 22, 2011.

convey the impression of a larger ensemble. If orchestral accompaniments were recorded there, they had to be recorded section by section due to space constraints (only about 13-14 string players fit in the studio), and the sections themselves were often layered to yield a fuller sound.⁹¹ More preferably, however, their orchestral ensemble would be recorded all at once at a larger studio like Aire Born's, with experienced recording musicians who have a higher per-hour rate but who are ultimately less expensive because they require less recording time, and where the resultant recording has a more "classical" sound because of the room sound and bleed-through on the microphones.⁹²

In the case of *Complete In Thee*, whose spatial composites are discussed above, the varying soundscape primarily resulted from different recording environments for the album's musicians. The student body was recorded in FMA over the course of two 40-minute sessions that replaced their usual weekday chapel services. During these recording sessions, they were accompanied live by a pianist whose playing was not intentionally recorded at the time. Later, the pianist recorded his part at his church in Greenville while listening to a headphone feed. The organist similarly listened to a headphone feed but was recorded in FMA. And the orchestra was recorded at Aire Born in Zionsville, IN, whose large studio fits 45-50 instrumentalists.

⁹¹ Max Masters, interview with author, April 6, 2015.

⁹² Mike Wilson, interview with author, August 5, 2014.

Second, audibility of vocalists and instruments may affect their spatial placement. Choirs are usually recorded and mixed close enough, and in a dry enough space, for lyrics to be understood clearly (the use of FMA to record the BJU student body for *Complete In Thee* is a notable exception), in contrast to exemplars of classical choral music with which other aspects of fundamentalist recordings may be comparable.⁹³ Quiet instruments in particular may be foregrounded. For example, one 1994 album of a men's trio released by The Wilds consistently places the vocalists and accompanying orchestra in different places; on one track, "Be Strong in the Lord," not only does the orchestra seem to be a different room from the vocalists, but also a guitar, harp, and glockenspiel suddenly seem much closer to the listener than the rest of the instruments or vocalists.⁹⁴

Audibility of vocalists is particularly important given that communicating a message primarily through words is their foremost goal.⁹⁵ But balancing the vocalist with the accompanying orchestra that is common on fundamentalist recordings can be challenging as the following interview excerpt makes clear:

⁹³ Mike Wilson, interview with author, August 5, 2014.

⁹⁴ "Be Strong in the Lord," on Herbster Trio, *Be Strong in the Lord* (1994). The same ensemble's 2000 release has a similarly disjointed sound between vocalists and instruments, and sometimes bring a quieter instrument to the foreground, as with the harp on "Show Thyself Strong," on *Show Thyself Strong*. Hear a similar foregrounding of guitar on Majesty Music, *Victorious Strings* (1994).

⁹⁵ Some groups (like the Pettit Team and Galkin Team) use smaller accompanimental ensembles, which effectively circumvents the issue of overwhelming accompaniments.

Max Masters: The primary objective is to make sure that the words are coming through, that the message is coming through. So you know, there's quite a bit of manipulation to the orchestration. ... The orchestrator or the arranger, they have worked hard to make their accompaniments, and they want to hear certain things that lend to the musicality of the whole thing. But sometimes we get a little carried away with the orchestration, and say, 'Whoops, I'm not hearing the vocalist at all like I should.'"

[laughter]

Sarah Bereza: "So do you have to change the orchestration, or do you have to change the way it's recorded? How do you work with that?"

Masters: "Sometimes if we can help things in the recording process that's a good thing, but oftentimes in terms of time and money constraints, we get the recording done, and we work out some of the problems in the mixing process, and in the mastering process as well."⁹⁶

On a related note, some musical elements, particularly percussion and bass registers, are *less* audible due to their troubling nature. As noted in Chapter Two, neither is considered bad in and of itself, but become so if they dominate over other musical elements. So when rhythmic percussion is used in fundamentalist recordings (most

⁹⁶ Max Masters, interview with author, November 22, 2011. This transcription eliminates filler words and word repetition.

often a militaristic snare drum), the percussion usually sounds further away than the rest of the instrumental ensemble.⁹⁷ Bass registers, whether sung or played, also recede into the mix, though they are not spatially displaced from the rest of the ensemble. The practice is so pervasive that the de-emphasis on bass registers becomes unnoticeable. When a recording does have a more prominent bass, it is almost startling, as is the case when listening to albums by the Calvary Quartet, a men's ensemble whose style leans toward southern gospel.⁹⁸

Third, aesthetic preference influences the sense of space. For example, Mike Wilson, a sound engineer at Aire Born, describes his fundamentalist clients "[wanting] to record the whole orchestra at the same time" to achieve a more "classical" sound.⁹⁹ Because the orchestra is recorded all at once, the room sound is more apparent than it would be if the sections were recorded individually; and, though sections have their

⁹⁷ For examples of distant percussion, see most tracks on SoundForth, *Lost in Wonder, Love and Praise* (2007), and "Since I've Been Born" on Harris, *A Closer Walk* (2014). Colorful percussion instruments, like glockenspiel and chimes are not usually distanced, but metrical cymbal taps often are, as on "Only A Sinner" on SoundForth Singers with Orchestra, *Faithful I Will Be* (2000). In contrast, the percussion on "O Church Arise," Bob Jones University Student Body, *Complete in Thee* (2014), is mixed as part of the orchestral ensemble (see especially the last 20 seconds of the track).

⁹⁸ The Calvary Quartet was founded in the early 1990s by a member of Calvary Baptist in Simpsonville, SC, the home church of Frank Garlock and Ron Hamilton. An even more startling use of bass is on The Steve Pettit Evangelistic Team, *Before You Now* (2012); on this album, the bass is prominent enough to pop on some high-quality speakers.

⁹⁹ Mike Wilson, interviews with author, August 5, 2014 and December 5, 2015. In contrast, he typically records instrumental parts individually when making comparable choir and orchestra recordings for non-fundamentalist groups. This is not to say that all orchestras on fundamentalist recordings are recorded with the entire ensemble all at once. Furthermore, a classical orchestra is much more likely to be recorded with a centralized microphone or set of microphones (as with a Decca Tree or Blumlein pair) than with individually miked sections.

own microphones, the bleed of their sounds into other sections' microphones further adds to the ambiance.

Finally, some of the most striking spatial composites probably stem from aesthetic preferences. For example, on a track from a 2006 Pettit Team album, the vocal ensemble seems to sing in a small, relatively live room, and they sing as a physical unit. But toward the end of their song, a soprano descant is distanced from the listeners and from the rest of the ensemble (who remain positioned as they were before) and moves even further away as the song continues. When the track was rereleased in 2014, the descant remains in the distance, reinforcing the interpretation of this distance as an intentional aesthetic choice.¹⁰⁰ Similarly, a 2014 duet released by the Galkin Team moves the two vocalists multiple times through the track.¹⁰¹ Initially, the first vocalist seems relatively close-miked in a studio, but when she and the second vocalist join together on the ensuing chorus, both are distanced—both in terms of how close it seems they are to their microphones and in terms of their relationship to the listener, a change that puts them the same virtual space as the accompanying instrumental ensemble. This alternation between the first vocalist's position when singing solo stanzas and the two vocalists' position on their shared choruses continues throughout the track with only one exception: the second vocalist's brief solo sounds much further away, and her voice

¹⁰⁰ "Beautiful Savior," on Steve Pettit Evangelistic Team, *Creator of All* (2006) and *Steve Pettit Evangelistic Team: The Best of 20 Years* (2014). Hear descant beginning at 02:08, and sounding even further away beginning at 02:21.

¹⁰¹ "Anchor of Hope," on Galkin Evangelistic Team, *Each Day I Live* (2014).

reverberates as if singing from a platform to pew.¹⁰² In contrast, the guitar that accompanies her is close-miked (making it both clearly audible and giving listeners the impression of collegial intimacy), and its single strums' reverberance comes from the body of the guitar and not from a reverberant room.

Conceptual Framework for Fundamentalists' Views on Recorded and Live Music

Though fundamentalists do not directly analyze the concepts underlying their views of recorded and live music, several tenets emerge that make a basic equivalence of microphones with ears and live performances with recorded ones conceptually possible. First, recorded music can sound like live music. Second, recorded music can be experienced as if it is live. But more importantly, both live and recorded music can be experienced as if they are not technologically mediated. In this section, I take up these three positions in turn, then examine how they play out in several case studies. Finally, I return to the model of participatory listening at the core of fundamentalists' music philosophy.

Perceptions of Live and Recorded Music

First, recorded music can sound like live music. Recordings *intended* to sound like live music, regardless of whether they do in fact sound like it, are sometimes set in contrast with recorded music that has no live equivalent (what, respectively, Thomas

¹⁰² Solo beginning at 01:32, on "Anchor of Hope," on Galkin Evangelistic Team, *Each Day I Live* (2014).

Turino calls high fidelity and studio audio art, and John Andrew Fisher calls veridic and nonveridic recordings), or they are set in contrast with recorded music that is intended to sound like live music in the sense of being a documentary of it and including sounds like coughing or gusts of wind—what Andy Hamilton describes as perfectionist and imperfectionist approaches to recording.¹⁰³ Fundamentalist albums are almost always in the former category of these contrasting pairs—they are high fidelity/veridic, and they are perfectionist—even when certain elements, such as spatial relationships, do not actually correspond to a single live setting. Whether a recorded version of live music can sound *exactly* like it, even theoretically, is debatable: could such a “hi-fi” recording exist in the future, even if it does not exist now?¹⁰⁴ Yet the actual or theoretical possibility of “transparent” recordings is irrelevant to fundamentalists’ concerns, since even a rough approximation suffices for their recordings.¹⁰⁵ In other words, recordings that sound even approximately like live music are enough to suggest what would be heard in a fundamental church service or concert and allow for a listener’s participation.

In contrast, “the thrills of being physically close to the art” and the “excitement of being there in person” come under the purview of the second tenet supporting

¹⁰³ Turino, *Music as Social Life*, 67, 78-87; Fisher, “Rock and Recording;” and Hamilton, “The Art of Recording and the Aesthetics of Perfection.” Davis elucidates these intended effects, as well as concepts of aura, in “The Map and the Territory.” A related contrasting pair is between naturalistic recordings—intended to reproduce acoustic musical events (as classical music performances usually are) and those of music in genres where amplification is an intended aspect of the instrumental and vocal timbres; see for example, Johnson, “Illusion and Aura in the Classical Audio Recording.”

¹⁰⁴ See Glasgow, “Hi-Fi Aesthetics.”

¹⁰⁵ See Glasgow, “Hi-Fi Aesthetics.”

fundamentalists' broad view of recordings—that recorded music can be experienced as if it were live music, in the sense that a live and recorded piece can elicit the same emotional and physical responses of listeners (not that a person mistakenly believes they are at a live performance when listening to a recording).¹⁰⁶ This position is critically different from the first, as Glasgow's parsing between strictly sonic features and what is often called "aura" makes clear. Aura, loosely conceived, encapsulates the intangible features of an individual's in-person experience of art. Walter Benjamin's essay, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" contrasts original art with its reproduction. The latter lacks the original work of art's capacity for aura because it lacks its "presence in time and space, its unique existence at the place where it happens to be."¹⁰⁷ However, the original artwork's aura is only possible in retrospect. As Sterne notes when discussing this concept in relationship to live and recorded music, this particular conception of aura "is an artifact of reproducibility, rather than a side effect or an inherent quality of self-presence" in the work of art.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, in opposition to the application of Benjamin's position to recorded music, a recording could be considered a work of art in its own right, apart from any live performance, and with its own kind of aura.¹⁰⁹ There is no clear fundamentalist viewpoint on the subject, and what is relevant to their purposes is this: that recordings are not desiccated versions of live

¹⁰⁶ Glasgow, "Hi-Fi Aesthetics," 164, 166.

¹⁰⁷ Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations*, 220.

¹⁰⁸ Sterne, *The Audible Past*, 220.

¹⁰⁹ Taruskin suggests such an interpretation in *Text and Act*, 354.

music but rather, they are a valid means of spiritual and musical participation for listeners regardless of whether these recordings maintain the aura of live music or have their own kind of aura.

Finally, listeners experience both live and recorded music as if these musics are not technologically mediated. Sterne describes a relationship between original and copy (i.e. between live and recorded music) wherein the mediation of sound technologies does not intrude itself and destroy the illusion of authentic sound fidelity, what Sterne calls a “‘vanishing’ mediator—rendering the relation as transparent, as if it were not there.”¹¹⁰ Through this erasure, listeners can experience a “general equivalence of singer and recording.”¹¹¹ Fundamentalists’ descriptions of listening to recordings concur with Sterne’s use of the “vanishing mediator” concept, but they extend it to include an erasure of the technological mediation of amplified live music (and, it bears repeating, most music in their church services amplified). As BJU music faculty member Paul Overly put it, “I want to hear the person singing and not the microphone.”¹¹² Therefore, their suggestions that microphones are like ears (that a person’s ear is in the same intimate space as a close microphone) apply to both live and recorded music.

¹¹⁰ Sterne, *The Audible Past*, 218, after Jameson, *Ideologies of Theory*, vol. 2, 3-34; and Žižek, *For They Know Not What They Do*, 179-88. Busman takes up this concept in relationship to evangelical worship music, arguing that musicians and their music are intended to function as vanishing mediators between congregants and God in the context of worship, “Re(Sounding) Passion, 162-8.

¹¹¹ Sterne, *The Audible Past*, 216, 218.

¹¹² Paul Overly, interview with author, January 23, 2015, and correspondence with author, February 2, 2017.

At its heart, this third tenet places listeners in a barrier-free relationship with music, able to participate in it without any technological impediments. In live settings, listeners can be ministered to from “across the kitchen table” as it were, even if they are in fact a hundred feet away from the vocalist whose voice is mediated by a sound system. And that vocalist’s spiritual sincerity can be just as effectively communicated through a recording. In considering technological mediation troubling only if it intrudes needlessly into the sonic relationship between musicians and listeners, fundamentalists’ amplified and recorded music is similar to genres that prize the impression of liveness on recordings and to the “unplugged” concerts and recordings that use acoustic rather than electronic instruments: both use the seeming lack of technological mediation to create an impression of sincerity for listeners.¹¹³

This position isn’t about music being live or not: it’s about what music *is*, about music as sound waves that can be experienced regardless of the location where they are heard or the medium in which they are packaged. In erasing technological mediation from their understanding of live and recorded music, fundamentalists are showing that the medium does not particularly matter, that what is important is what music can do and how listeners can respond. In a negative way, bad music can influence listeners in amplified and recorded formats because it is the sonic features of music that matter most, and whether live or recorded, listeners are susceptible to them. But in a positive

¹¹³ Porcello, “Music Mediated as Live in Austin.”

way, musicians can minister through amplified and recorded music and listeners can participate in it.

Case Studies of the Conceptual Framework

The music fundamentalists most strongly reject provides the most obvious case study of how the concept of vanishing mediation affects fundamentalist practices: if a live performance has sexually connotative elements, then the recorded performance must also retain those elements, even though it is separated from its source and no visual elements are present; furthermore, a live vocal performance with spatially intimate miking is experienced on some level as if the listener were in the same space as the microphone. But fundamentalists' general commentary on technological mediation also sheds light on what it means for recorded music to sound like live music, and on the point when the technological mediation of live and recorded music switches between unobtrusive and obtrusive. In this setting, unobtrusive has connotations of natural and honest, while obtrusive is its unnatural and deceptive counterpart.

The distinction between unobtrusive and obtrusive mediation hinges on two related but distinct pairs of recording categories. First, between recordings intended to sound like ideal live performance and recordings intended to sound like live performance in a documentary sense (including seeming imperfections like coughs and missed notes)—what Andy Hamilton describes as perfectionist and imperfectionist

approaches to recordings.¹¹⁴ And second, between recordings intended to sound like live music in general and recorded music that does not correspond to the general sounds of live music—what Turino terms high fidelity recordings and studio audio art.¹¹⁵ Fundamentalist recordings are intended to be both perfectionist and high fidelity: they are intended to sound like ideal performances of live music.

The perfectionist aesthetic of recording particularly aids recordings in ministering to listeners because it presents live events minus the mistakes, the outtakes, tone-deaf congregational singers, a mumbled or flubbed line. Though this flawlessness leads Lynch to exclaim, “Recording is a sham because it’s perfect,” nonetheless, Lynch and his peers still consider recordings to be viable vehicles for discipleship.¹¹⁶ They can do so because perfectionist aesthetics only bring recording *up to* (but not beyond) the level of an ideal live performance, one where vocalists and accompanists execute their parts exactly as they intended, in a space dry enough for verbal intelligibility but not too dry for musical reverberation, and in a mix that foregrounds vocalists over accompaniment without calling attention to the technological mediation necessary for that effect. In other words, because this sound does not exceed the ideal live performance, it can still be construed as “natural.”

¹¹⁴ Hamilton, “The Art of Recording and the Aesthetics of Perfection.”

¹¹⁵ Turino, *Music as Social Life*, 67, 78-87. In fundamentalist music, non-acoustic instruments are used to mimic their acoustic counterparts, such as a synthesized harpsichord or piano, but they are not employed for their particular timbres as are, for example, synthesizers in New Age music.

¹¹⁶ Mac Lynch, interview with author, February 4, 2015.

Added reverb on fundamentalist recordings provides an example of how this intellectual process works. For Masters, added reverb can be a “natural” effect because it is a means of achieving a sense of space, especially when used to compensate for the dry recording conditions of BJU’s carpeted recording studio.¹¹⁷ This reverb is added not to falsely improve upon a live event but to bring the recording into line with what *would* be the room sound, were it a faithful recording of a live event in a more reverberant space—what Steel describes as a “corrective” addition.¹¹⁸

A conversation with Masters reveals how motivations of naturalness—the illusion of non-mediation—are based in faith:

Sarah Bereza: “It sounds like it’s just the natural sound that you’re striving for then?”

Max Masters: “Yeah. In the message that *we* have, we certainly don’t want to portray anything that’s fake. ... We have the real truth, so to speak, to communicate, and we want to be sure to do that.”

Bereza: “...I’m trying to make sense of this: do you think that having the way the room sounds, if the room sounded fake, that would affect the message of the song then?”

¹¹⁷ Max Masters, interview with author, November 22, 2011. Many fundamentalist recordings have reverb effects that I find obstructive, though this use is not significantly different from comparable recordings made in the same timeframe. Mike Wilson, interview with author, August 5, 2014.

¹¹⁸ Matthew Steel, interview with author, April 6, 2015.

Masters: “I think subliminally, yes. ... See, pop music doesn’t have any qualms about manipulating things like that. ... We don’t want to sound like what we’d refer to as the world. ... And we want it [the sound] to be transparent.”

Bereza: “...The way I’m reading it, it sounds like...the conservative Christian worldview lends itself to this type of sound and recording—the naturalness and the transparency?”

Masters: “Uhuh.”¹¹⁹

But apart from their comments on microphone use addressed above, fundamentalist authors rarely address their distinction between obtrusive and unobtrusive technological mediation. One notable exception is Lucarini’s writing against technological “fakery” in a chapter entitled “Fakery on a massive scale, masquerading as authenticity.” He illustrates his distinction between “authentic” and “fake” practices through a comparison with photo-editing software: a “fairly benign” use of photo-editing software is to correct red-eye, rendering the photo more true to life, but a deceitful use is to insert the image of another person into the first image, rendering the photo unfaithful to the original setting.¹²⁰ Analogously, auto-tune, layered vocals, and added reverb are “dishonest” for him because they are additions to the sound of live music, rather than technologies that bring recorded music back up to the level of live

¹¹⁹ Max Masters, interview with author, November 22, 2011. This transcription eliminates filler words and word repetition.

¹²⁰ Lucarini, *It’s Not About the Music*, 122.

performance.¹²¹ Auto-tune, for example, is “fakery” because it “can make a poor or average performer sound perfect.”¹²² Lucarini’s views, however, are not representative, as most fundamentalist musicians and writers seem to regard the ability to eliminate mistakes part of the usefulness of the recording process.

A wider range of authors make similar statements when discussing microphone use in live and recorded music, arguing that microphones are for “sound reinforcement” only, not a “crutch” for poor training and preparation, nor “‘gadgets’ that hinder the communication of [the] message.”¹²³ Vocalists should only use them to amplify a voice already trained to project into a crowd, not facilitate the expression of whispery vocals that would never be audible to a congregation without the added amplification.¹²⁴ Indeed, many of the vocal effects that fundamentalists criticize as sensual require a microphone to be audible in most venues—hence the terms “microphone singing” and “microphone technique.” Though these quiet vocal effects may not always be sexually coded, fundamentalist authors condemn microphone singing not only because they

¹²¹ Lucarini, *It’s Not About the Music*, 123-5. Lucarini describes attending a concert of a *cappella* music that features pieces previously released on record. At the concert, he discovered that the vocalists were using added tracks to enhance their live singing and make it sound comparable to their album (an album with layered voices and added reverb); when the vocalists sang without the added tracks in their live performance, “they sounded flat and nasal” (124). Though he does not say as much, it seems that if he had heard an excellent live performance, he would not have objected to technological manipulations to bring a recording of the group up to par with the live setting, just as he did not object to the photo editing that restored the red eyes to their natural color.

¹²² Lucarini, *It’s Not About the Music*, 123.

¹²³ Sweatt, *Church Music*, 26-9.

¹²⁴ For assertions of microphone use and corresponding decline in vocal technique, see Sweatt, *Church Music*, 26-7; and Fisher, *Harmony at Home*, 195, and *The Battle for Christian Music*, 140.

believe it is sexual but also because they believe it reflects poor vocal technique.¹²⁵ This latter position reflects their marked preference for classical musical techniques over popular ones; as Donald Greig notes, classical vocalists tend to sing on recordings as they would in live, unamplified performance, whereas popular musicians, especially vocalists, tailor their singing to the possibilities offered by microphones.¹²⁶

Fundamentalists' position also echoes critiques of microphone singing in the 1920s and 1930s as crooners developed microphone techniques "to emphasize the intimate and erotic possibilities of the voice" — techniques that, McCracken argues, were perceived as being morally degrading in contrast to the morally superior techniques of a classically-trained voice.¹²⁷

In actual practice, however, musical preferences take priority over the literal reproduction of live performances as they sound in fundamental churches: the simple seeming spatial relationship of platform-to-pew that so many fundamentalist recordings evoke is not actually like what a person would hear in a typical live church service. Most fundamental church auditoriums are acoustically dry so as to make the spoken word more clear, a trait many Protestant church buildings have as a reflection of their

¹²⁵ Lockheart, "A History of Early Microphone Singing." For the negative intimacy of microphone singing, see for example, Bachorik, *New Heart*, 102-3; Fisher, *Harmony at Home*, 161 and *The Battle for Christian Music*, 140; Foster, *The Spiritual Song*, 38, 61; Garlock and Woetzel, 93-7; Hamilton, *Why I Don't Listen*, 42; Sweatt, *Church Music*, 20-21, 26-7.

¹²⁶ Greig, "Performing For (and Against) the Microphone." Voice teachers, often classically trained themselves, have noticed this difference of volume and projection, and a recent article in the National Association of Teachers of Singing's journal advocates for specific changes in their pedagogical methods and purposes; see Titze, "Training the Electronic (Microphone) Singer."

¹²⁷ McCracken, *Real Men Don't Sing*, 86.

emphasis on preaching as the foremost element of their services.¹²⁸ Indeed, Emily Thompson demonstrates that the development of sound-absorbing acoustic tiles was instigated by this same emphasis.¹²⁹ As a result, these auditoriums are not ideal for music performance; either sound is deadened with carpet, padded pews, and sound absorbing tiles, or, particularly when a congregation meets in a gymnasium, the reverberation turns into boomy, unlovely echoes.¹³⁰ The platform-to-pew sound on fundamentalist recordings, however, evokes the live spaces that most classical musicians would enjoy performing in, with just enough reverberance to make voices sound smooth and full, but not enough to turn the reflected sound into echoes. The aesthetic priorities normative to classical music-making predominate over other considerations, even though the recordings in question are not of classical music; this practice is similar to vocalists' adaptation of classical vocal techniques to church use without corresponding performance of sacred art music, as discussed in Chapter Four.

Participatory Listening

Through this chapter, I have shown how fundamentalists' views of music articulate a literal, one-sided conversation between recorded or amplified musicians and listeners, and how their concerns about music's effects are predominately about musical

¹²⁸ Thompson, *The Soundscape of Modernity*, 180-1. See also Rath, *How Early America Sounded*, 97-119.

¹²⁹ Thompson, *The Soundscape of Modernity*, 180-90.

¹³⁰ The only times I have experienced a fundamental church with relatively good level of reverberance for acoustic music performance, the building was one that the fundamental church purchased from a church of another denomination.

sound, whether live or recorded. Throughout their arguments, listeners' responses to music are vastly more privileged than musicians' potential self-expression, so the changing models of virtual space that fundamentalist recordings elicit over the decades seem rooted in how listeners will participate in them, rather than in musicians' self-expression or musical preferences. These recordings showcase good models for participation in contrast to negative secular models of sexual intimacy through proximity.

Earlier recordings welcome listeners into a church service—albeit an idealized one—where the music they hear can minister to them as they sit back and listen. This model doesn't need to imply passivity, but it does suggest a “detached” listener, as Richard Middleton describes.¹³¹ The participation encouraged by this model is of the listener's inner singing that is a part of listening to solo vocalists and instrumental hymn arrangements in church services (see Chapter Three and Chapter Four). In contrast, the presence of later recordings invite listeners to become fellow music makers, to sing together with other choir members, to pull up a chair and start strumming along with the guitarist—to be “participating actors” in the music.¹³² Lynch believes this experience is one that helps listeners engage more with the text and makes them less likely to feel like they are being performed to or entertained.¹³³ Former Pettit Team member (and

¹³¹ Middleton, “Popular Music Analysis and Musicology,” 179.

¹³² Middleton, “Popular Music Analysis and Musicology,” 179.

¹³³ Mac Lynch, interview with author, February 4, 2015.

now, owner of Heart Publications, the publisher and distribution company for the Pettit Team and several other groups) Mark Egerdahl describes the changes in mixing between original Pettit Team albums and their re-release on their *Best of 20 Years* album in similar terms. The more collegially intimate sounds of the re-mixed tracks (intimacy brought about largely through a reduction of added reverb as well as additional compression) were intended to bring listeners “closer to the singing,” – a closeness that was motivated by a desire “to bring the listener much more into the actual song, as if they were participating, [and so] that they could sing along.”¹³⁴ This choice complemented others the group has made, especially its ensemble size and song selection, because they “felt like something more intimate would communicate the message of the songs better” than a larger ensemble would have.¹³⁵

A music video released alongside a 2012 Galkin Team album visibly illustrates this invitation to fuller musical participation.¹³⁶ The audio begins with a cough, a stray accordion note, a sound engineer’s direction “Would ya give me thumbs up when they’re rollin’” and a musician’s response, “I’m rollin’,” and another’s “Okay.” Then a click track plays, as if in the listener’s ear, someone counts off “One-two-three-four,” and

¹³⁴ Steve Pettit Evangelistic Team, *Steve Pettit Evangelistic Team: Best of 20 Years* (2014); Mark Egerdahl, interview with author, December 14, 2016. Regarding specifics of re-mixing, Mike Wilson, interview with author, December 5, 2016.

¹³⁵ Mark Egerdahl, interview with author, December 14, 2016.

¹³⁶ The music video is available on the media section of the Galkin Evangelistic Ministries website (galkins.org; accessed December 13, 2016) and as “By Faith music video” on Vimeo, <https://vimeo.com/42991060> (accessed December 13, 2016). “By Faith” was released as a track on Galkin Evangelistic Team, *By Faith* (2012).

the musical accompaniment begins. In these ten seconds, fleeting glances of the studio, sheet music, and musicians complement the promise of collegial intimacy the recording suggests by bringing viewers into the musical ensemble, as if they are about to join in, as if their voice at home would make the vocal solo a duet or the ensuing duet a trio, musical participation that brings spiritual benefits to listeners who share in it.

Conclusion

Fundamentalist views on music are simultaneously far from, yet entirely within, the mainstream. Christians have historically argued that not all kinds of music should be used in church services or in non-church settings, and so do fundamentalists. But the impetus for their prolific musical discourse is their controversy with other evangelicals over the adoption of popular musical styles into church services. Like upper class and educated Americans particularly in the twentieth century, fundamentalists have promoted certain kinds of music to improve listeners' characters. Similarly, fundamentalists believe they make music superior to popular styles, as do many practitioners of church music and classical music. But fundamentalists also see God's nature reflected or revealed in the right kind of music, so much so that engagement with it can yield spiritual benefits. Concerns over music's sexual and racial connotations, and perspectives on seemingly non-musical areas such as personal responsibility for lust, repeat this pattern. As a result, scholars of music and sound, and of Christian congregational music and theology of music, can assess their fields through the perspectives of fundamentalists, while fundamentalists can learn about their own beliefs and practices by seeing them in their ideological, theological, and cultural contexts.

This project elucidates the inner workings of fundamentalists' beliefs and practices about music. It shows how their musical culture connects with American and Western perspectives on classical music. And it allows for a comparison with other

Christians' understandings of and ways of making music. Music is a window into how Christians conceptualize and actualize their beliefs on how people relate to God, especially as worshippers. Since fundamentalists take their views to be reflective of God's will for Christians, the differences and correspondences between their beliefs and those of other Christians may be particularly significant.

Fundamentalists' beliefs and practices shed light on the evangelical music in popular styles that has received significant attention in recent scholarship. Many evangelicals treat music as something that can be useful for Christian worship and for private listening by Christians regardless of its style (lyrics are another matter), and fundamentalists strongly disagree. But the dissimilar theological views underpinning the groups' respective musical practices are less obvious. Fundamentalist vocalists' performance practices demonstrate the higher value they and their fellow believers place on sincerity (i.e. singing true words in a way that shows one believes them to be true) over authenticity (i.e. being true to oneself), whereas many in the broader evangelical community emphasize musicians' authenticity. These distinctive priorities suggest divergent understandings of salvation and sanctification: fundamentalists are not as concerned with music expressing the fullness of a musician's heart, since every person sins, and, in the words of an Old Testament prophet, "The heart is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked" (from Jer. 17:9). Fundamentalists and many other evangelicals also hold contrasting ideas of worship. Fundamentalists understand

worship to be accurate knowledge of God coupled with a response to that knowledge. Music can play a part in worship as a person's or congregation's response, or, in the case of hymnody, it can be a source of that knowledge. For many other evangelicals, however, worship may be mainly about feeling connected with God, and worshipping with music can occur primarily through emotional engagement. Further study may show how music plays into their views on these foundational matters, whose divergence is remarkable since fundamentalists and certain other evangelicals share close historical origins.

Fundamentalists believe that music can sexually arouse listeners, and scholars of music and sound often write of listening as a potentially sensuously or sexually pleasurable experience. The key differences between these views may motivate scholars of music and sound studies to examine more fully their disciplinary theories and assumptions about listening. While people in both groups likely agree that listeners can lust for performers, some scholars argue that the musical sound itself produces and maintains pleasurable feelings as a kind of sexual partner. Fundamentalists, on the other hand, tend to argue that some kinds of music can elicit and intensify sexual feelings for a non-musical object (presumably a person). Furthermore, scholars usually treat this kind of listening as intentional and conscious, but while fundamentalists agree that this can be the case, they also conceive of music's power as something that can act against listeners' will and possibly without their knowledge.

Finally, scholars of music and sound as well as fundamentalists typically think of music as a far more physically intrusive and thus potentially overpowering medium than other forms of art. This conceptualization reflects the mainstream perception that listeners can be intensely affected by music (whether or not in sexual ways): people choose music based on how they want to feel at a given moment, how they want their emotions amplified or blunted, how they want their energies raised or lowered. The ways that fundamentalists develop and extend these views call for a scholarly examination of the premise on which they rest.

Appendix A: The Term “Fundamentalist” and Demographics of Fundamentalists

This appendix examines how people with a link to historical fundamentalism describe themselves, how the term “fundamentalist” is used by scholars of American Christianity and of comparative religion, and who fundamentalists are in demographic terms.

Throughout this study, I use “fundamentalist” to mean conservative evangelical Protestants who practice and whose historical forebears practiced militant personal and ecclesiastical separation from non-fundamentalists and who are loosely affiliated with BJU.¹ Fundamentalists’ own definitions of fundamentalism make similar statements but use coded language to reference separation and conservative evangelical hermeneutics. For instance, in a sermon on separation at the first World Congress of Fundamentalists in 1976, fundamentalism “simply stated” was defined as “belief in, and a stand on, the basic truths of the Word of God.”² For fundamentalists, “basic truths” are plainly revealed through a literal reading of an inerrant Bible, and to “stand on” those basic truths means to defend them militantly against any compromise. BJU faculty member David O. Beale similarly highlights the same basic truths and their defense in his definition, but takes pains to put love first, by describing a fundamentalist as

¹ For other short definitions of fundamentalism, see for example, Ammerman, *Bible Believers*, 5-6; Harris, *Fundamentalism and Evangelicals*, 3; and Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 4.

² Malone, “Scriptural Separation,” in *Word of Their Testimony*, 114.

“[i]deally...one who desires to reach out in love and compassion to people, believes and defends the whole Bible as the absolute, inerrant, and authoritative Word of God, and stands committed to the doctrine and practice of holiness.”³ By adding that “[t]he essence of Fundamentalism...is the *unqualified acceptance of and obedience to the Scriptures,*” Beale highlights the importance of a plain reading of a literal, inerrant Bible.⁴

Fundamentalists’ Self-Identification and Preferred Terms in Scholarship

“Fundamentalist” has been used as a self-descriptor since the 1920s and continues to be used today.⁵ When asked, most people included in my study self-identify as “fundamentalist” or as a “fundamental Christian,” or they identify their churches as “fundamental churches.” BJU often calls its constituent churches “fundamental churches,” occasionally mentions “fundamental Christians” and “fundamentalist Christians” in its literature, and refers to Christian circles other than their own as “outside fundamentalism.”⁶ For historians and other academics, self-designation helps to distinguish fundamentalists and fundamental churches from other

³ Beale, *In Pursuit of Purity*, 3.

⁴ Beale, *In Pursuit of Purity*, 3, emphasis his.

⁵ Curtis Lee Laws coined the term “fundamentalist” in “Convention Side Lights,” *Watchmen-Examiner* VIII (July 1, 1920): 864. He describes fundamentalists as the ones prepared “to do battle royal for the Fundamentals.”

⁶ See for example, Bob Jones University, “Music Philosophy,” <http://www.bju.edu/about/what-we-believe/music.php> (accessed May 25, 2015); Choosing a Church in Greenville,” <http://www.bju.edu/admission/admitted-students/before-you-get-here/choosing-a-church.php> (accessed May 25, 2015); and “Courses: Christian Doctrines,” <http://www.bju.edu/academics/courses/> (accessed May 25, 2015).

conservative evangelical individuals and churches.⁷ Because of this self-identification, along with the term's clear etymology and historical meaning, scholars of American Christianity commonly use "fundamentalist" and "fundamentalism" to designate their subject.⁸

"Fundamentalist" and its variants, however, have begun to fall out of favor in recent decades and especially since 9/11 as "fundamentalist" has been applied more globally (e.g. "Islamic fundamentalists").⁹ In a sizable minority of interviews with BJU faculty members and those with BJU connections, individuals have rejected the terms "fundamentalist" or "fundamental" as self-descriptors, saying that while they believe "the fundamental doctrines," "fundamentalist" is not a term they prefer—one interviewee, for example, crossed through appearances of "fundamentalist" on the interview consent form and drew a question mark in the margin. But even as use of the

⁷ For the importance of self-designation as fundamentalist, see Harding, *The Book of Jerry Falwell*, xv-xvi; Harris, *Fundamentalism and Evangelicals*, 1, 17; and Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*, 4. These scholars give high priority to self-definitions as a means of distinguishing between fundamentalists and other conservative evangelicals. Not all academics give such weight to self-definition. For instance, Brasher justifies using "fundamentalist" to refer to the evangelicals in her study because outsiders use "fundamentalist" to describe those individuals, even though the individuals did not self-describe as such, nor were their churches historically connected with fundamentalism; see *Godly Women*, 22-4.

⁸ Harris notes that "the practice of most historians of Protestant fundamentalism and evangelical movements in the United States" is to "reserve the designation only for the original fundamentalists who coined the term and for those of their heirs who still accept it" (*Fundamentalism and Evangelicals*, 1). I follow this same practice in my study. Other histories that use similarly narrow, historically-informed criteria include (alphabetically): Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*; Glass, *Strangers in Zion*; Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*; Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism*; Trollinger, *God's Empire*; Utzinger, *Yet Saints Their Watch Are Keeping*; and Weber, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming*.

⁹ Fundamentalists are not alone in viewing 9/11 as a pivot point. See for example Vecsey's study exploring the changes in *The New York Times* religion, *Following 9/11*.

term has declined, for some interviewees today “fundamentalist” still carries a ring of authenticity as they distinguish themselves from more liberal Christians just as they did in earlier decades.¹⁰

Literature published by BJU, such as course catalogs, has reflected this trend away from the term. In previous years, most recently 2013-2014, then-president Stephen Jones’s welcome letter to students included this pugnacious paragraph: “Religiously, our testimony is: ‘Whatever the Bible says is true.’ Standing firmly for and aggressively contending for the great foundations of the Christian faith, Bob Jones University is proud to be known as Fundamental in its position. We oppose all atheistic, agnostic, and humanistic attacks upon the Scripture.”¹¹ But in the 2014-2015 course catalog, current-president Steve Pettit’s welcome letter altered the paragraph to read: “As a Christian institution, Bob Jones University stands firmly for the authority of God’s Word and opposes all atheistic, agnostic and humanistic attacks upon the Scripture.”¹² This is not to say that the rest of the 2014-2015 catalog does not reference fundamental churches or Christians, only that these terms are not foregrounded.¹³ For example, opening sections of the 2014-2015 undergraduate student handbook, which include the “BJU Mission

¹⁰ The superiority potentially implied by calling oneself “fundamentalist” was noted early on. See Glass, *Strangers in Zion*, 194; and Dollar, *The Fight for Fundamentalism*, 262.

¹¹ See Stephen Jones’s welcome letter to students in Bob Jones University, “2013-2014 Undergraduate Catalog,” 3.

¹² Steve Pettit’s welcome letter to students in Bob Jones University, “2014-2015 Undergraduate Catalog,” 7.

¹³ See, for example, Bob Jones University, “2014-2015 Undergraduate Catalog,” 74, 75, 190, 191.

Statement” and “BJU Core Values,” do not reference fundamentalist identity, but buried in the seventh of nine appendices to the handbook, BJU is described as a “fundamental Christian institution” that “serves the needs of fundamental churches and ministries.”¹⁴

Historical etymology, self-identification among a majority of individuals in my study, and common usage by scholarship on American Christianity notwithstanding, the choice to use “fundamentalist” is a difficult one because the term’s historical specificity has been blurred by a broader category of fundamentalism used by scholars of comparative religion and in mainstream vernacular.¹⁵ In this broader sense, “fundamentalism” is the mindset of religious conservatives across the world who fight against various aspects of the more mainstream cultures in which they live.¹⁶ This broad approach allows for comparison between conservatives of different religions, an approach that has been applied to American Protestant fundamentalists.¹⁷ However, this broad category is problematic in its lack of specificity and its focus on those who are

¹⁴ Bob Jones University, “2014-2015 Student Handbook,” 1, 3-5, 71.

¹⁵ The difficulty in using this potentially pejorative term in academic work is discussed in Marty and Appleby, *The Fundamentalism Project*, vol. 1., viii.

¹⁶ The foremost text on global fundamentalism is Marty and Appleby, *The Fundamentalism Project*. See their definition of fundamentalism as “*fighting back*” and fundamentalists as people who “*fight for,*” “*fight with,*” “*fight against,*” and “*fight under God,*” in the introduction to *Fundamentalisms Observed*, series *The Fundamentalism Project*, vol. 1., ix-x, emphasis theirs. The fundamentalist pastor and seminary professor McLachlan criticizes Marty and Appleby’s general characterization of fundamentalism as “reaction to modernity,” on the grounds that fundamentalist Christianity is based not on a “reaction to the cultural milieu” but rather on “a set of beliefs which transcend all cultures and all times because those beliefs are sourced in the eternal Word of God,” in *Reclaiming Authentic Fundamentalism*, ix.

¹⁷ A major work promoting a comparative approach to global fundamentalism is Lawrence, *Defenders of God*. Comparative studies that address American Protestant Fundamentalism include: Chancellor, “A Comparative Approach to Religious Fundamentalism;” Davidman and Stocks, “Varieties of Fundamentalist Experience;” and Gerami, *Women and Fundamentalism*.

generally much more conservative than commentators. Because of these two issues, this broad category lends itself to fearmongering and the othering of religious minorities, both in academia and mainstream media.¹⁸ Moreover, comparative approaches have lead to ill-informed scholarship that does not adequately distinguish between global fundamentalism and the self-declared fundamentalism found in twentieth- and twenty-first century Protestant Christianity.¹⁹

Alternatives to “Fundamentalist”

There are many alternatives to “fundamentalist” but none have both a common acceptance in fundamentalist circles and a clear meaning outside of historical fundamentalism. The most common alternatives among fundamentalists themselves make reference to the Bible (as in “Bible-believing Christian,” “Biblicist,” “biblical fundamentalist”) or a claim to adherence to “biblical” or “Bible-based” teachings; one

¹⁸ For an example of academic othering, see Maltby, *Christian Fundamentalism*. Harding critiques such uses of “fundamentalist,” writing of Marty and Appleby’s *The Fundamentalism Project* that “[t]he emphasis on textual literalism as a defining feature of Fundamentalism all but disappeared and left absolutism and zealotry in its place. Indeed, if the movements now loosely dubbed ‘fundamentalist’ by outsiders have anything in common, it is their capacity to alarm the managers and agents of secular nation-states,” in *The Book of Jerry Falwell*, 268. Harris reviews comparative religious literature on fundamentalism and critiques studies such as Lawrence’s *Defenders of God* and *The Fundamentalism Project*, especially on their neglect of the theological issues that drive Protestant fundamentalism, in *Fundamentalism and Evangelicals*, 325-36.

¹⁹ See for example, Jones, *Being the Chosen*, an ethnography that inaccurately conflates global fundamentalisms with Protestant fundamentalism in describing a non-Protestant Christian isolationist sect. Carpenter argues against broader usages of fundamentalism when working with Christian groups: lumping these disparate groups together “belittles their great diversity and violates their unique identities,” while “[making] it virtually impossible to appreciate the nuances that shape these groups’ internal development and their relationship with other Christians,” *Revive Us Again*, 4-5.

well-regarded academic study refers to fundamentalists as “Bible Believers” in its title.²⁰ These terms are often used interchangeably with fundamentalist to signal belief and separatism; for example, a “Church Planting” section of the BJU website says that “[w]hile parts of the U.S. have a good number of sound, biblical churches, other areas are still in great need of fundamental churches.”²¹

Other alternatives are less specific: they either use a word like “conservative” or are long and descriptive.²² “Conservative Christian” is by far the most common way interviewees self-describe (among fundamentalists, it is so well understood that “conservative Christian” means something akin to fundamentalist that I refer to fundamentalist music as “conservative Christian music” or “conservative or fundamentalist Christian music” in most emails and interviews), and the aforementioned interviewee who crossed through “fundamentalist” preferred the description “culturally conservative Christian.”²³ BJU’s mission statement, on the other hand, describes the schools with a longhand version of what could have been summed

²⁰ Ammerman, *Bible Believers*.

²¹ Bruce McAllister, “Church Planting,” <http://www.bju.edu/ministries/church-planting/> (accessed May 25, 2015).

²² Some fundamentalists, like other many evangelical Christians, would prefer no descriptor at all, but simply “Christian.” Old Testament scholar James Barr, writing in the 1970s as an activist against fundamentalism, argues that this propensity to prefer no label other than Christian is because of their belief that “their own position as *the* or *the only* Christian position. ... They therefore do not feel at home with any designation which suggests that they form only one part in the totality of Christian life and faith. Ironically, this aspect of their self understanding, their thinking of themselves as the ‘true’ Christians, is exactly the reason why they are generally called not ‘Christians’ but ‘fundamentalists,’” *Fundamentalism*, 4-5.

²³ For an example of “conservative” used in this way, see Aniol et al., *A Conservative Christian Declaration*.

up to their constituents as simply “fundamentalist” in the past: the school is “steadfastly committed to remaining faithful to the biblical doctrine and principles in [its] founding charter.”²⁴

The mildness of BJU’s mission statement and terms like “conservative” starkly contrast with the bellicosity of earlier self-descriptions by fundamentalist authorities. For example, representatives of the 1978 Congress of Fundamentalism wrote:

Fundamentalism means giving time, talent, and money for the defense of the Faith. Fundamentalism means subjecting oneself to scorn, criticism, heartache, and rejection for sound doctrine and a position untainted by worldly and ecclesiastical inclusivism. Fundamentalism means both separation from liberals and from brethren who ‘walk disorderly, and not of the tradition’ of our founding fathers. Fundamentalism means watching what we believe going down to defeat, and rising up to start all over again.²⁵

Bob Jones Jr.’s 1976 description reflects a similar pugnacity, asserting that, besides not being a Communist, evolutionist, or Ecumenist, a fundamentalist cannot “know neutrality.” He continues,

There must be outspoken courageous ‘contending for the faith.... I do not believe that there are any such things as ‘militant Fundamentalists,’ in any unusual

²⁴ Bob Jones University, “Mission Statement,” <http://www.bju.edu/about/mission-statement.php> (accessed Dec 19, 2013).

²⁵ *News Release of Congress of Fundamentalism* (Oct 1978, Tabernacle Baptist Church, Virginia Beach, Virginia), quoted in Beale, *in Pursuit of Purity*, 296.

sense. I think that the *only* Fundamentalists are militant Fundamentalists. If you are not a fighting Fundamentalist, you are not a Fundamentalist, because the very word carries with it the clash of arms and the sound of the battle shout. The very word *fundamental* speaks of the waves beating against a rock rising above the waters of the sea—a rock that stands firm in the midst of the storm. A Fundamentalist is a man who takes up arms from the armory of grace and goes forth strong in the Lord and in the power of His might to contend for the Faith.²⁶

But such aggressive rhetoric is rare in the circles of fundamentalism associated with BJU today. Many fundamental churches loosely affiliated with BJU identify as “independent” and/or “fundamentalist” on their websites, and a majority also invoke separation (table 9), but they are far more likely to use descriptive language to identify themselves as conservative churches that prioritize preaching and a literal interpretation of the Bible (see a sample of these descriptions in table 10).

Table 8: Usage of “fundamental,” “independent,” and separatist on fundamental church websites

	<i>Website describes as “Fundamental”</i>
Total	31%
Greenville-Area	26%
Outside of Greenville	46%
	<i>Website describes as “Independent”</i>
Total	23%
Greenville-Area	31%
Outside of Greenville	25%

²⁶ Bob Jones [Jr.], in *Word of Their Testimony*, 131-2.

	<i>Website invokes separation explicitly</i>
Total	56%
Greenville-Area	51%
Outside of Greenville	69%

Sources: These statistics are from a the sample set of 55 websites is drawn from the websites of churches in the Greenville area approved for BJU student attendance in the 2014-2015 academic year (35 of the 42 English-language churches they list have working websites); websites from the 7 churches pastored by, founded by, or with a pastor emeritus on BJU's Board of Trustees and Associate Board in 2015; and websites of 6 additional churches with BJU-ties in a Southeastern metropolitan area and a Midwestern metropolitan area where I interviewed staff members and/or attended services. For BJU's list Greenville-area churches approved for student attendance, see Bob Jones University, "Greenville Area Churches," <http://www.bju.edu/life-faith/greenville/churches.php> (accessed July 29, 2014), and "Choosing a Church in Greenville," <http://www.bju.edu/admission/admitted-students/before-you-get-here/choosing-a-church.php> (accessed May 20, 2015). For BJU's Board of Trustees and Associate Board, see Bob Jones University, "University Board of Trustees," <http://www.bju.edu/about/board-trustees.php> (accessed May 20, 2015).

Table 9: Self-description on church websites that signal fundamental or conservative evangelical orientation

Self-descriptions that signal likely or possible fundamental orientation:

- "clear, practical preaching and teaching from the Bible"
- "a commitment to preaching, living, and spreading the timeless message of the gospel of Jesus Christ"
- "our pastor preaches from the Word of God, messages designed to challenge, encourage or inspire, and teach"
- "the main purpose of our services...is the preaching of the Word of God"
- "not ashamed of the Gospel, and we stand unapologetically for the 'old-time religion'"
- "We believe the Bible to be God's Word for man today."

Sources: Calvary Baptist Church (Simpsonville, SC), "Welcome to Calvary," <http://calvarysimpsonville.org/about/welcome> (accessed April 19, 2015); Community Bible Church of Holly Springs (Inman, SC), Homepage, <http://cbc-hs.org> (accessed April 19, 2015); Easley Bible Methodist Church (Easley, SC), "What Should You Expect When You Visit Easley Bible Methodist Church?" <http://www.easleybiblemethodist.org/whattoexpect.htm> (accessed April 19, 2015); Fellowship Baptist Church (Taylors, SC), "About Us," <http://www.fellowshipbaptisttaylors.org/about> (accessed April 19, 2015); Gateway Baptist Church (Travelers Rest, SC), Homepage, <http://www.gatewaybaptist-tr.com> (accessed April 19, 2015); Beth Eden Baptist Church (Wheat Ridge, CO), Homepage, <http://betheden.org> (accessed April 19, 2015).

Why Fundamentalist?

Why not choose from the alternatives used by fundamentalists, especially since a sizable minority rejects the term? For three main reasons, I choose "fundamentalist" over the two most common alternatives, "Bible believing Christians" (or, "Bible Believers") and "conservative Christians." First, "fundamentalist" has a clear historical meaning among

scholars of American Christianity. Second, “fundamentalist” is understood and used by a majority of those in churches with historical ties to fundamentalism and who maintain militant separatist positions. Third, the alternatives are either meaningless outside of fundamentalist circles or make a value judgment that I am unwilling to make: there are “conservative Christians” in every Christian circle, and to call someone a “Bible believing Christian” is to imply that those who disagree with those Christians do not “believe the Bible.” While this is the intended meaning of those who self-identify as “Bible believing,” I am unwilling to repeat such an interpretation throughout this study. I prefer instead a term that, despite its negative associations in a broader context, can be limited to historical meanings in the specific context of this study.

Demographics of Fundamentalists

Because fundamental churches are almost always independent of denominational affiliation and, instead, only loosely connected through informal means, the actual *who* of my research can be difficult to define apart from theology. The following information provides a snapshot of fundamentalists’ demographics.

Fundamentalism is a subset of evangelical Christianity – throughout this project, I often signal this subset relationship by references to fundamentalism and “broader evangelicalism.” According to the Pew Research Forum’s 2015 Religious Landscape Survey, evangelicalism is the largest strand of Protestant Christianity in the U.S. at 25.4%

of the total U.S. adult population.²⁷ Although many evangelicals belong to relatively well-known denominations such as the Southern Baptist Convention, the Assemblies of God, and the Presbyterian Church in America, fundamentalists typically belong to autonomous churches. 75% of the fundamental churches in my study are “independent Baptist” (Baptist churches without ties to any Baptist denominational organization) and nearly all of the rest are independent of denominational association altogether – what the Pew Research Forum classifies as “nondenominational fundamentalist.”²⁸ Most of these other churches in my study self-describe in their names as “Bible” churches, but some use other descriptors like “Christian” and “Gospel.”²⁹ Independent Baptists and nondenominational fundamentalists in the evangelical tradition make up 2.5% and 0.3% of the total U.S. adult population, respectively.³⁰

²⁷ Pew Research Center, “American’s Changing Religious Landscape,” 4. 14.7% of U.S adults are in mainline Protestant denominations and 6.5% in historically black denominations.

²⁸ The churches in my study include 42 English-language churches in the Greenville area that are approved by BJU for student attendance (as of the 2014-2015 academic year); 7 churches pastored by, founded by, or with a pastor emeritus on BJU’s Board of Trustees and Associate Board in 2015; and 6 additional churches with BJU-ties in a Southeastern metropolitan area and a Midwestern metropolitan area where I interviewed staff members and/or attended services. For BJU’s list Greenville-area churches approved for student attendance, see Bob Jones University, “Greenville Area Churches,” <http://www.bju.edu/life-faith/greenville/churches.php> (accessed July 29, 2014), and “Choosing a Church in Greenville,” <http://www.bju.edu/admission/admitted-students/before-you-get-here/choosing-a-church.php> (accessed May 20, 2015). For BJU’s Board of Trustees and Associate Board, see Bob Jones University, “University Board of Trustees,” <http://www.bju.edu/about/board-trustees.php> (accessed May 20, 2015).

²⁹ Two churches out of my sample set are affiliated with a denominational organization (Free Presbyterian and Bible Methodist).

³⁰ Pew Research Center, “American’s Changing Religious Landscape,” 21. BJU faculty member Bruce McAllister estimates “approximately 10,000 fundamental churches in the U.S.A.,” the “overwhelming majority” of which are “independent Baptist or Bible churches,” “Church Planting,” <http://www.bju.edu/ministries/church-planting/> (accessed May 25, 2015).

While the Pew Research Forum's categories of independent Baptist and nondenominational fundamentalist in the evangelical tradition doubtless include many individuals in circles of fundamentalism without direct connections to BJU, the broad demographic characteristics of these categories, especially independent Baptist, give a general picture of the fundamentalist population. As shown in table 11, independent Baptists skew slightly older than the general adult population; they are more often white; they are slightly less educated; and they are more likely poor or middle class than wealthy. Nondenominational fundamentalists are much more likely than independent Baptists to be black (9% versus 0%), but the latter number is far more in line with my experiences in fundamental churches, which are predominantly white, and of church leaders, who are almost always white. However, though my study only includes English-language churches, a number of non-English-language churches are fundamentalist (for instance, BJU's list of churches in the Greenville area that its students may attend includes several Spanish-language churches and one Chinese-language church). Though fundamental churches are predominantly white, they are not overtly segregationist, and they are likely to allow for minority leadership—for instance, I visited a service with about 700 congregants (with less than 10 people of color that I could see among the congregation), and the guest minister was himself black.³¹ The

³¹ Morningside Baptist Church, Greenville, SC, March 2, 2014. Today, fundamental churches allow membership to people of any race (I have only encountered one exception and that, in the 1990s and at a church *not* in the BJU orbit), and most have members who are racial minorities. Music may be a secondary

typically-white demographics of fundamental churches are perhaps reflective of geographic demographics, at least for fundamental churches located near BJU. Of the 470,000+ residents of Greenville County where BJU is located, over 70% are white. The surrounding Upstate region—a cluster of 10 counties in the westernmost portion of the state—has nearly 1.4 millions residents, nearly 80% of which are white.³²

Table 10: Demographic information on evangelicals in general, evangelical independent Baptists, and evangelical nondenominational fundamentalists

<i>Gender</i>	<i>Percent of U.S. Adults in 2014</i>				
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>			
U.S. Adults	48%	52%			
Evangelicals	45%	55%			
Independent Baptists	48%	52%			
Nondenominational fundamentalists	61%	39%			
<i>Age</i>	<i>Percent of U.S. Adults in 2014</i>				
	<i>13-29</i>	<i>30-49</i>	<i>50-64</i>	<i>65+</i>	
U.S. Adults	22%	34%	26%	18%	
Evangelicals	17%	33%	29%	20%	
Independent Baptists	16%	33%	32%	19%	
Nondenominational fundamentalists	14%	33%	38%	16%	
<i>Race</i>	<i>Percent of U.S. Adults in 2014</i>				
	<i>White, non-Latino</i>	<i>Black, non-Latino</i>	<i>Asian, non-Latino</i>	<i>Other, non-Latino</i>	<i>Latino</i>
U.S. Adults	66%	12%	4%	4%	15%
Evangelicals	76%	6%	2%	5%	11%
Independent Baptists	88%	0%	1%	5%	6%
Nondenominational fundamentalists	75%	9%	2%	9%	5%

factor in church’s racial demographics, but Marti argues in his sociological study of multiracial churches that music is more likely to indicate the racial makeup of a congregational than it is to directly encourage increased racial diversity, *Worship Across the Racial Divide*. On multiracial congregations, see also Edwards, *The Elusive Dream*.

³² Information on Greenville, SC, Greenville County, and the Upstate region are drawn from census.gov (accessed December 20, 2016); greenvillesc.gov (accessed April 15, 2015); and factfinder.scacog.org (accessed April 15, 2015).

<i>Education</i>	<i>Less than high school</i>	<i>High school grad</i>	<i>Some college</i>	<i>College grad/ some postgrad</i>	<i>Post-graduate degree</i>
U.S. Adults	10%	31%	32%	17%	11%
Evangelicals	10%	34%	35%	14%	7%
Independent Baptists	12%	37%	34%	12%	5%
Nondenominational fundamentalists	5%	33%	37%	20%	5%
<i>Family Income</i>	<i><\$30,000</i>	<i>\$30,000- \$49,999</i>	<i>\$50,000- \$74,999</i>	<i>\$75,000- \$99,999</i>	<i>\$100,000+</i>
U.S. Adults	35%	20%	15%	12%	19%
Evangelicals	35%	22%	16%	12%	14%
Independent Baptists	39%	22%	16%	11%	12%

Source: Pew Research Center, "American's Changing Religious Landscape," 118-47. Percentages may not add up to 100 due to rounding; and nondenominational fundamentalists are not listed under family income due to insufficient sample size.

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Biography

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