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secularisation, music’s meanings and Black British heritage

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Sacred-Secular, Gospel-Pop Crossovers
Secularisation, Music's Meanings and Black British Heritage

Matthew Alexander Williams, LLB, PGCE, MA (Mus)
University of Bristol

A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the requirements for award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts

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Abstract

'Sacred-Secular, Gospel-Pop Crossovers' presents an analysis of the sound of gospel music as it is understood in popular culture. A key premise of this dissertation is that the traditional sacred-secular binary does not neatly apply to a Western post-Christian milieu. This dissertation offers an alternative four-quadrant model for interrogating sacred and secular. Another premise of this dissertation is that the gospel sound in pop music is often tacitly recognised by its listeners. I make elements of the gospel sound (and its semiotic meaning) explicit through a theory that I call 'gospel codes'.

Chapter 1, following Charles Taylor's theory of a secular age, shows how the transcendent may be evoked in music that is not traditionally understood as religious. I show that there is a shared store of musical signs that carry semiotic meaning in both gospel and pop music. Chapter 2 lays out a Peircean semiotic theory of gospel codes; it also foregrounds the importance of listener interpretation in defining musical meaning. Chapter 3 broadens the account of gospel music to include a Black Atlantic narrative that specifically focuses on the Caribbean and British roots and routes of black British gospel music. Chapter 4 highlights a specific period (1971-1975) that was key in embedding the African American gospel sound in the popular social imaginary. This chapter analyses that sound and then provides evidence of its presence in hundreds of popular songs. Chapter 5 utilises a Peircean semiotic reading of gospel signs to explore meaning in sacred-secular crossover. Chapter 6 applies my quadrant model and shows that, instead of solely secularisation, there has been a pluralisation of belief and re-enchantment of society, evident in gospel music. In an age of post-Christendom, in the UK, the presence of gospel stylisation in pop may be considered part of the re-enchantment of popular culture.
Acknowledgements

The pages that follow are dedicated to Janine Williams, your unswerving love, patience and support in this process have made this study possible. Thanks also for being proof-reader and Microsoft Office guru! I would also like to thank Alfred Williams aka 'uncle', without your love of learning and belief in my potential from an early age, I may never have had the courage to do this. This PhD is just as much yours as it is mine. I wish to express gratitude to my parents on both sides. You have had tremendous patience in my absence from various functions and gatherings as I scaled the PhD mountain and continued to work full time. It is difficult to communicate the kind of sacrifice it takes to do this. Adrian and Zelpha Williams, Bernard and Maureen Morris you have witnessed this effort first-hand. Thank you for making it easier for me. Thank you also to my Williams and Morris siblings for your support and prayers. Special appreciation to my friends and mentors David Shosanya, Karen Gibson MBE, Paul Gladstone-Reid MBE, Phil Gray and Leon Small for your consistent comradery and sound advice throughout this process.

I would like to express gratitude to my incredible supervisors, Justin Williams and Emma Hornby. Justin your generosity of spirit, genuine care and secure grasp of my intention were critical to this process. This dissertation relied on having the right supervisor and on countless occasions you have demonstrated why you were the best choice for my work. You have gone above and beyond at every step of this process. Emma, your meticulous reading, encouragement and robust challenge have helped me make this something I can be proud of – thank you. I also wish to thank the Music Department at the University of Bristol for granting me the opportunity and funding award to carry out this research. Appreciation must also go to my colleagues in musicology and ethnomusicology who intentionally checked in with me and made themselves available for questions, conversation and community. Particular thanks go to senior academics Birgitta Johnson, Alisha Lola Jones and Samantha Ege who, in spite of relentless schedules, exemplified this practice on multiple occasions.

Finally, all thanks to God, 'in whom I live and move and have my being', on to the next adventure.
Author's Declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University's Regulations and Code of Practice for Research Degree Programmes and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award. Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the candidate's own work. Work done in collaboration with, or with the assistance of, others, is indicated as such. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

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Glossary

**Age of Authenticity** – Understood as an expression of 'what speaks to me'. The age of authenticity has become more prominent since the 1960s following the decline of commitment to organised religion in the West. It is an approach that (both philosophically and historically) follows the development of Romanticism which results in the expressive individualism of late modernity.

**BAG** – Black American Gospel

**BBG** – Black British Gospel

**Cross-Pressure** – In a secular age, faith is 'cross pressured' meaning that it is contested by various narratives of belief and unbelief in contemporary Western culture. The simultaneous pressures of this variety of options often tend to 'fragilise' essentialist and absolutist accounts of faith.

**Expressive Individualism** – Each person has their own way of realising their humanity. Expressive individualism conveys the idea that instead of conforming to the models imposed by others, each person 'expresses' their humanity in the way they choose.

**Museme** – a small unit of musical meaning

**Nova Effect** – The explosion of different options for belief as a result of the cross-pressures of a secular age.

**PMFC** - A 'paramusical field of connotation' is a parallel field of implied meaning related (through the meaning-making process (semiotics)) to the musical discourse without being structurally essential to that discourse.

**A Secular Age** - A term coined by the philosopher Charles Taylor. It connotes an age where belief in God is no longer a default option. Instead, multiple options for belief are available and acceptable.

**VVA** - Verbal Visual Associations are listener responses to music conveyed in words or images. These associations may be obtained in the form of words that describe what the hearer sees, imagines, feels or makes associations with when listening to a piece of music. These VVA's can be gathered in various ways, for example, through reviews, blogs, articles, interviews with listeners, social media comments, comments on various streaming platforms, and listeners' communications.
INTRODUCTION

I remember vividly the first time I heard her name and that voice...in 1965...in Littlehampton, a beach town in England... I wasn't paying too much attention to what was being played until I heard this voice. The song was my favourite, 'Walk On By' [originally sung by Dionne Warwick in 1963] ...somehow, this singer I'd never heard of was adding a whole new dimension to the Bacharach-David tune. I had no idea that what she was bringing to the song was her none-too-shabby years of singing in her father's church and as a virtual child prodigy on the American gospel circuit. All I knew was this young woman was turning 'Walk On By' into a religious experience for this British teen. I had no clue it would be the beginning of a life-long deep appreciation for her artistry.

-- British Music Journalist David Nathan talks about his first experience hearing Aretha Franklin in 1965.¹

For many years black gospel musicians have successfully transitioned from traditional church music contexts to careers in secular pop music. Examples of musicians who began in gospel and crossed to secular music, such as Aretha Franklin, Stevie Wonder, Whitney Houston and Sam Cooke (to name only a few), testify to the influence of gospel in secular pop music. The same can be said of UK artists such as Laura Mvula, Sam Henshaw, Mica Paris, Beverly Knight and The Kingdom Choir.² In this dissertation I examine why this is the case, particularly as, historically, many black majority churches have been opposed to members engaging with secular music.³ The focus of this study is black British gospel-pop crossover (BBG). Still, the black American gospel (BAG) sound is essential to this narrative and forms a core part of my research. I have highlighted

² Kenneth Bilby states, ‘...given that some of the black British musicians working today in various genres attended black British churches while growing up, regularly or occasionally participating in the music of worship, it is safe to assume that music in this tradition has had an influence on black British music beyond the church environment.’ Jason Toynbee, Catherine Tackley, and Mark Doffman, Black British Jazz Routes Ownership and Performance, Ashgate Popular and Folk Music Series (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2014), 73.
the period 1971 -1975 (identified by Heilbut) as a time when the gospel sound became recognisable in popular culture. I have taken two key music releases from this period as exemplars of the gospel sound as understood in pop. Further, using principles drawn from the semiotic theory of Charles Sanders Peirce (1839-1914), I explore the ways that gospel stylisation evokes religious connotations in secular pop music.4

Drawing on Charles Taylor's theory in *A Secular Age* (2007), I argue that gospel music stylisation resides in the collective popular social imaginary in the UK and USA.5 This stylisation can be recognised through key semiotic signs. I argue that the shared store of signs between gospel and pop music is one of the main reasons for the successful crossover of musicians from gospel to secular pop. In secular pop and gospel music performances, these signs can evoke emotions and memories connected to the religious or spiritual realms. A binary understanding of the sacred-secular divide is often accepted by both the religious and non-religious. However, building upon certain critical principles drawn from *A Secular Age*, I contest this dichotomy and offer a different method for perceiving the relationship between sacred and secular music. The words of David Nathan in the epigraph 'all I knew was this young woman was turning 'Walk On By' into a religious experience for this British teen' succinctly reveals the cultural foundations upon which I have built this dissertation.

Max Weber is credited with popularising the concept of disenchantment.6 It describes the Western world that would exist once science and the enlightenment dissolved the need for and influence of spiritual and religious beliefs. Academics have since challenged the predictions of Weber, suggesting instead that re-enchantment better describes the current cultural milieu.7 This re-enchantment can be observed both within organised religion and outside of it, and particularly in the human relationship with art (in this case, pop music).8 I suggest that the presence of gospel music in pop is part of the re-enchantment of Western society.

The influence of gospel music continues to spread across the world. With it, there has been a growth in the body of academic literature on gospel music from a global perspective. Monique Ingalls has highlighted the literature of academics writing about gospel from various countries and

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4 'Semiotics is the systematic study of sign systems in human communication. Sign systems are a set of conventions of meaning within a particular field. Signs may be conveyed in artistic forms such as dance, literature, television, film, music and art.' Taken from chapter 2 where my semiotic theory is presented.
regions (e.g. West Africa, East Africa, Japan, Korea and Australia). Mark Lewis has also noted ‘black gospel music has diffused throughout much of Western Europe and beyond’. Lewis’s work focuses on the diffusion of black gospel in postmodern Denmark. In particular, he notes the impact that the music has had on both religious and non-religious people through participation in rehearsal and performance settings. He cites many reasons for this impact including gospel music’s meaning. In his estimation, the development of an understanding of the meaning of gospel music and its connection with the sublime has been a significant factor in its influence. This harmonises with some of the semiotic assertions I make in this dissertation. However, I seek to move the conversation forward by offering a conceptual framework for producing meaning in gospel music.

My dissertation is limited in geographic focus to the UK, Caribbean and USA. It is evident from the work of academics studying gospel from a global perspective that similar issues are arising about the policing of gospel-pop, sacred-secular boundaries. Writing on gospel music from a global perspective, Monique Ingalls has observed that ‘while gospel and Christian music’s racial and ethnic associations entail a series of different negotiations, there is one central issue related to musical meaning common to all styles: boundary disputes owing to the musics’ associations with secular popular music styles and industries. My dissertation focuses on this central issue from a black British perspective and seeks to offer a new way of contextualising sacred and secular (see section 1.3).

Many scholars have written on the history of BAG. However, the incorporation of gospel stylisation into commercial popular music is an under-examined area of study in musicology and

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12 See chapters 2 and 5.
13 See chapter 2.
pop music studies. Theresa Reed writes that 'while the sacred/secular issue is a regular feature on
the menu of broader discussions about black music, works devoted entirely and exclusively to the
issue itself are comparatively few and far between'.16 Reed gives a list of the small body of literature,
including Michael Harris's *The Rise of Gospel Blues: The Music of Thomas Andrew Dorsey in the Urban
Church* (1992), Portia Maultsby's article 'The Impact of Gospel Music on the Secular Music
Profane* (2003), Judith Casselberry's book chapter *Were We Ever Secular?,* Jerma Jackson's, *Singing in
My Soul: Black Gospel Music in a Secular Age* (2004) and Spencer's *Sacred Music of the Secular City: From
Blues to Rap* (1992).18 These works address the constructed divide between sacred and secular.19

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16 Reed, *The Holy Profane: Religion in Black Popular Culture*, 11. Spencer also mentions this problem as it relates to
ehnomusicology. Jon Michael Spencer, *Blues and Evil*, (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press/Knoxville,
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17 See Portia Maultsby's article 'The Impact of Gospel Music on the Secular Music Industry' in Johnson Reagon,
*We'll Understand It Better by and By*, 19; Spencer, *Blues and Evil*, Harris, *Rise of Gospel Blues: The Music of Thomas Andrew
Dorsey in the Urban Church*.

18 Reed, *The Holy Profane*, Judith S. Casselberry, *'Were We Ever Secular? Interrogating David Brown on Gospel,
My Soul*, Jon Michael Spencer, ed., *Sacred Music of the Secular City: From Blues to Rap*, vol. 6, Black Sacred Music a

19 There are also works are not specifically about black gospel music that discuss the wider issue of sacred and
secular music. See Tom Beaudoin, ed., *Secular Music and Sacred Theology* (Collegewlie, Minnesota: Liturgical Press,
2013); Davin Seay and Mary Neely, *Stairway to Heaven: The Spiritual Roots of Rock 'n' Roll, from the King and Little Richard
to Prince and Amy Grant* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1986); David Brown, *God and Grace of Body: Sacrament in
Those Seeking God*, (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Brazos Press, 2011); Christopher H. Partridge, *The Lyre of Orpheus:
Popular Music, the Sacred, and the Profane* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); Jonathan Arnold, *Sacred Music in
However, none of these authors thoroughly analyse the stylistic commonalities between gospel and pop, which is of central importance to my dissertation. This dissertation highlights crossovers and the stylistic commonality between gospel and pop. There is a lack of literature dedicated to exploring the influence of gospel musicians on popular music.

The phenomenon of crossover from sacred gospel music to secular pop also occurs in the UK, which is the focus of my dissertation. There is relatively little academic writing that directly addresses black British gospel music. Dulcie Dixon-McKenzie’s PhD dissertation is a historical study that foregrounds the arrival of Caribbean Pentecostals in Britain and identifies black British gospel as a product of this environment. However, it does not directly address the issue of sacred and secular music. Pauline Muir’s dissertation focuses on the congregational singing of black majority churches in London; it generates insight into the Christian music industry’s engagement with the music stylisation of the UK black majority church. There are also non-academic books relating to the history of BBG. This non-academic literature mostly takes a historical approach and identifies key musicians and ensembles who influenced the development of BBG. The authors of this literature do not deal extensively with the stylisation of BBG, nor is there significant treatment of sacred-secular crossover. My dissertation focuses from a musicological point of view on the black British manifestation of gospel music. Through historical narratives, case studies and close readings of various pieces of music, I discuss the UK aspect of the gospel-pop crossover phenomenon highlighting its relationship to black American gospel music. I engage with this topic

by taking Paul Gilroy’s theory of a Black Atlantic and using it to articulate the relationship between the Caribbean, UK and USA in gospel music, mainly as it illuminates black identity beyond nation and state boundaries.24

The Christian conceptualisation of sacred and secular has historically been fraught with problems.25 These contentions are just as present in black Pentecostal churches.26 According to Mellonee Burnim, artists who cross over from gospel to popular music 'succumb to the lure of secular music'.27 This sentiment is understood and held by many in the black majority Pentecostal churches.28 The implications of this claim will be interrogated as part of this dissertation. First, Burnim implies that there is a divide between music that is considered sacred and that which is considered secular. Second, Burnim's words 'succumb to the lure' imply an improper transgression of accepted boundaries by taking up the role of artistry in the world outside of the church, especially when performing music that is not explicitly related to Christian themes. In this dissertation, these sacred-secular boundaries are interrogated, and a new quadrant model is offered in chapter 1 and applied to a case study in chapter 6. I use this quadrant model to suggest a new way of conceptualising sacred and secular that also interacts with the holy and profane (or virtuous and subversive).

Many musicians and singers in the Pentecostal church have experienced a complex relationship with the church as a result of playing secular music.29 The stance of Pentecostal theology toward those who crossover from gospel to popular music has historically been quite negative.30 Pentecostalism places particular emphasis on music as semiotic sign.31 The ambivalence of Pentecostalism toward secular music and its use of music as semiotic sign make it an intriguing area of exploration for my dissertation concerning gospel-pop crossover.

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24 ‘Black Atlantic’ is Gilroy’s term to describe a culture that transcends ethnic and national boundaries. As opposed to being specifically British, American, Caribbean or African, it is all of these. Paul Gilroy, The Black Atlantic - Modernity and Double Consciousness, 3rd ed. (London: Verso, 2002).
25 Brown, God and Grace of Body, 295; Beaudoin, Secular Music and Sacred Theology, 16–17.
26 Reed, The Holy Profane: Religion in Black Popular Culture, 6–12.
29 For example, Rosetta Tharpe (1915 - 1973) was a member of the Pentecostal denomination Church of God in Christ. Tharpe pioneered many of the techniques of early rock n’ roll guitar. On multiple occasions she was excommunicated from the church because she played secular venues and secular music. Similar reactions were true for soul singer Sam Cooke and many others. These experiences of rejection also affect many beyond the Pentecostal church, but my focus in this dissertation will be on the Pentecostal stream of Christianity.
0.1: Definitions

0.1.1: Defining Gospel Music

Gospel music is a Protestant form of sacred music. Traditionally it has emphasised the Judeo-Christian message about the implications of Jesus’ teaching and ministry as told in the New Testament. Gospel music stresses the implications of the resurrection of Christ in the lives of those who believe. The theological concept of 'salvation by grace alone' is vital to this message.\(^{32}\) In contrast to the process of earning one's redemption by carrying out more good deeds than evil deeds, salvation by grace emphasises the message that the Christian's good deeds are not sufficient in and of themselves to meet the requirements of perfection.

For this reason, Christians believe that through his perfect life, death and resurrection, Christ offers what is understood to be right standing and priceless unmerited favour (grace) from God. The word 'gospel' is typically used in Western Christian contexts in general reference to the first four books of the New Testament (Matthew, Mark, Luke and John). The focus of these books is an account of the life of Jesus. Most Protestant Christians hold that this set of writings is an account of the life of the divine logos (Christ).\(^{33}\) The word gospel used in this setting is a translation of the Greek noun ‘Evangelion’, meaning 'good news'. The word 'gospel' is derived from the old Anglo-Saxon word 'godspell' (literally 'good story'). Protestant doctrine asserts that God sent Jesus Christ with the telos of restoring those who believe in his resurrection to a relationship with God and with one another.\(^{34}\) This telos has important implications for how gospel music is engaged with. The act of gospel musicking is interpreted as part of a spiritual act of unifying believers with God and one another.\(^{35}\)

The roots of gospel music can be found in the Great Awakenings that took place in the USA (and beyond) between the 1730s – and mid-1800s.\(^{36}\) The Awakenings can be described as a

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\(^{32}\) The topic of grace is further examined in my case study of Stormzy’s, Blinded by Your Grace. See Chapter 5.

\(^{33}\) ‘Logos, (Greek: “word,” “reason,” or “plan”) plural logoi, in ancient Greek philosophy and early Christian theology, the divine reason implicit in the cosmos, ordering it and giving it form and meaning. Although the concept is also found in Indian, Egyptian, and Persian philosophical and theological systems, it became particularly significant in Christian writings and doctrines as a vehicle for conceiving the role of Jesus Christ as the principle of God active in the creation and the continuous structuring of the cosmos and in revealing the divine plan of salvation to human beings. It thus underlies the basic Christian doctrine of the pre-existence of Jesus.’ ‘Logos | Definition, History, & Facts | Britannica’, accessed 27 March 2021, https://www.britannica.com/topic/logos.

\(^{34}\) Telos is a term used by Aristotle. It refers to the full potential or purpose of a person or thing.

\(^{35}\) This unifying act is examined in chapter 4 where I refer to it as common-union.

general heightening of pious emotional fervour and Christian religious commitment, often resulting in new churches and denominations. Characteristic of this period were the various camp meetings and prayer meetings. The revival meetings that were a product of the Great Awakenings primarily focused on evangelism, personal experience of Christianity (being born again), and a charismatic expressive mode of worship. Gospel music is a 'folk expression' that emerged from the worship during the camp meetings of the 1850 – 1890s.37

Some scholars believe that the music during the revivals was reminiscent of West African religious expression and the 'secretive services held on southern slave plantations'. For this reason, it was an attractive form of expression in worship to enslaved people in the USA of West African descent.38 The same is true of the Caribbean, where freed slave missionaries and white missionaries brought this style of worship from the Southern states to the Caribbean Islands.39 These gospel songs were adopted by Holiness and Pentecostal churches in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.40 These churches had been founded in the south of the United States by and large. However, missionaries were sent from church headquarters in the south to other locations in the USA and other countries, including the Caribbean. They carried these songs with them into the liturgies of the churches they founded.41

BAG is the product of twentieth-century African American religious music: it developed in urban cities after the Great Migration of blacks from the southern states to the north of America.42 Thomas A. Dorsey (1899-1993) is widely recognised as the father of African American gospel music, renowned for gospel blues stylisation.43 There is some dispute about the origin of the term 'gospel music', but most now understand it to be different from the gospel hymns used

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38 Beginning in the mid 1700s large numbers of African Americans were drawn to Christianity some of whom were converted; these numbers continued to grow well into the 1800s.
39 Most notably, the African American freed slave, George Liele (1750 – 1828) established the Baptist movement in Jamaica. See David T. Shannon, Julia Frazier White, and Deborah Bingham Van Brockhoven, George Liele’s Life and Legacy: An Unseen Hero (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2013), 7–12.
41 Benson Vaughan has done extensive work detailing the history of the music of the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee). His book examines the influence of music on the development of the Church of God. The Church of God (now splintered into two denominations) is the main Pentecostal church in Jamaica. Benson Vaughan, The Influence of Music on the Development of the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee) (University of Birmingham, 2015); Benson Vaughan and Jim W Burns, The Influence of Music on the Development of the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee), 2018, 1–36.
43 See Harris, Rise of Gospel Blues: The Music of Thomas Andrew Dorsey in the Urban Church; See also: Jackson, Singing in My Soul, 51–76.
in the evangelical meetings of Dwight Lyman Moody and Ira David Sankey in the mid-1800s. Instead, it is usually now interpreted as a stylistic reference to African American gospel music.

From its inception, gospel music was fused with secular stylisation (initially the blues). Boyer notes that 'while white gospel music is of little relevance to jazz, the African-American stream has had an enormous impact, and the two genres are intertwined in substantial ways'. For Dorsey, style did not determine whether a song was sacred. Gospel songs could have upbeat rhythms and blue notes and remain sacred as long as the music's context was conducive to worship. By the mid-1950s and 60s, BAG was becoming recognised as a popular song genre, and this mix of stylisation continues to be part of the gospel aesthetic. Since then, BAG has continued to grow in reach.

Andrew Legg provides a helpful summary of the antecedents to gospel music. His table provides key events, descriptions of the music, key musicians and publications from the Great Awakening (1735) to Thomas Dorsey and the rise of the 'gospel-blues' (1932). This list enables one to trace how participants in the holiness movement and later Pentecostals had a worship music tradition that was considered 'gospel' in a broader sense than might be understood today. This is significant because the history (prior to the initiation of Dorsey's stylisation of gospel) upon which gospel music is founded is the seed of understanding gospel music in the Caribbean (as discussed extensively in chapter 3 on the Roots and Routes of Caribbean British gospel). Caribbean gospel is a crucial part of the narrative in this dissertation because it was Caribbean migrants and their descendants who began the phenomenon of gospel-pop crossover in the UK.

0.1.2: Defining Pentecostalism

The term 'Pentecostalism' carries various connotations, and academics have found it difficult to define. It is a stream of Christianity that has grown rapidly since its beginnings over

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44 Wyatt Tee Walker, 'Somebody's Calling My Name': Black Sacred Music and Social Change (Valley Forge, Pa: Judson, 1979), 127.
45 Dorsey states, 'I wouldn’t have been as successful in gospel songs if I hadn’t known some of these things, trills, turns, movements in blues…Now you take some of the gospel singers -some of the best ones were good blues singers'. Harris, Rise of Gospel Blues: The Music of Thomas Andrew Dorsey in the Urban Church, 101.
47 Ibid., 1.
48 The most recent work to cover post-civil right era of gospel music is Claudrena Harold’s book which examines the sonic innovations and theological tensions of this music. Harold, When Sunday Comes.
100 years ago. Bergunder identifies five typifying characteristics of Pentecostalism. First, the emphasis on the role of the Holy Spirit and the exercise of various spiritual gifts (healing, prophecy, wisdom, ecstatic worship practices etc.). Second, the movement may be identified by its numerical growth, which 'contradicts all predictions on the supposedly secularising effect of modernisation processes.' Third, Pentecostalism is notable for the ways it has adapted to various cultures around the world while remaining 'loyal to its identity.' A fourth characteristic is the range of audiences it attracts, notably a large majority of practitioners are female. Lastly, the majority of Pentecostals are in the Global South, which has become a particularly influential area for this movement. Bergunder's list is not exhaustive, but it does provide a helpful starting point for recognising a movement which has taken on many different forms.

Some broad theological features allow Pentecostals to inhabit a global community. Besides the emphasis on the role of the Holy Spirit (already mentioned), André Droogers identifies two other globally shared theological categories: first, the 'born again' or conversion experience and second, the dualistic world view that makes distinctions between sacred and secular, world and church, God and Satan, sickness and health.

When the term 'Pentecostalism' is used in this dissertation, I am following Michael Bergunder's cultural studies approach. Bergunder recognised that Pentecostalism is not 'a nominalistic nor...an idealistic category, but [instead it is] a contingent discursive network.' This approach is critical in avoiding the essentialism that can occur when Pentecostals are defined merely by their historical roots, sociological beginnings or theological position. Ingalls and Yong also follow Bergunder by recognising the difficulties in ascribing to Pentecostalism certain 'essential traits' or 'appealing to representative institutional frameworks' as a means of defining Pentecostalism. The term 'Pentecostal' in this dissertation is 'used to invoke the constellation of twentieth- and twenty-first-century Christian renewal movements that are related to one another as part of a transnational social network connected by shared beliefs and practices—of which music is...key.' Allan Anderson applies the analogy of 'family resemblance' to Pentecostalism.

51 ‘Pentecostalism can be viewed today as the most rapidly expanding religious movement in the world. Within the past thirty years there has been an estimated 700 percent increase in the number of Pentecostal believers, who represent about a quarter of the world’s Christian population and two-thirds of all Protestants.’ Bergunder et al., *Studying Global Pentecostalism*, 2.
52 Bergunder et al., 3.
53 Ibid., 3.
54 Ibid., 3.
55 Ibid., 21.
56 Ibid., 51–73.
57 Ibid., 54.
59 Ingalls and Yong, 3.
'Family resemblance' means that across denominational lines Pentecostals do not hold all traits in common, but they share similarities and relations with each other. Many denominations may not refer to themselves as Pentecostal, perhaps preferring a descriptor such as 'charismatic'. Some may even distance themselves from specific descriptors, but the family resemblance identified in the lists of Droogers and Bergunder are helpful in ascertaining their Pentecostal heritage.

Throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, Pentecostalism has taken various forms. These manifestations are often referred to as 'waves'. 'Classical Pentecostalism' grew out of the 19th century Holiness Movement in the United States. 'Charismatic Pentecostals' are those who share an emphasis on gifts of the spirit but remain part of mainline churches such as the Anglican and Catholic church. The 'Neo-Charismatic or Neo-Pentecostal' movement is also known as 'third wave'. This branch of Pentecostalism includes a range of megachurches and independent churches that have arisen since the 1970s.

The use of the term 'Pentecostal' throughout my dissertation is shorthand for these 'diverse social formations'. But the use of the term 'black Pentecostal' is nuanced to point expressly to black majority church manifestations of Pentecostalism across the Black Atlantic. I follow Reed and Andemicael in the use of this term; in their articles on black Pentecostal music, they use the term 'black Pentecostal' to refer to black Pentecostals in the Caribbean and North America. I am extending 'black Pentecostal' to include black majority Pentecostal churches in the UK.

I have chosen to focus on Pentecostalism in this dissertation for several reasons. First, there is a unique relationship between music and theology in Pentecostalism (as demonstrated in chapter 5). Owing to this relationship, I assert that gospel music's semiotic meaning within Pentecostalism is part of the reason for its presence within pop. Secondly, as Bergunder notes, Pentecostalism's growth contradicts predictions that, owing to modernisation, society would become more secular. The growth of Pentecostalism supports my thesis regarding the presence of gospel stylisation in popular music. Thirdly, academics note that Pentecostalism is a generative

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63 Ibid., 2.
66 Bergunder et al., Studying Global Pentecostalism, 3.
field of enquiry for the study of sacred-secular crossover. This dissertation provides a unique contribution to that conversation from a black British perspective. Fourthly, in the UK, black gospel music stylisation entered British popular music via musicians and singers who came from Pentecostal churches (see chapter 3). Lastly, it is acknowledged by various academics that many Pentecostal musicians have crossed over to pop music across the Black Atlantic. Rather than focus on various streams of Christianity, I have limited my study to Pentecostalism to remain within the word limit.

While my dissertation utilises the broad definition of 'Pentecostalism' discussed above, the focus of my research is on black British gospel music. The phenomenon of gospel-pop crossover in the UK began in Caribbean Pentecostal churches; these churches were Classical Pentecostal in nature. The Classical Pentecostal movement grew out of the Holiness movement, which directly preceded it. The Holiness movement began in the United States in the 1840s and was a significant vehicle in promoting the teaching of John Wesley, particularly his emphasis on the process of sanctification. Sanctification was understood to be an experiential process by which the practitioner of Christianity is made 'clean from sin' or pure before God. Perhaps the most critical factor in the emergence and subsequent popularity of this teaching in the USA was the camp meeting revivals all over rural America during this period. During the 1880s, this movement birthed countless churches that were nondenominational. Many Pentecostal churches in America had initially been Holiness churches. They became Pentecostal churches during the early 1900s due to adopting new teachings around glossolalia and belief in other miraculous gifts (such as healing and prophecy).

It is helpful to note that historically the words 'Pentecostal', 'Sanctified' and 'Holiness' were often used interchangeably. The doctrine of sanctification informed the inner spiritual life and governed the activities that Christians were allowed to participate in. This doctrine reinforced the

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sacred-secular divide, which became a distinguishing feature of the Holiness movement, i.e. one should be able to deduce that an individual was a Christian by the clothes they wore, their speech, and their leisure activities. The sacred-secular divide extended to the music deemed acceptable to engage in, so sacred music was holy and secular music was understood to be sinful. This theological position continued into Pentecostalism.

Pentecostalism is closely intertwined with the birth and generative impact of gospel music. The Pentecostal movement is firmly connected to Christian Protestant principles. The Classical Pentecostal movement in its current form was initiated in 1901 with the teaching of Charles Parham. Parham’s student, William J. Seymour, the son of an enslaved person, became the initiator of a revival in 1906 in Los Angeles, California, known as the Azusa Street revival. This revival began at a meeting at 312 Azusa Street and continued until around 1914. Azusa Street is the most well-known revival meeting of the movement, and it is widely regarded as the starting point for Pentecostalism. The components that distinguish Classical Pentecostal belief and practice from other Christian movements rely on a particular interpretation of the biblical book of Acts. Classical Pentecostals hold to a literal interpretation of the first and second chapter of the book of Acts, written between A.D. 70 and A.D. 80. The document was written for a person identified as Theophilus to provide an extensive account of the earliest events of Christianity.

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74 ‘In the early 20th cent. experiences of “Spirit baptism” were reported among various revivalist or Holiness groups in America; those occurring in Los Angeles in 1906 attracted attention. The largest Pentecostal body in the USA is the “Assemblies of God”, an affiliation of Churches formed in 1914…It also spread early to other W. European countries and is expanding in Latin America, Indonesia, and among the African Independent Churches. Since c.1960 the Pentecostal movement has come to be widely represented within the main Christian denominations, where it is sometimes called “Neo-Pentecostalism”’ E A. Livingstone, ‘Pentecostalism’, in The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, ed. E. A. Livingstone (Oxford University Press, 2006), http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198614425.001.0001/acref-9780198614425-e-4440.
75 From its earliest conception at Azusa Street, the Pentecostal movement was unique in that it was an interracial movement. However, Charles Parham, among many others were uncomfortable with the interracial nature of the movement and actively opposed it. See Allan Anderson, ‘The Dubious Legacy of Charles Parham: Racism and Cultural Insensitivities among Pentecostals’, Pneuma 27, no. 1 (2005): 51–64, https://doi.org/10.1163/157007405774270392.
76 Wolfgang Vondey, Pentecostal Theology: Living the Full Gospel (New York: Bloomsbury, 2017), 14–18.
77 Most theological scholars agree that the book of Acts (and its companion, the gospel of Luke) was intended to be a historical account. It was recorded by a physician named Luke, one of the foremost observers of the actions of the disciples of Jesus, during his life and in the years immediately after His resurrection.
78 ‘Many have undertaken to compile a narrative about the events that have been fulfilled among us, just as the original eyewitnesses and servants of the word handed them down to us. So it also seemed good to me, since I have carefully investigated everything from the very first, to write to you in an orderly sequence, most honourable Theophilus, so that you may know the certainty of the things about which you have been instructed.’ Luke 1:1–4, Christian Standard Bible (CSB).
Acts is intended as a sequel to the gospel of Luke detailing the activity of the apostles (followers of Jesus Christ). Classical Pentecostals accept that their interpretation of the following text from the book of Acts is a differentiator between other Christian movements and Pentecostalism:

When the day of Pentecost had arrived, they were all together in one place. Suddenly a sound like that of a violent rushing wind came from heaven, and it filled the whole house where they were staying. They saw tongues like flames of fire that separated and rested on each one of them. Then they were all filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak in different tongues, as the Spirit enabled them. (Acts 2:1-4 Christian Standard Bible (CSB)).

The above scripture supports a Pentecostal hermeneutic that, although the disciples were born again believers in Christ's deity before the event of Pentecost, it was on the day of Pentecost that they received a 'baptism with the Holy Spirit' evidenced by speaking in tongues. Generally, the term 'Classical Pentecostal' refers to any denomination or group that originated in the aforementioned events at Azusa Street. The primary distinguishing doctrinal position of Classical Pentecostals is that:

a) Baptism in the Holy Spirit (separate from being baptised with water) is ordinarily an event subsequent to conversion to Christianity, and
b) Baptism in the Holy Spirit is made evident by the sign of speaking in tongues, and
c) All the spiritual gifts mentioned in the New Testament (such as healing, prophecy and discernment) are to be sought and used today.

Baptism in the Spirit is also referred to in various Pentecostal organisations as 'being filled'. There are several other vernacular phrases that describe the same experience, such as 'catching the Spirit', 'quickening of the Spirit', 'slain in the Spirit', 'getting the anointing', 'feeling the Spirit'. These phrases refer to the experience that (following Austin Broos) I refer to in this dissertation as 'eudaimonia'. Eudaimonia is a term that both Plato and Aristotle used to describe the happiness

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79 ‘I wrote the first narrative, Theophilus, about all that Jesus began to do and teach until the day he was taken up, after he had given instructions through the Holy Spirit to the apostles he had chosen.’ Acts 1:1-2 CSB.
80 These ‘tongues’ are understood by Pentecostals to be spiritual languages (not understood by others) and human languages that the speaker does not normally converse in and has no knowledge of.
82 Austin Broos explains this concept from a Pentecostal perspective: Austin-Broos, Jamaica Genesis, 124–26; Smith and Silverman explain this concept as it relates to music and music learning: Gareth Dylan Smith and Marissa
and experience of the highest human good or supreme fulfilment. Etymologically, it comprises the words 'eu' ('good') and 'daimōn' ('spirit'). It suggests a positive, ecstatic and divine experience that humans can strive towards and possibly reach. For the Pentecostal, the experience of being filled with the presence of God is the highest state of human experience. Pentecostals have developed a culture where the eudaimonic experience is often expressed with charismatic gestures and is rarely a silent experience. Pentecostal expressions of music are used as a semiotic vehicle for eudaimonic experience. The meaning of these charismatic manifestations in music is explored in this thesis. When these musical gestures appear in popular culture, their meaning is altered (as seen in chapters 5 and 6).

According to participants in Pentecostal worship, speaking in tongues is the spiritual act of speaking audibly in a language unknown to the person speaking, which may or may not be interpreted by the individual or other participants. This act is also known as 'glossolalia'. Using the act of speaking in tongues as a doctrinal distinctive of Classical Pentecostalism appears to be an oversimplification as there are many other differences that distinguish Pentecostals from other streams of Christianity. These differences include but are not limited to; 'emotional freedom, intensity, spontaneity and physical expressivity'. In these distinctions (which include musical acts of worship), the basis for black Pentecostal music has been formed. However, these specific activities are not doctrinal differentiators. Many of the aesthetic differences pre-date the official start of Pentecostalism in 1906 and were observed as part of the praise services and bush meetings of the enslaved black people in the United States and the Caribbean. Therefore, the principle remains that those who understand the doctrinal origins of Pentecostalism and adhere to Classical Pentecostalism believe in and generally practice the act of glossolalia.

Classical Pentecostals accept that the act of speaking in tongues and spirit possession is one of the highest forms of eudaimonism in acts of private (and often corporate) worship. These forms

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83 'When the day of Pentecost had arrived, they were all together in one place. Suddenly a sound like that of a violent rushing wind came from heaven, and it filled the whole house where they were staying. They saw tongues like flames of fire that separated and rested on each one of them. Then they were all filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak in different tongues, as the Spirit enabled them.' Acts 2:1–4 CSB


85 Reed, *The Holy Profane*, 16.

86 Alfred Pugh, ‘The Great Awakening and Baptist Beginnings in Colonial Georgia, the Bahama Islands, and Jamaica (1739–1833)’, *American Baptist Historical Society* 26, no. 4 (2007): 357–73; Ogbu Kalu writes that one of the explanations for the growth of Pentecostalism in West Africa is its ‘cultural policy and attitude towards indigenous worldview and culture’. It could be argued that this is also a reason for its popularity as a stream of Christianity within the Black Atlantic. Kalu also considers the argument that African Christianity is an extension of African traditional religion. For its practitioners, Pentecostalism is an affirmation of the enchanted worldview held within African traditional religions. Ogbu U. Kalu, ‘Holy Praiseco: Negotiating Sacred and Popular Music and Dance in African Pentecostalism’, *Pneuma* 32, no. 1 (2010): 17, https://doi.org/10.1163/027209610X12628362887550.
of eudaimonism carry close parallels in Pentecostal musical expression. For example, the use of vocables (wordless sounds) such as 'oh', 'ah' and 'hum' are understood by the initiated to be expressions toward God closely tied to particular interpretations of a verse in Paul's letter to the Romans. It states 'In the same way the Spirit also helps us in our weakness, because we do not know what to pray for as we should, but the Spirit himself intercedes for us with inexpressible groanings' (Romans 8:26 CSB). The presence of melisma is also another expression of eudaimonia. A melisma is a group of notes sung to one syllable of text, usually improvised in gospel music. Melisma is understood to be an expression of the inspiration of the Spirit upon the singer.

All of the earliest church denominations to come out of this movement were established in the southern states of North America: The Church of God 1903 (which split into The Church of God of Prophecy (COGOP) 1923 and The New Testament Church of God (NTCOG (1923)), The Assemblies of God (1914), The Apostolic Church (1911) and the largest black Pentecostal church in the USA, Church of God in Christ (COGIC (1897)). These denominations have been the homes of some of the most well-known pop musicians who cross over from gospel music both in the USA but also in the UK. Gospel-pop crossover artists from these denominations (particularly COGIC, COGOP (UK) and NTCOG (UK)) feature in this study.

0.1.3: Defining Popular Culture

I argue in chapter 4 that popular culture is saturated with gospel stylisation tacitly understood by its inhabitants. Thus, it is necessary to clarify the parameters of 'popular culture'. The term 'popular culture' has been difficult to define succinctly in academia. John Storey’s book, *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: An Introduction*, is recognised as a foundational text in this field. He offers six definitions of popular culture. Published in 1994, it has since gone through nine editions, and Storey continues to build on his initial concepts. The evolving definition of 'popular culture' is not unique to Storey’s work. This process of morphing and evolving definitions
demonstrate that the term 'popular culture' remains somewhat fluid. Nonetheless, I have included the phrase because there are some generally agreed elements in the definition to follow that apply to my work. The term popular is derived from the Latin 'Populus', meaning people. Popular relates to the general public. It references something intended for or suited to people's general taste or understanding rather than intended for an expert or intellectual. In my study, I specifically focus on the UK whilst also connecting the foundational influence of the United States on gospel-pop crossover.

Culture is a word that is used in different ways in various disciplines (e.g. anthropology, sociology, history). I am invoking a broad definition of 'culture'. In this thesis, 'culture' means that people are grouped based on their shared beliefs, behaviours and societal structures. The culture that one is born into influences how one views the world. Often one's culture is determined by geographical location (such as country or region). However, there is wide variation within these parameters and culture may be broken down by social life and selected worldview (e.g. religious or political). Popular culture involves the aspects of social life most actively engaged with by the public. Ray Browne defines popular culture as '... the aspects of attitudes, behaviours, beliefs, customs, and tastes that define the people of any society. In the historical use of the term, popular culture is the culture of the people'. Popular culture allows a large mass of people to identify collectively. 'It serves an inclusionary role in society....and forges a sense of identity which supports communal bonding.' This observation is significant because it supports the assertion (in section 1.7 and 4.4.7) that gospel music codes in popular culture symbolise a pluralistic version of koinonia that includes God and others. There are many sources of popular culture; these continue to grow. The primary source has been understood to be the mass media; within this, I include the complicated terrain of social media. Under the heading of 'mass media', music, television, film, video games, books, and the internet may be included. Thus, my argument regarding gospel stylisation in popular culture relates just as much to film and social media as it does to pop music. The examples in this study are mainly based on musical text, though I also include video footage.

Lynch identifies three ways in which 'popular culture' has been categorised by other thinkers:

96 ‘Pop Culture: An Overview | Issue 64 | Philosophy Now’.
97 Koinonia - a Greek word meaning, 'to be drawn together by intimate participation'. It is often used to describe the idealized state of communion, fellowship, prayer and service within the early Christian church. I use it here to reveal a unique characteristic of musicking that involves gospel influences.
1) Popular culture as an opposing cultural form to high culture or the avant-garde. A distinction often made to emphasise the inferior quality of popular culture.\(^98\)

2) Popular culture as a category that is defined in relation to both high culture and folk culture, or which is seen as displacing folk culture.\(^99\)

3) Popular culture as a form of social and cultural resistance against dominant culture or mass culture.\(^100\)

Each of these perspectives assumes that popular or mass culture relates to the everyday lives of the broader population of the particular society that they were writing about.\(^101\) These perspectives are helpful because they make a 'basic connection between popular culture and the shared context, practices and resources of "everyday life"'.\(^102\)

Popular culture may be defined as 'the environment, practices and resources of everyday life'.\(^103\) Given the historical difficulties in providing a clear denotation for 'popular culture', this is not an absolute definition. Nevertheless, it does allow for some specificity in a term that continues to evolve. It encourages open-mindedness about studying those things that may be significant in everyday life in a particular social context. In this thesis, I follow Lynch and Browne in this broader definition of popular culture as it encompasses the texts that I have chosen to scrutinise.

0.1.4: Defining Popular Music

One premise of this dissertation is that aspects of gospel stylisation are ubiquitous in popular music; a careful definition of popular music is required. As with 'popular culture', academics agree that the term 'popular music' defies precise definition.\(^104\) Shuker asserts that commercialisation is key to understanding popular music.\(^105\) Central to most forms of popular

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\(^{101}\) Lynch notes that ‘The study of “everyday life” has not always been perceived to be an appropriate focus for academic or artistic activity. Indeed, it was only in the later nineteenth century, with the development of the discipline of sociology and the sustained images of everyday life in the work of French Impressionist painters, that the everyday began to [be] subjected to sustained critical and artistic attention. The twentieth century, however, has seen a growing commitment in academic contexts to treat the everyday as a serious focus for study’. Lynch, *Understanding Theology and Popular Culture*.

\(^{102}\) Lynch, 13.

\(^{103}\) Ibid., 17.


music is the uneasy relationship between artistically 'making music' and the commercial aspect of making a product (music) that consumers desire. The focus on commercialisation is due to the value placed on popular appeal. It is suggested that one way such appeal can be quantified is through positioning in the official charts.

Since the 1960s, there has been a fragmentation and diversification of styles that rightly fall under the banner of popular music.\(^{106}\) This fragmentation and diversification reflect the transition to a post-modern society where various styles and terms coexist within a similar historical frame.\(^{107}\) In chapter 1, I follow Charles Taylor's theory of *A Secular Age*, he states that the various religious and spiritual pressures of this secular age have produced various options for belief. The result is a Western society more at home with pluralism than essentialism. It is a critical observation because I am asserting that this pluralistic approach reaches beyond the religious sphere and has also altered the way society perceives the arts (specifically music).\(^{108}\) Within this historical context (post the 1960s), evidence of the variety of options may be found in the co-existence of various styles such as brit-pop, punk, R&B, hip-hop, reggae, and soul. The term 'popular music' has evolved as a generalisation encompassing many musical styles and practices often situated within a commercially driven entertainment industry.

In distinguishing between folk music, art music and popular music, Tagg makes valuable observations about the characteristics of popular music that I will adopt in this thesis.\(^{109}\) It is not an absolute definition but instead provides helpful parameters for the selection of music for my case studies. Tagg observes that popular music is produced and transmitted primarily by professionals, mass-distributed, usually recorded (as opposed to notated), and usually financed by 'free' enterprise (as opposed to public funding). In addition to these parameters, I include the requirement that the song or album should have entered the record charts for it to be commercially popular in the USA and UK (also known as the music charts). This is a method of ranking music by judging popularity during a given period; it adds weight to the argument that a piece of music is popular and likely has entered 'popular culture'.\(^{110}\) It also limits the music used for analysis throughout this thesis.

\(^{106}\) Ibid., 195.
\(^{108}\) Taylor, *A Secular Age*.
\(^{109}\) Tagg, ‘Analysing Popular Music’, 42.
\(^{110}\) I have intentionally set the criteria of the song having officially charted as this is a quantifiable way of measuring popularity and commercial success. This should not be taken to be a value judgment instead, simply a reflection of the empirical data that contributed to the song being entered into the chart. Record charts are compiled using a variety of criteria. This includes (but is not limited to) number of streams or downloads, number of YouTube hits, sales of records, compact discs, cassettes, amount of radio place and requests to DJs.
0.2: Positionality and Methodology

It is acknowledged that the reader may criticise the degree to which this dissertation can be considered rigorously impartial; this criticism is well taken. It should be acknowledged that in a study of this kind, the researcher may potentially carry their own ideological pre-commitments and biases.\textsuperscript{111} Objectivity in social analysis remains difficult to achieve.\textsuperscript{112} Ingalls and Yong state 'the practice of making one's ideological pre-commitments clear up front—whether these stem from religious traditions or "secular" social science—enables a shared space for dialogue for scholars writing from a number of different subject positions. Moreover, it opens the possibility for shared insights among scholars whose aims and goals may differ widely.'\textsuperscript{113} As Butler makes clear, 'Christians who write about music are sometimes assumed to be too close to our units of study to remain "objective".\textsuperscript{114} Like Butler, I have endeavoured to avoid any hint of celebratory academic writing. Instead, I remain acutely aware of my role as both 'scholar and believer'.\textsuperscript{115} In this dissertation, I have no hidden agenda to 'evangelise' the reader into a Christian belief system. My goal is to 'provide an honest and thorough representation of what I have found.'\textsuperscript{116} I have based this dissertation on the concepts of well-known academics in the disciplines of musicology, semiotics, theology and philosophy. Nonetheless, instead of ignoring my own pre-commitments, following Melvin Butler, I make no hesitation in disclosing relevant contextual information for this study.\textsuperscript{117}

I grew up in a Christian household. My grandparents travelled from Jamaica to the UK in the late 1950s as part of what is now commonly referred to as the 'Windrush generation'. My grandmother was a Pentecostal Christian in Jamaica. Like many other Caribbean migrants, she continued to practice her faith in the UK. My parents were also committed to Christianity and remained within the Pentecostal stream. Alongside other children from this community, I attended church every Sunday and was also in church on weekdays for various activities. This experience shaped the world I grew up in. I always had an interest in music and played a variety of instruments eventually settling on the keyboard. I became relatively proficient and played at various Christian

\textsuperscript{112} James Clifford and George E. Marcus, \textit{Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography} (Berkeley: University of California press, 1986).
\textsuperscript{115} Butler, xiii.
\textsuperscript{116} Butler, xiii.
\textsuperscript{117} Butler, x–xiii.
functions locally, nationally and internationally. While remaining committed to church musical engagements, I also received and accepted a number of invitations to play 'secular' music. At the time some of my musical peers were accepting offers to play with well-known pop artists. I was advised by various leaders and members within my church community that, morally, this was not a good career for a Christian. For a while, I held the view that my leaders and advisers were correct, for this reason (among many others), I did not pursue that path. But, the question about Christian engagement with so-called 'secular' music remained with me. In short, this dissertation is the beginning of my offering some answers to that question. In particular, my quadrant model suggestion (though relevant for those with no religious commitment) is the result of trying to understand the rough parameters for my own engagement with non-religious music.

My relationship with aspects of Classical Pentecostal theology remains complicated and continues to evolve. The explanations in this dissertation should not be taken as a holistic reflection of my commitments to Christianity. Instead, they should be seen as a presentation of theoretical and conceptual frameworks that may guide a more nuanced understanding of sacred-secular, gospel-pop crossover. My exposure to Pentecostalism and wider Christianity has provided an advantage in being able to recognise intertextual references and the culturally specific meaning of a variety of musical gestures. This exposure has also presented challenges, for example my notions of what may be considered profane could differ from someone who does not subscribe to a Christian worldview. I have sought to combat this by building flexibility into the quadrant model I have provided, so that it is malleable enough to function for those with alternative worldviews. Equally, my interpretations of the lyrics of some songs may be understood to be too tethered to a religious lens. To which the response would be that the religious context of the artist informs the interpretation of the songs performed. Throughout, I have sought to remain impartial and detached, presenting my field of study as it is. This is evident in chapter 4, where I identify many of the accepted features of gospel and demonstrate their presence in pop music. I hope that this dissertation offers a theory of the 'sacred-secular' dichotomy that is both helpful and informative for all who choose to engage with it.

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118 "...Ethnographic researchers may also draw on their own pre-acquired ‘insider’ status as a means of investigating particular aspects of socio-musical life, a trend that can be observed in more recent research in the related fields of popular music scenes’. Christopher Partridge and Marcus Moberg, Bloomsbury Handbook of Religion and Popular Music, Reprint (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), 16.

119 This has involved some ‘unlearning’ or at least objectification of those ‘taken for granted attitudes and values which underpin’ the life of a Christian. For example, the acknowledgement of the pluralistic age that western society has entered. Also, the recognition of the multiple religious (and non-religious) interpretations that individuals may prefer for various signs and symbols that began with an expressly Christian frame of reference. See Andy Bennett, ed., Researching Youth (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 190 See also; See Vidich and Lyman’s chapter ‘Qualitative Methods: Their History in Sociology and Anthropology’ in Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, eds., Handbook of Qualitative Research (Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications, 1994), 23; Partridge and Moberg, Bloomsbury Handbook of Religion and Popular Music, 15.
Most gospel music is traditionally learned orally. This is a tradition that has existed within black sacred music since the inception of the spirituals. Although some gospel artists choose to fully notate their music, it is rare for anything more than chord charts to feature heavily as part of gospel performance. In his academic work, gospel scholar Braxton Shelley engages extensively with notation to closely read gospel musical texts. This is a vital method of engaging closely with the music, and where necessary, transcriptions are included in my thesis. However, for the most part, I have chosen to honour the oral tradition of gospel music by encouraging the reader of this dissertation to use their ears to grasp the musical examples referenced. Equally, many pop musicians often do not engage with notation for performance even though they may have received formal music training. In the spirit of hospitality, my methodology invites the non-musician to engage with the musical text on egalitarian terms. I do this through a focus on the performance recording. I use tables that identify the musical event, for example, 'melisma'. In the same table, I then provide an unequivocal timecode placement (I refer to this as a timestamp). This is a method suggested by musicologist Philip Tagg and invites non-musicians to engage aurally instead of being excluded from understanding by having first to decode notation.

My study also involves a combination of what Gordon Lynch refers to as 'text-based', 'author-focused' and 'audience-reception' approaches to establish my theory of gospel-pop crossover. The authors of the *Bloomsbury Handbook of Religion and Popular Music* also identify and utilise these approaches when offering their observations at this intersection. I will be combining these methods when ascertaining the meaning of my chosen musical texts. The author-focused approach explores the ways in which a particular song or album, for example, 'reflects the background, status, personality and intentions of its particular author or authors'. In this study, I examine and interpret interviews, audio and video footage of gospel-pop performers articulating their intent.

Knowing the artists' personal history, aspirations, and religious interests gives a more complete perspective on their work. As Lynch notes, this is also known as the auteur approach.

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122 Tagg states ‘CD tracks, films on DVD, audio files, video files, etc. all include timecode as part of the digital recording’. He goes on to say, ‘those structural designations are all accurate and unequivocal. No reader with access to the same recording can be in any doubt about the sounds referred to’. Philip Tagg, *Music’s Meanings: A Modern Musicology for Non-Musos* (Huddersfield: The Mass Media Music Scholars’ Press Inc., 2013), 256–57.

123 Lynch, *Understanding Theology and Popular Culture*, 112.


125 Partridge and Moberg, 3; Lynch, *Understanding Theology and Popular Culture*, 112.

126 Lynch, *Understanding Theology and Popular Culture*, 118.
It was a film-based approach developed in post-war France in the 1950s and is also helpful in the context of musicology. The basis of the approach is that critics should evaluate films on the intent and background of those responsible for authoring them. In my context, the role of the author is occupied by the performers (regardless of whether they wrote the song). By revealing the context and background of the artists, I intend to demonstrate more about what the music means both to uninitiated pop audiences and initiated Pentecostal listeners. This approach has a long history in the West and demonstrates the 'romantic understandings of art as the process of expressing the artist's inner world'.

This approach also supports an underlying assumption in this dissertation that the more we know about the store of musical signs that the author is relying on (and the context in which the author has learned to use them), the more we will understand the meaning-making process.

While I acknowledge the advantages of taking an author-based approach, it has limitations because it does not cater to the cultural meanings imposed on a text by its community of recipients. Indeed, this approach began to fall out of favour when poststructuralist theories came to prominence in the 1970s and 80s. Instead, a text-based approach was introduced; I am also using this methodology within my study. The content of Roland Barthes' essay *Death of the Author* exemplifies this approach. He argued that the meaning of the text comes from reading the text and not from what one perceives the author’s intention to be. The work of Derrida (as translated by Spivak) continued this approach in *On Grammatology*, asserting that 'there is no outside-text'. From this perspective, the 'author of a text is reduced to a messenger of predetermined cultural meanings, rather than an individual creator of meaning'. This way of reading the text has a history in musicology dating back before poststructuralism, for example, in Heinrich Schenker's work. The text-based approach helps establish agreement over the various meanings of a musical text; this is referred to as intersubjectivity. Musical meanings are not viewed as static and so can accommodate multiple paramusical fields of connotation produced when gospel music signs are heard in different contexts. That is to say, there are different fields of implied meaning for gospel music.

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127 Ibid., 117.
131 Schenker’s emphasis was on a reductive, purely graphic form of analysis (though he did also employ imaginative hermeneutic interpretations). Beard and Gloag, *Musicology*, 15.
signs performed within the church vs gospel signs performed in a secular pop song in a non-church context.

With a text-based approach it is important to read the musical text closely and interpret the presence of gospel signs in context to understand the culturally derived meaning that the signs imply. Regarding the text-based approach, Robert Walser states that musical meanings 'are developed, sustained, and reformed by people, who bring a variety of histories and interests to their encounters with generic texts'.133 Consequently, when I theorise about a pluralistic field of interpretation it should be clear that I am relying on these 'histories and interests' to construct this conceptual field.

The other methodology that has been important in my study is audience-based reception. Audience based reception is an ethnographic approach. Ethnography can be used as part of a researcher’s attempt to ‘collect data about the social world of audiences or participants of a particular popular music culture’ through a variety of methods.134 The intention in gathering this information is to provide an insight into the lived experiences of those who partake in the musicking processes considered in this dissertation.135 Regarding my positionality, it should be clear that I have been drawn to study something I have a personal interest in. The researcher will always play an active role in the production of the data that is gathered by ethnographic means.136 For this reason, I have ensured that my study does not solely rely on ethnographic data for its conclusions. Instead, this data supplements my overall argument by providing instances of listener responses to pop music that carries gospel stylisation. These instances are utilised within case studies where musical analysis remains a strong component (see chapters 4 – 6). In the instances where I have used audience-based reception, I have tried to cast the audience members in the role of experts whose ‘everyday knowledge will assist the researcher in acquiring an objective sense of the particular social world under investigation from the participants’ subjective accounts.’137 For example, where my verbal-visual associations have been gathered as part of the table in the appendix, I provide no exposition. Rather, I assume that the reader will note that these unguided participants have identified songs that have a gospel sound. My role in this process was to highlight the gospel techniques that participants may have been hearing that indicate gospel stylisation. Thereby demonstrating some evidence of the validity of my theory about the presence of gospel

135 This has been an important subject within the study of religion. See Knott’s chapter ‘How to Study Religion’ in Linda Woodhead, Christopher H. Partridge, and Hiroko Kawanami, eds., *Religions in the Modern World: Traditions and Transformations*, 3rd ed. (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016), 15–40.
137 Partridge and Moberg, 16.
in pop. Further, in my more detailed analyses (see chapters 4-6), I have combined the capture of verbal-visual associations with other performer interviews and non-participant observation.

When establishing agreement about the meaning of a piece of music, it is important to include indirect observations about the shared responses to the music. This includes the verbal and visual associations (VVA’s) that listeners receive when they participate in musicking. These associations may be obtained in the form of 'words describing what the listeners see, feel, imagine or otherwise associate to when hearing a particular piece or extract of music'.

Such associations can be gathered in various ways, including reviews, blogs, articles, interviews with listeners, social media comments, comments on various streaming platforms, and listeners' communications. I have drawn on all of these resources to establish an understanding of the meaning of gospel-pop musical texts. Lynch helpfully makes the point that 'if we are interested in the role and meanings that popular culture has for people in everyday life then we will need to use methods of study that help us to examine these "real world" attitudes, experiences and practices rather than just focusing on the popular cultural text itself'. This is why the audience-based approach has been utilised in my study.

For this study it would have been difficult to secure interviews with the performers included in my case studies, as the majority are full-time professional musicians. Instead, I sourced publicly available interviews with those individuals. This had advantages as they were not aware of the topic of my research, nor were they subject to my own conscious or unconscious bias in asking questions. The answers they provided to their interviewer remain complementary to my dissertation while not being directly guided by the questions that govern my research. I have personal access to session musicians who have crossed from gospel to pop. Although it would have made for an interesting addition to this study, I chose not to interview these individuals as it may have been perceived that my personal knowledge of them may have biased the outcomes of any questioning. It could also have led to problems in that research participants might not give comprehensive answers to questions, as it is likely that they would have assumed prior knowledge on my part.

I have also chosen not to engage extensively with ‘participant observation’ as a mode of ethnographic data collection. This is where the ‘researcher takes on a role within the research field setting in order to blend into that setting more effectively.' As mentioned above, my proximity

139 Ibid., 200–201.
140 Lynch, *Understanding Theology and Popular Culture*, 165.
141 Partridge and Moberg, 20.
142 Partridge and Moberg, 17.
to Pentecostal musicking in the UK would have made it challenging to ‘blend in’, and more importantly, remain objective while observing musicians in gospel and pop environments. Non-participant observation does have a role in my research. Non-participant observation means that the researcher does not ‘take on a role in a research field and is purely there to observe the actions of others’.\footnote{Partridge and Moberg, 17–18.} In doing this type of observation I have been able to draw on my experiences in Pentecostal and secular settings to inform my understanding of the musical meaning making process.

0.3: Chapter Summaries

Chapter 1 proposes a reconceptualisation of the secular following Charles Taylor's theory of a secular age.\footnote{Taylor, \textit{A Secular Age}.} This reconceptualisation assists in reframing the meaning of gospel music in popular culture. Owing to the pluralisation of religious meaning in Western society (as theorised by Peter Berger), the semiotic reading of gospel in pop does not fit neatly within the sacred-secular binary of the traditional Pentecostal or secularist.\footnote{Peter L. Berger, \textit{The Many Altars of Modernity: Toward a Paradigm for Religion in a Pluralist Age} (Boston: De Gruyter, 2014).} By examining the theme of intersubjectivity I reach firm conclusions about the shared store of musical signs between gospel and popular music. This shared store of signs is the generative site of pluralistic connotations produced by a shared listening experience. I also offer a quadrant model that complicates the often-accepted binary division of sacred and secular. It suggests that the evocation of transcendence through gospel stylisation is possible in non-sacred spaces.

In chapter 2 I lay out my theoretical framework (grounded in Peircean semiotics) for understanding the meaning of gospel stylisation. This framework has relevance for Pentecostals and secularists. In this chapter, I propose my own iteration of the well-known Peircean triangle. It shows how transcendence is evoked in the listener's mind through the use of musical signs. My framework offers explanations for how gospel code may be interpreted through the lens of codal competence and codal interference. I also incorporate Gavin Hopps' concept of the 'listener's share' as a way of recognising the audience as co-constitutors of music's meaning.\footnote{George Corbett, ed., \textit{Annunciations: Sacred Music for the Twenty-First Century} (OpenBook Publishers, 2019), 23.} This supports the inclusion of audience-based reception as part of my methodology and validates the inclusion of audience perspective throughout my dissertation in the form of VVAs.

Chapter 3 traces the sonic roots and routes of black British gospel music. I begin with documented evidence of spiritual and revival hymns in Jamaica during the 1920s. I establish that
there are close connections between southern gospel and country and western music of the USA and music of the Caribbean.\textsuperscript{147} Mainly focusing on performance recordings, I trace this journey from the Caribbean (specifically Jamaica) to the UK. Drawing on distinctions made by Melvin Butler, Timothy Rommen and Curwen Best, I clarify differences between the way that gospel music has been understood in the Caribbean and the USA.\textsuperscript{148} I use these distinctions to highlight the unique history of gospel music in Caribbean churches of the UK I identify the specifically African American musical elements of gospel. I assert that the Americanisation of black British gospel is a critical contributing factor in the crossover of its artists to popular music. I state that Gilroy's concept of 'black identity beyond nation-state boundaries' offers a lens for understanding the Americanisation of much black gospel music from Caribbean churches in the UK.\textsuperscript{149}

In chapter 4 I demonstrate my theory that the crossover appeal of musicians and singers is related to the performance of gospel techniques. These techniques are part of a shared store of signs with popular music. I do this by highlighting a transitional period (1971 – 1975), where gospel stylisation overtly entered the popular social imaginary. In this chapter, I also codify knowledge of the gospel sound that has existed subsidiarily within the social imaginary of popular culture. This is done by identifying gospel techniques in pivotal gospel stylised songs that crossed over into pop. To support this case, the gospel sound (as understood in pop culture) is identified in numerous pop recordings and data is collated to prove my theory. I also undertake a mini case study of Michael Jackson's 'Will You Be There' to demonstrate my theoretical assertions.

Chapter 5 applies my semiotic theory outlined in chapter 3 to three case studies. This theory is used to explain a Pentecostal understanding of gospel stylisation using a sermon by T.D. Jakes as a case study. I then use UK singer Beverly Knight as an illustration of a black British gospel singer who has crossed over into popular music and is skilled in using gospel signs to evoke connotations that do not neatly fit within the Pentecostal frame. Finally, the example of Stormzy's 'Blinded by Your Grace' (Glastonbury 2019) draws my semiotic theory together by showing the impact of intertextuality on intersubjective experiences of gospel stylisation in a secular performance. There is a field of musical connotation in secular pop music parallel to the

\textsuperscript{147} It is understood that individuals from other Caribbean islands are part of this period of migration also (particularly Barbados, Trinidad and the Bahamas). Jamaica was the most prominent cultural influence in Caribbean Pentecostal churches of the UK. For the sake of specificity and to remain within the word limit of my dissertation I have focused on the Jamaican part of this narrative.


\textsuperscript{149} Gilroy, \textit{The Black Atlantic}.
Pentecostal field of connotation. I discuss the implications of this para-musical field of connotation for understanding gospel code in pop music in a pluralistic society.

Chapter 6 uses my quadrant approach proposed in chapter 1 to examine the sacred-secular distinction. It is constructed with flexibility to accommodate both exclusive humanists and Christians. I examine the implications of my theory about secularisation in the context of black British gospel music. I suggest ways in which secular songs can be understood to operate in 'holy' ways. Using Charles Taylor's terminology, I suggest that the presence of gospel music in pop is part of the re-enchantment of Western society. This re-enchantment can be observed both within organised religion and outside of it. Particularly in the human relationship with art (in this case, pop music). VVA's show that sites that were understood to be non-religious may now be considered sites for religious encounters. This is true of the Kingdom Choir's performance of a secular pop song at the Royal wedding of the Duke and Duchess of Sussex in 2018. Equally, religious songs performed by those with a less specific religious persuasion may also evoke the transcendent. This can be seen in my examination of Mica Paris' album Gospel. I also examine a performance by Dave showing that (though it may be classed as profane) it is evocative of the transcendent. In this social milieu, gospel techniques are applied to popular music, evoking notions of the transcendent that are not necessarily Christian but are recognisably evocative of the spiritual. I then indicate the implications of this study for the presence of gospel in popular music and the significance of this work within the field of religion and popular music.

150 Taylor, A Secular Age, 318.
CHAPTER 1: PENTECOSTALISM, SECULARISATION, AND INTERSUBJECTIVITY - A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter, I propose a reconceptualisation of secular music following Charles Taylor's theory of a secular age.¹ I use this reconceptualisation to examine gospel music's meaning(s) in popular culture. Religious pluralism in Western society (as theorised by Peter Berger) has meant that semiotic readings of gospel stylisation in pop music do not fit neatly within the sacred-secular binary of the Pentecostal or secularist.² I suggest that there is a shared store of signs between gospel and pop music, forming a 'bridge of mutual exchange'. Instead of affirming the traditional sacred-secular binary, I offer a four-quadrant model proposing that the evocation of transcendence through gospel stylisation is possible in non-sacred spaces. By examining intersubjectivity I am able to reach conclusions about the shared store of musical signs between gospel and popular music.³ This shared store of signs is a generative site of pluralistic connotations produced by a shared listening experience. These pluralistic connotations are part of the re-enchantment of the secular. They are evidence that secularisation has not worked out in the manner predicted by secularisation theorists. Further, my sacred-secular quadrants suggest how religious connotations in pop may be interpreted.

¹ Taylor, A Secular Age.
² Berger, The Many Altars of Modernity.
³ Intersubjectivity is a term used by social scientists to describe people’s agreement on the shared definition of an object (in this case music).
1.1: A Secular Age

Secularisation is a widely discussed topic in the field of sociology across the world, particularly in the UK. Max Weber (1864 – 1920) proposed a theory of secularisation which (briefly stated) claimed that with the rise of modernity across the West, there would be a decline in religion at all levels of society, from the individual to the state. The term secularisation connotes having a belief system that does not include God. Although the term was proposed by George Jacob Holyoake (1817 -1906) over a century ago, scholars such as Max Weber drew on this term to propose secularisation theory. According to this theory, eventually society would be bereft of belief in God, a spiritual world or the supernatural. The content of this theory of secularisation has been a central point of consideration in the work of many later sociologists, including Peter Berger, David Martin and Steve Bruce. The accepted wisdom of modernity was that 'religion' must gradually die out. However, the rise of post-modernism (a central feature of which is the rejection of any claim to know truth in the absolute sense) has complicated the seemingly straightforward trajectory and advance toward the abandonment of religion on a number of levels. As a result, academics have come to differing conclusions about the effect of secularisation on society and the ways it manifests.


7 Zuckerman and Shook, The Oxford Handbook of Secularism / Edited by Phil Zuckerman and John R. Shook, 2–3.

8 Ibid., 2; Weber, The Protestant Ethic and Spirit of Capitalism.

9 For an articulation of this view, see Bruce, God Is Dead, 2.

10 Berger and Martin began with a belief that Weber was correct in his assertions about secularisation but later on considering the evidence, both changed their position. Steve Bruce on the other hand continues to hold to secularisation theory (basically) as Weber proposed it. See: Weigel et al., The Desecularization of the World; Berger, The Many Altars of Modernity; Martin, On Secularization; Bruce, God Is Dead.

Secularisation theorists claimed that the modernisation of society (through rationalisation and the enlightenment) would lead to 'Entzaubung' (disenchantment).\textsuperscript{12} The word 'disenchantment' implies a disconnection with the transcendent. While the word 'transcendent' has complicated denotations and connotations in the field of philosophy, I am simply using it here as an antonym to the 'immanent frame'.\textsuperscript{13} Taylor defines the immanent frame as a constructed social space that frames our lives entirely within a natural (rather than supernatural) order.\textsuperscript{14} Taylor proposes that the bounded space of the modern social imaginary often precludes transcendance.\textsuperscript{15} The immanent frame results from the disappearance of a world that acknowledged spirits, demons, and moral forces. Instead, the immanent frame reflects the world it is assumed that we live in today, 'a world in which the only locus of thoughts, feelings, spiritual élan is what we call minds; the only minds in the cosmos are those of humans'.\textsuperscript{16} Scholars such as Martin, Bennet, Berger and Taylor have contested the claim that Western society exists entirely within this immanent frame.\textsuperscript{17} Using Charles Taylor's theory of a secular age, I propose that gospel-pop crossover is an appropriate site for exploring this complicated manifestation of the secular social imaginary.

1.2: The Cross-Pressures of a Secular Age and Gospel-Pop Crossover

Instead of assuming a state of disenchantment within the immanent frame, it is suggested by Taylor that the West (and for the purposes of this thesis, the UK) exists in a state of 'cross-pressure'. 'Cross-pressure' is where individuals and societies in the West are faced with the pressure of different options for belief. It is the sense of being wedged between echoes of transcendance (from a formerly religious age) and the drive toward immanentization. Gospel techniques in popular music are an example of an art object produced within the immanent frame. Gospel techniques in pop are a demonstration of the 'cognitive contamination' (as Peter Berger termed it) that is part of the immanent frame.\textsuperscript{18}

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{13} In their book, Marsh and Roberts grappled with the definition of transcendence as it relates to pop music. They concluded that the difficulty of defining transcendance was exemplified by the fact that The Oxford Companion to Philosophy (1995) contained no entry on ‘transcendence’. Clive Marsh and Vaughan Roberts, \textit{Personal Jesus: How Popular Music Shapes Our Souls}, Engaging Culture (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2012), 89.
\item\textsuperscript{14} James K. A. Smith, \textit{How (Not) to Be Secular: Reading Charles Taylor} (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 2014), 141.
\item\textsuperscript{15} Taylor, \textit{A Secular Age}, 542; Smith, \textit{How (Not) to Be Secular}, 141.
\item\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., 29–30.
\item\textsuperscript{17} Martin, \textit{On Secularization}; Bennet, \textit{The Enchantment of Modern Life}; Berger, \textit{The Many Altars of Modernity}; Taylor, \textit{A Secular Age}.
\item\textsuperscript{18} Berger, \textit{The Many Altars of Modernity}, 2.
\end{itemize}
The phrase 'cognitive contamination' refers to the fact that 'if people keep talking with each other, they will influence each other'.\textsuperscript{19} Berger states '[cognitive contamination] may not be a glorious contribution to the English language, but sometimes not sticking to the vernacular has its uses'. As Taylor puts it, 'indeed the co-existence of many different belief options through increased contact, interchange and perhaps even intermarriage, the other becomes more like me, in everything else but faith…then the issue posed by difference becomes more insistent: why my way and not hers?\textsuperscript{20} Gospel techniques in pop music are an echo of Western society's Christian past; these religious signs now exist in a pluralistic milieu where cognitive contamination takes place. It is from this standpoint that I explore the existence of gospel music techniques in ostensibly 'secular' popular music.

Various music scholars have argued that art (including music) plays a significant role in this secular age.\textsuperscript{21} An aesthetic encounter with a work of art may lead to an experience that is epiphanic in nature. This sort of experience is entirely subjective but well documented.\textsuperscript{22} As Taylor states, 'there are certain works of art by Dante, Bach, the makers of Chartres Cathedral: the list is endless – whose power seems inseparable from their epiphanic, transcendent reference'.\textsuperscript{23} Noting that the list is endless, I submit that gospel music could also be included within this list. The sonic characteristics of gospel music are often associated with vernacular, pop and folk traditions rather than the 'high art' examples that Taylor is dealing with. The inclusion of gospel stylisation in pop music indicates that popular music is offering more than a simple affirmation of the existence of the immanent frame.

I have referred elsewhere in this dissertation to the state of 'epiphanic ecstasy' as eudaimonia.\textsuperscript{24} The initiated Pentecostals’ relationship with gospel music (especially the striving after the state of eudaimonia) provides an insight into why gospel signifiers are often utilised in pop music.\textsuperscript{25} Striving for a form of eudaimonia is a pursuit common to those who live within the immanent frame and those who do not. In popular music the 'striving' occurs in a community where different beliefs co-exist. Indeed, Pickstock states, 'it can be argued that the historical periods that have seen a gradual decline in the importance of church attendance have also seen the

\textsuperscript{19} Ibid., 2.
\textsuperscript{20} Taylor, \textit{A Secular Age}, 304.
\textsuperscript{22} Marsh and Roberts, \textit{Personal Jesus}, 77–89.
\textsuperscript{23} Taylor, \textit{A Secular Age}, 607.
\textsuperscript{24} Eudaimonia is a state of ecstasy (joy or happiness) experienced by an individual and usually described in spiritual terms.
\textsuperscript{25} This relationship can be seen most clearly in my TD Jakes case study chapter 5. In that study I highlight the clear connection between music and the state of eudaimonia in Pentecostalism.
emergence of the public concert, opera and ballet as quasi-sacral rites that are neither liturgical music nor occasional music…’. These sites of quasi-sacral rites demand attention from theologians and also from specialists within the arts. The site of popular music is a necessary (but less studied) ground for examining these sorts of claims. Chapters 5 and 6 contribute to this discussion by investigating gospel music’s meaning in secular environments.

The result of the cross-pressures is a spiritual supernova effect that produces a plurality of options for belief, ‘a kind of galloping pluralism on the spiritual plane’. The nova effect is ‘the explosion of different options ("third ways") for belief and meaning in a secular age, produced by the concurrent "cross-pressures" of our history - as well as the concurrent pressure of immanentization and (at least echoes of) transcendence’. This is significant for my study because Pentecostals may read the presence of gospel techniques (dependent on the degree of foregrounding) in pop as an indication of acquiescence on the part of the performer to a Christian belief system or at the very least an acknowledgement of it. However, the essence of the spiritual supernova is that an individual may be combining a variety of beliefs. As part of this understanding of cross pressure, I argue that gospel techniques in pop music are resonant echoes of an older age of transcendence within the immanent frame. These echoes of transcendence are specifically Christian (in gospel-pop crossovers), although they are no longer necessarily read as such due to the nova effect and pluralisation.

The popular music audience contains a mix of belief systems that an initiated Pentecostal audience listening to gospel rarely entertains. An apt example is the grime artist, Stormzy in his performance of 'Blinded by Your Grace (Part 2)'. A closer reading of this musical text (in chapter 5) demonstrates that the field of connotation the performance evokes (through the presence of


28 The relationship between popular music and religion is an emerging, but still neglected, area of study within the general discipline of “critical musicology” (or “new musicology” in the United States). Partridge and Moberg, Bloomsbury Handbook of Religion and Popular Music, 7; ‘But how about rock concerts and raves?…..they are plainly “non-religious”; and yet they sit uneasily in the secular, disenchanted world [generating] feeling, which takes us out of the everyday.’ Taylor, A Secular Age, 517–18; ‘The relationship between religion and popular music has been a somewhat under-researched subfield within the broader interdisciplinary study of religion and popular culture.’ Partridge and Moberg, Bloomsbury Handbook of Religion and Popular Music, 1.

29 Taylor, A Secular Age, 63.

30 Smith, How (Not) to Be Secular, 142.

gospel aesthetics in pop music) is pluralistic. Although Stormzy professes Christian faith, his 
audience, by and large, do not read the song as an evangelical call to repentance and receipt of the 
grace of the God of Christianity; even though lyrically, the song is full of the kind of semiotic signs 
that might evoke that response. The fragmentation caused by the spiritual supernova of a secular 
age means that the song is received differently by a secular audience (though the general spiritual 
intent is largely understood and remains).

Further, in this secular age, the pluralistic mode of reception does not of necessity give rise 
to a state of cognitive dissonance. Though the initiated Pentecostal might find it somewhat 
perplexing that there is such a confluence of belief systems, to the resident of a pluralistic society, 
this is the natural outworking of the nova effect created by the cross-pressures of a secular age. It 
reflects a sort of expressive individualism that has been a growing marker of identity within the 
Western social milieu. This marker of identity can be heard in the incorporation of gospel 
techniques (inextricably linked to Christianity) being used within a secular frame by individuals 
who do not subscribe to a belief in Christianity or indeed, any other religion.

1.2.1: Taylor's Secular

There are various ways that the term 'secular' has been understood, and disparity exists 
around the use of the word in secular studies. Charles Taylor's book, *A Secular Age* is an influential 
work in this field. Academics refer to it as a touchstone for understanding the current social 
imaginary concerning religion. Taylor discusses three definitions for the word 'secular', with the 
third being the one that he relies on to provide a cartography of our current social imaginary. 
'Social imaginary' is a phrase borrowed from the political scientist Benedict Anderson, and it is not 
synonymous with an intellectual system or framework. Instead, Taylor notes that it is 'broader 
and deeper than the intellectual schemes people may entertain when they think about social reality 
in a disengaged mode….it is the way ordinary people 'imagine' their social surroundings, and this

32 ‘[The culture of] expressive individualism [authenticity], in which people are encouraged to find their own way, 
discover their own fulfilment, “do their own thing”…has utterly penetrated popular culture only in recent decades, 
in the time since the Second World War, if not even closer to the present’. Taylor, *A Secular Age*, 299.
33 'More and more leading scholars are publishing a book with “secularism” in the title, but unless its author is 
leading a particular approach, it seems harder to find a clear definition of the term within those books’ pages. The 
lack of consensus over the meaning or purpose of secularism should no longer be any surprise, given its multiform 
34 Philosopher, James K.A. Smith states 'I am an... unapologetic advocate for the importance and originality of 
Taylor's project. I think A Secular Age is an insightful and incisive account of our globalised, cosmopolitan, pluralist 
present. Anyone who apprehends the sweep and force of Taylor’s argument will get a sense that he’s been reading 
our postmodern mail' Smith, *How (Not) to Be Secular*, X.
is often not expressed in theoretical terms, it is carried in images, stories and legends, etc'. Taylor uses a secular age as the classical historical definition of the secular distinguished from the sacred – the earthly plain of domestic life.

In secular, the spiritual is distinguished from the temporal; this was a vital characteristic of the social imaginary in the era of Christendom. This sacred-secular dichotomy implied that 'priests, monks and later pastors tend the sacred; butchers, tailors and mechanics etc carry out "secular work"'. In this age, prior to the rise of Pentecostalism in the early 20th century, the Protestant reformation (which began in the 1500s) sought to break the binary of secular, by sacralising what was construed as secular. This is epitomised in The Babylonian Captivity of the Church by Martin Luther, known as the 'Father of the Reformation':

Therefore I advise no one to enter any religious order or the priesthood, indeed, I advise everyone against it—unless he is forearmed with this knowledge and understands that the works of monks and priests, however holy and arduous they may be, do not differ one whit in the sight of God from the works of the rustic labourer in the field or the woman going about her household tasks, but that all works are measured before God by faith alone.

This understanding continues to dominate the theology of most Protestant churches. But as a result of the enlightenment (captured in the statement often attributed to Nietzsche 'God is dead'), cognitive contamination about what constitutes the secular has taken place. After the enlightenment the secular was perceived by some Protestant institutions as being largely devoid of 'God'. This cognitive contamination profoundly affected the teaching of post-Enlightenment Protestant churches established in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In some cases, the secular was viewed as evil; this is one of the main reasons that many Pentecostals have had an uneasy relationship with popular music.

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37 Smith, How (Not) to Be Secular, 142.
38 Martin Luther, The Babylonian Captivity of the Church, 1520: The Annotated Luther, 2016, 65.
39 Nietzsche made this statement in a number of his publications but it first occurred in his writing The Gay Science (1882) 'God is dead; but given the way people are, there may still for millennia be caves in which they show his shadow. - And we - we must still defeat his shadow as well!' Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche et al., The Gay Science: With a Prelude in German Rhymes and an Appendix of Songs, Cambridge Texts in the History of Philosophy (Cambridge, U.K: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 108.
1.2.2: Taylor's Secular

Taylor identifies secular as a more modern definition of the secular, as a religious – neutral, unbiased, and objective. It consists of the falling off of religious belief and practice, in people turning away from God and no longer going to church. It is intended to be non-sectarian. The public square is 'secular', and religion has been emptied from autonomous social spheres. In this sense, the countries of Western Europe have mainly become secular – even those who retain the vestigial public reference to God in public space. Arguably, this secular worldview saw its culmination in the late 1800s and early 1900s with the rise of Protestant evangelicalism, particularly in the United States.

The power of this sacred-secular binary gathered potency as a social imaginary in the church, partly as a reaction to developments within science (particularly Darwinism) and also due to the critique of doctrines such as the inerrancy and sufficiency of the Bible. During this period, the church viewed the secular not as merely neutral but as something mostly perilous and distinct from a holy life. This attitude applied to certain forms of fashion, entertainment and leisure activities, including secular music. This is particularly true of early Pentecostal Christianity which inherited a large part of its theology from the Wesleyan Holiness tradition. Within Pentecostal Christianity the sacred has been viewed as that which is approved for Christian consumption. By contrast, secular includes (but is not exclusive to) that which is viewed as profane and therefore, generally speaking, to be avoided.

For most of its history classical Pentecostal leaders have been vocal about the distinction between the holy and profane. For this reason, it has been problematic for musicians and singers with a gospel music background, who hold to Pentecostal beliefs, to operate in a secular musical

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40 Taylor, A Secular Age, 2.
41 Ibid., 302.
42 'The secularisation of the scientific impulse increasingly evident from the beginning of the 18th century deprived Protestant religion (and arguably Catholicism, too) of its active component, leaving it only with a body of doctrines with which to concern itself. The collapse of the complex system of similitudes which had characterised pre-modern knowledge also brought a new shape to the Western quest for redemption…the impulse to restore divine likeness within was redirected outwards into the natural world, and scientific activity became an increasingly material means of obtaining secular salvation.' Peter Harrison, The Bible, Protestantism, and the Rise of Natural Science (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 273; See also 'The secular revolution transformed the social construction of science…from an enterprise of thought compatible with and, to some extent, at the service of theism into one which considered religion to be irrelevant and often an obscuring impediment to knowledge…[It] transformed higher education from college institutions promoting a general Protestant world view and morality into universities where religious concerns were marginalised in favour of objective, areligious transmission of knowledge…etc' Smith, The Secular Revolution, 2.
46 Reed, The Holy Profane, 8.
environment - especially within popular music. Nevertheless, since the inception of black gospel music, Pentecostal musicians have frequently crossed the boundary between sacred and secular and have had much success within the popular music industry.\(^{47}\) This is well known in the North American gospel context, however, in the UK, relatively little has been written about this phenomenon of gospel-pop crossover. The concept of secular\(_3\) does not adequately account for some of the characteristics produced by the phenomenon of gospel pop crossover, particularly the experience of the transcendent in a secular frame.

1.2.3: Taylor's Secular\(_3\) – Challenging the Perspective of Pentecostalism and Secularism

The assumptions of secular\(_2\) have resulted in a misapprehension by both secularists and Pentecostals about the current nature of the secular. I assert (following Taylor) that the cross-presures of a secular age have produced a spiritual supernova of options for beliefs about the transcendent.\(^{48}\) The 'nova effect' connotes the 'explosion' of options for finding and creating human significance.\(^{49}\) It is no longer a binary choice between two options. The nova effect is a key distinctive of the current milieu that Taylor labels 'secular\(_3\)'. My dissertation rests on the concept of secular\(_3\) and I use it to explain the presence of gospel music stylisation in pop.

Taylor's term 'secular\(_3\) age' is differentiated from secular\(_1\) and secular\(_2\). In the secular\(_1\) social imaginary, belief in the transcendent remains a live option; this differs from secular\(_2\) where belief in the transcendent is meant to disappear. Secular\(_3\) is an age in which belief in God is one option among many, 'and frequently not the easiest to embrace'.\(^{50}\) Our secular\(_3\) age is not an age of unbelief; as Smith states, it is an age of 'believing otherwise'.\(^{51}\) One widely available option in secular\(_3\) is 'exclusive humanism'.\(^{52}\) Exclusive humanism is a worldview that accounts for a higher meaning in life (access to eudaimonia and human flourishing) without any appeal to the

\(^{47}\) Ibid., 28.


\(^{49}\) ‘The explosion of different options (“third ways”) for belief and meaning in a secular age, produced by the concurrent “cross pressures” of our history – as well as the concurrent pressure of immanentization and (at least the echoes of) transcendence.’ Smith, *How (Not) to Be Secular*, 142.

\(^{50}\) Taylor, *A Secular Age*, 3.

\(^{51}\) Smith, *How (Not) to Be Secular*, 47.

\(^{52}\) ‘…exclusive humanism does not name a philosophical position, or a theory, in the precise sense. Rather, it is an identity-shaping perspective on spiritual and moral life. Exclusive humanism is a pervasive perspective. It is Taylor’s name for the condition of selfhood oriented by a conception of the good, exhausted by ordinary human flourishing—by what he also refers to as the “metaphysical primacy of life.”’ Phillip W. Schoenberg and Roman Majeran, ‘Varieties of Humanism for a Secular Age: Charles Taylor’s Pluralism and the Promise of Inclusive Humanism’, *Roczniki Filozoficzne / Annales de Philosophie / Annals of Philosophy* 64, no. 4 (2016): 173; Smith, *How (Not) to Be Secular*, 141.
The presence of the immanent frame in secular has resulted in exclusive humanism becoming an option for belief.

Exclusive humanism enables individuals to live a meaningful life in this 'self-sufficient' universe. Yet, accessing 'higher meaning and human flourishing' is still part of the gospel message. Therefore, inspirational songs that do not directly refer to God are often interpreted as belonging to the genre of gospel music. For example, in chapter 6 I refer to the singer Mica Paris. On her album entitled Gospel, she includes inspirational (but non-Christian) songs such as 'Something Inside so Strong' and 'I Want to Know What Love Is' which she stated, 'sound like gospel' this is not merely a reference to musical stylisation, but also to lyrical content. As such, these songs may directly appeal to both believers and exclusive humanists.

1.3: Secular Re-enchanted: A Four-Quadrant Concept

The accommodation of exclusive humanism in post-modern society does not diminish the potential for re-enchantment in a secular age. This re-enchantment may occur within organised religion, but the new options include those outside of organised religion. Thus, sites previously perceived as secular such as the concert hall, the rave, the pop gig, and audio and video streaming platforms may now be considered sites for religious encounters. As my four-quadrant model will show, not only is sacred music conceived of as a site for transcendent experience, the profane is too. In this social milieu, gospel techniques are applied to popular music, evoking notions of the transcendent that are not necessarily Christian but are recognisably evocative of the spiritual.

Whether one subscribes to religious belief or holds an exclusive humanist worldview, this framework accommodates the transcendent experience in pop music. In each of the quadrant categories, it is possible for enchantment to occur and with it the experience of the sublime or transcendent. Following Taylor, Arnold and Hopps, black gospel music offers a way of 're-enchanting our surroundings.' Chapter 6 examines the practical application of the following four

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53 ‘Exclusive humanism is a form of humanism in that it is an affirmation of humanity and the good of human life and human flourishing. What makes exclusive humanism unique, what makes it “exclusive,” is that it excludes any aim or goal for humanity beyond the good of human flourishing, or as Taylor sometimes puts the matter, any good beyond life.’ Schoenberg and Majeran, ‘Varieties of Humanism for a Secular Age’, 172; See also Taylor, A Secular Age, 19–21, 26–28, 369–71.
54 Smith, How (Not) to Be Secular, 47.
56 ‘But how about rock concerts and raves?.....they are plainly “non-religious”; and yet they sit uneasily in the secular, disenchanted world [generating] feeling, which takes us out of the everyday’ Taylor, A Secular Age, 517–18; ‘[Music] offers an important path that can take our experience of the world beyond ourselves and help us to… perceive…something greater’ Corbett, Annunciations: Sacred Music for the Twenty-First Century, 335; David Brown and Gavin Hopps, The Extravagance of Music, (Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 163.
quadrants; I offer it here as a way of breaking the secular–sacred binary. This is one method for conceiving of popular music within a re-enchanted frame.

\[\text{Figure 1 - Sacred-Secular Quadrant Model.}\]

1.3.1: Top Left Quadrant - Sacred and Holy

This quadrant may contain songs with transcendent themes and messages. These songs do not have morally subversive sentiments and would include songs of worship. However, this is not always the case. For example, one might read Depeche Mode's pop song, 'Personal Jesus', as a religious song even though it is meant to be directed at other human friends. Historically, this quadrant is the space in which the transcendent experience is often understood as sacred. In a secular age those who are not Christian (including exclusive humanists) may also articulate experience of the transcendent in this quadrant. For example, in chapter 5, I reference Stormzy's performance of 'Blinded by Your Grace'. In that chapter I provide evidence of individuals who do not espouse Christian views but articulate experience of the transcendent through the music.

1.3.2: Top Right Quadrant - Secular and Holy

One could place in this quadrant songs that are not explicitly religious but are also not morally subversive or repugnant. For example, inspirational songs, love songs, freedom songs, protest songs etc. These are songs that aim (broadly speaking) at human flourishing. There is a possibility for transcendent experiences to occur here; this is true for both Christians and non-

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57 See appendix I for lyrics.
Christians. Robert Johnston asks what we should make of experiences with God in our everyday lives that seem more real than everyday reality. For example, 'being ushered into the divine presence...by music...' this music need not be about religious themes for this experience to occur.\(^{59}\) Johnston states that 'while...occurring outside the church and without direct reference to scripture or to Jesus Christ, such encounters [with God], for that is what they are experienced to be, are seen, heard, and read as foundational to life'.\(^{60}\) For this reason the historical Pentecostal theological perspective on engagement with secular music requires revisiting. Equally, given Taylor's theory of a secular age, it should be understood that this experience is not restricted to those who adhere strictly to Christian beliefs. Instead, a pluralistic understanding of transcendent experience needs to be accounted for.

1.3.3: Bottom Left Quadrant - Sacred and Profane

Music in this quadrant deals with religious themes from a subversive or irreverent perspective. This may be because the content is implicitly subversive. However, it may also be that the performer's aim could be seen to be subversive or irreverent, and therefore, the performance may not be received as genuine. An example of this might be Marylin Manson's version of 'Personal Jesus' in which he takes the intended message of Depeche Mode and subverts it in the music video by sexualising the meaning of the lyrics and adding a political message that includes the controversial leader, Stalin.

1.3.4: Bottom Right Quadrant - Secular and Profane

Music in this quadrant does not usually have a religious theme and would be seen to have profane content, or the performer might have a profane intent with the content. However, one may still experience the transcendent in the bottom left and right quadrants. Although a person may not seek to affirm the profanity of a particular piece of art, one might use apophatic theology to understand the implications of its existence. Apophatic theology (also known as 'via negativa' or negative theology) approaches God by speaking only in terms of what may not be said about the perfect goodness of God. Usually it applies to the attributes of God. It is often practised alongside 'via affirmativa' or cataphatic theology. Cataphatic theology uses positive affirmations about God to draw the practitioner into an encounter with the transcendent. Both apophatic and cataphatic theology operate on the level of reason, but the non-verbal is also part of this tradition.

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\(^{60}\) Johnston, xiii.
Consequently, it is found in the use of religious music, art and architecture as nonverbal means of communicating the nature of God.

1.4: Re-enchantment

The eudaimonic transcendent experience is possible within each one of these quadrants in a secular age. The gospel-pop shared store of musical signs indicates one way in which it is possible for transcendent musical meaning to be semiotically evoked in each quadrant. We can perceive the re-enchantment of this secular age through the human relationship with art, in particular music. Speaking of our relationship with art, Taylor notes, 'there is [often] a powerful phenomenological sense that we are in contact with something greater…a disenchanted world needs a theory to explain this kind of experience'. 61 Scholars have noted the religious roots of pop music; it is well known that Pentecostalism was the primary influence on 1950s rock and roll. 62 I propose that examining gospel musical values in pop music is a window to understanding the experience Taylor speaks of in a 'disenchanted' world.

A model of re-enchantment is needed in order to address the movement of individuals towards beliefs and practices that do not neatly align with the original predictions of secularisation theory. 63 There is support for the reality of re-enchantment, and some scholars point to the fact that Western societies are generally turning away from institutional religion to sites such as the arts for experiences of the transcendent. 64 Others seek to provide empirical evidence that religious music (specifically Christian music) can provide an encounter with the numinous. 65 I maintain that this experience is beyond the scope of any empirical study. Instead, I posit that through giving attention to reception and agreed meanings one can ascertain how musical style works to signify the transcendent to the listener.

Reception plays a critical role in producing music's meaning in a religious context. Hopps refers to this as the 'listener's share'. 66 The listener's share is the privileging of the audience as co-
constitutors of music's meanings. If the listeners' experiences are taken seriously, we may find that some music acts as a mediator of an impression of the divine and transcendent. A criticism that Hopps has received (and with which I agree) is that whilst his arguments are compelling, they would have more potency if they engaged a closer reading of the music. Instead, he relies solely on song lyrics, perhaps this is because his main fields of academic study are literature and poetry. As Moerman points out, the fact that Hopps is engaged in this discussion 'speaks more to the failure of musicologists to be taking up theological conversations' than it does to Hopps' use of song lyrics as his primary text. This dissertation demonstrates one way for musicologists to engage in theological conversations about popular music. As I show in chapters 5 and 6, engagement with the musical content of gospel makes it possible to draw out further meaning, which is not possible when the lyrics (as important as they may be) are the only focus.

Scholars accept that institutional forms of Christianity are mostly on the decline across Europe. Stuart Murray Williams has used the term 'post-Christendom'. Post-Christendom is 'the culture that emerges as the Christian faith loses coherence within a society that has been definitively shaped by the Christian story and as the institutions that have been developed to express Christian convictions decline in influence'. Western pop culture exists within the context of post-Christendom and as such its art carries resonances of its Christian history. Still, as argued by Peter Berger and Charles Taylor, there are now multiple options for belief and these options influence one another in ways that have been underexplored from a musicological perspective. The presence of gospel in pop music draws attention to the complicating factors of the pluralist post-Christendom society that we now inhabit. The concurrent pressures of immanentization collide with echoes of the collective memory of enchantment, Christendom and transcendence.

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69 Ibid.
The model of re-enchantment suggested is not that of an evangelical Christian revival in the mode of the Great Awakenings of the 1700s-1800s. Instead, it is a reintroduction of the notion of pluralism. Berger defines pluralism as a 'social situation in which people with many different ethnicities, worldviews, and moralities live together peacefully and interact with each other amicably'. This pluralistic interaction broadly defines the societal milieu of Western European popular culture. The mix of religious influences produced by cognitive contamination creates a milieu in which gospel musicians are able to pass from a fundamentally religious setting to pop music. Within this pluralistic theoretical frame, popular musicians are able to represent the sound of the church without the type of cognitive dissonance that might be expected in a dualistic sacred-secular frame. For this reason, re-enchantment may occur, and listeners may relate that secular pop music has a transcendent quality.

1.5: Theorising: Black Pentecostalism and Gospel-Pop Crossover

For many years black gospel music has existed in an uneasy relationship with popular music. Yet, almost since its inception, there has been much secular interest in gospel music, from Rosetta Tharpe's music to Aretha Franklin's genius; the African American church, in particular, has contributed much to popular music stylisation. Jonathan Arnold observes that outside of the religious setting of cathedrals and chapels, 'sacred music has been culturally re-appropriated into a multitude of private and public secular contexts, with the result that any theological resonances in the music have become diluted for the casual listener'. In the case of gospel stylisation incorporated into secular popular music, it is not dilution but rather cognitive contamination that results in a pluralistic musical field of connotation.

In Pentecostalism, the distinction between the holy and profane has been chiefly articulated through preaching. The sacred-secular distinction was unfamiliar to West Africans arriving in the new world. When presented with the Protestant worldview of Christianity they

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72 Partridge, _The Re-Enchantment of the West_, 3.
73 I use the word 'reintroduction' deliberately as, prior to the dominance of Catholic Christianity across the West, the idea that one could exist in a society with pluralistic spiritual commitment was somewhat less contentious. The chief example of this is polytheistic ancient Greek society. This also applies to polytheistic Roman society prior to its Christianisation.
74 Berger, _The Many Altars of Modernity_, 1.
75 See reference to Coldplay in section 2.2.
76 Andemicael, ‘Holiness and Worldliness’.
77 Corbett, _Annunciations: Sacred Music for the Twenty-First Century_, 325.
78 Reed, _The Holy Profane: Religion in Black Popular Culture_, 90.
79 ‘The prejudice against secular music…has not been traced to Africa, where such distinctions between sacred and secular cannot be said to have existed. This is one case where blacks appear to have been influenced by the whites…’. Dena J. Epstein, _Sinful Tunes and Spirituals: Black Folk Music to the Civil War_, Music in American Life (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 208.
did not immediately integrate this binary division into their social imaginary. The central role that music had played in the lives of pre-diaspora Africans (with no differentiation between sacred and secular musicking) complicated the sacred/secular distinction in black Christian musicking. Black British gospel also owes its heritage to this West African worldview. Scholars have long noted the role of African Americans in the development of pop music. Theresa Reed's work on the holy-profane is a key text that specifically examines the relationship of black Pentecostal music to 'secular' pop music. Reed states, 'while the sacred/secular issue is a regular feature on the menu of broader discussions about black music, works devoted entirely and exclusively to the issue are comparatively few and far between.' By considering the West African worldview and its collision with Protestant Christian theology, I have been able to address the sacred-secular issue. Using Charles Taylor's concept of a secular age, I offer a different reading of the 'sacred-secular' in black gospel music. My four-quadrant concept diverges significantly from the accepted binary assumed by some Pentecostal theologians and secularists. My model accommodates both the West African holistic worldview and a Christian theological understanding.

Initiated Pentecostals conduct themselves as porous individuals (as opposed to buffered). The 'porous individual' in the pre-modern social imaginary is the self that is open to a world of spirits and demons, open to possession and the enchanted 'outside' world. The 'buffered self' is one who is no longer vulnerable to the transcendent or demonic. This porosity is one of the fundamental distinctions of classical Pentecostalism from many other Protestant Christian manifestations. The belief that the Spirit of God may dwell within the individual resulting in eudaimonia is central to Pentecostalism and is associated with such vernacular expressions as 'I feel the spirit', 'I feel the anointing', 'I feel the Holy Ghost' and so on. Pentecostals occupy an enchanted social imaginary fostered by the spiritual and liturgical practices of the church community.

80 Citing Ithiel C. Clemons, Reed states that, 'black Holiness/Pentecostal churches became easily distinguishable by their successful preservation of several elements of African spirit cosmologies' Reed, The Holy Profane: Religion in Black Popular Culture, 24. Further, Floyd states, 'the aim of African music has always been to translate the experiences of life and of the spiritual world into sound, enhancing and celebrating life through cradle songs, songs of reflection, historical songs, fertility songs, songs about death and mourning and other song varieties' Samuel A. Floyd Jr., The Power of Black Music: Interpreting Its History from Africa to the United States, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 32.

81 ‘Transformations of African and African-derived music in North America-blending with and borrowing from European, Native American and Caribbean musical cultures-evidence continuities that are traceable back to West African metaphysical concepts. Specifically, the spirit infuses all life and activities’ Casselberry, ‘Were We Ever Secular?’, 179.

82 This narrative is outlined in chapter 3.

83 Casselberry, ‘Were We Ever Secular?’, 4.

84 Reed, The Holy Profane.

85 Ibid., 12.

86 Taylor, A Secular Age, 37–42.

87 Smith, Thinking in Tongues, 39–41.
Music plays a critical role in Pentecostal worship, facilitating a connection with the transcendent. Pentecostals often refer to scriptural passages that highlight the use of music in evoking the transcendent. These scriptures underpin the theological framework of Pentecostalism. As will be seen later in my T.D. Jakes case study (chapter 5), many Pentecostals believe that music can be used to set a 'spiritual atmosphere' in worship and can affect the mind in significant ways. One biblical account (that Jakes draws upon) is that of David playing the lyre to calm King Saul who was oppressed by an evil spirit. The interpretation generally accepted among Pentecostals is that music has the power to affect the spiritual. For this reason, the techniques and sounds associated with gospel stylisation carry significant meaning as facilitators of the spiritual. When gospel stylisation and techniques are presented successfully, they are signifiers of the presence of God. Theomusicologist Yahya Jongintaba (previously Jon Spencer) referred to the same biblical passage in his academic work, indicating the centrality of this concept to black sacred music.

Other biblical passages emphasised by Pentecostals regarding music carry equal significance, not least the contested narrative that before Lucifer became a fallen angel, he was a chief musician in heaven. The danger of Satan 'controlling music' that is not explicitly or implicitly 'Christian' is another reason that the sacred-secular binary has been emphasised within Pentecostalism. For those who do not subscribe to Pentecostal doctrinal values, the mix of sacred and secular music styles in gospel music is straightforwardly an inviting channel of possibility for transcendent experience. This is because there is a shared store of signs equally valued in pop and gospel. This inviting channel of possibility for transcendent experience is facilitated by what I have termed the Gospel-Pop Bridge of Mutual Exchange. This is a site where various techniques that are used in gospel to evoke the transcendent are also used within pop and have similar connotations.

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89 In other words, through the use of music the believers space in worship can become spiritually ‘charged’.
90 See 1 Samuel 16:14-23 (CSB).
92 This is based on a contested interpretation of the King James Version of Ezekiel 28:13-14 which refers to Lucifer before his fall in the following way: 'Thou hast been in Eden the garden of God; every precious stone was thy covering... the workmanship of thy tabrets and of thy pipes was prepared in thee in the day that thou wast created' Many Pentecostals understand the tabrets and pipes to be references to musical instruments built into Lucifer’s body.
One of the main ways of demonstrating this mix of sacred and secular in black Pentecostal music is to look at the roots of gospel. Indeed the father of gospel Thomas Dorsey combined blues with the sacred text to produce 'gospel blues'.\(^93\) At its inception, gospel music was viewed with suspicion by some church leaders who were wary of its blues stylisation (although members of the black congregations were often less critical). It would take a separate PhD dissertation to detail the stylistic borrowing of gospel from other popular music genres. But a few points are worthy of mention to secure my argument. The similarities between rhythm and blues and black Pentecostalism have been well documented.\(^94\) Since its inception, gospel artists have sought to stay relevant to the communities they seek to evangelise. This has often meant the incorporation of contemporary styles of music. Reed observes that 'the black Pentecostal church was receptive to secular musical influences. Jazz and the blues both emerged as popular forms just on the heels of the Azusa revival'.\(^95\) Pentecostal music was a mix of musical styles; as Reed notes, 'the aesthetic similarities between black Pentecostalism and black secular music should be understood not in terms of a simple archetype/copy model but in terms of mutual exchange'.\(^96\) The secular sound of jazz influenced the music of the Pentecostal church long before the sounds and gestures of the church emerged in rhythm and blues. Although it seems impossible to determine whether the influence of one outweighed the other, the fact remains that the lines between sacred and secular were permanently blurred.\(^97\) Importantly, where the lyrics of black Pentecostal gospel music almost always point to sacred biblical themes, the musical stylisation has always been a mix of sacred and secular.

1.6: Gospel-Pop Crossover Theory: The Bridge of Mutual Exchange - A Shared Store of Signs

My interpretation of the sacred-secular mix in gospel-pop crossover combines Reed's observations about 'mutual exchange' with Taylor's 'secular,' thesis. The combination of these two theories provides a foundation for the examination of gospel-pop crossover. The quadrant model that I offer as a synthesis of Taylor and Reed's concepts is a valuable tool in decoding the 'theology of the masses of popular culture' and understanding the presence of gospel stylisation in popular

\(^{93}\) Reed, *The Holy Profane*, 10.

\(^{94}\) Ibid., 17.

\(^{95}\) Ibid., 34.

\(^{96}\) Ibid., 37.

\(^{97}\) Ibid., 37.
As Casselberry posits, popular music is built on a terrain that has always blurred sacred and secular realms.

My theory of mutual exchange in a secular age addresses a problem in popular music studies. That is, it is rare for documented discussions to take place from a stylistic perspective about gospel influences within popular music. There are works that address the sacred and profane in relation to popular music. But similar to the earlier criticism of Hopps and Brown, they do not deal with stylisation and close readings of the music; they also fail to deal in any substantial way with gospel music. Regardless of one’s subscription to secularism or the immanent frame, the art produced in popular culture largely springs from the milieu of a post-Christian frame. Critical approaches to musicology need not agree with the foundational principles of Christianity to acknowledge that this vantage point is helpful in understanding and contextualising popular music produced in the West.

The presence of black gospel techniques in pop is the result of mutually shared aesthetic values, even though the musical meaning will differ. The music of the African diaspora has consistently blurred the boundaries between sacred and secular in 'musical structures, musical production processes, and sonic and lyrical content'. In order to validate my conception of the Gospel-Pop Bridge of Mutual Exchange, it has been critical to my dissertation to engage with each of these areas. There needs to be more thorough assimilation of black sacred musical aesthetics into popular musicological discourse.

Gospel music is a bridge of dialogue between the sacred music of the black Pentecostal church and the secular music of Western pop. The Gospel-Pop Bridge of Mutual Exchange is a link between the two forms. Casselberry asks a question that has yet to be directly answered in musicology: ‘If a portion of popular music never completely ridded itself of the Divine and thus was never 'secular' – how might we read its transformations?’ My concept of The Gospel-Pop Bridge of Mutual Exchange is one way of reading these transformations. Simply stated, a shared store of signs exists between the black Pentecostal church and popular music that may be

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99 Casselberry, ‘Were We Ever Secular?’, 4.
100 Reed’s book is the most substantial in this regard. Reed, *The Holy Profane: Religion in Black Popular Culture*.
102 Casselberry, ‘Were We Ever Secular?’, 5.
103 Ibid., 4.
104 Ibid., 4.
105 Ibid., 5.
interpreted slightly differently by either camp but nonetheless (for both) points toward the 'spiritual'.

Figure 2 - Gospel-Pop Bridge of Mutual Exchange.

Semiotically the experience of being filled with the Spirit in Pentecostal worship is represented in different musical gestures and values that define gospel stylisation. Reed has documented the role of music in this process using terms like 'catching power' or 'catching the Spirit'. Brown has done wide-ranging work on the issue of sacramentality and, in particular, the secular as a site of religious experience. He acknowledges that the presence of 'gospel music is an attempt to introduce a religious dimension to popular music', but he does not consider the symbiotic relationship of Pentecostal music with blues, jazz and later pop music. Indeed, Casselberry contends that Brown has not considered the impact of mutuality on pop music. Situating a theory of mutual exchange within the conceptual framework of a secular age is a way to show that pop music is a potential site of sacred/religious expression.

Significantly, my Gospel-Pop Bridge of Mutual Exchange is a way of perceiving the sacred and secular that is more charitable to the Western secular music field (in particular the area of pop

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108 ‘It is often claimed that pop music must of necessity lie at the opposite extreme from true religious experience since the superficiality of music deprives it of all depth. Gospel music and similar attempts to introduce a religious dimension, it is said, can only at most sustain already, existing beliefs, not help in any way to initiate them’ Brown, *God and Grace of Body*, 295.
109 Casselberry, ‘Were We Ever Secular?’, 174.
music). It is charitable in the sense that the secular can be conceived of as a site of spiritual experience. Using a Tayloresque term, I could refer to this as an 'open-world structure'. In other words, I am tipping the immanent frame towards a construal that is open to appreciating the viability of other takes, particularly that of transcendence. This model is relevant to both secularists and Pentecostals as the language can be adapted for both worldviews. My open-world conceptual framework offers a way of construing the experience of transcendence for the religious and non-religious. For the purposes of this thesis, the application of this conceptual model is focused on Pentecostal and secular world views.

1.7: Intersubjectivity in Gospel-Pop, Sacred-Secular Crossovers

In order to communicate effectively with other individuals, there must be a collaboratively constructed understanding of the world (including things, events and people). The term 'intersubjectivity' was popularised by the philosopher Edmund Husserl (1859 – 1938) and is defined as the interchange of thoughts and feelings, both conscious and unconscious, between two persons or 'subjects' facilitated by empathy. Semiotically this is referred to as a shared store of signs. The term has been adopted across several disciplines, chiefly in psychology and particularly in psychotherapy. For example, the psychologist Pamela Cooper-White has stated that 'intersubjectivity is the area of shared feeling and meaning-making that develops between two people in relationship'.

Intersubjectivity is a theory arising from self-psychology in contemporary psychoanalysis that emphasises the mutual psychic influence and construction of meaning in the therapeutic relationship. The term is also in wide use across the social sciences. For example, the sociologist Peter Berger argues that it is only when one person is in relationship to another and 'provinces of meaning' are established that 'others' experiences may, at least temporarily, become definitive for

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110 Taylor, A Secular Age, 551–92.
111 ‘Embedded within pop music’s DNA are sonic and physical evidence of divine encounter, which some listeners may experience as “religious”, while others may feel an “emotive authenticity”. Either interpretation reveals a “musico-sacred gateway” available to musicians and audiences,’ Casselberry, ‘Were We Ever Secular?’, 15.
115 Pamela Cooper-White, Many Voices: Pastoral Psychotherapy in Relational and Theological Perspective (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2007), 332.
one's own, expanding one's sense of reality or even transporting oneself to 'another world'. Even more relevant for my thesis, Berger goes on to say 'aesthetic and religious experience is rich in producing transitions of this kind, inasmuch as art and religion are endemic producers of finite provinces of meaning'. The combination of popular music with gospel is a rich terrain for the study of the transitions that Berger describes. Further, it is precisely these types of transitions that pop music and gospel aim at, and this is what I am naming common-union. The term common-union should be distinguished from the sacred communion of Christianity, though in its humanistic function, it is similar.

Intersubjectivity is implicit throughout my thesis. I have drawn particular attention to it in chapter 5. It underpins the concepts of a secular age and mutual exchange. I associate the concept of intersubjectivity with the theological concept of communion. When intersubjectivity is successful in musicking, common-union occurs, i.e. a relationship of empathy with other individuals over a shared store of signs. This state exists in both gospel and pop musicking due to a shared semiotic sign store between both fields. Gospel music and pop music also produce separate but related fields of implied meaning. The intersubjectivity that exists is a form of theological communion.

'Communion' is a specific theological term that indicates union with Christ and others. Here the term common-union has slightly different implications so that it applies to the uninitiated who occupy a pluralistic field of implied meaning. As will be seen in chapter 4 on gospel sound, common-union is the primary conceptual basis upon which gospel music operates. Further, popular music carries a similar set of values. In both instances, the semiotic process is not complete unless the interpretant is received (and, more often than not, acknowledged to be received through gesture (i.e. verbal-visual associations)). I draw inspiration from the theological foundations for gospel music. This language is evocative of the Judeo-Christian concept of communion, a sacred state of union with God and other humans.

The presence of gospel music in pop generates an implied field of musical meaning (a paramusical field of connotation). This field is pluralistic rather than the specifically Christian field of implied meaning generated by gospel music in a mainly religious context. Cooper-White notes that 'intersubjectivity as a field of study is scarcely needed in non-Judeo-Christian religious traditions because eastern cultures and religions have never been so characterised by the individualism that Western intersubjectivity interrogates and contests'. There is much to be

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117 Ibid., 23.
explored in the growing understanding of this concept within the Western pluralistic context that reflects both Eastern and Western religious preferences. The concept of intersubjectivity is essential because it has not been explicitly articulated in the field of gospel-pop crossover. Intersubjectivity over gospel signs in pop music is what I am referring to as common-union, a term with spiritual connotations but helpfully implies a certain humanistic element also; this leaves room for interpretation from an exclusive humanist perspective as well as a theistic one. This is critical to an understanding of gospel music, that essentially it is common-union music, purposefully community music.

1.8: Conclusion

In this chapter I have drawn on Charles Taylor's theory of a secular age to suggest a lens through which to view the secular3 relationship of gospel and pop music. I have proposed that both Pentecostals and secularists who hold a secular2 worldview might be helped to understand this age through a reconceptualisation of the traditional dualistic worldview. The nova effect produced by the cross-pressures of a secular3 age implies that this is necessary. I have used the lens of Peter Berger's theory of pluralism to support the reality of pluralisation in a secular3 age. Through my Gospel-Pop Bridge of Mutual Exchange model, I have theorised that a share of stored signs exists across musical structures, musical production processes, and sonic and lyrical content. The presence of a shared store of signs may invoke ideas of the transcendent in the listener through intersubjectivity. The fields of implied meaning produced by gospel music and gospel in pop music are similar but not identical.

Through my four-quadrant model, I have suggested that the evocation of the transcendent is possible through music that may be considered profane or secular. The theorising work of this chapter provides a cartography for the case studies and analyses in later chapters. It also underscores the relevance of my theoretical framework in the next chapter. It allows for an understanding of the presence of gospel stylisation in popular music. In order to do this, I have employed semiotics as a lens by which to propose meaning for the musical techniques heard in pop music that have roots in gospel music.
CHAPTER 2: A GOSPEL-POP SEMIOTIC FRAMEWORK

Semiotics is the systematic study of sign systems in human communication. Sign systems are a set of conventions of meaning within a particular field. Signs may be conveyed in artistic forms such as dance, literature, television, film, music and art. The semiotics of music generally refers to the relationship between musical sounds and what those sounds signify to those who produce or hear them. These observations usually include a consideration of the specific socio-cultural context of the sound.\(^1\) While it is understood that music can be endowed with meaning, the cliché that music is a universal language requires challenge on the basis that many musical signs are socially and culturally specific.\(^2\) In this chapter I present a gospel-pop semiotic framework; I do this to draw conclusions about the interpretation of gospel codes. I also assert that hospitality to the listener's interpretation ('the listener's share') is critical in the meaning making process.

The Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857 – 1913) and the American philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce (1839 – 1914) were seminal semioticians. Peirce and Saussure developed their theories independently of each other, and many of their successors in this field (such as Roland Barthes, Umberto Eco, Paul de Man, and Jacques Derrida) developed their theories based on Saussurian or Peircean concepts. Saussure was the first to introduce the term 'semiology' (the study of signs – see fig 3).\(^3\) Although his primary focus was linguistics, he distinguished between the signifier (such as a word) and the signified (the idea associated with that word). Since Saussure, many scholars have put forward different kinds of semiotic theory. The main emphasis is illustrating how meaning is socially constructed and how the relationship between the signifier and the signified is often arbitrary.\(^4\) According to Saussure, this relationship between the signifier and the signified is stable (fixed), and the meaning of a given sign is established by convention rather than by any external relationship with the concept signified. Thus, for example, the word 'bed' is connected to the idea of a bed only because of an accepted arbitrary attribution of that word to that meaning.

Saussure's point of view is problematic for several reasons. For example, Maeve Heaney points out that the object (in my example – the literal bed) is missing from Saussure's discussion in the sense that neither the signified (the idea of the bed) nor the signifier (the word 'bed') is

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actually the bed itself.\textsuperscript{5} This raises issues in agreeing on meaning if the object is not included in semiotic consideration. The other issue which Nattiez identifies and challenges is the notion of a fixed and stable relationship between the signifier and the signified.\textsuperscript{6} That is to say, meaning may change with time, and various cultural contexts and signs require a dynamic interpretation to comprehend their full meaning.\textsuperscript{7}

These issues with Saussure's theory are sufficient to consider it only partially helpful in supporting some of the observations of this thesis. One relevant observation is that musical texts in gospel and pop share signifiers, which helps musicians with a gospel background freely cross the divides of sacred and secular. This is because interpreters of the musical signs (the listeners) are able to successfully reach appropriate conclusions within their social contexts through intersubjectivity. Another observation relevant to my dissertation is that these signifiers' meanings have evolved due to the advent of the secular age with the development of both gospel and pop music.\textsuperscript{8}


\textsuperscript{7} Turino comments ‘It has always been surprising to me that in the great musical semiotics boom of the 1970s, scholars chose the Saussurian line and attempted to show the similarities between music and language.’ Thomas Turino, ‘Signs of Imagination, Identity, and Experience: A Peircean Semiotic Theory for Music’, Ethnomusicology 43, no. 2 (1999): 222, https://doi.org/10.2307/852734.

\textsuperscript{8} Secular being the notion of the secular age of contested belief, where religious belief (and particularly Christian belief) is no longer axiomatic. It's possible to imagine not believing in God. This is in contradistinction to modern understanding of secularity which posits that the secular is a-religious, neutral, unbiased, ‘objective’ and completely without God in the public square.
2.1: Charles S. Peirce: Repurposing the Peircean Triangle for Gospel Music

Peirce argued that semiotics was more nuanced than the binary theory put forward by Saussure. He addressed the issue raised by critics of Saussure, namely, the absence of the object in Saussure’s theory. Peirce also offered a more dynamic semiotic framework by acknowledging the potential for sign users to have different experiences of the sign and thus an infinite number of interpretants (defined below) in the process of signifying. Thomas Turino has written substantially on the utilisation of Peircean concepts in music. He states, ‘I have become convinced that its potential is nothing short of revolutionary for understanding the social effects of music, art, expressive culture, and people’s myriad ways of experiencing the world.’ He tries to show the workings and potentials of different sign types in human life. Following Turino, this chapter elaborates on the working of gospel signs in sacred and secular music. Instead of completing an exposition of Peirce’s entire concept of semiotics, I will explain the keywords and concepts from his theory that are most applicable to this thesis. In doing this, I intend to use the language of Peirce (as well as the specialist words of some other musicologists working in the field of semiotics) to construct a theoretical framework for communication and musical meaning in gospel-pop crossovers. The most well-known diagram associated with Peirce's semiotics is as follows:

![Peirce's Semiotic Triangle](image)

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The sign corresponds to Saussure's signifier. The object is the thing or concept being signified, by which the sign relates to something other than itself. The interpretant (mentioned earlier) is the understanding or sense made out of the sign. This is not to be confused with the interpreter (the person doing the understanding). The interpretant is most often thought of as the sign created in the mind as the result of an encounter with the sign. Semiosis is the process by which meaning is produced and understood. For the process to be complete, it must include consideration of the connection of object, sign and interpretant. In this section I convey how the transcendent may be evoked in the minds of the gospel music listener. It is common for musicologists to give attention to reception by the listener instead of simply focusing on the structure of the music. I also adopt this approach as a critical part of my assessment of gospel-pop semiosis since it verifies the sign's success.

I also establish the principle that re-enchantment has become a possibility (regularly evoked) within the field of secular pop music. I propose that within the field of gospel-pop crossovers, certain musical signs produce interpretants that can communicate (in the interpreter's mind) the eudaimonic idea of connection to God or the spiritual realm (whether imagined or not). Mastery of these signs and their appropriate use in gospel music is one reason for the success of many gospel musicians crossing to pop music. This is because these signs appear to be valued in both gospel and pop music, although the reasons for their significance are different in each case. Figure 5 illustrates the elements that I propose to apply to my study concerning gospel-pop crossovers. From this point on in this section, when I refer to 'my Peircean triangle' (object, sign and interpretant), it should be understood that I refer simultaneously to these three elements in orange.

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It is acknowledged that God or the spiritual realm is an intangible object, so there will inevitably be differences in understanding what the object is. I have noted in the previous chapter that, according to Taylor, secular society in the modern West has been introduced to a supernova of possibilities. Peter Berger refers to this as a plurality of options. To relate this to my thesis using Peircean classification: the 'object' is defined for the Pentecostal as a trinitarian understanding of God and, in particular, access to the Holy Spirit. However, for some, the object is one's own conceptual understanding of the idea of God or the spiritual realm. The Peircean signs are those recognisable audible and visual components of gospel music that signal the divine. The interpretant is the concept of connection to God and sometimes (though not always) a eudaimonic response to the sign, which is the ideal in Pentecostal circles.

The intent of the performer also requires consideration in gospel-pop semiosis. The reason is that the sign and its interpretation may be at variance because the audience and the performer do not share the same store of signs. Ideally, the performer's intent should harmonise with the received interpretant. For example, in a melisma, if the performer intends the presence of melisma to signify the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, then a successful communication within the Pentecostal frame would be for the interpreter to receive a mental concept of that interpretant. In the Pentecostal frame, a physical response of acknowledgement might also be expected from the

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14 Berger, *The Many Altars of Modernity*, 1
15 These will be discussed later but examples include, melisma, cries, hollers, variation of timbre etc.
interpreter. These responses may take various forms, from emotional responses such as tears to waving hands.

An example is COGIC (Church of God in Christ) singer Kim Burrell. Before setting up an independent church, Burrell grew up in COGIC and was an established singer in that denomination. Her vocal prowess, particularly the use of melisma and improvisation, is outstanding. Her live performance of 'Holy Ghost' is replete with examples of melisma, and one can observe the process of semiosis taking place. Many in the audience receive the interpretant and respond accordingly with the waving of hands and the closing of eyes. It is impossible in a dynamic scenario such as live performance for every interpreter to receive an identical final interpretant, and for that interpretant to evoke the same emotional response.

Sometimes individuals may acquiesce to participating in the responses of those around them in order to comply with what seems to be a social norm for the environment. However, the intent behind the use of melisma (to evoke the transcendent) within the black Pentecostal tradition can be assumed here based on several factors, including my observations of hundreds of Pentecostal worship services; participation through performance in worship services; and conversations with both congregation members and performers in this culture. Perhaps the most apparent reason for these assumptions around intent is the performances' settings and the cultural/religious contexts for those performances. In other words, the primary motivation behind acts of musicking within the Pentecostal worship setting is generally to turn the recipient toward thoughts of God. I use the words 'primary motivations' to distinguish from some of the less noble motives that may exist in a handful of performers, such as manipulation and self-aggrandizement. Performances are often referred to as 'edifying' or 'not edifying' in Pentecostal circles. This is an indicator of whether musical encouragement has been successful. In this semiotic study, I am less concerned with the sincerity of the performance. For this study, it is not crucial that the performer of the sign really means or believes what they are singing. A performer can be a master of the sign without carrying all of the necessary doctrinal or theological components that may be expected by those adhering to the belief system. Analysing the performances in this chapter in this manner allows for a distinction to be made between emotion and the representation of emotion.

Semantics (a term coined in 1897 by Michel Breal, a French linguist) is the study of the relationship between signs and what they represent. In order to prevent my study of the semantics of pop and gospel signs from becoming disconnected from praxis, I will (from this point onwards) ground it in practical examples such as the previous Kim Burrell illustration. I will also apply my

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17 ‘That doesn’t mean that the artist’s composition or performance is fake. It’s simply a presentation, based on a combination of memory, retrospection, empathy, sensitivity, imagination and skill’. Tagg, Music’s Meanings, 72.
theoretical framework for the semiosis of gospel-pop crossovers, proving that the signs point to the interpretant I have defined. When pop and gospel musical texts contain the signs I identify later in this thesis, they are more likely to produce the desired interpretant (see fig.5). These interpretants are valued in pop and gospel communities and often play a key role in successful performance recordings.

2.2: Categorising Signs: Icon, Arbitrary Sign and Index

Peirce presents ways of categorising signification: icon, index and arbitrary sign. Icons are signs that have a resemblance to what they signify. For example, the red-framed triangular traffic sign with a picture of two elderly people crossing the road indicates that the driver should be alert for elderly pedestrians crossing the road. An arbitrary sign, like the word 'bed' discussed above, is only connected by convention to what it represents. Indices are signs connected by spatial or cultural proximity to what they stand for. Some indices can be synecdochal. Synecdoches are expressions where the part is made to represent the whole. An example Tagg gives is 'the crown meaning the monarch and royal power and not just a piece of bejewelled headgear'. But this expression can be applied to indices as a type of musical sign. For example, one might see a mental image of a sunny Caribbean island beach with white sand and blue sea when one hears the sound of a steel pan playing. The steel pan is an index for a Caribbean experience. In order to justify the interpretant that I have defined in fig.5, I maintain that many of the signs in gospel music – as in other music – are synecdochal. An example of synecdochal signification in gospel-pop crossover is the presence of the gospel choir. The presence of the gospel choir in performance (both pop and gospel) is a synecdochal sign of the object (God or the divine/spiritual realm). This results in the interpreter receiving the interpretant that transcendence, connection to God and eudaimonia are implied.

The black gospel choir is an internationally recognised part of the history of black sacred music. Its presence in pop culture has often been used to inform collective memory of the uses and place of the gospel choir in music performance. A simple search on YouTube under the term 'gospel choir' provides evidence of this. Examples such as the performance of Eric Clapton and Luciano Pavarotti with the East London Gospel Choir, the Kanye West Choir performances, Nick Jonas' gospel version of his song 'Jealous', and the Kingdom Choir performance at the 2018 Royal wedding of the Duke and Duchess of Sussex all have over 7 million views each (some well in

18 Tagg, 163.
Similarly, gospel choirs appear in countless films and serve as indices in popular culture. This means that the public often has preconceived ideas about what a gospel choir sounds like and what they may typically look like. These ideas serve as a part of the collective social imaginary semiotically, signifying the presence of the transcendent in a performance.

An example of synecdochal signification in gospel-pop crossover would be the NPR tiny desk performance by Coldplay (2020). This performance features The Love Choir, who sing in a traditional gospel style. The Coldplay members do not articulate a religious belief as a band, although they sing songs with religious themes and messages in this performance. NPR reviewer Robin Hilton describes the performance as almost 'transcendent'. To transcend means to 'go beyond' and is often used to articulate being in touch with the spiritual. In other interviews about the performance of these musical texts, Chris Martin (lead singer) speaks of his intention to create a 'gospel sound'. The home of the gospel choir is the black Pentecostal church, and the original setting for the gospel choir is divine worship. By extracting the gospel choir trope and using it in a secular setting, performers and composers evoke in the collective consciousness of the listeners the Divine interpretant from my Peircean triangle. As evidenced by the comments section on the Coldplay NPR Tiny Desk video, many of the viewers of this performance received the intended interpretant (see appendix B for comments substantiating this claim).

To further examine the Coldplay performance, I briefly define the difference between 'denotation' and 'connotation' as two different types of semiosis. In grammar, words of denotation have literal meanings. For example, one of the denotive meanings of the word 'book' in the dictionary would be 'a set of pages that have been fastened together inside a cover to be read or written in'. In contrast, words of connotation have suggestive meanings (emotional or otherwise). For example, the word 'fire' can connote danger. Denotation means 'this sign specifically denotes

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22 Defined in chapter 4 on the Gospel Sound.


that interpretant'. Connotation is slightly different: we arrive at the interpretant through causal indexicality. The presence of a gospel choir both connotes and denotes the desired interpretant. It denotes the transcendent because to both the initiated and uninitiated, the gospel choir is usually associated with church and the worship of God through music. It connotes the transcendent because choirs perform outside of church environments. Even though the choir may not be singing about religious themes, religious sensibilities can be stirred because of the visual connection of the choir with church environments. For this reason, my gospel-pop process of semiosis includes what is known as a 'dynamic interpretant'. A dynamic interpretant leaves room for the interpreter to produce interpretants that may be related to but slightly different from the specific intention of the signifier. For example, though a person may understand the Christian background for gospel choirs, the individual may have personal experiences with other religions. For this reason, their understanding of what the choir can symbolise may be the result of 'cognitive contamination' between Christian ideas of transcendence and others.

2.3: Codal Competence

Within this process of semiosis, a level of musical competence is assumed. That is to say, the interpreter possesses the necessary tools to produce the interpretant from the sign. This includes working out what constitutes an adequate response. Musicians in Pentecostal worship services learn these signs through weekly participation. Here Tagg is worth quoting directly ‘...when it comes to musical intuition, I'm certainly not the only individual never to have learnt the intuitive skills involved in reaching the 'natural' state of trance experienced by those familiar with the sounds of shamanistic ritual or with the singing of worshippers possessed by the Holy Spirit in extremist sects of evangelical Christianity’. Though his statement appears to be demeaning, it is an indication that one needs to have codal competence in interpreting the store of gospel musical signs to understand the principles that guide the evocation of the transcendent interpretant for the listener.

Music transforms spaces by giving them social meaning. This becomes abundantly clear through the ways that most people consume music (streaming services, YouTube, social media...

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28 Ibid., 70.

platforms, traditional concerts, radio and TV). When a piece of music is detached from place the
original meaning will sometimes be altered, this has implications for the navigation of relationships
and identities. Arnold supports this observation stating that music often connotes place yet is
easily detached from place. The connotations of the signs in gospel music are not negated when
used in popular music settings. Instead, the meaning is altered and encompasses a broader field of
spirituality as opposed to specifically Pentecostal connotations. In this way, these sonic features
are employed in new cultural contexts and applied in a manner that the theology of the Pentecostal
church may not accommodate.

Hopps claims that 'music can serve an iconic function, offering the listener intimations of
the infinite or an analogical experience of transcendence.' I argue that the statement may be too
emphatic. It is clear from the writing of Callaway that what follows from such a construal is the
aspiration to prove this infinite or analogical experience quantitively. Therefore, a more cautious
approach is appropriate, which draws on the verbal-visual associations of the listener's share as
well as agreed understanding within a listening community about music's meanings. A semiotic
framework can be offered that shows the process by which individuals or groups experience the
transcendent in music without asserting that the music itself offers ' intimations of the infinite'. It
is only within an 'open world', re-enchanted framework that this way of experiencing music is
possible, i.e. that music may serve in evoking the transcendent for the listener.

I also draw on intertextuality as a tool for examining codal competence (particularly in
chapter 5 on Stormzy's 'Blinded By Your Grace' and in chapter 6 on Dave's 'In The Fire'). An
intertextual reading of a performance holds that all texts (in the expanded sense of the term, thus
including music as text) are composed of other (pre-existing) texts held together in a state of
constant interaction. Therefore, the text under consideration is defined by its relationship with
other texts—the focus of interpretation shifts from the creator to the receiver. The act of reading
or, in the case of music, listening involves tracing echoes and reflections of other texts. Music can,
in some senses, be heard as intertextual. We are inclined to make comparisons, highlight similarities and recognise familiar traces of past music. Through elements such as sampling and lyrical references, hip hop is intertextual. Academics have used this approach to study the relationship between hip hop texts and other hypotexts. Intertextuality proves useful in understanding religious references in lyrics when gospel stylisation shows up in pop (see section 5.4.1 and 6.3.2).

2.4: Gospel Codes and the Listener's Share

I offer the term 'gospel codes' as a way of understanding the presence of gospel stylisation in pop music. It builds on Stuart Hall's concept of encoding and decoding. Hall's premise is that particular meanings may be encoded into popular cultural texts. In Hall's case, this was the work of the media. Hall claimed that journalists, presenters and TV producers encode a particular set of meanings or interpretations into their texts. For the meaning to be received, the audience must decode these texts. I examine the verbal-visual associations that are produced in the process of decoding meaning by categorising various levels of 'success' as codal competence, codal interference, and codal incompetence. Tagg suggests these terms as helpful in classifying the success of the semiotic process. Codal incompetence and codal interference need not be intentional for shifts in musical meaning to occur. This is the premise for the evocation of my pluralistic paramusical field of connotation. Signs from one culturally specific store (i.e. Pentecostalism and black gospel music) can be appropriated into another (secular pop music) where they may mean something different.

A lens through which to understand my proposition of a pluralistic field of connotation in gospel-pop crossover is the conceptual framework of the listener's share. The listener's share is understood as 'privileging the audience as co-constitutors of music's meanings'. This is a term proposed by Gavin Hopps. In the field of musicology, it has been accepted for some time that active receptivity in music is of critical importance to meaning making. Broadly speaking, this has not been the case in religious consideration of meaning and music. For example, Jeremy Begbie's

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40 ‘Codal incompetence arises if the transmitter and receiver do not share the same store of signs (including their meanings); it can occur at both the transmitting and receiving ends of the communication process. Codal interference arises when transmitter and receiver do share the same store of signs and their meanings but do not translate those same meanings in to the same final interpretants. Differences in sociocultural values often cause codal interference’. Tagg, Music's Meanings, 192.

41 Corbett, Annunciations: Sacred Music for the Twenty-First Century, 23.
work provides rich theological discussions of music's meanings, but he has received criticism from academics such as David Brown and Gavin Hopps who insist that musicking requires the role of the listener to be a far more prominent consideration in meaning-making in religious and secular music. This meaning is not divorced from its original intent, but instead, meaning is deepened through reading the listener's share as part of the semiotic process. Through the use of verbal-visual associations, I consider the listener's share when ascertaining the meaning of the presence of gospel stylisation in pop music.

'Theological Imperialism' is the phrase that Hopps uses to describe the type of musicology that affirms music's significance but neglects the role of the listener in co-producing this. Chiefly Hopps and Brown aim their criticism at Jeremy Begbie. Begbie's work is useful in many ways, particularly for the initiated Protestant believer. It is situated in a worldview that seeks (at its heart) to view music through a Christian framework. Begbie emphasises the fact that music can serve the purpose of teaching the fundamental concepts of Christian doctrine. But his method of evaluating the theological value of a performance or piece of music often rests on the elimination of the listener as involved in the process of meaning-making. Instead, the meaning of the music will be predetermined by the theologian and imposed upon rather than co-produced by the listener. According to Begbie, the theological framework is presupposed, and the music is considered within that (in his case) Protestant Christian framework. He suggests that where an individual makes the claim that the arts (specifically music) afford an awareness of divine transcendence, one should be prepared to explore the theology those claims presuppose. Begbie's main drive is to make explicit a 'scriptural imagination' about the arts. I follow Hopps; one cannot exclude the role of the listener in shaping the meaning of a piece of music for themself. Music that has not explicitly been written for a theological purpose can gather great significance depending

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44 ‘Begbie is an Anglican minister and world-renowned theologian whose work focuses on the intersection of theology and the arts. Begbie’s main work that directly speaks to this subject is, ‘Redeeming Transcendence in the Arts’. Begbie, *Redeeming Transcendence in the Arts Bearing Witness to the Triune God*.

45 Begbie is most famous for his analogies of the trinity and the three note chord, he asks ‘What could be more apt than to speak of the Trinity as a three-note chord, a resonance of life; Father, Son, and Spirit mutually indwelling, without mutual exclusion, and yet without merger, each occupying the same space, “sounding through” one another, yet irreducibly distinct, reciprocally enhancing, and establishing one another as other?’ Jeremy Begbie, *Resounding Truth: Christian Wisdom in the World of Music*, Engaging Culture (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2007).


47 ‘I hope we have done enough to show that the belief that there is a kind of general, all-purpose transcendence, a metaphysical mould that can be unproblematically filled in with whatever particular brand of religious conviction we prefer, is profoundly misguided.’ Begbie, *Redeeming Transcendence in the Arts Bearing Witness to the Triune God*, 184.
on the conceptual framework of the listener. Conversely, a piece of music with a transcendent purpose may be employed to signify humanistic meanings within a closed world frame. The inclusion of the listener’s share ensures that multiple layers of meaning are accounted for.

My dissertation proposes an accommodation of Begbie’s supposition that if one professes Christianity, one should necessarily consider the music one listens to within that religious frame. But I widen the discussion by suggesting that in a pluralistic age with many 'altars of modernity', there are many other ways that people interpret the music they listen to as a mode of accessing what to them symbolises the transcendent. Throughout my thesis, I seek to apply the approach of 'hospitality' by including consideration of the listener’s share. Hopps proposes an attitude of hospitality towards the concept that the transcendent can be experienced in music. In particular, he makes a case for popular music as a site for this experience. This builds on the work of David Brown whose work in *God of Grace and Body* proposes that secular art may be capable of occasioning transcendent encounters. Hopps does not explore gospel music in detail, nor does he provide a close reading of the popular music texts he cites, but his overarching argument harmonises with my theoretical framework.

Hopps' extensive discussion of Lawrence Kramer's work highlights the fact that although musicologists have sought to foreground the importance of social and subjective meanings, they have often excluded certain religious possibilities. New musicology (of which Kramer is a proponent) broadens our understanding of how music's meanings are constructed, to include the social and cultural in music listening. Tagg proposes similar ideas through the application of semiotics to music. There is utility in the work of Kramer though it is restricted to what Hopps has called 'closed world musicology' (an adaptation of Taylor’s term 'closed world structures'). Closed world structures (and closed world musicology) result from a construal or understanding of life within the immanent frame that has no room to grant plausibility to the alternative of being

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48 A phrase coined by the sociologist Peter Berger which is a play on St Pauls biblical encounter with the polytheistic Greeks at Mars Hill in Acts 17. Where St Paul observes that the Greeks worship many Gods instead of following the monotheistic tradition of the Jews and Christians. Berger, *The Many Altars of Modernity*.

49 ‘In contrast to Kramer’s “closed-world” model, such an approach would not rule out religious possibilities and would not, or not necessarily, constrect the “escapist” experience of absorbed listening or the evocation of an enchanted “elsewhere” as a negative activity.’ Corbett, *Annunciations: Sacred Music for the Twenty-First Century*, 348.

50 Brown, *God and Grace of Body*.


52 Corbett, 337.

53 ‘When it comes to musical intuition, I’m certainly not the only individual never to have learnt the intuitive skills involved in reaching the “natural” state of trance experienced by those familiar with the sounds of shamanistic ritual or with the singing of worshippers possessed by the Holy Spirit in extremist sects of evangelical Christianity.’ Tagg is arguing here that although he hasn’t learned these skills, it does not negate their existence. Tagg, *Music’s Meanings*, 70.
open to the transcendent. Sociologist Peter Berger suggested the term 'plausibility structures'. Plausibility structures are the social context in which any cognitive or normative definition of reality is plausible (including openness to religious ideas of the transcendent). I follow Berger; in a pluralistic secular age, there has been an increase in the plausibility structures available to an individual to consider and adopt. This applies to the field of new musicology where acceptance of a more open world structure would allow for a deeper understanding of music's meaning in religious spaces.

2.5: Conclusion

Using a Peircean approach to semiotics, I have defined the basic process involved in evoking the idea of God and the transcendent in gospel music. I have also given short examples of the possible way some signs function (melisma and the black gospel choir). There are intersubjective cultural experiences that the initiated have had which provide the basis for understanding the semiotic processes employed in gospel music. My Peircean triangle is a way of understanding this process and will be invoked in later chapters when I analyse the production of meaning in gospel music.

I have taken a holistic approach in developing my semiotic theory that allows for ascertaining musical meaning. By incorporating author-based, text-based, and audience-reception, I complete my semiotic process and give different perspectives on the meaning of the text. In doing so, I provide a firm argument for what gospel stylisation in pop means. The multi-layered nature of gospel music from a Pentecostal root requires all three approaches. Casselberry notes that 'musicological methods of analysis that focus on structure prove inadequate for understanding the aesthetics of pop music. Instead, the analytical focus should be on the totality of its reception by the listener'. My work requires a multidisciplinary lens that engages at the level of semiotics, theology, sociology, musicology and music technology in order to fully understand its meaning.

By proposing a Peircean semiotic understanding of how the transcendent is evoked in music, I clarify how gospel music produces meaning in popular culture. Gospel signs may be understood with differing levels of competence; my pluralistic field of connotation allows for this. My semiotic framework offers a way of understanding the reasons for the presence of gospel signs in pop music. Critical to this hermeneutic is the acceptance of the listener's share. Distributing the power of interpretation to the listener as well as the author is a significant part of gospel musicking.

54 Taylor refers to this construal as a 'spin'. A less hospitable construal that does not allow for transcendence. Smith, How (Not) to Be Secular, 143.
56 Casselberry, ‘Were We Ever Secular?’, 171.
and has been since its inception. In this chapter I have argued that in a pluralistic secular age, an understanding of this distribution of power is necessary for musicologists to interpret gospel codes in pop music competently.
CHAPTER 3: THE ROUTES AND ROOTS OF CARIBBEAN-BRITISH GOSPEL MUSIC: BLACK IDENTITY BEYOND NATION-STATE BOUNDARIES

I think as Jamaican Christians, [apart from] probably the Jamaican songs and the Jamaican choruses …there really isn’t a great sense of identity and heritage (in the United Kingdom) and so I feel that that’s why we always look to America so much for, not direction, but for some kind of reference point, and I think that was reflected in…the way we did gospel music.

-- Black British gospel artist Seth Pinnock (2014) commenting on the influence of black American gospel music.¹

Focusing primarily on performance recordings, in this chapter I offer a narrative overview of the routes and roots of black British gospel music as expressed by those from the Caribbean Pentecostal church community.² For centuries, the triangle of cultural connections between Africa, the Americas and Europe has been defined by the transatlantic slave trade and its aftermath. Paul Gilroy coined the descriptive term 'Black Atlantic'.³ For Gilroy, the term Black Atlantic connotes the victims of the transatlantic slave trade and their descendants as a group whose cultural practices (most notably music) have commonalities due to their mutual history under racism and enslavement.⁴ Following Gilroy’s concept of the Black Atlantic in this chapter, I show how gospel music has taken routes between the Caribbean, USA and UK. Further, this concept of the Black Atlantic implies that each location is home to a different permutation of the shared heritage of gospel music.

The black church has been key in facilitating the making of the African Diaspora.⁵ The musical connections between the UK, America, and the Caribbean may be followed by tracing the

² The term ‘roots and routes’ is borrowed from Paul Gilroy as a way of talking about the transatlantic connections in the African Diaspora. Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*, 133.
³ Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*.
routes of church plants, missionaries and agricultural labourers between these spaces. The movement of people between these countries has resulted in the production of various styles of music. I have settled on the term 'cross-fertilisation' to discuss the relationship between different styles that are mixed when black Pentecostal worship music crosses various boundaries. These may be nation-state boundaries or sacred-secular boundaries. Denis-Constant Martin refers to cross-fertilisation as the practice in African American music of blending different musical forms (often sacred and secular).\(^6\) Cross-fertilisation of styles is also part of the history of black British gospel and contributes to the formation of black identity beyond nation-state boundaries.\(^7\)

In this chapter I introduce a definition of gospel music that does not rely on the African American gospel tradition. This enables an examination of the roots of sacred Christian musicking in Jamaica on its own terms, with a view to correcting the narrative that Jamaican gospel music has its roots solely in the African American tradition. I rely on documented evidence of spirituals and revival hymns in 1920s Jamaica. This is important as, to date, no scholar has connected this period of Caribbean gospel to the history of Caribbean-British gospel music. I continue by examining Jamaican Christian performance recordings of gospel music in the decades up until the 1960s. I establish that there is a close connection between southern gospel and country and western music of the USA and the Caribbean.

The 1950s and 60s was a time of migration for many Jamaicans who took their Pentecostal beliefs to the UK.\(^8\) I trace the development of gospel music in the UK from this point to the late 1970s and early 1980s. During the late 1970s and early 1980s a significant shift toward distinctly African American gospel stylisation occurred. Finally, I show that the performance of Americanised gospel is key in the crossover to popular music of many UK gospel artists, drawing on interviews with artists and readings of gospel and pop music from the 1990s to the 2000s. This is significant given that no scholar has previously analysed the stylistic elements of black British

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\(^7\) In her work Evanthia Patsiaoura examines ‘how musicians of Nigerian Pentecostal background [in Greece] employ the twofold ethos of Nigerian Pentecostal musicianship—namely, the perception and practice of music as ministration and participatory activity—in secular performance contexts.’ A key observation in her article is that ‘musicianship of this kind blurs the boundaries between the religious and the secular.’ Her observation supports my assertions that gospel-pop crossover is a diasporic phenomenon. Evanthia Patsiaoura, ‘Transcending Distinctions between Religious and Secular Musicianship: Nigerian Pentecostals across Popular Performance Settings’, *Popular Music and Society* 43, no. 1 (1 January 2020): 35, https://doi.org/10.1080/03007766.2019.1596355.

\(^8\) Individuals from other Caribbean islands participated in the Windrush migration also (particularly Barbados, Trinidad and the Bahamas). Despite this, Jamaica was the most prominent cultural influence in Caribbean Pentecostal churches of the UK. For the sake of specificity and to remain within the word limit of my dissertation I have focused on the Jamaican part of this narrative.
gospel. It is also noteworthy because it supports my assertions regarding BBG artists' competency in gospel codes being related to their presence in pop music.

3.1: Gospel as defined in the Caribbean

Gospel music in the Caribbean and gospel music in the USA have been defined slightly differently.\(^9\) Butler clarifies this distinction in his scholarship on gospel music and Pentecostalism in Jamaica. He shows that gospel music is usually perceived as a product of the African American church. Quoting the Centre for Black Music Research Butler states, '[In the USA Gospel music is] African-American Protestant vocal music that celebrates Christian doctrine in emotive, often dramatic ways.'\(^10\) Significantly, he then goes on to identify that in the Caribbean 'the meaning of the term "gospel music" is less reliant on African American history and culture'.\(^11\) Timothy Rommen makes the same observation concerning Trinidad. He states that 'the term 'gospel music' covers a great deal of musical ground...[the] usage is considerably broader than it would be in the United States, for it includes styles such as urban gospel...choral gospel...R&B influenced gospel...gospel-blues...spirituals, quartet and small ensemble...any number of other styles appropriate in lyrical content, including the music of southern gospel composers such as Bill Gaither...In the Caribbean one might refer to songs by both Jim Reeves and Mahalia Jackson as gospel, with no real distinction.'\(^12\) From these observations I conclude that the religious lyrical content defines gospel music in the Caribbean rather than any specific musical stylisation.\(^13\) For the purposes of this chapter, I therefore adopt the definition of 'gospel music' as 'an umbrella category of Christian expression rendered through a variety of musical and rhetorical strategies'.\(^14\) The definition is helpful for this chapter as it leaves open the possibility for gospel stylisation to continue to morph and evolve. It also allows the evolution of Caribbean-British gospel to be looked at on its own terms, distinct from the USA understanding of gospel. This is in spite of the fact that for decades, Caribbean Pentecostal expressions of gospel music have been heavily influenced by African American gospel stylisation.

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\(^10\) Ibid., 3.

\(^11\) Butler, 3; Carwen Best (Professor of popular culture at the University of the West Indies) also comes to the same conclusion see, Carwen Best, *Culture @ the Cutting Edge: Tracking Caribbean Popular Music* (Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2004), 55.

\(^12\) Rommen, *Mek Some Noise*, 73.

\(^13\) Florian Carl reaches similar conclusions regarding Ghanaian gospel music. ‘I use the term “gospel music” as it is most commonly employed in Ghanaian discourse, to refer to both locally and internationally produced Christian popular music that, in terms of its musical characteristics, may range widely, including styles such as highlife, reggae, R&B, soul, and other African and African American musical types.’ Florian Carl, ‘The Ritualization of the Self in Ghanaian Gospel Music’, Ghana Studies 17, no. 1 (2014): 102, https://doi.org/10.1353/ghs.2014.0000.

3.2: Cross-Fertilisation

West Africans were forcibly immersed into Protestant Christianity after their arrival in the new world. But they did not immediately incorporate the sacred-secular distinction into their religious practice.\(^{15}\) Owing to the central role that music had in the lives of West Africans, it has been difficult to apply the sacred-secular distinction to black Christian musicking.\(^{16}\) This is particularly true of black Pentecostals in the early 1900s who 'became easily distinguishable by their successful preservation of several elements of African spirit cosmologies'.\(^{17}\) Ramsey argues that 'policing the boundaries of black religious expression in the West is an activity that reaches back centuries'.\(^{18}\) He highlights adverse reactions to black religious practices from both black and white critics. Much of the criticism was the work of evangelists and missionaries who sought to 'civilise' Africans.\(^{19}\)

Nonetheless, the cross-fertilisation of musical style between sacred and secular has been prominent in black Christian worship. Often used as a means of resistance, cross-fertilisation was part of preserving black identity. This resistance took the form of deviations from Western European stylisation. The deviations were often the result of the blending of the sacred (for example, religious lyrics from hymns of the Great Awakening) with stylisation that at the time might be considered part of the 'secular' field (for example, the use of the drum as accompaniment). Gospel music has reflected this sacred-secular blend since its inception.

Ramsey highlights the combination of sacred and secular music in the music of well-known African American gospel artists, including Thomas Dorsey (blues and gospel), Rosetta Tharpe.


\(^{16}\) 'Transformations of African and African-derived music in North America - blending with and borrowing from European, Native American and Caribbean musical cultures-evidence continuities that are traceable back to West African metaphysical concepts. Specifically the spirit infuses all life and activities' Casselberry, ‘Were We Ever Secular?’, 179.


\(^{19}\) Though my study is focused on black British music, there is evidence (examined later, see section 3.4) that sacred-secular crossover is a Black Atlantic phenomenon. In his article is based on West African gospel music, Oggu Kalu has considered how ‘Pentecostals who were initially wary of popular cultures negotiated between sacred and popular music and dance’. He notes (like Ramsey) that there has been a consistent policing of the boundary between sacred and secular influenced by missionaries who ‘nursed suspicion about indigenous religions, especially the pervasive power of indigenous spirits, the noise of hypnotic drums, and the potential use of music and dance in achieving ecstasy, trance and prophecy.’ Oggu U. Kalu, ‘Holy Praiseco: Negotiating Sacred and Popular Music and Dance in African Pentecostalism’, *Pneuma* 32, no. 1 (2010): 18–20, https://doi.org/10.1163/027209610X12628362887550.
(jazz and gospel), Edwin Hawkins and Andre Crouch (pop and gospel).\textsuperscript{20} I extend Ramsey's observations to cover the anglophone Caribbean, and Caribbean Pentecostal music in the UK. Caribbean Pentecostals also practised sacred-secular cross-fertilisation between vernacular styles and gospel music (though it would not be referred to as such by them).\textsuperscript{21} Through this practice Caribbean Pentecostals maintained a connection to African diasporic ways of musicking that (arguably) can be traced to a time prior to the introduction of Protestantism and the sacred-secular binary.\textsuperscript{22}

Almost as soon as the Pentecostal movement began, missionaries from the USA began travelling to other countries to propagate the message. The Caribbean was one of the first recipients of Pentecostal doctrine. Just as in the USA, the Pentecostal movement in Jamaica was preceded by the Holiness movement during the early 1900s. In Jamaica, the doctrine of 'holiness' was first preached in an organised manner by George and Nellie Olson, Americans who went to Jamaica as missionaries in 1907.\textsuperscript{23} The work of the holiness movement in Jamaica mirrors its counterpart in the Southern States of America. The significance of holiness doctrine for this chapter lies in its theological acceptance of the sacred-secular division. In the 1920s due to Olson's initial holiness work (and that of other missionaries who came from the USA) many Pentecostal churches were founded in Jamaica. Evangelistic connections were forged between holiness Christians in Jamaica and America.\textsuperscript{24} The growth of Pentecostalism in the Caribbean reflected the increased impact of American Pentecostal Christianity on Caribbean culture. It altered the dominant and cultural legacy of British colonialism.\textsuperscript{25}

\textsuperscript{20} Ramsey, \textit{Race Music}, 191.
\textsuperscript{23} Austin-Broos, \textit{Jamaica Genesis}, 97.
\textsuperscript{24} The Church of God became the main denomination within the country. For various reasons this denomination would eventually split in two; The Church of God of Prophecy and, The New Testament Church of God (see section 0.1.2). These denominations are Jamaica’s oldest and most influential Pentecostal churches. They would also prove to be among the most influential in the UK for Pentecostals who left the Caribbean during the Windrush period from 1945-1971.
3.3: Jamaican Christian Music (1920s – 1950s)

An examination of Jamaican worship during the 1920s to 1950s modifies the narrative that Jamaican Christian music has its roots exclusively in the African American spirituals. It is a narrative that has been tacitly accepted in churches with Caribbean heritage in the UK. This account requires challenging in order to clarify the unique history of Jamaican gospel. In this section (relying on the work of Helen Roberts as primary source material), I assert that Jamaican folk spirituals (though they have not been well documented) are part of Jamaican musical heritage, similar to the African American spiritual being part of American musical heritage. According to Roberts, the Jamaican spiritual carried similar features to the folk spirituals of Afro-American enslaved people (as distinguished from the arranged spirituals). But they did not carry the same breadth of theological themes as the African American spiritual and were generally shorter.

There is little information about Jamaican worship music in Christian communities during the early 1900s. Helen Roberts (1888 – 1985) undertook pioneering fieldwork between 1920 and 1921 researching African musical retentions in Jamaica. This research has never been considered as part of the history of black British gospel music. The prevailing narrative about black sacred music suggests that the folk spirituals of the African diaspora were the creation of enslaved people in the southern states of the USA. Roberts' research captures strong evidence for Jamaican iterations of the folk spiritual. Although information is not readily available about Jamaican folk spirituals, a consideration of this history would broaden the discussion of early sacred music from Africans of the Americas. Roberts' work is the only academic study published in this period that addresses the musical output of Jamaican Christian communities from an ethnomusicological perspective. Her research serves a principal function in broadening the account of the roots of BBG.

The relationship between Jamaica and the southern states of the USA is an overlooked aspect of Jamaican Christian music heritage. It is vital to the BBG narrative and supports my assertions about the importance of cross-fertilisation. Roberts makes a critical comparison between Jamaican spirituals and the American spirituals that other scholars in the USA had been


27 It is unlikely that a Jamaican would reference the songs as ‘spirituals’ but following the work of Helen Roberts I am asserting the songs operated in a similar manner.

28 Folk spirituals are an early form of indigenous a cappella religious music created by African Americans during slavery. They are to be distinguished from later arranged spirituals which were performed in concert. Burnim and Maultsby, *African American Music, An Introduction*, 54–60.

documenting during the late 1800s and early 1900s. 'As there was some travel toward the West Indies after the Civil War, it is probable that these songs, found both in the southern states and in the islands were carried south by the negroes, or the popular concerts of the Jubilee Singers may be responsible for the diffusion of ideas.\textsuperscript{30} Roberts' scholarship implies a connection between Jamaican Christian music of the early 1900s and the evangelistic music of the southern states of the USA.\textsuperscript{31} Southern American-Jamaican cross-fertilisation continued in a variety of ways into the 1960s. This supports my earlier assertion that cross-fertilisation is a key part of gospel music heritage, including Caribbean gospel music heritage.

In Jamaica during the 1920s, revival meetings were held regularly across the country.\textsuperscript{32} The meetings followed similar patterns to the American Holiness movement of the 1800s. They were spontaneous gatherings that involved preaching, singing songs, healing and other charismatic manifestations such as speaking in tongues. Roberts notes that singing took place on every occasion, with the main hymnals being Moody and Sankey's hymn book (Sacred Songs and Solos).\textsuperscript{33} Dwight L. Moody and Ira D. Sankey (evangelistic preacher and singer, respectively) were prominent figures in itinerant ministry from 1870 to 1898.\textsuperscript{34} Sankey's Sacred Songs and Solos (as the hymnbooks were called) were the earliest hymn books of the Pentecostal churches. During the early 1920s these hymns were the seed for the Caribbean cultural understanding of gospel music ('an umbrella category of Christian expression rendered through a variety of musical and rhetorical strategies'), which is broader than the African American definition.\textsuperscript{35}

Of particular significance is the stylisation of these hymns to suit the aesthetic preferences of Jamaican worship. These stylistic values require attention for two reasons. Firstly, they are similar to the stylistic features of African American folk spirituals, indicating a commonality in African musical values. Secondly, some stylistic values are also distinguishing factors in gospel

\textsuperscript{30} Roberts, 'Spirituals or Revival Hymns of the Jamaica Negro', 427.
\textsuperscript{31} Ibid., 424.
\textsuperscript{32} Revival meetings are Christian gatherings that take place outside of the Sunday service. They are usually an opportunity to be exposed to extended periods of prayer, sermonising and worship.
\textsuperscript{34} In the USA during the mid to late 1800s many itinerant preachers travelled to initiate revivals at various camp meetings. Dwight L. Moody (1837 - 1899) was a major preacher within this movement. Moody was unable to sing well but placed value on songs being part of his evangelistic work. For this reason, he joined with Ira D. Sankey in 1871 and, 'together the two travelled to England as well as urban areas in the eastern United States'. Sankey was required by Moody to prepare the congregation through song both emotionally and spiritually for the sermon that would be preached by Moody. Sankey would also close the meetings with songs also. Eventually, Sankey became as important as Moody in the spreading of the revival. Through this method many of Sankey's songs became standards for Holiness movement worship gatherings. Sankey brought the format of the gospel hymn into popularity ‘presenting the format of verse-chorus in a way that gave the songs emotional appeal and memorability. In making the hymn a popular song, Sankey evoked the charm of popular music’. Don Cusic, \textit{The Sound of Light - A History of Gospel and Christian Music} (United States - Milwaukee: Hal Leonard Corporation, 2002), 106–7.
codes (albeit in a different context). For example, referencing the rhythm of the Jamaican hymns, Roberts states, 'it is in the degree of prominence given the [rhythmic] elements rather than in the actual element themselves, that the Jamaican style of hymn may be considered as possibly somewhat different than that of the white revival hymn which Johnson has shown so convincingly to be traceable to early English rather than to negro influences'. Roberts’ research indicates that improvisation, syncopation, and the incorporation of drums were stylistic differences that marked early Jamaican gospel music. Hymns were frequently altered; tempo, pitch, melody and other elements were manipulated to suit the congregations that participated in worship at revival meetings. As a result, many songs became unrecognisable when compared to the original. This inclination to alter lyrics, tempos, rhythms and various other musical elements to suit the mood or moment is a core element in black sacred Christian musicking across the Americas and becomes an identifying feature in popular gospel codes.

In relation to the embellishment and alteration of hymns, similar observations are made by scholars about African American sacred music during the late 1800s and early 1900s. Cusic notes “…even though blacks and whites often sang the same sources, the results were two entirely different songs, with the black gospel songs rhythmical in a way that white songs never were. These rhythms often complex, are attributed to the African influence”. Jamaican folk spirituals and African American folk spirituals share attributes of spontaneity and improvisation. Yet, there were differences between African American folk spirituals and the Jamaican iteration. As Roberts notes:

Thus, it is clear that the prevailing form of the Jamaican revival hymn is short, with only four lines of text, or rarely eight. In this respect it seems to differ radically from the mass of [African American] hymns and spirituals seen in the collections, made chiefly in the southern United States, which usually contain several verses, sung to the same tune, and progress through a number of ideas. The Jamaican revival hymn attains length through repetition, not only of the whole plot of four or eight lines, but of lines within the unit. In this respect it is much more primitive.

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37 ‘One of the favourite pastimes of the negro is singing, the louder and the more heartfelt, the better. Moody and Sankey hymns, and countless others used in so-called revival meetings of the missionaries, are sung with great enthusiasm and retained in spirit if not in letter, where songs from the Episcopal and Presbyterian hymnals are seldom heard. The former become the patterns for many a native invention as well’ Roberts, 409.
There are also parallels between West African routes towards spirit possession in sacred music and the repetitive nature of the revival choruses. In her research on Caribbean Pentecostal music, Reed posits that in many West African religious contexts, the eudaimonic state is reached through 'ritualistic drumming, dancing and chanting' which induces a state of transcendence in the worshipper, it 'serves as a conduit for the manifestation of the deity's presence'. Reed also supports this but contends that drumming is the principal cause of the altered state. Either way, the manipulation of rhythm (through syncopation and cyclical repetition) is semiotically important in the evocation of transcendent states in West African worship. Its semiotic importance is one of the reasons for its continued use in black Christian musicking. Clapping and the tambourine were used to facilitate the manifestation of the Spirit in the revival camp meetings and later in the Pentecostal-holiness church. Repetitive choruses were often used in early Pentecostal liturgy and became a mainstay of worship services. Thus, West African cosmological ideas about rhythm and the evocation of the transcendent were crossed with Western Protestant Christian lyrics.

In Jamaica during the 1940s and 50s several converging factors meant Jamaican gospel music differed from BAG stylisation. During this period Jamaican gospel music often cross-fertilised mento stylisation with southern gospel. Mento is a Jamaican secular musical style that dominated vernacular Jamaican culture during the 1940s and 50s. Mento was a mix of stylisation from secular slave work songs and European quadrille with sacred Jamaican Revival stylisation. It developed from a mixture of basic Western harmony (typical I, IV and V chords) and West African cyclical drum patterns (employing tresillo and cinquillo rhythms as major driving forces). The widespread influence of mento meant that the sacred songs also began to be performed in a similar folk vernacular style. On the other hand, during the 1930s-1950s in the USA, the narrative of black American gospel continues with the great migration of the black southern population into northern cities such as Chicago. Artists such as Thomas Dorsey and Mahalia Jackson were foundational figures in the propagation of black gospel music. This distinction between early

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40 Reed, 'Shared Possessions', 6.
42 ‘In the Jamaican church the music, rhythm and movement of the service take on a religiously potent quality in themselves. Jamaican church members bring it on by cultivating religious fervour and excitement through these sense-oriented forms of self-expression...’Austin-Broos, Jamaica Genesis, 125.
44 ‘Mento was Jamaican folk music that combined sacred and secular elements. The styles mixed Pocomania church music, Junkanoo fife and drum sounds, the European quadrille, slave-era work songs, and even elements of American jazz’ Desmond A Moulton, ‘A Jamaican Voice: The Choral Music of Noel Dexter’ (The University of Southern Mississippi, 2015), 68, https://aquila.usm.edu/dissertations/112.
45 Marovich, A City Called Heaven, 71; Boyer, How Sweet the Sound, 57.
African American gospel music and Caribbean gospel music is critical as it clarifies a different (but related) history of the roots and routes of gospel in the Caribbean.

Owing to the poor economic conditions in Jamaica during the 1940s and 50s many Jamaicans travelled back and forth to the American south to find work, often as agricultural labourers. Owing to the use of short case studies, below, I posit that the cross-pollination of cultures in Pentecostal Christianity made for a unique blend of Jamaican gospel stylisation. The southern gospel of the Pentecostal church met with mento and later with other popular forms such as Trinidadian calypso and ska. Owing to theological understandings of the sacred-secular binary, mento was not referred to as such in church settings, although these rhythms were a significant part of the worship.

The following example shows the stylistic traits of early Jamaican gospel music that have been discussed so far. It is a Jamaican Revivalist performance recording of Where Could I Go (1954). This song was written by James B. Coats, a native of Mississippi, in 1940. It is not clear how this song made its way to Jamaica, but it was a standard in the Pentecostal church being included (in 7-tone, shape-note style notation) in the Church of God of Prophecy Hymnal (known as the Banner Hymns).

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46 Brereton, *The Caribbean in the Twentieth Century*, 141–42.
Shape-note hymnody became popular among people in the South and Midwest regions of the United States during the 19th century. In the shape note tradition, a certain shape is assigned to each solfege syllable (do, re, mi, fa, so, la, si or ti). Two different shape-note systems exist, a four-syllable system (which was the earliest tradition) and later a seven-note system. During the first half of the 20th century, the seven-note system was used extensively in church hymnals published by southern denominations, including the Church of God (a southern Pentecostal denomination that became well established in the Caribbean). This may explain the presence of the song in Jamaica.

West African rhythms influence the version in the recorded example. Note also the absence of any verses and repetition of the chorus. The chorus has slightly changed from 'needing a friend to save me in the end' to 'I need a friend to guide me to the end'. The characteristics heard on this recording (such as attaining length through repetition and the degree of prominence given the rhythmic elements) reflect similarities to Helen Roberts' observations in the 1920s. Although it is not widely acknowledged, black gospel music in Caribbean Pentecostal churches of the UK has its roots in the music that has been outlined in this section. Tracing the roots of Jamaican Christian music to revival meetings in the early 1900s shows an overlooked but critical history of Caribbean Christian music. It is distinct from the familiar narrative of black American gospel. Further, I have also shown the place of the cross-fertilisation of early gospel songs of the southern states of the USA. This skill of cross-fertilisation continued to be important to worshippers as they migrated from the Caribbean to the UK.

3.4: Jamaican Sacred-Secular Cross-Fertilisation (1960s)

The 1950s and 60s are often referred to as 'the golden age of Jamaican gospel'. In this section I highlight the development of Jamaican gospel. This is done through two case studies of the records produced by Clement Seymour Dodd, known as Coxsone-Dodd (owner of Studio One and Tabernacle Records). Dodd was particularly influential in the development of reggae, ska and Jamaican gospel during the 1950s and 60s. He spent time as a farmer in the American south, where he became familiar with rhythm and blues. In 1963, Dodd opened a record label in Jamaica

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49 Eskew and Downey, Shape-Note Hymnody, 1.
called Studio One. But it is rarely noted in historical documents that Dodd also had a gospel record label called Tabernacle Records. Many of his secular artists and session musicians would record for Tabernacle Records on a Sunday.⁵³ Dodd's ska and reggae output have been scrutinised by historians and included in the accepted timeline of Jamaican music history. But to date, Dodd's gospel output has not been studied or fully documented. Significantly, Bob Marley & Peter Tosh (who would later become world-famous reggae artists) recorded gospel music for Clement Dodd on Tabernacle Records between 1964 and 1966. This is noteworthy because it is not often acknowledged in popular discourse that both Tosh and Marley (whilst not committed to Christianity) had a background in gospel music.

The Tabernacle Records case studies in this chapter show that Dodd continued the West African tradition of sacred-secular cross-fertilisation. Though there is a theological distinction between the sacred and secular in black Pentecostalism, functionally, the difference often only exists in the songs' words rather than radically affecting musical style.⁵⁴ That is to say, sacred songs contained words about religious themes, whereas secular songs could be about a broader range of issues that were not essentially religious. Dodd employed session musicians who played on his sacred and secular recordings depending on whether they were working for Studio One (the secular recording label) or Tabernacle Records (the Christian recording label). Dodd (along with his hired musicians) took inspiration from rhythm and blues to create ska music. Ska stylisation alongside the earlier style of mento was influential in the creation of Jamaican gospel. This cross-fertilisation of Jamaican vernacular music styles can be heard in the following case study examples.

3.5: Case studies in Jamaican Gospel - Ken Parker and Bob Marley (1960s)

Tabernacle Records was responsible for the distribution of many Jamaican gospel recordings. The label sound is representative of the Jamaican gospel aesthetic.⁵⁵ The Jamaican gospel sound of this period was not what would typically be termed rocksteady (a style of music preceding reggae, popular between 1966-1968) or reggae.⁵⁶ But Jamaican gospel was played by the same rocksteady/reggae session musicians who were contributing to recordings on Studio One

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⁵⁴ Craig Mosher states, 'if you took the words away, there were more than a few Pentecostal hymns that would not sound foreign coming from the nickel machine in the wildest juke joint'. Craig Mosher, ‘Ecstatic Sounds: The Influence of Pentecostalism on Rock and Roll’, Popular Music and Society 31, no. 1 (February 2008): 96, https://doi.org/10.1080/03007760701214617.
⁵⁵ Smith, British Black Gospel: The Foundations of This Vibrant UK Sound, 61.
⁵⁶ Manuel, Bilby, and Largey, Caribbean Currents, 254.
for Coxsone-Dodd. For this reason, some of the core elements of rocksteady were present in Jamaican gospel (e.g. an emphasis on the second and the fourth beat on the guitar, repeated bass riffs and idiomatic drum patterns). The musicians also demonstrated knowledge of other styles, for example, incorporating country and Western stylisation in the Jamaican gospel ballads (songs with a slower tempo and devotional in nature). This is evident on Ken Parker’s recording of 'He'll Understand', which is representative of Jamaican gospel ballad recordings of the time.\footnote{Ken Parker, Trojan Records (blog), accessed 27 March 2021, https://trojanrecords.com/artist/ken-parker/}

Ken Parker made numerous recordings both as a gospel artist and a secular rocksteady and reggae performer. His gospel rendition of the songs 'Across the Bridge' and 'He'll Understand' (both released in the 1960s) are examples of Jamaican gospel cross-fertilised with southern gospel.\footnote{Ken Parker - He'll Understand, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9qSfNWUHoVA.} Parker grew up in the church and his father was a preacher; his musical training began through participation in church worship services.\footnote{Ken Parker - Across The Bridge, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=whtAz4qfaY.} On the recording of 'He'll Understand', one can hear Parker (a Jamaican native) using an American accent. He also makes use of falsetto. Sometimes Parker uses a semi-yodelling technique made famous by the Mississippi singer Jimmie Rodgers in the 1930s and was common within southern gospel. Parker and his producer also demonstrate the crossing of styles by including a light rocksteady rhythmic pattern in the banjo/electric guitar and slide guitar reminiscent of southern country music on the song.

'Across the Bridge' was on the other side of this 45. Although Parker maintains his imitation southern American accent on 'Across the Bridge', the music is more reminiscent of a light rocksteady pattern minus the drums and more prominent bass pattern. The tambourine has a rhythmic pattern familiar within the Jamaican Pentecostal church. Generally speaking, the tambourine pattern could be notated as either of the examples below. However, these are approximations of a pattern that is not swung with a triplet feel as in jazz but equally is not as straight as pattern number 2. When played competently this 'Pentecostal tambourine pattern' fluidly transitions between these two rhythmic examples.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{tambourine_pattern_1.png}
\caption{Tambourine Pattern 1.}
\end{figure}
Figure 8 - Tambourine Pattern 2.

Studio musicians in these recordings draw on ska, rocksteady, and reggae knowledge. They would also understand how to play in a style typical of the church, for example, the appropriate improvised use of the plagal cadence characteristically in a southern gospel style. The lyrics and the repeated plagal cadences at the end of many choruses give this song a gospel stylisation.

Bob Marley's Tabernacle performances were also recorded during the 1960s. The first, 'Just in Time', recorded circa 1965, is an example of the ballad-like approach that stylistically was nearer to blues and southern gospel than to vernacular Jamaican music. For example, the 6/8 rhythm drum kit pattern (a gospel code signifier) was not characteristic of Jamaican vernacular music at this time. It would be associated with blues and American gospel.\(^{60}\) Also, the accompanying chords of the piano and guitar lack the rhythmic syncopation characteristic of reggae or ska. The pianist uses grace notes reminiscent of rhythm and blues, particularly blue notes.\(^{61}\) On 'Just in Time', although present, the Hammond organ is not foregrounded.\(^{62}\) This is significant because the Hammond organ is a central part of the gospel sound as discussed in section 4.4.6.\(^{63}\) The lead vocalist uses a strong vibrato on his voice with a breathier execution than is usual on Jamaican vernacular recordings. It is more reminiscent of a rhythm and blues ballad vocalist than Jamaican ska or mento vocalist. The unnamed lead vocalist attempts to use an American accent. On the other hand Bob Marley, who takes the lead later in the track, remains in the Jamaican vernacular tradition in the sense that he does not change his accent to suit the style. This mix of accents and stylistic choices is part of the cross-fertilisation of Jamaican gospel music.

The up-tempo song, 'I Left my Sins' speaks of a Pentecostal encounter with the Holy Spirit; it articulates some of the church scenes associated with that experience.\(^{64}\) It is stylised as rocksteady

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\(^{60}\) See section 4.4.4

\(^{61}\) The ‘blue note’ is the minor third used as part of a song in a major key which would usually consists of the seven notes of the diatonic scale.


\(^{64}\) Studio One, *Bob Marley & The Wailers* - 'I Left My Sins', 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fG6Y91d6TUI.
with the emphasis of piano and guitar on the second and fourth beat. Marley's vocal is often behind the beat. He uses rhythmic ideas that would become a mainstay of his reggae stylisation as his career developed. The combination of a vocalist with southern gospel-blues stylisation with Bob Marley who was performing with a Jamaican accent demonstrates the degree to which cross-fertilisation was a part of building Jamaican gospel.

The case studies of Ken Parker and Bob Marley's gospel recordings indicate that cross-fertilisation was just as much a part of Jamaican gospel stylisation as it was in the USA. During this period in Jamaica, the styles that were cross-fertilised with gospel were commonly country and Western, rhythm and blues, ska, mento, blues and rocksteady. This differs from African American gospel, which shared more characteristics with jazz and blues. Nonetheless, the common diasporic thread of cross-fertilisation of sacred and secular styles remained and furthers the argument that, although Caribbean gospel may be lyrically focused on a Christian message, the music may often be a mix of various influences.

3.6: Caribbean Migrants in the UK (1950s and 1960s)

During the late 1940s, a request was made by the UK government for workers from the Commonwealth. They were invited to travel to the UK to work and help rebuild the economy after World War II. It was a particular response to post-war labour shortages. It is widely understood that the term 'Windrush generation' refers to a group of people who upon accepting this call, migrated to the UK between 1948 to early 1971. Windrush specifically references the MV Empire Windrush, a ship that arrived in Tilbury Docks, Essex, on 22 June 1948. Many of these individuals came from the Caribbean but India, Pakistan, Kenya, and South Africa also contributed to this workforce. Many Jamaican Pentecostals made this trip and on arrival they began to set up fellowships and churches where they could maintain a style of worship that was familiar to them.

During the 1960s, British anthropologists Malcolm Calley and Clifford Hill were tasked with documenting and understanding the new Pentecostal churches planted by Caribbean migrants. Pentecostal churches were being founded at a fast pace across the UK during this decade and throughout the 1970s. Calley and Hill's descriptions of Caribbean Pentecostal worship are similar to BAG Pentecostal counterparts. This is particularly true regarding the musical

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66 Ibid., 142–43.
instruments used and the lively and expressive approach. However, stylistically the music was much more related to Jamaican vernacular music and southern gospel than to BAG:

The Pentecostals have a lively and expressive form of worship. They make a great use of music and the singing of spirituals and choruses. The accompaniment is provided by a variety of musical instruments, such as electric guitars, banjos, or a trumpet. The congregation also participates with tambourines and by handclapping, and there is plenty of opportunity in their meetings for self-expression on the part of the individual worshipper.68

Often the congregation's conception of the tune and the printed music used by the accompanist are at variance, which makes accompaniment difficult - there is a tendency for hymn tunes to acquire a calypso rhythm when sung.69

Calley's mention of the variation in the tune gives a small insight into the oral tradition and the improvisational aspect of worship that established unique congregational identities distinct from other British churches at the time. It also reflects some of Roberts' observations about Jamaican music in the 1920s. The use of embellishment and improvisation is evidence of the continuation of musical values that have roots in the Jamaican Spirituals or revival hymns of the early 1900s. These same values are also crucial in gospel codes.

3.7: Bristol Case study: I Can't Feel at Home in this World Anymore (1968)

The 1968 documentary Celebrate What? is based on St Pauls in Bristol. At timestamp 3:44 there is a clip of a worship service held by the Church of God of Prophecy (Tudor Road) in Bristol. This is one of the Churches established by Caribbean Pentecostal migrants in the UK at this time.70 The song lyrics have an eschatological focus, primarily on death. On the face of it, the lyrics are seemingly morbid. They communicate that no lasting satisfaction and happiness can be found in life on this side of eternity. However, these words were a source of hope for those who had come to the UK and were not welcomed into the existing white-majority churches. There was also a desire to preserve the Caribbean cultural modes of expression in worship outlined so far in this

68 Hill, West Indian Migrants and the London Churches, 73.
69 Calley, God’s People: West Indian Pentecostal Sects in England, 84–85.
chapter. This was unfamiliar and undesirable to the majority of white British Christian worshippers at the time.

Double entendre, evident in the older African American spirituals and later in the freedom songs, may also apply to some hymns sung in UK Pentecostal services. This song is such an example. The lyrics have spiritual implications, i.e., one should exist in this world almost as a spiritual nomad – not fostering complacency with the 'pleasures of this life'. This accords with traditional Pentecostal teaching that Christians should not feel at home on earth as the hereafter promises more satisfying fulfilment. This interpretation may not be evident to the uninitiated without understanding the context of the arrival of West Indian Pentecostals in the UK.

In the aforementioned video clip, the song 'I Can't Feel at Home in this World Anymore' was written by Albert E. Brumley (1905-1977). Brumley was a white American shape-note music composer well known in southern gospel. Country and western singer Jim Reeves made this song famous in 1962. It was also a popular song within Southern Pentecostal churches at the time. The presence of this song supports my assertion that Caribbean Pentecostals had a strong affinity for southern gospel even when they arrived in the UK. The instrumentation consists of electric

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72 Rural southern gospel recordings from the 1930s give some indication of the devotional music style that influenced Jamaican singers. Missionaries who came to Jamaica from the USA would have brought this stylisation of gospel songs with them. For examples see Various Artists, The Music of Kentucky: Early American Rural Classics 1927-37, Spotify Online Streaming, vol. 1 (Yazoo, 2006), https://open.spotify.com/album/4wwZkBdnTZQ9aC7y4leq1?si=KZUmJD7uQTSU05oNW0reQ.
guitar, bass guitar, tambourine and handclapping. This choice of instrumentation is in keeping with Jamaican worship at that time, as heard on recordings from Tabernacle records.\textsuperscript{73}

The 'heterogeneous sound ideal' (a term coined by Olly Wilson) refers to a set of black music performance values.\textsuperscript{74} To demonstrate competency of expression the performer utilises a wide range of timbres from a single instrument or voice. This is the heterogeneous sound ideal. This ideal is evident with the leader of the song, for example on the word 'angels' where he alters his vocal timbre to a growl. The congregation sing in a Jamaican accent, for example, words such as 'beckon' are pronounced 'beckan' or the word 'can't' is pronounced 'cyaan't'. Rhythmically, the syncopation is mainly played on the tambourines. They play the slightly swung pattern referenced in figures 7 and 8 earlier. The guitar keeps a steady rhythm remaining with the primary chords I, IV and V. The repeated bass pattern is reminiscent of rocksteady stylisation with a swung rhythm using the tonic, submediant and the dominant as the foundation for the riff, which continues throughout the hymn.

Musicians within this environment would have been required to know a limited number of chords to get through the service effectively (mostly I, IV, V, iv). This video example shows music stylisation typical of Caribbean Pentecostal churches in the UK during the 1950s and 60s. One would have expected the style to be developed and continued, but for the most part, it fell out of favour with the younger generation of singers and musicians during the 1970s and 80s. Instead, it became a reference point when 'old-time choruses' were sung in worship services.\textsuperscript{75} This stylisation was an acknowledgement of church history and was often used to accommodate the older members of the congregation who preferred a more familiar style.

3.8: The Americanisation of Black British Gospel and Sacred-Secular Crossovers (1970s – 1990s)

The 'Americanisation' of black British gospel connotes incorporating features of gospel sound listed in chapter 4 (below). On performance recordings of black British gospel artists from the late 1970s onwards the elements of gospel codes in BBG are increasingly foregrounded. Among younger Caribbean Pentecostal singers and musicians during the 1970s and early 1980s, there was widespread interest in purchasing imported vinyl gospel recordings from the latest black American gospel artists such as Edwin Hawkins, The Clark Sisters and The Winans family.

\textsuperscript{73} There are many Studio One recordings from this era that can be found through a simple online search including; Adinah Edwards, The Marvetts, Otis Wright and many others.
Prominent American gospel artists were brought into the UK during this period by Caribbean Pentecostal churches for concerts and choral workshops. Younger members of Caribbean Pentecostal churches were beginning to feel disconnected from their parents' worship music stylisation, which they considered dated.

Significantly, there was a move away from the traditional Jamaican folk harmonies, which were generally triadic and existed solely within the diatonic scale. Instead, in line with contemporary American gospel at the time, the harmonic content became richer with the introduction of extended chords, some chromatic harmony and the use of vamps and modulations (as will be shown in this section). Keyboard instruments were centralised for accompaniment (instead of banjos and guitars) including the Hammond organ, synthesiser and piano. It was mainly due to this shift of stylisation toward the stereotypical features of gospel sound (see chapter 4) that singers and musicians who later crossed over to secular music began to find varying degrees of success in the industry. These singers and musicians became adept in gospel codes and applied them in the popular music industry.

During the 1970s in the USA, many artists continued to cross between soul and BAG. Aretha Franklin's influential Amazing Grace gospel album was released in 1972. In the year of its release, an acknowledged authority on American soul music, British writer David Nathan mentioned that '[British] people can relate to soul music because its lyrics can be identified with, [but] gospel tends to be alien to British ears'. Nathan's observations about gospel reflect the post-world-war II milieu in British society of the 1960s and 1970s, when there was a move in popular culture away from Christendom and toward more secular ways of viewing religion in popular culture. For example, John Lennon's 'Imagine' was released in October of 1971. This song was controversial for those who wanted to continue believing that the UK and USA were Christian nations, but it became an anthem for secularists and atheists.

Nathan also notes that during the 1970s the Caribbean and African communities settling in the UK had a different music tradition to the Pentecostal and Baptist traditions in the USA. While Nathan's observations are accurate, being uninitiated to Caribbean Pentecostal church life, he fails to recognise that this period marked the beginning of the Americanisation of BBG
stylisation. The rising popularity of black American gospel stylisation also resulted in musicians and singers becoming more well suited for pop music work.⁸¹

A number of gospel choirs and bands were formed in the 1970s, many of whom imitated the stylisation of BAG.⁸² Black British church musicians and choirs imitated the artists on major commercial gospel recordings such as Aretha Franklin’s Amazing Grace album and the Edwin Hawkins 1969 release of ‘Oh Happy Day’.⁸³ Within Caribbean Pentecostal churches there was an appreciation for the professionalism of American gospel music production. Young people in black British churches aspired toward similar goals.⁸⁴ One of the first BBG crossover successes was John Francis and the Inspirational Choir. The Inspirational Choir were part of The Pentecostal Church of the Living God in Islington, North London, a Caribbean Pentecostal church founded in the 1950s. In 1982, the ska band Madness approached them to record ‘Wings of a Dove’ in the Bahamas.⁸⁵ The song went to number 2 in August of 1983 on the UK official pop charts and afforded the choir much attention. Owing to their Pentecostal background there was some indignation from members of their home church about the sacred-secular collaboration.⁸⁶

On the recording the choir sing the main hook ‘whoa whoa for the wings of a dove’, in typical three-part gospel harmony. They support the main vocal in call and response, vocables (oohhs) and sing the Judeo-Christian word of praise ‘hallelujah’. There is also idiomatic gospel clapping on the second and fourth beat. The choir’s presence stylistically signifies gospel even though this track is a pop track with the use of steel pans (symbolising the Caribbean). These elements (gospel harmony, gospel choir, vocables, religious words of praise, clapping) are a feature of the gospel sound understood in popular culture and illustrate why The Inspirational Choir was selected to perform on this recording. Proficiency in these musical elements is important for pop artists that want to imply a gospel sound.

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⁸¹ Director for the award-winning London Community Gospel Choir, Bazil Meade speaks of his involvement with a pioneering gospel band, Kainos. ‘We modelled ourselves on the professional American music scene. So everything from our dress style…to our instruments (Hammond organ and Fender Rhodes keyboards) was associated with progressive secular music…In 1978 Kainos even made an album – Changing was marketed on the reggae label Tempus – and in 1979 we played at Greenbelt, which was a prestigious venue, with its mix of religious and contemporary music’. Meade and Greenough, A Boy, a Journey, a Dream, 103.

⁸² Meade and Greenough, 101.

⁸³ In 1984, Juliet Fletcher a singer within COGIC states ‘we began picking up on the American gospel records we did just about every song of the Aretha Franklin Amazing Grace album’ Fletcher later became an ambassador for black British gospel music working for many years with the BBC and now leads the UK based, Gospel Music Industry Alliance. Broughton, Black Gospel, 164.

⁸⁴ Meade and Greenough, A Boy, a Journey, a Dream, 101.

⁸⁵ Francis, 82; Wings Of A Dove (Stirling Holdings Ltd, 1983), https://open.spotify.com/track/3jSnQoIqJNo2qFEBnQe7Fsi=f6337238b7bf484b&nd=1.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 83.
Paradise was another pioneering UK gospel band formed in the 1970s. They signed a recording deal with a small secular label Priority Records/Bullet Management. In 1983, they released a single, 'One Mind, Two Hearts'. The song's lyrics were intentionally ambiguous so that it could be read as a secular song of love. It reached number 1 in the club charts but only went to number 42 in the UK charts. Predictably, the release was problematic for many conservative Pentecostals and the group quickly began to lose support within the Christian community. Still, the band set a precedent for other groups to follow. Stylistically, the song is 1980s funk-soul. It features a standard 8-beat drum pattern reminiscent of Michael Jackson's 'Thriller'. The bass follows the kick drum pattern using slap techniques in the style of Stanley Clarke and Marcus Miller.

The main harmonic content is played on the electric piano and electric guitar, which centres on a B minor 11 to A major 11 chord progression for the main hook. The main vocalist sings in a relatively high register suggestive of Earth, Wind and Fire singer Phil Bailey. Although the vocal range and harmonic language in this track do not directly relate to the stereotypical features of gospel sound as laid out in chapter 4, they are still a demonstration of the Americanisation of the British gospel sound shared with the UK public. It should also be noted that contemporary American gospel groups of the 1980s such as The Winans brothers were known for adopting similar soul-funk stylisation in their performances. It was not unusual for British gospel artists to model their stylisation on performers such as The Winans brothers. This is part of the tradition of cross-fertilisation that continues in gospel music. By adopting a soul-funk style for their crossover song, Paradise can be understood to have furthered the conception of what UK gospel music could be while maintaining the tradition of cross-fertilisation.

Bazil Meade formed the London Community Gospel Choir (LCGC) in 1982. Almost since the beginning of their performing career they have been consistently employed for secular pop music work. In 1984 LCGC performed on Paul McCartney's studio recording of 'Long and Winding Road' at Oxford Street, Air Studios. The choir do not feature heavily in this song; instead, they sing vocables in idiomatic three-part gospel choir harmony between timestamp 2:36

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89 Broughton, Black Gospel, 146.
91 Meade and Greenough, A Boy, a Journey, a Dream, 119.
– 3:18. There are many other examples of commercially successful black British crossover artists who came later, including Mica Paris (1988), Beverly Knight (1993) and the R&B girl band Eternal (1992). Mica Paris and Beverly Knight are included as case studies in chapter 6 and Chapter 5, respectively. The significance of their stylistic choices in performance is highlighted there, specifically how their vocal performances reflect African American gospel ideals.

The female group Eternal entered the UK popular music charts in 1993. Signed to EMI, they were considered the British answer to American female R&B groups such as En Vogue and SWV. The group sold around 10 million records. Vernie and Easther Bennett's mother was a pastor, and the sisters sang in church choirs from an early age. All four band members were open about their Christian beliefs and tried to keep at least one gospel song on each of their albums. Though their stylistic approach was modelled on female American R&B, they often used gospel codes as part of their aesthetic. This is most clearly heard on the track, 'I Wanna be the Only One' (1997). The single was Eternal's 11th top-10 entry on the UK Singles Chart and peaked at number 1. The song features the American gospel singer BeBe Winans who had been experiencing secular crossover success since the 1980s alongside his sister (Priscilla (known as CeCe)).

The typical 'gospel sound' of the tambourine and gospel choir dominate this recording as well as call and response between BeBe Winans and Easther Bennett. The inclusion of improvisation and textual interpolation by the lead singers and clapping toward the end of the track bolster the impact of the gospel sound. Perhaps most notable is the presence of the gospel vamp with multiple modulations. The gospel codes on this recording were received and understood by pop music audiences. For example, referencing this recording a journalist for the
Sunday Mirror in 1997 wrote 'Eternal go seriously gospel with the soul legend that is BeBe Winans. The girls can do no wrong at the moment and if they don't crack America with the new stuff then they may as well give up'. The group shared the aim of receiving recognition and acceptance within the American market.

In interviews they disclosed that when touring the USA, DJs mistook their music for American music because of the stylisation, 'When we did get across to America people were amazed when they heard us speak! We’d walk into a radio station and the deejay would say, "Oh my God, I thought you were American!" They were amazed by our English accents!' Comments such as these raise questions about black identity within the Black Atlantic; still the observation supports my assertion that Americanisation was a factor in the success of artists who had begun their musical careers in the church.

Since the early 90s black Caribbean congregational music has also been crossed with Contemporary Christian Music (CCM) and West African Pentecostal music. Focusing on the congregational music of a West African church in Woolwich, Pauline Muir (2018) discusses the mixture of styles found in congregational worship. She applies the term blackenising (first coined by Costen) to describe how musicians and singers in black majority congregations adapt music from CCM such as Hillsong and 'impose a different musical identity on found material to make it

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100 ‘Eternal’.

101 Muir, ‘Sounds Mega’.
different'. Most importantly, Muir observes that "Blackenizing"...mostly references an African American sound, rather than a West African sound. Muir demonstrates ways in which these fusions may affect identity.

I would argue that 'blackenising' (the process of musicians drawing heavily on a store of signs from African American gospel music) is precisely what has driven the crossover appeal of black British gospel musicians and singers. Gospel artist Seth Pinnock is currently a popular BBG artist. He has collaborated with many popular BAG artists on his projects, such as the Grammy award-winning choir director and songwriter, Donald Lawrence and soloist Jessica Reedy. Pinnock’s 2019 project, *A New Thing – Live*, is reflective of the trend of BBG to aspire to a more BAG style.

It's definitely been American gospel music that I listen to, because that was where all the main Bishops were, all the headquarter churches were in America. So, it was like America was kind of like the blueprint you follow in terms of their culture and in their way of doing things. I think as Jamaican Christians, [apart from] probably the Jamaican songs and the Jamaican choruses like 'I've got my mind made up' and all that stuff, there really isn't a great sense of identity and heritage (in the United Kingdom) and so I feel that that's why we always look to America so much for, not direction, but for some kind of reference point, and I think that was reflected in... the way we did gospel music...when it comes to gospel...I don't feel that we have our own heritage or landmark here.

Since the 90s there has been limited preservation of Caribbean stylisation on the performance recordings of contemporary BBG artists. At the time of writing, there appears to be little interest in preserving or developing a specifically Caribbean influenced aesthetic on UK gospel recording projects. Instead the imitation of American stylisation brought many musicians into the pop industry. This is highlighted by the sacred-secular crossover ensembles and artists in black British gospel of the 80s and early 90s. The recording projects of these artists and bands

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103 Muir, 'Sounds Mega', 209.


(and their intentions as shared in interviews) show a marked move away from the Caribbean/country and western style gospel of the former generation. Instead, the 'gospel sound' was adopted which is an Americanised mode of performance that is often utilised in pop music.

3.9: Contemporary BBG stylisation (2000's onwards)

Whilst many singles and albums could have been chosen, the selected examples demonstrate certain stylistic features relevant to this section. A range of recordings has been selected, from home produced to professionally recorded material. It should also be noted that on the performance recordings referenced, the majority of the musicians work as session musicians within the popular music industry for chart-topping artists. This observation supports one of the overarching narratives in this thesis, i.e. gospel musicians are adept at performing the shared store of signs on the Gospel-Pop Bridge of Mutual Exchange. I draw attention to various elements such as vocal sound quality, harmonic content, instrumentation and lyrics to illustrate the similarity of BAG stylisation to gospel music from Caribbean Pentecostal churches. There are a few main areas of aesthetic significance in black gospel music performance; sound quality, mechanics of delivery (time, text and pitch), and delivery style.106

Burnim states that sound quality or timbre is one of the primary aspects of African American gospel. In particular, the ability to produce a variety of vocal timbres is highly valued.107 Delivery style and technique (or mechanics of delivery) refers to the individual interpretation or personalisation of the performance; especially the manipulation of the variables of time, text, pitch and rhythm.108 Delivery style is about how the performer communicates; speaking of gospel performance Burnim states' whether singer, instrumentalist, preacher, or conductor, the 'performer' must be overtly demonstrative if a black audience is to be convinced'.109 These qualities alongside those highlighted in my gospel sound chapter 4, provide the basis for the following discussion of stylisation in black British gospel music.

Sound quality is a primary aspect of African American music, and expert vocalists are skilled in using different sound qualities to express meaning within the musical performance.110

107 ‘In varying timbres from groans and shouts to percussive hand claps and foot stomps, the congregants were able to express their religious fervour and praise creatively without restriction.' Burnim and Maultsby, African American Music, An Introduction, 9.
108 Burnim and Maultsby, 11.
110 'In most traditional [African and African American] singing there is no apparent striving for the 'smooth' and 'sweet' qualities that are so highly regarded in Western tradition. Some outstanding blues, gospel, and jazz singers
The same is true of black British gospel. Gravel tone, for example, can also be referred to as 'rasp', 'grit' or 'hoarseness' and is used by many singers of BAG to create an impassioned emphasis and added intensity to a word or phrase.\textsuperscript{111} On Seth Pinnock's album there are several tracks where the BAG aesthetic of gravel tone can be heard. It is a requirement of most BAG that one be able to present a clean 'pop' vocal aesthetic but also be able to perform with a gravelly tone to emote and signify to the listener that the performer is aiming to connect with God. The track 'Bless My Soul' presents multiple examples of gravel tone. The vocalist Israel J. Allen at timestamp 3:14 – 4:00 uses gravel tone technique to illustrate the central textual theme of the song 'I won't let go'. The reference for this text is taken directly from a passage of the bible, which describes Jacob wrestling with an Angel all night for a blessing. The dialogue between the Angel and Jacob is well known among initiated Pentecostals.\textsuperscript{112}

The words of Jacob are known to be part of a plea to an Angel with whom he wrestles all night, 'I won't let you go until you bless me'. It is also symbolic of mental and spiritual wrestling in prayer to God for a change in one's situation. The performance by Israel Allen captures the essence of the message. He encourages the listener to join him in pursuing this eudaimonic blessing. The gravel tone Allen uses aids in evoking the meaning of this impassioned plea by exhibiting a gritty quality reminiscent of someone in a struggle. This musical gesture has deep roots within African American culture and relates to the role of the singing preacher.\textsuperscript{113} The hoarseness of the whooping preacher is valued as part of the sermon, particularly when the preacher reaches the climax of the sermon.\textsuperscript{114}

The Hammond B3 organ is often used to accompany this preaching within black Pentecostal churches. Usually organ players or pianists use 'preaching chords' and 'shout music' that emphasise the dominant sevenths, thirteenth, diminished and augmented harmonies to support the message. Increasingly, this musical style of preaching has become popular in some UK Pentecostal churches.\textsuperscript{115} Within the last 30 years there has been a widespread acceptance of the gravel tone in preaching/singing. The gravel tone is often used in intense preaching and often have voices that may be described as foggy, hoarse, rough or sandy. Not only is this kind of voice not derogated, it often seems to be valued. Sermons preached in this type of voice appear to create a special emotional tension.


See Gen. 32:22-32. The account references Jacob, one of the patriarchs of Judaism (and Christianity). Jacob is on a journey and encounters an angel who wrestles with Jacob during the night. At Jacob's request, the angel eventually gives Jacob a blessing.


For an example of 'whooping' see timestamp 2:02 at the following link: H.B. Charles Jr., \textit{Sermon Close-SomeThing Good Is Going To Come Out of This-Pastor HB Charles Jr.}, 2012, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fYk6PFUEVb4.


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signifies an earnest appeal to salvation. The gravel tone is also recognised within black British Pentecostal churches as a valid expression of devotion, and its use on Pinnock's album demonstrates this.\textsuperscript{116}

On the outro of the track, 'You've Been There for Me' on Seth Pinnock's album, there is another example of the gravel tone being used as part of a spiritual encouragement to the listener. The words are taken from a biblical text (Psalm 124). This text is often used within Pentecostal churches to assure participants of the presence of God in the community through times of difficulty. Exhorters and preachers may use the words, 'If it had not been for the Lord who was on my side [where would I be?]'. On the performance recording, 'where' is repeatedly emphasised in gravel tone by the lead singer Becca Folkes. From 3:04 – 4:27 she changes vocal quality from the smoother pop aesthetic maintained earlier in the track and instead takes up a gravelly preaching tone. This is very typical for African American gospel singers and has been incorporated into black British gospel, as can be heard on this recording.\textsuperscript{117}

Screams and shouts usually express exuberant joy and passion in gospel performance. These two sound qualities are often considered synonymous. As well as the performer, it is common to hear screams and shouts from the audience in BBG and BAG. To maintain a sense of spiritually exuberant joy, sometimes the audience 'ambience' is sampled from other services and placed on the record to give the illusion of a live performance. Software companies such as Spectrasonics make plugins (for example, Omnisphere) that carry specific congregation samples from Pentecostal services. In many cases these expressions (whether live or sampled) are an audible demonstration of earnestness in prayer or the state of eudaimonia. This is an instance of the use of a sound quality that would fit my Peircean semiotic triangle (see figure 5 in chapter 2).

Song-speech is a sound quality similar to operatic recitative where the gospel singer delivers a lyric that is either half sung/half spoken or 'vacillates between a melodic and spoken phrase'.\textsuperscript{118} Song-speech is another stylistic connection between Pentecostal singing and the Pentecostal preacher. It is often used when speakers exhort the congregation while striving to maintain a melodic connection with the music. On \textit{I Am God (Reprise)} by Seth Pinnock, there are clear examples of the performance moving fluidly between sermonising and singing.\textsuperscript{119} The call and response between Pinnock and the chorale (timestamp 0:34) are lively song-speech exhortations.

\textsuperscript{116} It is present on other BBG albums too such as Volney Morgan’s \textit{Focus Deluxe} album, to be discussed below. These albums are internally facing (meaning their appeal is mainly to a church audience lyrically and sonically).
\textsuperscript{118} \textit{Ibid.}, 112.
\textsuperscript{119} Pinnock, \textit{A New Thing Live}. 
They are usually near the correct pitch to stabilise the harmony, usually the tonic or the dominant note of the C# major tonality.

Another example of the song-speech delivery style is shown on Courtney King's recording *The Pentecostal Experience* (2013). This recording was not professionally produced but received considerable attention in Caribbean Pentecostal churches. On the recording of 'Praise Break' there is a sustained example of a sermonised exhortation.\(^{120}\) This type of delivery is uniquely American in origin. The emphasis on the tonic as the note of choice for song speech acts as a clarion call to the congregants to praise with him. It is often essential that the vocal be angst-filled and compelling; therefore, using gravel tone somewhere on the verge of shouting is also appropriate.

Vibrato is also part of both the BAG and BBG sound.\(^{121}\) On Volney Morgan's album, *Focus Deluxe*, after explaining the place for the old-time choruses within the liturgy of the black Pentecostal church, Morgan performs a few of these choruses in a medley called 'Old School Medley'.\(^{122}\) At timestamp 4:10 one can hear vibrato from the chorale sung in unison on the word 'mind'. Vibrato is often used for lyrical emphasis and expression. Although value is placed on the ability to switch between sound qualities in BAG, in BBG it is less common to find performance recordings foregrounding singers with a naturally hoarse, husky or strained sound or indeed switching sound qualities. BAG singers such as Shirley Caesar, James Cleveland and Dorinda Clarke Cole capitalise on these qualities. As gospel scholar Horace Clarence Boyer states, 'singers made no pretence [sic] of placing the voice 'in the head', as was the practice of European singing masters, but chose the voice of those 'crying in the wilderness'.\(^{123}\) In recordings by BBG singers, those with smoother vocal qualities are usually foregrounded. Still, it is important to be able to access the 'gritty' part of the vocal timbre should it be required at various points throughout the performance.

The glide is a dramatic vocal technique in American gospel music.\(^{124}\) In gospel scholarship, 'the terms' glide' [and] 'slide' are used interchangeably and often without precise definition. For clarity, a slide here will be defined as a glissando-like movement either immediately approaching or leaving a note or other vocal tone.\(^{125}\) This is the case on Seth Pinnock's 'You've Been There for Me'. Vocalist Becca Folkes begins a glide ranging over an octave beginning at timestamp 3:01 and

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\(^{120}\) Courtney King, *The Pentecostal Experience*, Spotify Online Streaming (Courtney King, 2013), https://open.spotify.com/album/3XU5Rxmd3e0Fqq2SFvGF9n?si=Z56W8gPQIGbysidafWY-Q.


\(^{122}\) Volney Morgan, *Focus Deluxe*, Spotify Online Streaming (Volney Morgan, 2017), https://open.spotify.com/album/2H2aVszmchqu5epkIFHtR?si=vG7e9HOB9alRI5R5ddjQTHOMA.


\(^{125}\) Legg, 14.
finishing at 3:08. Transitions from chest voice to falsetto are also quite common, as evidenced on 'The Benediction'. At timestamp 1:22 Seth Pinnock (whose natural range is that of a high tenor) moves into falsetto as a brief affirming gesture to the words he sings taken from Ephesians 3:20. The vocal gesture of affirmation can be heard in the sense that it is a wordless earnest sound produced in between the words of scripture at a high C#3 outside of the comfortable range of Pinnock's voice.

Typically, BAG vocal harmonies are based on inversions of major and minor triads arranged for good voice leading. They most often include soprano, alto and tenor sections. It is rare for a bass part (in terms of range) to be present, although the tenor part may fall into that range on occasion. Arguably, this is one of the more distinctive aspects of gospel music (see chapter 4). For example, in Volney Morgan's song 'Fade Away' the backing vocals use this harmony in the chorus 0:37 – 1:18 the repeated words' fade away, lift your hands up and let it fade away…'. The harmony is based on a second inversion F major chord moving to a C major in first inversion with a passing chord to the Bb major in first inversion near the end of the phrase. The stylised use of these inversions is evidence of the influence of BAG on this recording.

Significantly, the adoption of the Americanised accent in singing and also in song-speech is the result of cross-fertilisation. Leading artists from Caribbean Pentecostal churches in the UK have often adopted an American accent when performing. When entering a more charismatic stage of delivery, some preachers and singers choose to adopt a more American style of pronunciation. There are many examples of this on BBG recordings. Sometimes this is done for musical reasons (i.e. it is easier to place melisma on the syllables of certain words where the pronunciation of the vowels is altered). One example of the Americanised accent is Volney Morgan's track 'Amazing God'. Morgan and the chorale pronounce the word 'God' as though it has an 'a' sound – so that it is heard as 'Gaad'. This has been done for aesthetic reasons. Confirmation can be found in Morgan's interviews when he speaks, he pronounces this word with an English accent (the 'o' clearly audible and (arguably) emphasised). See, for example, his MOBO award interview at timestamp 0:18.

Another example is that of Juanita Francis. Francis is the daughter of the Pentecostal preacher and leader of Ruach Ministries, Bishop John Francis. Francis was the leader of the Inspirational Choir who worked with the ska band Madness in the 1980s. On her track 'Lion of

126 Pinnock, *A New Thing Live*.
127 Ibid.
Judah' one can hear the unambiguous Americanisation of the word 'mighty' at 4:04 – 4:20.\textsuperscript{129} This happens at the climax of the song. It is questionable whether Francis would employ this pronunciation in everyday speech. But it was felt appropriate to include it in the performance, again, likely for stylistic reasons as this also forms part of a BAG presentation.

'In Christ Alone' is a well-known hymn among Protestant evangelical churches in the UK and the USA; it was written by Stuart Townend.\textsuperscript{130} The aesthetic of the original recording is quite different from BAG or BBG. Courtney King recorded a cover version of this song. Although the project was home produced, it serves as an apt case study for the effect of 'blackenising' a contemporary hymn.\textsuperscript{131} Towards the end of this track the background vocals repeat 'as he stands in victory, sin's curse has lost its grip on me – no power of hell nor scheme of man can ever pluck me from his hand'. Like Volney Morgan's Fade Away, the construction of the harmonies on this track is reflective of the American gospel sound with their idiomatic distribution of tenor, alto and soprano.

The individual interpretation or personalisation of the performance (commonly referred to as improvisation) is central to the gospel aesthetic.\textsuperscript{132} Chris Tomlin's original recording of 'Everlasting God' includes some instrumentation typical of the CCM genre, i.e. acoustic guitars, electric guitars with distortion, drum kit tuned to suit a more 'rock' styled genre, bass guitar and soft synthesised pads. Also, there is a smoother vocal approach with a breathier sound quality from the lead vocal; and only two-part harmony from the backing vocal. Stylistically, the approach of King is different to Tomlin's. In Courtney King's version, the instrumentation differs. It includes synthesisers (including synthesised brass), the Hammond organ, electric guitar, bass guitar, electronically sequenced percussion, drums tuned to with modern R&B aesthetic (particularly true of the snare drum, which is tuned to a higher pitch).

Rhythmically, there is more syncopation throughout the song than in Tomlin's version. Instead of a simple backbeat from the drum kit, the hi-hat has a syncopated pattern that supports the ensemble's emphasis on the third beat of the bar throughout the verse and chorus. The snare drum is mainly struck on the third beat of the bar, shifting the accent away from the second and fourth beat, which would be expected for this song. The drum kit is foregrounded in the mix, and there are more drum fills throughout. The bass also has a syncopated line, which continues in an

\textsuperscript{129} Juanita Francis, Lion of Judah, Spotify Online Streaming (Juanita Francis, 2017), https://open.spotify.com/track/3bvIyjvA9r0Olu271Wysm?si=48e83a75eaa4313.
\textsuperscript{130} Stuart Townend, In Christ Alone, Spotify Online Streaming (Integrity Music, 2007), https://open.spotify.com/track/5ozo3CDcRHi6D67N6ZmC4?si=c8873cedbce5419f.
\textsuperscript{132} Burnim and Maultsby, African American Music, An Introduction, 11.
improvised manner with slides populating the rhythmic landscape and various accents. The synthesised brass has a semi-quaver emphasis during the chorus while also providing a repeated motif using the tonic, dominant and submediant. The song’s tempo is slightly faster, giving the song a more jubilant appeal than Tomlin’s version.

Courtney King’s sound engineer has interpreted the mix differently from the Chris Tomlin version. On King’s version, the bass, drums and even backing vocals are brought to the fore – and dominate the piece. The guitar has a nominal role providing harmonic and rhythmic colouring to the overall production. The converse is true of Tomlin’s version in which the guitars play a central harmonic role. Also, on Tomlin’s version the bass, although audible, is not mixed so that it draws one’s attention away from the song as a whole; whether through improvisation or more obvious low-frequency band boosts. Harmonically, there are many differences, particularly the adoption of three-part harmony (tenor, alto, soprano) for the voices. The keyboardist tends to employ dominant 7th, major 7th and major 9th chords, particularly on the unexpected pushes that appear in the song (for example, at 1:44, 1:57, and 3:30). The combination of these aesthetic qualities contributes to the blackenising effect on this song.

The obvious British accent of the song leader arguably establishes that this is a black British rendition as opposed to African American. Additionally, the use of call and response with the 'you are' call from the background vocals while the leader responds with various answers of what God means to him personally. The use of call and response is idiomatic for the genre as pointed out by Burnim.133 Also typical of gospel is King's textual licence during this call and response section at the song's end. He has established the original lyrics by remaining true to them throughout the song. But as is typical of many gospel artists there comes a point in the rendition where the artist begins to personalise the lyrics and melodic content.

Although whole recording projects are not usually dedicated to Caribbean stylised gospel heritage in the UK, singles have been released that reflect Caribbean origins. This is true of the calypso stylised, 'Sing unto the Lord' a song written in 2007 by Howard Francis, Nicky Brown and Mark Beswick.134 This song gained the attention of some gospel artists in the United States, with Grammy award-winning gospel singer Marvin Winans adding it to his church repertoire.135 The Caribbean' old-time choruses' are usually performed with Caribbean stylisation in a medley format

133 Ibid., 12.
134 Mark Beswick, Sing Unto the Lord, Spotify Online Streaming, (Mark Beswick, 2003), https://open.spotify.com/track/5bR6AF4Qgg1LZ1dMhbpFLI.
as evident on the albums of Volney Morgan and Courtney King. But it is rare for this stylisation to be foregrounded on recordings in the current iteration of black British gospel from Caribbean Pentecostal churches. It certainly is not referenced in the secular pop industry.

3.10: Conclusion

In this chapter the roots and routes of BBG have been examined. I have referred to various performance recordings offering vignettes and analytical comments on stylisation from the Caribbean to the UK. These vignettes demonstrate that throughout its history, black British Pentecostal gospel music has drawn on various stylistic techniques from across the Black Atlantic. The stylistic legacy of Caribbean Pentecostals in black British gospel music is cross-fertilisation. In 1985 Viv Broughton in his book Black Gospel referenced an interview with London Community Gospel Choir director Bazil Meade:

The influence of American gospel is self-evident but the new British sound springs from congregational worship and draws just as much upon the cultural diversity of the ordinary worshipper. 'If you go to a church in Dalston' says Bazil Meade, 'where a lot of people come from Montserrat and Barbados you hear a different calypso feel to the way they sing. Another church will have a ska or reggae feel. There's a church in Lewisham where the congregation is incredibly rootsy. Now that to me - the culture of the people is what is going to bring about a British gospel sound'.

In the past 15 years gospel performances by artists from Caribbean Pentecostal churches have featured on British mainstream T.V., perhaps most notably the BBC Gospel Proms of 2013 and 2016. Many artists originally from Caribbean Pentecostal churches have also appeared on mainstream T.V. seeking to crossover to pop on talent competitions such as X-facto

136 Volney Morgan, Old School Medley, Spotify Online Streaming (Volney Morgan, 2017), https://open.spotify.com/track/5yAusIbfokoGSNgLDT20kD.
137 Morag McIntosh, BBC Proms - Gospel Prom 2016 - Amazing God, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QmQwH1G7XQA.
significant social media attention on such competitions. For all but one of these singers (Jennifer Phillips), their performances carried no sign of their Caribbean or UK heritage but instead incorporated the expected American aesthetic.

A re-examination of Meade’s observations might serve Caribbean Pentecostals well in formulating a distinctive aesthetic that does not (of necessity) foreground BAG stylisation. Nonetheless, Caribbean people’s incorporation of black American gospel stylisation exemplifies what Gilroy refers to as ‘black identity beyond nation-state boundaries’, specifically, nation-state boundaries between Africa, North America and the Caribbean. This incorporation of BAG stylisation presents important implications about what it truly means to be black Caribbean and British. The shift of BBG in the late 1970s and 1980s toward BAG stylisation was an assertion of black identity in contrast to the liturgical worship music that existed in other white-majority churches in the UK at the time. The discussion of identity is beyond the scope of this thesis, but one of the results of BAG stylisation is a familiarity with gospel codes, codes tacitly understood in popular culture. Gilroy posits that the consequence of mixing UK, U.S. and African cultures since the transatlantic slave trade has been the production of ‘stereophonic, bilingual, or bifocal cultural forms’. This is certainly the case within the history of BBG. The BAG musical techniques incorporated into BBG form a semiotic framework that often signify the transcendent in popular music.

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141 Gilroy, The Black Atlantic, 3.
Gospel will become part of the fabric of American music and will become synonymous with American Music. It will be heard in elevators, over telephones, in department stores, movies and commercials…but while it is being used for advertising and dancing it will also be used for meditation and worship. As the Reverend CL Franklin said, 'gospel music mends the broken heart, raises the bowed down head, and gives hope to the weary traveller'.

-- Dr Horace Clarence Boyer (1995), commenting on the crossover sound of gospel music.¹

In this chapter I demonstrate that the crossover appeal of gospel musicians is related to performance techniques that are shared with popular music in the UK and USA. I do this by referring to a transitional period in the popular social imaginary with regard to gospel stylisation. This period (roughly 1971 – 1975, as identified by Anthony Heilbut) is when gospel stylisation in pop became more recognisable to the wider public both in the USA and across Europe.² In the latter part of this chapter I produce a table that reads many popular songs with gospel stylisation. From the seemingly obligatory gospel song on many R&B and hip-hop albums of the 90s to the gospel songs in films such as Sister Act, many popular music listeners recognise a gospel stylised song because of certain characteristics that they know but rarely articulate (apart from perhaps the visual representation of the gospel choir).

While a person may not be able to explicitly connect certain performance stylisations to an experience of black Pentecostal church, tacit knowledge of these signs functions to support the evocation of the PMFC.³ This is the case even where the specific techniques and signs are not easily identifiable by the casual listener. In this chapter I draw on Michael Polanyi's assertions about tacit knowledge to identify what exactly the gospel sound in pop culture is.⁴ Polanyi states that

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¹ Boyer, How Sweet the Sound, 259.
³ Para Musical Fields of Connotation (PMFC) is a field of implied meaning related to the musical discourse without being structurally intrinsic to that discourse. See sections 1.7 and 5.1.
tacit knowledge is implicit knowledge (as opposed to formal, codified or explicit knowledge). I codify knowledge of the gospel sound that has existed subsidiarily within the social imaginary of popular culture. I do this by identifying gospel techniques in pivotal gospel stylised songs. While identifying this sound, I also show the musical elements that are used to signify the 'God element' as it is interpreted in popular culture.

4.1: A Gospel Sound

In the vast academic and non-academic literature covering the history of gospel in the U.S., the technical analysis of its sound is rarely a central theme. That is to say, although many writers (rightly) focus on the gospel singing techniques of vocalists and the lyrical content, few give attention to the artistic choices of the musicians, music directors and producers. These choices form the sonic landscape on which the vocals sit. To date (apart from a focus on gospel singing) there are relatively few definitive book-length treatments devoted to a close technical reading of the stylisation of gospel music from Thomas Dorsey to the present day. The work of Horace Clarence Boyer was one of the first notable exceptions. Boyer was a gospel music performer and later a musicologist specialising in gospel. For that reason, he was in a unique position to comment on the relationship between the vocals and the accompaniment. More recently, the work of Braxton Shelley has continued Boyer's tradition of closely reading the gospel musical text. Through reading the available publications and listening to the recordings referenced, one can deduce certain key features that make gospel recognisable to the uninitiated. This is particularly true of Andrew Legg's scholarship on performance practices in African American gospel music. These performance practices will be foregrounded later in this chapter to understand the elements of the gospel sound as it is understood in pop.

5 Anthony Heilbut's book stands out as being devoted to this topic. Rightly, he focuses much attention on vocal aesthetics. Heilbut, *The Gospel Sound*; Mark Burford's work includes some newer ideas around the characteristics of gospel style. His work is transferable to gospel at large but the focus is on the vocal of Mahalia Jackson. Burford, *Mahalia Jackson and the Black Gospel Field*; Andrew Legg's work also brings substantial attention to the vocal aesthetic in gospel Legg and Philpott, 'An Analysis of Performance Practices in African American Gospel Music', 197; Legg, 'A Taxonomy of Musical Gesture in African American Gospel Music'; Braxton Shelley has recently made a significant contribution to the study of the gospel music aesthetic. Although his broader academic interest is in the work of Richard Smallwood. He uses Smallwood as a case study to exposit on a number of techniques that are central to gospel music. Shelley, 'Analyzing Gospel'; Shelley, *Healing for the Soul*; The work of Alisha Lola Jones foregrounds the male gospel vocal through a discussion about assumed gendered expression in gospel music. Jones, *Flaming*

6 Boyer, *How Sweet the Sound*.

7 Boyer was a gospel pianist and vocalist during the 1950s to 1960s.


Gospel music scholar Anthony Heilbut opens his foundational 1975 book with the following statement: 'This book [The Gospel Sound] first appeared in 1971. At that time, the assertion that gospel singing supplied the roots for much of contemporary music was not widely accepted; today it seems a received truth...the gospel sound is universal.' Heilbut had noticed a change between 1971 and 1975; popular culture in North America was not only able to recognize the gospel sound but also to acknowledge that much of contemporary popular music was in some way related to it. In other words, a particular sonic connection had been made between popular music and the church. The relationship between gospel and popular music had been implicit in the social imaginary for decades before. Black Pentecostal churches whose singers had crossed over were largely aware of this as were industry professionals. Singers who had crossed over from gospel music to popular music in the past, such as Sam Cooke and Rosetta Tharpe, show that this tradition of gospel to popular music crossover has a decades-old legacy. Record labels such as Atlantic and Motown had marketed gospel music before the 1970s, but widespread popular commercial appeal (including radio success) was not as strong. Consequently, it may not always have been evident to the uninitiated white popular music consumer where this ubiquitous sound had its origins.

In the 1950s and early 1960s, gospel music was not reliably documented or broadly covered by critics and journalists in America. For this reason the music was not as well understood as the other main American vernacular musics: jazz, blues and country. There are many reasons for gospel music not receiving much attention from the media. The inherited hegemonic Western narrative concerning the division of sacred and secular significantly influenced black Pentecostal church life. This meant that church leaders often rejected newer expressions of worship (e.g. the inclusion of modern instruments), and modern trends that incorporated popular culture were often seen as worldly. For this reason, crossover artists (like Sam Cooke) were often forced to make a

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11 Heilbut, *The Gospel Sound*. vii. This was the first full-length study of black gospel music. Burford notes that Heilbut's book occupies a center of gravity on black gospel scholarship. The Gospel Sound, merits special attention because 'it is difficult to exaggerate how central the book and its author have been in the production of knowledge about black gospel music for nearly a half-century.' Burford, *Mahalia Jackson and the Black Gospel Field*, 19 & 22.

12 Al Green is quoted as saying 'most of us, in one way or another, hark back to the church as the cradle of our musical birth and of any ten soul stars you care to name, I'll guarantee that eight of them learned their licks in the choir loft'. Emily J. Lordi, *The Meaning of Soul: Black Music and Resilience Since the 1960s*, Refiguring American Music (Durham: Duke University Press, 2020), 20.

13 One might also add artists who did not grow up with a strict commitment to church but lived closely alongside the gospel music community and so incorporated the sound into their music. Artists such as James Brown and Ray Charles. However, Mark Burford notes that the staggering success of Mahalia Jackson (for a variety of reasons) is an anomaly in this regard. She refused to sing secular music. But owing to some unique factors, was nevertheless an extremely influential figure within popular culture having performed on major stages. Still, the sound that accompanied Jackson was a representation (diluted though it may have been) of the gospel music that popular culture would later become tacitly familiar with.

clean break with their religious roots as the church would not allow them to have 'one foot in the church and the other in the world'. This disconnect reinforced the division between sacred gospel music and secular R&B, consequently uncoupling the link that uninitiated popular music listeners might have made with a gospel sound.

The black Pentecostal church (in its USA manifestation) has its roots in the poor urban population; consequently, it was largely overlooked by the media (during the 50s and early 60s) as a space of musical interest. Added to this, the Pentecostal church was often viewed with suspicion because of the charismatic style of worship which often included speaking in tongues and the operation of supernatural gifts of healing. It gave the impression to the wider public of an opaque cult-like group. This placed further cultural difference between the black Pentecostal church and popular culture, making it difficult to connect popular music with gospel. The various fractures of the Civil Rights movement after the death of Martin Luther King and the rise of more militant black power narratives meant that African American youth culture was less inclined to engage with and support traditional gospel music in pop culture.¹⁵

Soul is known as the secular twin of gospel music; many early soul singers began their careers within the church.¹⁶ With the commercial success of soul music during the late 60s and early 70s, biopics were produced about the artists. However, as Lordi notes, these biopics 'tend to isolate soul stars from the communities that made them possible. These communities were often religious...the music called soul might owe more to gospel and it is those gospel roots – which...have not been subject to white revival or capture in a manner akin to the blues – that account for soul's relative illegibility, compared with blues and jazz, in many scholarly circles'.¹⁷ Lordi's final point is one that has marked the illegibility not just of soul but of gospel music too. This illegibility is one of the reasons that gospel music occupied a tacit (rather than focal) place in the popular social imaginary.

In this section I sought to highlight the historical reasons for the obscuring of the gospel roots of much popular music.¹⁸ In doing so, I have demonstrated why this part of my topic has not been widely covered within academia. However, a few key events moved these gospel music


¹⁶ In Heilbut’s book an anonymous church member says of soul music, ‘Church people understand spirit, “soul” if you will, better than anyone: ‘After all, we invented it. All this mess you hear calling itself soul ain’t nothing but warmed-over gospel.’ Heilbut goes on to state that “the very best features of post-war popular music are directly indebted to black gospel”. Heilbut, *The Gospel Sound*, xi & xxx.


¹⁸ Rock and Soul, the two dominant forms of popular music when Heilbut’s book was written could not have existed without gospel music. Burford, *Mahalia Jackson and the Black Gospel Field*, 21.
roots out of obscurity and into the commercial market as the 'gospel sound'. With this move a tacit knowledge of gospel sound in popular culture gradually became possible.

4.2: Breakthrough Crossover Performance Recordings

I return to the period highlighted in Heilbut's statement (1971 – 1975) to examine some fundamental gospel music breakthroughs that transformed the social imaginary of popular culture with regard to gospel sound. I have selected two gospel crossover performances that garnered significant commercial success.\(^{19}\) Many other gospel artists crossed over to the popular music industry during this period—several found success harnessing a gospel sound as backing vocalists, producers, arrangers and session musicians.\(^{20}\) However, the performance recording of 'Oh Happy Day' (1969) and the *Amazing Grace* album by Aretha Franklin (1971) were some of the most significant gospel recordings to break into the commercial market and, consequently, pop culture.\(^{21}\) These recordings (among others such as Billy Preston's 'That's The Way God Planned It' (1969)) allowed popular culture to become exposed to a gospel sound in new ways.\(^{22}\) I will use these recordings to highlight the typical gospel techniques that signify 'gospel' in pop culture.

'Oh Happy Day' was recorded in 1969 and Hawkins was awarded a Grammy for the recording in 1970 (marginally outside of Heilbut's 1971 – 1975 timeline). I posit that the influence of this song continued into the early 1970s as a symbol of BAG to popular culture. I base my position on the song's success not only in North America but also across Europe; for instance in

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\(^{19}\) For many, the death of gospel singer Mahalia Jackson in 1971 also symbolised the end of the golden era and the rise of contemporary gospel. The golden era is usually charted from the 1940s through to the early 1970s. Marovich, *A City Called Heaven*, 320.

\(^{20}\) Post circa 1975, the gospel sound entered popular culture in a new way. For evidence of this phenomenon, one need only examine the body of work by gospel artist, André Crouch. Crouch conducted the gospel choir for Michael Jackson's 'Man in the Mirror' and 'Will You Be There', he also conducted the gospel choir for Madonna's 'Like a Prayer'. Crouch co-wrote the soundtrack for Steven Spielberg's film adaptation of, 'The Colour Purple' and conducted the gospel choir on the film, 'The Lion King'. Significantly for the period 1971 – 1975, he wrote the song 'I've Got Confidence' that Elvis Presley covered on his gospel album 'He Touched Me' in 1971; this album won Elvis his second of three Grammy awards (N.B all of Presley's Grammy awards were for his gospel albums). Paul Simon's 1973 recording, 'Paul Simon in Concert: Live Rhymin' is remembered for Simon and Garfunkel's performance of 'The Sound of Silence' and 'Bridge Over Troubled Water' but it also has a recording of André Crouch's 'Jesus is the Answer' sung by The Jessy Dixon Singers. The Motown label also released a gospel album in 1971 called 'Rock-Gospel', it featured the Jackson 5, Marvin Gaye, Gladys Knight and many other artists. These are only a handful of examples from the early 1970's that demonstrate Heilbut's point about this period.

\(^{21}\) Aretha Franklin’s gospel stylised recording of 'Bridge Over Troubled Water' (1971) by Simon and Garfunkel could also have been included here. But I have restricted the selection to songs by black gospel artists that explicitly contained a Christian message and therefore would be recognised unambiguously as gospel by both Christian and non-Christian listeners. It reached number one on the US R&B chart and number six on the pop chart. It was certified gold in 1972 and sold two million copies. It also won the Grammy Award for Best Female R&B Vocal Performance in the 1972 awards. The original song was inspired by a gospel song as has been mentioned in my secularisation chapter.

\(^{22}\) There would not be another BAG crossover recording that sold over 500,000 units until BeBe and CeCe Winans’ 'Heaven' in 1988 and Take 6's debut album in 1989. This is significant because it demonstrates the legacy of the performance recordings of Franklin and Hawkins on popular culture's perception of the gospel sound.
the UK the song peaked at number 2 and was in the charts for 13 weeks. In Germany it reached number 1 in the official charts. The song has become known across the world as a gospel standard. Significantly, the Grammy award was in the Best Soul Gospel Performance category. Gospel scholar Horace Boyer made some cutting remarks about the commercial success of songs like 'Oh Happy Day'. 'Unfortunately "Oh Happy Day" had its largest sale among new gospel music lovers who wanted more of the same - and with few references to God, Christ and heaven. Instead [the consumers were] made up of music and dance loving people who cared nothing for the gospel background or significance; the music just had to be catchy and rhythmic…they presented music that did not necessarily further God's Kingdom in the land.' Boyer's comments make harsh assumptions about the intent of the listeners to this music. Further, I would challenge the idea that there were few references to God and Christ given the line 'when Jesus washed my sins away' and others.

A key turning point for gospel was 1969 when the R&B chart was re-named the 'Soul chart', '…much of the music gathered under that capacious banner in the 1960s carried elements of gospel music onto a secular stage, channelling a revival style performative energy and "towering [gospel] vocals" into nonreligious lyrical content.' This seemingly small switch opened a new realm of meaning for gospel-influenced music in a secular age. I include Boyer's comments (as well as Lordi's) here because they support my wider theory about the pluralistic paramusical field of connotation evoked when gospel music enters popular culture. Consequently, the nova effect I theorised about in my secularisation chapter can actively be observed here in the sense that gospel music influencing secular culture becomes a catch-all for a pluralistic spirituality.

25 Between 2005 and 2008 as a touring session musician playing gospel music in Europe (particularly in Italy and Sicily), I recall countless occasions when after completing a gospel concert, members of the audience would request the song, 'Oh Happy Day'.
26 Boyer, How Sweet the Sound, 259.
27 For example, 'He taught me how to watch and pray…'.
29 As Lordi notes regarding soul music, '[it] offers a noninstitutional way to express faith in a divine benevolence that was on the side of justice. One could call this divine force “God” if one wished, but it wasn’t necessary to do so at a moment when religious concepts such as spirit faith, conversion and transformation were, to recall Baraka, “expand[ing] past religion” to permeate the entire culture’. Lordi, 22.
30 ‘Whereas soul music rechannelled the styles and techniques of the church into secular lyrical content, soul discourse performed a parallel move by rechanneling religious logic into a secular faith in collective redemption.’ Lordi, 22.
31 Horace Clarence Boyer, quoted in U.S. News & World Report, observed that 'gospel became a style of performance into which you could put any message" (“Gospel Music Rolls out of the Church, onto the Charts” 1986, 56). In other words, gospel music became more than a musical genre; it was an idiomatic style that wielded tremendous influence not only on Black popular idioms but on the entire American popular tradition. The musical trends of the 1970s and 1980s support this axiom'. Portia Maultsby in: Lornell, From Jubilee to Hip Hop, 14.
'Oh Happy Day' has since entered popular culture; it inspired George Harrison's 'My Sweet Lord'. Harrison wrote 'My Sweet Lord' in praise of the Hindu god Krishna. He intended the lyrics as a call to abandon religious exclusivism and sectarianism by connecting the Hebrew word 'hallelujah' with chants of 'Hare Krishna'. This is another example of the ways in which the gospel sound has come to evoke a pluralistic field of connotation in Western pop culture. The song has also appeared in many movies including the German film Seventeen and Anxious (1970). It appears in Sister Act 2 (1992), Big Momma's House (2000), Nutty Professor II: The Klumps (2000), David LaChapelle's movie Rize (2005), Robin Williams's License to Wed (2007) and Secretariat (2010) a biographical film produced by Walt Disney Pictures. It was also in Spike Lee's BlacKkKlansman (2018). These other uses of the song support the notion that it has become somewhat ubiquitously connected with gospel music; even though it is unlikely that one would hear this song in a black Pentecostal church worship service.

The second case I examine is Aretha Franklin's live recording of the Amazing Grace album. This is an explicitly gospel project. Although it did not initially receive the same amount of attention in the UK I include it here because of its commercial success in North America, the resurgence of interest as the concert film was released in 2018 after Franklin's death, and lastly because of the influence it had on American popular music and among American session musicians and British rock musicians. The album won Franklin the 1973 Grammy award for Best Soul Gospel Performance, it was certified double platinum, and as of 2017, it stands as the most popular disc of Franklin's entire career and the highest-selling live gospel music album of all time. In terms of its impact, the album spent 57 weeks on the billboard charts for top gospel album. The film (originally recorded live in 1972 but released in 2018) was number one in the music video charts in both the USA and UK. Although these statistics point to a measure of commercial success, my broader point is that the data is an indicator of the project's entry into popular culture.

32 The lyrics are (Christian) gospel themed, the recording takes place in a church, and the songs have a gospel style.
33 Three notable session musicians appeared on this album, their mention here is due to the significance of the artists they worked with and thus their (implied) influence on other musicians of that time and beyond. The first is Bernard Purdie an R&B, soul and funk drummer. Known for the 'Purdie Shuffle', inducted into the Modern Drummer Hall of fame in 2013. With a discography too extensive to mention here, some of the most well-known musicians he had worked with in the run up to the Amazing Grace recording include Herbie Hancock, Dizzy Gillespie, B.B. King, Gil Scott Heron, Louis Armstrong and Randy Brecker. The second session musician was bassist Chuck Rainey known for his work with George Benson, Donald Byrd and later, his work with Steely Dan and Quincy Jones. Lastly guitarist, Cornell Dupree was also on this recording. He had been playing with Aretha previously and with Donny Hathaway. He went on to work with a list of artists (again too extensive to mention) including: Miles Davis, Mariah Carey, James Brown, Sam Cooke, Etta James, Chaka Khan and more. The impact that including these musicians on a gospel-crossover record would have had amongst session musicians and popular music producers should not be under-estimated. Also, it is important to note the presence at the concert of Mick Jagger and Charlie Watts of the Rolling Stones – evidence of the influence of gospel music on the Rolling Stones can be found in the list of gospel-influenced songs that will be examined later in this chapter.
The UK public's 1972 reception of this album indicates that the influence of secularisation on UK popular culture had moved far enough down the line that the Christian message of this album did not resonate with the masses. Commenting on the release of the album, writer for *Blues and Soul* magazine David Nathan (who also wrote the liner notes for the 1999 Rhino reissue) states: 'while people can relate to soul music because its lyrics can be identified with, gospel tends to be alien to British ears'. Further, referencing the liner notes of the 1999 reissue of the album, Aaron Cohen relates that Nathan made various trips to the USA over a 40 year period, experiencing BAG first-hand. He believes that British audiences have not changed in their subdued response to gospel music, though the album was commercially successful in the USA. These two recording projects represent a 'gospel sound' that has become a mainstay in the social imaginary of gospel music in popular culture across the West. This observation is grounded in the work of scholars such as Boyer and Maultsby.

4.3: Gospel Codes, a Gospel Sound in Pop Culture

Since Heilbut’s observations about the ubiquity of gospel music, academics and music practitioners have made similar observations that popular music and gospel music have a shared heritage. Many commercial pop musicians harness the characteristics of gospel music in their art as a way of making it subtly or explicitly signify church and the transcendent. The 'gospel sound' in pop music evokes the pluralistic 'God' interpretant in the listening audience. This is significant because gospel musicians and singers who cross over to secular pop music are trained and skilled in using the techniques that signify the interpretant. The 'gospel sound' is generally assumed, but it is rarely explicitly identified.

In Western culture, specific musemes have been turned into gospel signs, shortcuts for signifying gospel music in popular culture. Important musicological work has been carried out to identify the characteristic techniques of gospel vocals. This work is significant because it identifies those techniques which are idiomatic for the genre as understood by the initiated. However, it does not always clearly state which techniques are most commonly used in popular music. I

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36 There is some truth in this, however this discussion is complicated by the release of Stormzy’s ‘Blinded by Your Grace’.
38 Seay and Neely, *Stairway to Heaven*; Reed, *The Holy Profane*.
39 A museme is the smallest unit in any music that has significance or meaning.
distinguish between secular pop music and the nuanced and varied field of gospel music as understood and received by initiated listeners of the black Pentecostal church and also BAG fans. I identify the sound of gospel in pop culture as the uninitiated listener might receive it. My purpose is to demonstrate the ubiquity of this 'sound' in popular culture; this is an under-theorised area. It is a critical component in understanding how Western society (specifically the USA and UK) engages with gospel music.

The term 'gospel codes' is my term for a category of musemes that signify gospel music and can serve to evoke the interpretant. In this discussion I also note the differences between sacred and secular music. A gospel stylised song may be secular in lyrical content, having no religious component in the lyrics at all. But the inclusion of gospel codes indicates a gospel style that evokes the interpretant. I am also positing that the interpretant received through gospel codes is something that the listener knows but cannot always articulate. Following Michael Polanyi's theory of tacit knowledge I propose that the gospel musical techniques that exist within popular music songs are not something that the uninitiated listener is focally aware of. But instead this 'knowing' of gospel style through gospel codes happens through an integration of a subsidiary pattern of musical gestures. When the integration is successful it transforms the meaning of the piece of popular music into an experience of musicking which hints at the transcendent.

Identifying style in popular music remains a challenge. Style, 'refers to the manner of articulation of musical gestures, and….operates at various hierarchical levels...'. Style can be seen as relating to the concept of identity; it requires a consideration of technical features, such as melody texture, rhythm and harmony. But popular music studies and cultural studies indicate that non-musical styles such as clothing and posture may also be considered. This is important because gospel music performance includes physical gestures of participation such as raising a hand in worship or the collective rocking of the choir. Specific musical shapes and lines have often been described as gestures or as being gestural. Short motivic units and long expansive melodic lines in particular seem open to this form of description.

One can understand certain physical actions (such as the movement of a limb) as creating a shape that can often reinforce human communication. Equally, this principle can be applied to specific musical details that can be seen to be gestural (Robert Hatten identifies the slur as one

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41 Polanyi, *The Tacit Dimension.*
such notational gesture).\textsuperscript{45} Hatten identifies that, to understand what a gesture means one has to identify the correlation between gesture and motive. 'A gesture becomes thematic when it is a) foregrounded as significant thereby gaining identity as a potential thematic entity, and when it is b) used consistently, typically as the subject of a musical discourse.'\textsuperscript{46} This understanding of musical gesture works well for some music. The foregrounding of a gesture brings attention to a particular thematic device in the music, suggesting a distinction between the musical foreground and background. The foregrounded gesture then becomes an idea potentially that is subject to development. I find that Hatten’s description lends itself well to the examination of the expressive intent of a piece of music.

Gospel scholar Andrew Legg uses 'musical gesture' as a catch-all category for what may also be referred to as 'topics'.\textsuperscript{47} For the purposes of my thesis, the work of Kofi Agawu in his book, \textit{Playing with Signs} offers a malleable model for grouping musical devices that might signify a style.\textsuperscript{48} Agawu refers to this as a Universe of Topic.\textsuperscript{49} He identifies musical signs, or 'topics' (topoi), that an 'informed late eighteenth-century listener would have immediately recognised as characteristic of a particular style or affect'.\textsuperscript{50} Agawu's model is helpful in that it allows for many style topics to be introduced by the composer sometimes one after another or at the same time to signify that style.

I distinguish 'style' and 'topic' more definitely than Agawu because some topics listed by Agawu in his work may actually be styles.\textsuperscript{51} Instead, the 'gospel sound' is a musical world identified by a group of specific musical devices; in other words, gospel codes in pop can be thought of as a collection of topics. This is important because one topic can be enough to evoke the essence of a style as a whole.\textsuperscript{52} The sound I am identifying does not encompass the whole gospel field. The gospel field is complicated by its contemporary expressions and the many musical, religious and technological developments of the past 40 years. Gospel artists seek to keep the message of gospel music relevant to vernacular culture by combining styles so that one may refer to gospel-reggae, gospel-jazz, gospel-house and many others.\textsuperscript{53}

\textsuperscript{45} Ibid., 113.
\textsuperscript{46} Ibid., 135.
\textsuperscript{47} Legg, ‘A Taxonomy of Musical Gesture in African American Gospel Music’.
\textsuperscript{50} Spicer and Covach, \textit{Sounding out Pop}, 171.
\textsuperscript{51} In this I am following Spicer, see Spicer and Covach, 124–46.
\textsuperscript{52} Ibid., 127.
\textsuperscript{53} Claudrena Harold’s work is the first book length treatment of the history of gospel music post golden era. She makes significant observations about contemporary influence of gospel music on popular music especially with
4.4: Reading the Gospel Codes in *Amazing Grace* and 'Oh Happy Day'

It is important to note the stylistic features that form gospel codes as they are foundational to the tacit understanding of gospel in popular culture. In this section, under various headings, I identify the topics that emerge as most important in gospel codes. This list is not exhaustive, instead it is meant to be a provisional universe of topics for gospel codes. This is because of the specificity of my choice of performance recordings to analyse but also because the research of other academics will inevitably uncover more topics and this universe of topics will continue to expand. Most gospel scholars' work focuses on vocal techniques but wherever significant attention has been given to other musical techniques I have also acknowledged these. I draw on these scholars' work to construct my own tables of gospel techniques. They have been chosen based on their ubiquity within popular music as signifiers of gospel music. I begin with the vocal techniques. These techniques were collated by Andrew Legg who built on the work of Pearl Williams Jones and Horace Clarence Boyer. Legg develops their work by including additional observations on rhythm, lyrics and structures in gospel music improvisation and accompaniment. I aim to demonstrate that they are present on the two performance recordings that I have selected. I have placed tables after the discussion of various elements of the gospel sound. They refer directly to places on the *Amazing Grace* album and on the 'Oh Happy Day' recording where those elements can be heard. (N.B. all time code indicators refer to the location of the excerpt on the original recording).

4.4.1: Gospel Vocal Techniques

Gospel vocals are often more recognised for their varying of timbre rather than consistency of timbre. Academics acknowledge that there is a wide range of vocal qualities that are appreciated within gospel music, from the raspy voice of James Cleveland to the smoother

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55 For this reason, some well-known gospel gestures have not been included for example the ‘immediate reprise’ or the ‘praise break’. Legg and Philpott, ‘An Analysis of Performance Practices in African American Gospel Music’, 216.
58 Wilson suggests that within African American music a range of dramatically contrasting qualities of sound (timbre) is sought after in both vocal and instrumental sound. Unlike a lot of European music which often favours the organisation of timbres so that similar timbres are placed together in performance. Wilson, ‘Black Music as an Art Form’.
timbres of Sam Cooke or Whitney Houston. The gospel vocal sound in performance is (more often than not) a montage of separate elements which combine to form a whole. The earlier writing of Williams and Boyer identified the gospel moan, timbre and pitch as critical elements that had scope for variation in order to signify gospel. It should be noted that the individual performer of the gospel sound has wide scope for flexibility on these topics and often the wider the range the more easily a piece of music can be identified as gospel. The gospel vocal is not fixed and unchanging; there are considerable internal variations under this single banner. Yet there are some topics that need to be considered critical to gospel vocals. The following topics are gathered from Legg's work with my own addition of the vocable.

The variety of timbres and techniques are usually read by the initiated as modes of expression that facilitate the work of the Holy Spirit through the singer. It is perceived as an audible manifestation of a spiritual reality that God is blessing the singer. It is expected that the performer will personalise the musical text by manipulating the variables in the below list of topics. Ability to communicate the inspiration of the Spirit is often measured via the charisma with which the performer interprets the song. This may be evaluated through the timbres employed for expression. See table 1 for examples of a variety of vocal techniques on Franklin's Amazing Grace and 'Oh Happy Day'.

Table 1 - Gospel Vocal Techniques found on 'Oh Happy Day' and Aretha Franklin's Amazing Grace album.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Technique</th>
<th>Song</th>
<th>Timestamp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gravel tone</td>
<td>Mary, Don’t You Weep</td>
<td>5:30 - 6:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Screams</td>
<td>Never Grow Old</td>
<td>7:55 – 8:05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shouts</td>
<td>Oh Happy Day (Edwin Hawkins)</td>
<td>3:54 – 4:10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Song speech</td>
<td>Mary Don’t You Weep</td>
<td>3:37 – 4:15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gospel Vibrato</td>
<td>Amazing Grace</td>
<td>1:17 – 1:30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timbre/register</td>
<td>Oh Happy Day</td>
<td>3:54 – 4:27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Portia Maultsby states, 'The gospel sound encompasses many vocal styles and timbres. It ranges from the lyrical, semiclassical, and tempered style of Roberta Martin [and] Alex Bradford to the percussive and shouting approach of Sallie Martin, Archie Brownlee, Albertina Walker, Clara Ward, and Norsalus McKissick. Many singers…employ components from both styles in their performances. This range of stylistic possibilities has brought variety to the Black popular tradition….Regardless of vocal style employed, singers of popular idioms use a wide range of aesthetic devices in interpreting songs: melismas, slides, bends, moans, shouts, grunts, hollers, screams, melodic and textual repetition, extreme registers, call–response structures, and so on'. Lornell, From Jubilee to Hip Hop, 183.


In her essay ‘The Black Gospel Music Tradition’ Mellonee Burnim notes ‘when the performer demonstrates the knowledge and skill to manoeuvre and manipulate the principles of Black performance style, the presentation is immediately rewarded with resonant audience response’ Jackson, More than Dancing, 156.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pitch</th>
<th>Glides</th>
<th>Medley: Precious Lord, Take my Hand/You've Got a Friend</th>
<th>5:14 – 5:17</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blues inflection</td>
<td>Precious Memories</td>
<td></td>
<td>0:00 – 7:19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passing tones, bends, neighbour tones</td>
<td>Medley: Precious Lord, Take my Hand/You've Got a Friend</td>
<td>4:27 – 4:36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melisma</td>
<td>Amazing Grace</td>
<td></td>
<td>1:33 – 1:49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Rhythm         | Repetition for emphasis | Amazing Grace | 6:39 – 6:50 |
|                | Syncopation            | Mary Don't You Weep | 4:31 – 4:37 |

| Lyrics          | Elongated or truncated pronunciation of syllables | What a Friend We Have in Jesus | 1:37 – 2:00 |
| Interjections and Textual interpolation | Old Landmark (with Rev James Cleveland and the Southern California Community Choir) | 2:24 – 3:00 |
| Vocables        | Old Landmark (with Rev James Cleveland and the Southern California Community Choir) | 2:10 – 2:24 |

### 4.4.2: Structure

This group of structural topics requires little introduction, but it is appropriate to clarify how improvisation in particular is understood in gospel music. By introducing the vocal techniques first, I have provided some insight into the basic components of gospel singing. It is the role of the musician or singer, however, to manipulate these techniques in spontaneous ways that give the listener the impression of extemporaneous inspiration. It is rare within gospel music for a performance to have no improvisation element. The performance recordings I have chosen are replete with examples of how improvisation is used in gospel music. Changes to the original music that take place as a result of improvisation are recognised in Pentecostal circles as signification of the 'unction' and inspiration of the spirit. This is understood to be an enlivening force that provides spiritual edification.

The congregation is expected to acknowledge this improvisational inspiration through various means; it is not uncommon to witness congregants nodding, closing the eyes in reverence, standing, waving one's hands, dancing, singing along, shouting or perhaps weeping.⁶⁴ These

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⁶⁴ Although Braxton Shelley does not refer to all of these responses directly, his phrase ‘The Gospel of Participation’ seems apt to describe the involvement of the congregation in the act of worship. Shelley, ‘Analyzing Gospel’, 187–187.
responses are translatable to (and can be witnessed in) secular popular concert environments. Many of the techniques discussed are valued in a secular environment and responses are often gauged in a similar manner. The presence of ad-libs and improvisation in gospel music is an accepted part of performance and their presence signifies to the initiated a connection to the Holy Spirit. This is understood to add spiritual potency to the musical delivery.

However, I also acknowledge the argument of Lordi who posits that the spirit of ad-lib (i.e. ad libitum – or ‘at ones pleasure’, or ‘as one desires’) brings to musical performance a sense of erotic surprise. This is a justifiable reading in secular music. However, Lordi reads Aretha Franklin's performance of 'Amazing Grace' as creating an 'erotic sociality' a particular type of fellowship based on erotic connection, even though she is not singing about romantic love or sex. Noting the improvisational techniques used for generating tension, suspense, climax and release Lordi states that 'these are fundamentally erotic effects, and Franklin uses them to consolidate spiritual community.' This argument could be repositioned by contending that codal interference is taking place. Codal interference arises when the performer and listener share the same store of signs (through valuing the same musical topics) but do not translate those meanings in the same way. Differences in socio-cultural values often cause codal interference. Given the church setting for the recording of Amazing Grace and Franklin's upbringing (her father being a pastor and presiding minister over the recording), it seems unlikely (on the face of it) that Franklin would be seeking to evoke the erotic imagination or response from her listeners in this setting. Despite this, the performance may be received in that way by the uninitiated based on the arguments mentioned by Lordi. This opens an interesting discourse about musicians and singers who have learned a double consciousness about the meaning of ad-lib and improvisation in crossing over from gospel to popular music. The ability of musicians to apply stylistic elements learned in the church, is another reason why gospel musicians and singers succeed in the commercial market. Lordi's interpretation shows that the ability to read gospel signs as having different meanings depending on context is a critical skill for gospel musicians.

A recognisable gospel technique that has received attention in recent years is the vamp. The vamp is a simple, short passage of music that is repeated several times until otherwise

65 According to Charles Sanders, [Aretha] Franklin could bring ‘all 16,000 people [in a sports arena] into a kind of spiritual thing with her, sort of like what must have happened on the Day of Pentecost, and those people – all kinds: dudes, sisters in Afros and those in blonde wigs, even church-looking people- would start moving with the music.’ Before long, ‘some of them would scream and jump on their seats, and even men like 50 and 60 years old would run down to the stage and try to touch her, just touch her’. Lordi, The Meaning of Soul, 89.
66 Lordi, 74.
67 Ibid., 90.
68 This process is explained more thoroughly in chapter 5.
69 Franklin certainly knew how to do this as can be heard on her explicitly secular projects.
instructed (see table 2 for an example). Gospel musicians use the vamp (Ramsey refers to it as the t roping cycle) to embed the musical text and also to encourage deeper and more ecstatic religious experience.

Braxton Shelley theorises the vamp in his work and notes that 'as [believers] perform and perceive the gospel vamp's characteristic combination of repetition and escalation, [they] coproduce sonic environments that facilitate the experience of a given song's textual message'.

While the value of the vamp as a topic remains in popular secular music, its meaning opens to a more pluralistic interpretation. Thus, the meditative effects of the cyclical pattern of the vamp facilitate spiritual and emotional experiences that may not be related to Christianity at all.

Table 2 - Examples of gospel structural techniques found on 'Oh Happy Day' and Aretha Franklin's Amazing Grace album.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Technique</th>
<th>Song</th>
<th>Timestamp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Improvisation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melodic</td>
<td>How I Got Over</td>
<td>2:40 – 3:44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhythmic</td>
<td>Old Landmark (with Rev James Cleveland and the Southern California Community Choir)</td>
<td>2:24 – 3:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harmonic</td>
<td>Old Landmark (with Rev James Cleveland and the Southern California Community Choir)</td>
<td>2:24 – 3:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Call and response</td>
<td>How I Got Over</td>
<td>2:35 - 3:48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The presence of the vamp</td>
<td>Oh Happy Day</td>
<td>2:58 - 4:20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4.3: Texture

Texture is another important topic in the semiotic communication of gospel codes through popular music. In particular, the gradual layering of various elements takes the music through phases mirroring that of a church service. Traditionally, black Pentecostal services move through a structure roughly equivalent to the following; an opening prayer, devotional songs of worship (including scripture readings), testimonies, with the climax being the sermon, ending with some form of appeal accompanied by song (often called the altar call).

An example of this is the use of the vamp at the end of George Harrison's gospel inspired, 'My Sweet Lord'. Harrison alternates between the words 'hallelujah' (a Hebrew term of praise to God incorporated into Christianity) and 'Hare Krishna', as Hindu phrase. The word "Hare" refers to the divine feminine potency of God. "Krishna" means the all-attractive one.

The altar call usually takes place at the close of the sermon and is an opportunity for the listener to respond to what they have heard. Generally, the response will take the form of an individual (who has been particularly moved...
instrumental accompaniment and solo voices', the song moves from the simple to the complex. In addition, within popular music, to increase the effect of 'gospel intensification' producers use the presence of the gospel choir, the transition in harmony from unison to three-part harmony, and the addition of auxiliary sounds such as extra percussion to build the intensity on the track. Relying on Burnim's earlier work, Lordi refers to this layering of sounds to climax as 'gospel drive and intensification'; I adopt this term in my list of topics.

This intensification through layering serves a central purpose in church services and gospel music performance. It symbolises the journey to spiritual ecstasy that both the performer and participant are understood to be aiming at in Pentecostal services. It also serves as an evangelistic tool so that when the song reaches its climax it represents the urgent need for a response from the listener. The thickness of layers and the intense dynamic represents a clarion call for all listeners to connect with God. When this topic is translated to secular pop music, the value of intensification is still present. However, it serves the purpose of drawing the listener into encountering ecstasy through a non-identifiable deity or (more often) a specific emotional feeling such as love. The evangelistic element often remains in popular music, but the appeal is usually to a different source of inspiration than Jesus Christ, as shown in my later case study on gospel codes in popular music.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Technique</th>
<th>Song</th>
<th>Timestamp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gospel intensification</td>
<td>Give Yourself to Jesus</td>
<td>Compare: 1:00 with: 4:00 onward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homorhythmic harmonies</td>
<td>Oh Happy Day</td>
<td>0:42 – 1:19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audible crowd participation</td>
<td>God Will Take Care of You</td>
<td>5:49 - 6:41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4.4: Rhythm and Metre

Gospel music has thrived on a rhythmic style that includes 2/4 and 4/4 for up-tempo songs and 12/8 patterns for slower songs. To this I would add the 'shout' (a rhythm that by the sermon) physically walking to the front of the church sanctuary where they would be prayed for by the preacher or other ministers. I observed this on many occasions in hundreds of Pentecostal services. Burnim writing over 30 years ago observes the same structure of service with minor variations. The Black Gospel Music Tradition in Jackson, More than Dancing, 163.


Lordi, The Meaning of Soul, 3; See also Mellonee Burnim, The Black Gospel Music Tradition in: Jackson, More than Dancing, 163.

Boyer discusses these rhythmic patterns in his chapter ‘Traditional and Contemporary Gospel Music’. See Jackson, More than Dancing, 133–35.
accompanies the religious dance in some Pentecostal churches) and 9/8 and 6/8 for slower songs. Mark Burford articulates his understanding of this gospel rhythmic feel as the 'Gospel Seesaw'. The slower tempo gospel rhythms are easily recognisable in popular music as will be detailed later. It is significant to note that the drummer David 'Panama' Francis incorporated the 12/8 rhythm of the Pentecostal church (known as common meter in the Church of God in Christ) into many R&B recordings. Maultsby notes that Francis added these rhythms to Screaming Jay Hawkins's *I Put a Spell on You* (1956) and Lavern Baker's *See See Rider* (1962). The significance of the 12/8 pattern in popular music is underscored by the fact that there are compilations of popular songs with a 'gospel' 12/8 pattern on Spotify and YouTube.

Many standard electronic keyboards and stage pianos (such as the Roland RD2000) have electronic drum pattern options used for accompaniment with the label 'gospel beat' matching the description already given. Significant developments have taken place in gospel music since the embedding of these rhythms in popular culture. One only need examine the more technical gospel drumming of Aaron Spears, Eric Moore, Calvin Rodgers and many others to understand this. I have deliberately chosen not to include these later developments in my thesis. This is because they signify gospel in a way that although currently desirable within the popular music industry, has not yet embedded itself into popular culture in a way that has entered the social imaginary.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rhythm and Metre</th>
<th>Song</th>
<th>Timestamp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12/8 (COGIC common metre)</td>
<td>What a Friend We Have in Jesus</td>
<td>0:00 - 6:05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6/8 (gospel shuffle)</td>
<td>Precious Memories</td>
<td>3:44 onwards.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Shout' music rhythm</td>
<td>God Will Take Care of You</td>
<td>6:51 – 7:29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 - Examples of gospel rhythmic patterns found on 'Oh Happy Day' and Aretha Franklin's Amazing Grace.

77 Speaking of the division of 'gospel' 4/4 ‘The subdivision of the beat is...crucial to this gospel feel, which, differently than sing, emphasizes all three triplets of compound meter, particularly on the second and fourth beats of the bar...’ Burford, *Mahalia Jackson and the Black Gospel Field*, 204.

78 Lornell, *From Jubilee to Hip Hop*, 184.

79 https://open.spotify.com/playlist/28xeJjc1qLBwpUQULsNg9?si=5wi1kJ6ESTySmm_WSP5ieA. See also https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLMEcoZ-tX4kPwljcmPl0hFEZWmr12tAvw. For a further example of the gospel 6/8 pattern and the shout pattern see time stamp 3:05 and 3:44 respectively: Gospel Grooves Tutorial [Rhythm Section Bass & Drum] HD, 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HxEcD71eqgU.

80 It is my belief that this will happen; among musicians the vernacular phrase ‘gospel chops’ alludes to this recognition, but it is too early to speculate on the influential presence of this style of drumming in pop culture.
4.4.5: Harmony and Melody

Generally, idiomatic harmonies in gospel music are mainly based on the choral division of tenor, alto and soprano.\textsuperscript{81} Harmonic movements within the diatonic scale are typically based on inversions of triads. Common diatonic harmonic navigation for a gospel choir singing in the key of C are often as follows:

![Figure 11 - Typical major diatonic harmonies.](image)

![Figure 12 - Typical relative minor harmonies.](image)

Alternative to the preceding chord if in Dorian mode

The repeated amen cadence in the musical accompaniment is also a signifier of gospel music. Both amen cadence 1 (I-IV-I) and amen cadence 2 (I – iv - I) are regular features of songs that signify gospel:

\textsuperscript{81} This short tutorial demonstrates how these typical gospel harmonies work in a practical situation. Gospel Music Intermission, \textit{Vocal Harmony Tutorial}, 2010, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fyfloC_Ec_w&list=RDfyfloC_Ec_w&start_radio=1&t=73.
The Mixolydian mode is also often implied in the harmony by the flattened 7th. The cadences detailed below illustrate some typical options that are selected when signifying a gospel style in C Mixolydian.

Typically, the pentatonic scale and related blues scale would also signify gospel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Technique</th>
<th>Song</th>
<th>Timestamp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Three-part gospel harmonies (tenor, alto, soprano)</td>
<td>Oh Happy Day</td>
<td>0:00 – 5:08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Instrumentation within gospel music continues to evolve. I have intentionally avoided giving a historical narrative about the use of instruments within gospel music because this would extend my dissertation beyond its scope. Instead, I observe that a particular set of instruments formed the core ensemble on the seminal recordings that I have selected for this case study. Even today, their presence, in this combination, signifies gospel music to the uninitiated. This is proved later on with examples from numerous pop songs. To support the inclusion of these instruments, I have cited the work of a number of other academics. They point to the importance of these instruments as part of the ensemble in gospel music. In particular, the Hammond organ should be noted for signifying gospel with many synthesizers, electronic keyboards and samplers (such as Native Instruments’ Komplete) having a standard 'gospel organ' option. This is usually a replication of the Hammond B3 sound.

82 Boyer states ‘the basic ensemble for most gospel recordings and concerts has remained the so-called rhythm section- piano, bass, and drums, joined by organ...These instruments have been treated as additional voices, supplying an accompaniment that supports the melody and background voices in chordal fashion.’ Jackson, More than Dancing; See also Ashon T. Crawley, Blackpentecostal Breath: The Aesthetics of Possibility, Commonalities (New York: Fordham University Press, 2017), 253; Marovich, A City Called Heaven, 169; Allan F. Moore, ed., The Cambridge Companion to Blues and Gospel Music, Cambridge Companions to Music (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 138–39.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrumentation</th>
<th>Song</th>
<th>Timestamp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hammond Organ</td>
<td>Mary, Don't You Weep</td>
<td>0:00 – 0:12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piano</td>
<td>Old Landmark (with Rev James Cleveland and the Southern California Community Choir)</td>
<td>0:00 – 0:17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electric Bass</td>
<td>Medley: Precious Lord, Take My Hand/You've Got a Friend</td>
<td>1:43 – 2:10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drum Kit</td>
<td>Climbing Higher Mountains</td>
<td>1:29 – 1:54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6 - Examples of gospel instrumentation found on 'Oh Happy Day' and Aretha Franklin's Amazing Grace.
4.4.7: Spatialisation of Performance Recording and Visual Representations: Common-Union

Popular music performance recording has taken on new meaning when considered in the context of a secular age. Pop concerts and raves may be perceived as an opportunity for the collective experience of communion, replacing (or at the very least augmenting) the traditional place of religion in providing these collective experiences through musicking.\(^{83}\) The performance recording as enjoyed in the privacy of one's earphones, speakers, or online video highlights a different experience of communion offered through the recorded content.\(^{84}\) The sound of gospel music has been 'culturally re-appropriated into a multitude of private and public secular contexts with the result that any theological resonances have become diluted for the casual listener'.\(^{85}\) Still, eudaimonia remains a goal in popular musicking and gospel codes is used to evoke this shared experience. By referencing spatialisation (i.e. the location of sound sources in the sound field of a performance), I intend to meld theological observations with a musicological understanding of the gospel music performance experience. This theory can be mapped onto secular performance through a pluralistic interpretation of specifically Christian references.

At the heart of gospel musicking is the sharing of a message of good news, particularly about one's eternal standing with God. Within Christianity, the implications of this message of salvation has wider ramifications about the way humans relate to one another. An interpretation of 1 John 1:1-4 provides a theoretical underpinning for the purpose of gospel codes in popular music.

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\(^{83}\) As mentioned in my semiotics chapter, I am proposing 'common-union- as another way of describing intersubjectivity. It allows for a religious undertone 'communion'. This points to a theological expression from Greek (Koinonia) which is at the heart of musicking in Christian worship services. Koinonia meaning fellowship or communion, with God or, more commonly, with other individuals. ‘But how about rock concerts and raves?......they are plainly “non-religious”; and yet they sit uneasily in the secular, disenchanted world [generating] feeling, which takes us out of the everyday’ Taylor, *A Secular Age*, 517–18.

\(^{84}\) Taylor speaking of publicly performed music of the 19th century says: ‘People begin to listen with an almost religious intensity...The performance has taken on something of a rite, and has kept it to this day. There is a sense that something great is being said in the music. This too has helped create a kind of middle space, neither explicitly believing, but not atheistic either, a kind of undefined spirituality.’ I am highlighting throughout this section that this observation applies in specific and unique ways to the understanding of gospel code, ubiquitous in popular music. Taylor, 360.

\(^{85}\) Jonathan Arnold makes this statement in relation to ‘high quality sacred music performed within its ecclesiastical context, especially in cathedrals and chapels with choral institutions’. Evidently, he does not have in mind the pop music industry nor gospel specifically; but I have taken his comments to have a wider application that I argue for here. Corbett, *Annunciations: Sacred Music for the Twenty-First Century*, 342.
What was from the beginning, what we have heard, what we have seen with our eyes, what we have observed and have touched with our hands, concerning the word of life - that life was revealed, and we have seen it and we testify and declare to you the eternal life that was with the Father and was revealed to us — what we have seen and heard we also declare to you, so that you may also have fellowship with us; and indeed our fellowship is with the Father and with his Son, Jesus Christ. We are writing these things so that our joy may be complete. (1 John 1:1-4 CSB).

A commonly accepted interpretation of this text would be that the apostle John (the author of this letter) is setting out how people who have converted to Christianity relate to one another and to God. Within the tradition of Protestant evangelicalism (and Pentecostalism in particular), the Christian experience begins with a personal encounter (of a spiritual nature) with Christ. That experience then becomes a message that one tells others about (commonly known as evangelism). One of the goals of this evangelism is 'fellowship' so that others may experience the joy of a unifying spiritual relationship with one another and with Christ. The communal 'joy' remains incomplete without the 'fellowship' (or koinonia) of others who affirm this spiritual experience.

I propose that gospel music operates in much the same way. In gospel music (similar to the description of John) the individual lived experience of relationship with God is shared with others in song. This song is understood to be an evangelical invitation to respond through affirmation of the message. The communion experience in gospel music is only truly 'complete' (following the apostle John) when group participation is achieved. This may manifest in many ways; the presence of a gospel choir (symbolising group affirmation), physical gestures of the participants or listeners such as the raising of hands, spontaneous improvisation, rhythmic clapping, the simple nodding of the head, shouts, tears and other

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86 ‘What was from the beginning, what we have heard, what we have seen with our eyes, what we have observed and have touched with our hands, concerning the word of life — that life was revealed, and we have seen it and we testify and declare to you the eternal life that was with the Father and was revealed to us.’ 1 John 1:1-2 CSB
87 ‘...we have seen it and we testify and declare to you the eternal life...what we have seen and heard we also declare to you.’ 1 John 1:2-3 CSB.
88 ‘...what we have seen and heard we also declare to you, so that you may also have fellowship with us; and indeed, our fellowship is with the Father and with his Son, Jesus Christ. We are writing these things so that our joy may be complete.’ 1 John 1:3-4 CSB.
89 The ESV commentary 1 John 1-4 states: 'John is moved to proclaim what he has witnessed in keeping with the commission he and the other apostles received...The purpose of this proclamation is not just forgiveness of people's sin (as a simplified view of evangelism would have it) but is far richer, for the gospel message binds together those who receive it so that you too may have fellowship with us. Yet the purpose is still richer than mere human fellowship, for believers' fellowship is with the Father and with his Son. Such 'fellowship' is personal communion with the Father made possible by the mediation of the Son.' Crossway Bibles, 2430.
gestures. In this way it becomes an act of common-union or community musicking. There is a call-response relationship between intimate and public spaces during gospel performance. The intimate individual testimony of life experience is shared through song publicly with the community for affirmation, solidarity, and spiritual unity. During a black Pentecostal service, common exclamations such as 'you better testify!', 'preach!', 'amen!' and 'that's a whole word!', 'can I get a witness?' are all vernacular expressions of this call-response encouragement toward communion. See figure 16 for an illustration of the call-response dialogue which results in communion.

![Figure 16 - Production of gospel communion through a call-response dialogue between intimate-social spaces.](image)

The above mechanism can be applied to the interpretation of Christian gospel-musicking. However, this interpretation can also be applied to secular pop musicking using a pluralistic lens. The secular age of authenticity has brought about a focus on expressive individualism. This expressive individualism is often based on exclusive humanism. The proof of this exclusive humanism is seen in the focus of American popular songs that have charted from the 1960s to 2010. These songs can be viewed as part of Western popular culture. According to research on

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90 Also included are the non-physical personal, internal resonances such as thoughts triggered by the music. These are less quantifiable and also often not as valued in gospel musicking.
91 The Age of Authenticity is a ‘post-’60s age in which spirituality is deinstitutionalised and is understood primarily as an expression of “what speaks to me.” Smith, How (Not) to Be Secular, 140.
92 Exclusive humanism is a worldview or social imaginary that is able to account for meaning and significance without any appeal to the divine or transcendence. Smith, How (Not) to Be Secular, 141.
93 In 2019 an academic study was conducted to analyse the themes and trends of music lyrics that had charted in the top 40 since 1960. ‘This study explored 19 themes embedded in the lyrics of 1,040 U.S. top-40 songs from 1960 through 2010, using R strucchange software to identify trends and breaks in trends. Findings reveal both continuity and change. As in 1960, the predominant topic of pop music remains romantic and sexual relationships. However, whereas the proportion of lyrics referring to relationships in romantic terms remained stable, the proportion including reference to sex-related aspects of relationships increased sharply.’ Peter G. Christenson et al., ‘What Has
the psychology of music on the themes of songs in popular music charts since the 1960s, most songs focus on relationships, love and sex/sexual desire. This reflection from popular culture shows that meaning and significance (without appeal to the divine or transcendence, i.e. exclusive humanism) are often found in relationships and sex/sexual desire. The call-response mechanism for gospel music generally works in the same way in popular music with a gospel sound. However, in popular music, the topic is usually not God but instead human relationships or sexual desire. The communion mechanism functions in the same way as an invitation to share in the story the artist portrays. See figure 17 for an illustration of exclusive humanist communion.

Figure 17 - Production of exclusive humanist communion through a call-response dialogue between intimate-social spaces.

Sound placement within the stereo field can influence the way a listener comes to their personal understanding of a recording. The stereo field can also be used to produce the effect of communion. Moore, Schmidt and Dockwray suggest that, when examining the expressive content of recorded songs, an area that requires more attention in academic writing is the expressive role of spatialisation within the stereo field. By discussing the different spatial zones, I offer a hermeneutic in relation to gospel code found on performance recordings. Following Dockwray and Moore I adopt the language of 'sound-box', 'persona' and 'proxemic' to discuss spatialisation on gospel-pop recordings.

The sound-box is a heuristic model of how the placement of sound sources is perceived in recordings. It is understood in terms of three dimensions: the width of the stereo field, how

94 The lion’s share of lyrics in every decade contained references to relationships and love (67.3%) and/or sex and sexual desire (29.9%). While differences in the prevalence for the 1960s and 2000s were not substantial for relationships and love, the number of references to sex and sexual desire more than doubled across the same period. Music or musicians were mentioned in 16.3% of the songs, and dance or dancing in 15.1%. No other topic was referenced by more than 10% of top-40 songs, and in some decades, some of the reference categories received hardly any mention at all. Christenson et al.

close the sound source is perceived to be to the listener (referred to as proximity or prominence) and the perceived pitch height of sound sources (in other words, register). Temporality is a fourth dimension; it is created by changes in positioning in the stereo field over time. I propose that gospel code be read (in relation to the sound-box) as a temporal transition from the individual, personal 'testimony' toward the shared experience of the 'believers'. This can be heard in the three dimensions referenced.

First, call-response in the stereo field manifests through transitions in sonic focus from the soloist to the wider ensemble (which usually includes the gospel choir). The soloist sings their 'truth' (usually in the centre of the stereo field) and then the ensemble responds sonically in support. Usually the sound of the ensemble is distributed more widely across the stereo field. Transitioning between the centre of the stereo field and the wider field is evocative of a call-response dialogue between those spaces (see figure 16). This symbolises the transition from the individual story to that story becoming part of a collective experience.

Secondly, proximity or prominence. The call-response transition between individual and collective witness to the story can also be heard through the use of different microphone placements and depth of sound field added through effects (usually reverb but sometimes also delays). A soloist with close-mic placement gives the impression of nearness of proximity and personal storytelling. In contrast, the gospel choir and band usually require room mics or overhead mics to capture the depth of the performance. The call-response between the close mic placement of the soloist and the room mic placement of the ensemble is illustrative of the act of communion (see figure 16), and reminiscent of the call-response of the preacher and congregation.

Lastly, with relation to the sound-box, it is often the case that the soloist will soar to higher registers to be heard above the ensemble’s responses and signify Holy Spirit inspiration. The same may be said of volume increases. This may be read as symbolising the preacher reaching the climax of a sermon and the charismatic response of the congregation. The preacher will often raise their voice to be heard over the ecstatic response of the congregation and signify a spiritual connection; this is mirrored in the volume and register changes in gospel music recordings.

97 Every breath of the performer may be heard, potential lip smacks and depending on the intention of the producer, even plosives may be perceived. All of these examples give the impression of spatial nearness to the listener’s ear.
98 Often, even where the band have been recorded through direct input, reverb will be added in post-production to give the impression of the sound being in a larger space – thus implying a more collective experience.
99 The vernacular phrase ‘raise the roof’ is often used when asking people to praise in Pentecostal worship services it indicates a loud and clamorous response. Increase in volume may also be understood to reference the height of the sound-box.
The personic environment distinguishes between the persona (plural personae) evidenced in a recording and the musically coded setting in which that persona is virtually located. The persona might be described as the 'performance character' that the vocalist embodies when delivering a particular song. For example, a gospel soloist may take on the persona/performance character (through narrative and lyrics) of a sermoniser or evangelist. The personic environment is typically articulated through three factors: the location of sound sources within the sound-box, harmonic vocabulary, and form (or narrative). The persona is usually activated through narrative lyrics and their articulation, which involves aspects of melodic contour. I refer to the personic environment in gospel as the 'Sunday service'. This description captures the metaphor that gospel code in popular song is a reference to the worship service (though the reference may be coded and not explicit). I offer the 'Sunday service' as a heuristic with which to understand the environment that fosters the call-response dialogue between the individual telling their story or sharing their truth (the evangelist) and the witnesses who are usually encouraged to support the speaker and join in the musicking process (the ensemble). The Sunday Service personic environment is a metaphor for the temporal travel of the church during a worship service. Moving from an earthly experience to a more spiritual and euphoric one is usually aimed at within the black Pentecostal worship service. In black Pentecostal worship, the relationship between the preacher and the congregation often mirrors the relationship between the soloist and the ensemble (this includes both the band and the gospel choir). The song is often a sonic representation of the act of sermonising. The relationship between personae is that of mutuality and call-response support. This same relationship may be observed in gospel-pop crossover where sonic communion is aimed at through call-response between the personae on the recording (see figure 17).

Moore, Schmidt, and Dockwray theorise relations among the listener, the persona, and the personic environment. Proxemics describes the distances (intimate, personal, social and public) between individuals in interaction. I propose that there is a call-response relationship between the first two zones (intimate and personal) and the outer zones (social and public) that can be heard in gospel music but is also heard as gospel code on popular recordings. The call-response dialogue can be heard in the transitions between these zones on recordings that contain gospel codes. The call-response between the zones represents a sort of evangelism through song; a persuasive personal truth (in the intimate and personal zone) is related to an audience who are encouraged to

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100 Moore, Schmidt, and Dockwray, ‘A Hermeneutics of Spatialization for Recorded Song’, 84;
101 Moore, Schmidt, and Dockwray, ‘A Hermeneutics of Spatialization for Recorded Song’, 84;
respond with support and conversion (in the social and public zone). In gospel music this often results in a shared ecstatic experience of communion. I propose that a similar process is aimed at when gospel code is found in pop, a process I have termed common-union. The following table is adapted from the work of Dockwray and Moore with the addition of examples that show how the elements (distance, persona/environment) are used specifically on 'Medley: Precious Lord, Take My Hand/You've Got a Friend' from Franklin's Amazing Grace album. (See table on next page).
### Table 7 - Example of the interaction between Personal-Intimate and the Social-Public space on Franklin’s Medley: Precious Lord, Take My Hand/You’ve Got a Friend.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Call/Response</th>
<th>Zone</th>
<th>Distance: persona/listener Degrees of intervention</th>
<th>Description of Persona and environment</th>
<th>Articulation of persona</th>
<th>Medley: Precious Lord, Take My Hand/You’ve Got a Friend</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CALL</td>
<td>INTIMATE</td>
<td>• Very close to listener (i.e. touching distance)</td>
<td>• Persona in front of musical environment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• No intervening musical material</td>
<td>• Normal high degree of separation between persona and musical environment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Vocal placed at the forefront of sound-box</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Close-range whisper</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Clarity of vocal sounds (coughs, breath intake all audible)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Lyrical content suggests intimacy / potential physical contact and addresses interpersonal relationship between two people</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PERSONAL</td>
<td>• Close to the listener (within arm’s length)</td>
<td>• Persona in front of the musical environment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Possibility of intervening musical material</td>
<td>• Still a certain degree of separation but less than in intimate zone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>• Vocal not at the forefront of sound-box</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Soft to medium vocals</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Less clarity of vocal sounds</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Lyrical content addresses two or three people</td>
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<tr>
<td>RESPONSE</td>
<td>SOCIAL</td>
<td>• Medium distance from the listener</td>
<td>• Persona is heard as being within the musical environment</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Intervening musical material</td>
<td>• Little separation and more integration</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Vocal placed within the centre of sound-box</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Medium to loud vocals</td>
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<td>• Few, if any, vocal sounds heard</td>
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<td>• Lyrical content addresses small/medium groups of people</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PUBLIC</td>
<td>• Sizeable distance from the listener</td>
<td>• Persona engulfed and towards the rear boundaries of the musical environment</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>• High degree of intervening musical material</td>
<td>• High degree of integration</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Vocal towards the rear of sound-box</td>
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<td>• Full, loud vocals, shout/semi-shout</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• No vocal sounds heard</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Vocals address a large group</td>
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</table>

4.4.8: Visuals

I focus primarily on the audible experience of popular music, but video performances such as those on YouTube and live performances also convey signs that can only be seen. The physical gestures often convey communion taking place between the listener and the theme of the song.
The following signs are representative of those that are ubiquitous in gospel and are relevant in popular music performance. Here the video footage of the Amazing Grace recording is used to provide examples.\footnote{Alan Elliott and Sydney Pollack, \textit{Watch Amazing Grace | Prime Video}, Documentary, 2019, https://www.amazon.co.uk/gp/video/detail/B07RM4FRWT/ref=atv_dl_rdr?autoplay=1.}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|}
\hline
\textbf{Visual} & \textbf{Amazing Grace (1972) Movie} & \textbf{Timestamp} \\
\hline
Raised hands & Figure 18 & 0:43:11 – 0:43:33 \\
\hline
Closed eyes & Figure 19 & 0:24:30 – 0:24:48 \\
\hline
Preacher persona & Observable in the motion picture & 0:53:00 – 0:54:03 \\
\hline
Co-ordinated 'choir robes' & Figure 20 & 0:06:35 – 0:08:17 \\
\hline
'The 'choir rock' & Observable in the motion picture & 0:06:35 – 0:08:17 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Examples of gospel visual gestures in Aretha Franklin's 1972 Amazing Grace concert.}
\end{table}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.4\textwidth]{figure18.png}
\caption{Raised Hands}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.4\textwidth]{figure19.png}
\caption{Closed eyes}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.4\textwidth]{figure20.png}
\caption{Co-ordinated choir robes, in this case (less typical) black clothes and silver waistcoats.}
\end{figure}
4.5: Evidence of the Gospel Sound in Popular Music

In the final section of this chapter I focus on my initial premise that sonic signs of gospel are present in pop music and further that they are tacitly understood by listeners. In appendix C I have provided many examples of popular performance recordings that signify gospel to a lesser or greater extent. In figure 21 I have also provided a shortened example of what is contained in the appendix. These signs can be heard through the presence of the topics previously discussed. These songs were gathered through various verbal-visual associations.

The first source is Steve Hoffman's website. Hoffman is a well-known mastering engineer and hosts a website where people from all over the world can join various electronic forums to discuss music and the visual arts. At the time of writing there are over 101,000 members, 25,200,000 posts and 805,000 discussions. In one of these discussions a contributor named Tyler Mills opened a thread titled 'Your Favourite Gospel-Influenced Pop Songs'. He asked the question: 'I'm a sucker for songs with a gospel feel and gospel choirs, so here are some of my picks. What are some of yours?' Between July 2015 and October 2015 this thread received 65 responses, with some individuals contributing multiple popular songs to the discussion. Although the respondents all wrote in English, they identified themselves in their profiles as coming from a number of different countries such as Germany, Sweden, the UK, Italy, Canada, USA. Notably, all of the countries were either within Europe or the USA this is useful in supporting my premise that in those locations gospel codes are tacitly recognised.

The second VVA source is SongFacts. This is a searchable database that contains facts and stories about popular music. This website has a page titled 'Songs with a Gospel Influence' compiled by its host team of writers. The team are based in the UK and USA. The page is constantly being updated, but at the time of writing, 144 songs have been identified as having a gospel influence. The writers use artist interviews and other verbal-visual associations that identify these songs as having a gospel influence. I also accessed two playlists on Spotify: 'Pop Songs with Gospel Choirs' and '12/8 Gospel and Soul'. The first playlist is self-explanatory, the second contains songs that feature the 12/8 gospel rhythmic pattern mentioned earlier in this chapter.

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3 https://www.stevehoffman.tv/
4 https://forums.stevehoffman.tv/threads/your-favorite-gospel-influenced-pop-songs.449300/page-3
Inevitably, there are some songs that are duplicated in these forums and lists. In my excel spreadsheet (see appendix C) these songs are tested against my list of topics to verify the extent of the presence of gospel code discussed in this chapter. The various musical features included in my table (see appendix C) have been explained above. In the following section I demonstrate the usefulness of the table through a mini analysis of the presence of these features in 'Will You Be There' by Michael Jackson.
Table 21 - Reduced example of appendix (Identifying Gospel Stylisation in Popular Music). Appendix C contains many more examples. Zoom in for clarity or alternatively print this page on A3
4.5: Case Study: Michael Jackson – 'Will You Be There'

Michael Jackson's album Dangerous was released in 1991. It contains three songs with an evident gospel influence, 'Heal the World', 'Will You Be There' and 'Keep the Faith'. There is not sufficient space in this dissertation to deal in detail with the wider context of this album recording, nor to analyse all of the gospel-influenced songs. Instead, I have selected one song, 'Will You Be There'. It was released as a single in 1993 and is recognised for its appearance on the soundtrack to the film Free Willy (1993). For this reason, it had a wide reach in popular culture. (N.B. all mention of 'Will You Be There' in this section pertain to the original 1991 recording).

4.5.1: Verbal-Visual Associations (VVA)¹

VVA's can be drawn from a variety of sources for this track. For example, journalist Chris Lacy notes 'Dangerous ascends skyward with the gospel fervour of "Will You Be There" and "Keep the Faith", buoyed by the majestic Andraé Crouch Choir. The former is a symphonic, heart-wrenching confession in which the shackles of Jackson's deepest insecurities snap and crash to the floor'. Equally, the categorisation of this song by various websites as 'gospel' perpetuates the idea that this song is in some way related to gospel music. For an example see the website Rate Your Music. The categorisation is pop, soul, gospel. The webpage also contains an unsolicited comment by a user on the same website who identifies the gospel sound:

¹ These are not the only songs in the Jackson catalogue with a gospel influence, for example Man in the Mirror (1987) contains the backing vocals from the gospel group The Winans and Andre Crouch's gospel choir.
² See for example these words written by journalist Mat Snow ‘He approaches his faith like Hollywood used to approach The Bible – with no expense spared and an opulent style non-believers find fascinatingly kitsch. Overtured by a mini-Mass of almost Beethovenian splendour courtesy The Andrae Crouch Singers, “Will You Be There” spotlights Jackson lip a-tremble and humble in the midst of a tune reminiscent of “Little Drummer Boy” (which The Jackson Five covered on a ’70s Christmas album). “Keep The Faith” echoes the Southern Baptist handclap, as the singer and chorus stoke up a righteous furnace of modern gospel fervour.’ ‘Michael Jackson: Dangerous. By Mat Snow: Articles, Reviews and Interviews from Rock’s Backpages.’, accessed 7 July 2021, https://www.rocksbackpages-com.bris.idm.oclc.org/Library/Article/michael-jackson-idangero
³ Michael Jackson, Will You Be There, Spotify Online Streaming (Motown Records, 1991), https://open.spotify.com/track/36O7qmyKLPwU6Wy6WWhm3c5si=12a41560e9664917.
⁴ ‘Verbal-visual association, more specifically a response to music, expressed in words and/or images.’ Tagg, Music’s Meanings, 606 See introduction for more on this.
I love the build-up to the gospel part but the latter part of the song with Michael whispering on the verge of crying up into the mic really kills any enjoyment I was having. Still, it's a nice song and sort of, almost remember hearing it when I saw Free Willy.7

The listener does not identify which of the features constitute the 'gospel sound'. But the presence of the 'gospel sound' observation is part of my theory that listeners rely on tacit knowledge to identify gospel. The remaining elements in this case study highlight exactly what the listener may be identifying as associated with gospel.

4.5.2: Presence of the Gospel Choir

The choir arrangement was the work of Andraé Crouch and his sister, Sandra Crouch. They were leading figures in gospel music, particularly in the 1970s – early 1990s. They were originally members of the Church of God in Christ denomination. The Crouches and their choral ensembles feature on many secular pop recordings. Perhaps one of the most important signifiers of gospel music in the Jackson track is the presence of the gospel choir.

4.5.3: Shouts

Shouts present throughout this track (including at time stamp 4:42 – 4:52) are reminiscent of the shouts often performed in gospel music. In gospel music and Pentecostal services these shouts are often an indication of straining for the transcendent and representative of a sense of eudaimonia. An example of this may be heard on the gospel song ‘Caught Up’ with Kirk Franklin and Shirley Caesar (see timestamp 2:42 – 2:50).8

4.5.4: Religious References and Lyrics

Many religious references can be identified for this track that point to a pluralistic paramusical field of connotation. The religious undertones begin (on the album version of this song) with the Cleveland Orchestra and Cleveland Orchestra Chorus performing part of the fourth movement of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. The Cleveland Orchestra Chorus sings the following words in German, here translated to English:

Do you bow down,

7 Ibid.
8 Kirk Franklin and Shirley Caesar, Caught Up, Spotify Online Streaming (GospoCentric, 2002), https://open.spotify.com/track/1CvwoAEi17W0b1f0ZgEblm.
Do you sense the Creator, world?
Seek Him beyond the starry canopy!
Beyond the stars must He dwell.

These words point to a search for God and they also contextualise the meaning of the rest of the song. This meaning is less accessible to an English-speaking audience because the lyrics are in German. It is rare for this portion of the song to be played on commercial radio. The more recognised version is the Free Willy version, which opens with the aforementioned iconic piano and electric piano chords and vocables (homophonic humming) from the gospel choir. In addition to this, the rest of the lyrics may be read in religious ways. 'Hold me like the River Jordan' is an explicit reference to a river that carries significance in both the Jewish and Christian faiths.

The river Jordan was significant because it is believed that by divine miracle Joshua, leader of Israel, followed in the footsteps of his predecessor Moses and parted this river to enter the promised land. Joshua is less well known than his predecessor, so this account is also less well-known. In addition, in the New Testament, Jordan is the river that Jesus Christ is baptised in by John the Baptist. Further, there are many other references to the river Jordan in the Christian tradition, not least the African American Spiritual 'Roll, Jordan, Roll'. These instances are sufficient to point out the religious context of the piece. The understanding that this song may be read as a search for God and his presence contextualises the following lyrics:

Hold me
Like the River Jordan
And I will then say to thee
You are my friend
Carry me

9 ‘Now the Jordan overflows its banks throughout the harvest season. But as soon as the priests carrying the ark reached the Jordan, their feet touched the water at its edge...The water flowing downstream into the Sea of the Arabah — the Dead Sea — was completely cut off, and the people crossed opposite Jericho. The priests carrying the ark of the Lord’s covenant stood firmly on dry ground in the middle of the Jordan, while all Israel crossed on dry ground until the entire nation had finished crossing the Jordan.’ Josh. 3:15-17 CSB.
10 ‘Then Jesus came from Galilee to John at the Jordan, to be baptized by him.’ Matthew 3:13 CSB.
Like you are my brother
Love me like a mother
Will you be there?
Weary, tell me will you hold me?
When wrong, will you scold me?
When lost will you find me?
But they told me
A man should be faithful
And walk when not able
And fight 'til the end, but I'm only human

Everyone's taking control of me
Seems that the world's got a role for me
I'm so confused will you show it to me
You'll be there for me
And care enough to bear me

These words then seem to indicate a search for God, in particular a God who will comfort, and essentially, 'be there' for Jackson.

4.5.5: Interjections, Textual Interpolations and Vocables

In this song there are many interjections and textual interpolations. Interjections and textual interpolations are (as Andrew Legg notes) the insertion of 'acclamatory phrases such as 'Hallelujah', 'O Lord' and 'Yes child' to punctuate the natural call and response structure of the gospel song. Interjections are rhythmically significant and allow the gospel singers to emphasise or add their 'agreement' to a preceding lyric phrase. Additionally, gospel singers use interjections to connect lyric lines or reinterpret and personalise lyrics in a song. There are examples of interjections and textual interpolation on 'Will You Be There' at timestamp 2:41-2:47 or 4:13 – 4:30. These features are a staple on gospel recordings; again see 'Caught Up' with Kirk Franklin and Shirley Caesar (timestamp 4:34 – 4:55).

The use of vocables is extensive on 'Will You Be There' (see timestamp 2:00 – 2:11). Vocables are a significant part of gospel music and Pentecostal expression in worship. 'Groanings that cannot be uttered' are acknowledged as part of the mysterious working of the spirit in church.

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services. This may manifest itself in hums, moans, oohs and ahs. These may be melodic as well as non-melodic (see for example Kirk Franklin and Rance Allen, 'Something About the Name Jesus' timestamp 4:30 – 4:53).

4.5.6: Melodic Improvisation

On his track, Jackson sometimes strays from the original melody and improvises using alternative notes and changing the rhythmic emphasis of his vocal lines see timestamp 3:46 – 4:06. Although it is subtle in this track, there are many parallels in gospel music. Melodic improvisation (whether by voice or another instrument) is often a key sign of the inspiration of the spirit in gospel performances. From Mahalia Jackson to Yolanda Adams, melodic improvisation keeps the audience interested and inspires the congregation to worship.

4.5.7: Texture - Gospel Intensification

Though audio compression is a ubiquitous part of pop and gospel recording there is a perceived wide dynamic range on the track. This is partially due to the building of various textures. This building of textures and change of timbres gives the effect of intensification mentioned earlier in this chapter. 'Will You Be There' transitions from acapella vocals in the opening (0:00 – 2:00) to solo vocals accompanied by piano, strings, shaker, sidestick and kick drum in the verse (timestamp 2:12 – 2:34). The song reaches its climax with the chest register vocals from Michael Jackson and a full gospel choir in three parts with additional clapping. This gospel intensification serves the purpose of drawing the listener into encountering ecstasy through a non-identifiable deity or (more often) a specific emotional feeling such as love. The intensification is also symbolised through three modulations, symbolising that one is 'going higher' in the spiritual realm. This is an oft used technique in gospel music (see for example Kurt Carr's 'Sanctuary').

4.5.8: Homorhythmic Harmonies, Three-Part Gospel Harmonies

On 'Will You Be There', one can hear examples of the idiomatic three-part harmonies explained earlier see figure 11. The song is in the key of D major and the harmonies shift between various inversions of D major and E minor, steadily moving up the diatonic scale. One can hear

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12 See Romans 8:26 ‘In the same way, the Spirit helps us in our weakness. We do not know what we ought to pray for, but the Spirit himself intercedes for us through wordless groans’. New International Version.

13 Kirk Franklin, Something About the Name Jesus, Spotify Online Streaming (GospoCentric, 1998), https://open.spotify.com/track/0bGyh9iwb3T1ecktPNxwX2s?si=e44172691bec433f.

the different inversions in the choral harmony but also in the piano and electric piano parts (see figure 22).

![Slightly Swung](image)

*Figure 22 - Gospel harmony in 'Will You Be There'.*

4.5.9: Presence of Organ, Piano, Electric Bass, Drum Kit, Clapping and Tambourine

The choice of these instruments in this combination representing gospel music was explained earlier in this chapter. Here I simply note their presence (and the exclusion of tambourine and organ). The absence of these two instruments does not affect the overall impression of gospel stylisation given because of the degree to which the other instruments are utilised and foregrounded. This is especially true of the clapping on the second and fourth beat as well as the gospel harmonies played by the piano.

4.5.10: Call-Response between Intimate-Personal and Social-Public

Finally, at the climax of the track, one can hear the call-response between the spatialisations of the intimate-personal and social-public. It is most evident at timestamp 3:56 – 5:17, at this point Jackson occupies the intimate-personal space (close-miked and just heard above both the music and the choir). Jackson takes the role of the preacher testifying and punctuating the song with interjections and exhortations while the choir occupy the social-public environment and offer their response to Jackson's exhortations as a quasi-congregation. In contrast to Jackson's lead vocal, they are heard through the room and overhead mics. They are also heard as an ensemble as opposed to individual voices. This Call-Response dialogue is part of the common-union process explicated earlier.

With these insights I have shown how the table in appendix C might operate in a more detailed way. It is possible for me to offer readings of each of the songs mentioned in my table in the manner that I have for 'Will You Be There'. The presence of various features on the songs listed in the table are indicative of gospel stylisation. The degree to which these features are foregrounded varies but I am arguing that their presence is evocative of a paramusical field of connotation for listeners in the UK or the USA occupying this secular, age.
4.6: Conclusion

The release of Edwin Hawkins' 'Oh Happy Day' and Aretha Franklin's *Amazing Grace* album proved to be a seminal moment for gospel entering the public consciousness between 1971 – 1975. The features presented on those albums and identified in this chapter did much to increase tacit knowledge of gospel music in the social imaginary. My identification of these features is the codification of the implicit, subsidiary knowledge that resides in collective public consciousness about what gospel music sounds like. Bringing this knowledge to focal integration aids in answering my overall dissertation question regarding why gospel musicians often cross from gospel to popular music. The shared store of signs identified in this chapter is valued within pop music as evidenced by the VVAs within appendix C. This observation is also supported by the many VVAs referenced throughout this thesis.
CHAPTER 5: SEMIOTICS: SIGNS, MEANING AND SACRED-SECULAR CROSSEOVERS

You know when you're watching churches, and a lady or a man in the choir just takes it away, and it's just like, flipping heck, and everyone just feels it in their soul? I was like, 'I want someone to do that. I want someone to come and take this tune where I can't take it.'

-- Stormzy (UK Grime artist).

In this chapter my semiotic theoretical framework forms the basis for examining the meaning of gospel signs. This is done through three case studies: Bishop T.D. Jakes' sermon *The Power of an Instrument* (2020), Beverly Knight's cover of George Michael's 'One More Try' (2011), and Stormzy's Glastonbury performance of 'Blinded by Your Grace' (2019). These case studies demonstrate the application in 'a secular age' of my Peircean triangle (see section 2.1). The Beverly Knight and Stormzy studies also demonstrate how a paramusical field of connotation is evoked by gospel signs, and I discuss the implications for this within a secular age. I deliberately begin with the semiotic field of the initiated Pentecostal church listener. By examining what music can mean within the enchanted Pentecostal environment one can observe how pluralistic parallels may be evoked in a secular age, as demonstrated in the later examples.

Following the discussion in chapter 3 about the Americanisation of BBG, I include Jakes' exposition as an example that may be applied to both majority-black British and majority-black American Pentecostal congregational contexts. This first study takes the form of a mini discourse analysis. I have broken this sermon into three main themes: music as atmosphere, music as warfare, and music as sign. By analysing the text of this sermon (both the accompanying music and the spoken evangelistic message) I provide a hermeneutic for Pentecostal music. This should guide the reader in understanding music's meaning for BBG musicians with a Pentecostal background who crossover to secular music.

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2 Jakes has been invited to the UK to preach on numerous occasions by black British Pentecostal denominations. Although there is often not the budget for such elaborate presentation as the one shown in Jakes' sermon, I have been in many black British majority Pentecostal services that carry the same theological sentiments about the power of music. Jakes' exposition would not be unusual to Pentecostals across the African diaspora (and arguably beyond).

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My second case study (Beverly Knight) is an illustration of a black British gospel singer who has crossed over and is skilled in using gospel signs to evoke a paramusical field of connotation in popular music. I complicate this discussion by suggesting that although George Michael was never explicit about the gospel stylisation of his song 'One More Try', the gospel intent can be heard on the original by the initiated listener. I contend that Beverly Knight successfully reads those signs in the original song and demonstrates this in a more explicitly gospel stylised performance. My final case study of Stormzy's performance utilises verbal-visual associations (VVAs) to support my theory that pluralistic paramusical fields of connotation are evoked when a gospel song enters secular pop music environments. This is supported by showing the intertextual elements of the performance and examining the importance of intersubjectivity as outlined in my theoretical framework.

5.1: Codal Competence

Gospel music is mainly an oral tradition. Consequently, within this community, the notated score is not usually considered the reification of the text. Instead, gospel music has followed the same development trajectory as pop music in that the 'primary mode of storage and dissemination' is in the form of audio and visual recording. Gospel music is a culturally specific sign system. Like pop music, the capacity of gospel music to carry meaning relies on the existence of a shared store of signs among participants. The shared heritage of gospel and pop music has resulted in a store of musical signs (some of which may have changed meaning over time) that carry significance for the producers and consumers of this music. My discussion of codal competence supports my theory that there is a Gospel-Pop Bridge of Mutual Exchange (see section 1.6). Using the language of Tagg, there are two types of musical communication failure that can occur in the context of gospel-pop crossovers; codal incompetence and codal interference. These communication 'failures' are some of the ways in which signs from gospel music can be appropriated in pop music where they acquire a different meaning or function and vice versa.

We are aware that social groups, tribes and communities are often formed around preferences for different styles of music. The word 'intersubjectivity', as coined by Edmund

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3 Philip Tagg, *Music’s Meanings: A Modern Musicology for Non-Musos* (Huddersfield: The Mass Media Music Scholars’ Press Inc., 2013), 149. The growth of music streaming platforms and social media over the past 15 years has taken gospel music in fruitful directions. This is especially true of gospel music oral education with the growth of YouTube channels such as Pretty Simple Music where musicians (keyboardists) can learn to play gospel music orally (from beginner level to fairly advanced).

4 Codal incompetence happens if the transmitter and receiver do not share the same store of sign (including their meanings); it can occur at the transmitting and receiving ends of the communication process. Codal interference arises when transmitter and receiver do share the same store of signs and their meanings but do not translate those meanings in the same way. Differences in sociocultural values often cause codal interference. See Tagg, 192.
Husserl, can describe the interexchange of shared thoughts and feelings between two persons as facilitated by empathy.\(^5\) In the act of musicking, one might speak of intersubjectivity as being an occasion where at least two individuals experience music in a similar way.\(^6\) The intersubjective element in black British gospel and black American gospel musicking forms part of the basis for the transcendent experience for which performers and listeners both aim. This common-union of a gospel music audience over a musical text exists because of the shared store of signs.\(^7\) The focus on intersubjectivity supports my theory about common-union and the semiotic production of musical meaning. To confirm musical meaning within the Pentecostal environment attention is given to the receiver response. In other words, the reception of the Pentecostal congregation is part of my focus for the case studies to follow. I then examine musical meaning outside of a church environment claiming that gospel code is understood differently in non-church spaces.

Establishing connotative intersubjectivity requires observation of the shared responses to a musical text (see section 1.7).\(^8\) This can happen through the visible physical response of the individual to the text, e.g. applause, smiling, shouting.\(^9\) The ability to read these responses accurately (socially and culturally) is a skill required for an accurate understanding of semiosis in gospel music contexts.\(^10\) Tagg notes that responses can also happen ‘through the mediation of words describing what the listeners see, feel, imagine or otherwise associate to when hearing a particular piece or extract.’\(^11\) The responses I observe are unguided, meaning that the recipients have not been asked to provide a response to the musical text, but they are observed responding to the music in the cultural setting for it. The responses are then gathered from online comments made by observants and real-time video footage. These responses are verbal-visual associations (VVAs).\(^12\)

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\(^7\) I am proposing this word as another way of describing intersubjectivity. It allows for a religious undertone ‘communion’, ‘common-union’. This points to a theological expression from Greek (Koinonia) which is at the heart of musicking in Christian worship services. Koinonia meaning fellowship or communion, with God or, more commonly, with other individuals.

\(^8\) ‘Connotative intersubjectivity involves indirect observations about shared responses to music.’ Tagg, *Music’s Meanings*, 200.

\(^9\) For example, it is said that at the premiere of Stravinsky’s *Rite of Spring* there was much consternation and there is historical speculation over whether a riot broke out. The composer himself relates that ‘mild protests against the music…could be heard from the beginning’. See Tom Service, ‘The Rite of Spring: “The Work of a Madman”’, *The Guardian*, 12 February 2013, sec. Music, https://www.theguardian.com/music/2013/feb/12/rite-of-spring-stravinsky.

\(^10\) My understanding of this environment is the result of over 30 years of musical training within this cultural and religious context.


\(^12\) Specifically, a response to music expressed in words or images captured on a variety of platforms from interviews to social media comments. Tagg, 606.
Shared VVAs are an indication of intersubjectivity and thus produce what one might refer to as paramusical fields of connotation (PMFCs). PMFCs are fields of implied meaning related to the musical discourse without being structurally intrinsic to that discourse. A PMFC is a semantic field relating to identifiable music structures. In other words, this supports the theory that there are certain signs within gospel music that (through connotative intersubjectivity) point to and sometimes produce my interpretant. In order to better illustrate this point, I provide a modified version of a diagram from Tagg (see figure 23). I have avoided using the words 'Analysis Object' and opted instead for 'Musical Text'. This is to avoid confusion with the object in my Peircean triangle.

![Diagram of Musical Text, Intersubjectivity, Paramusical Fields of Connotation](image)

*Figure 23 - Intersubjectivity over a musical text produces paramusical fields of connotation.*

5.2: A case study of TD Jakes' Sermon

In this section, by means of a case study, I use the above model (see figure 23) to demonstrate musical meaning within black-Pentecostal spaces. The musical text to be scrutinised is a sermon of Bishop T.D. Jakes called *The Power of an Instrument*.


Bishop Thomas Dexter (T.D.) Jakes, born in 1957, is a black Charismatic pastor of a mega-church called 'Potters House' in Dallas, Texas. Jakes is an international figure whose ministry began within the Pentecostal church in the 1980s, specifically the Apostolic church. The title of 'Bishop' was conferred on him by the church to which he was affiliated. Jakes founded his current non-

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13 Tagg, 229.
15 Apostolic’s speak in tongues and teach that the power of God is available to all believers. And like most traditional Pentecostal churches, Apostolic churches are generally sectarian in nature and shun “worldly” pleasures like watching movies and dancing to secular music, while emphasizing the necessity of living a sanctified or holy life’. Lee, 22–23.
16 The ‘Higher Ground Always Abounding Assembly’ is an association of almost 200 Pentecostal Churches, this organisation conferred the title of Bishop on T.D. Jakes he continues to be affiliated with them.
denominational church, The Potter’s House. In 1996 it had 30,000 members across five campuses in Dallas, Fort Worth, North Dallas, Denver and Los Angeles. The campuses are linked by satellite video. Jakes has authored several best-selling books and remains associated with Word of Faith and prosperity theology. Jakes’ interactions with Pentecostal theology inform his views on music. I summarise these views briefly here.

Essentially, the popular Pentecostal view on using instruments in worship relies on a literal interpretation of Psalm 150. This Psalm instructs individuals to use a variety of instruments to praise God during worship. Much Pentecostal theology about music is also based on a particular reading of the Levitical priesthood from the old testament. In summary, many Pentecostals believe that the Levites, who were one of the twelve tribes of Israel, were tasked with the care of the presence of God in the temple or tabernacle. Of particular importance to Pentecostals is the use of instruments by the Levites within worship. The act of playing instruments and singing are viewed as conduits for the presence of God. Scriptures such as Psalm 22:3 are used to support these views.

The task of the Levite is of utmost importance within black-Pentecostal worship services. The musician in the modern worship service is often seen as the modern equivalent of the Levite. Many Pentecostal leaders and worship leaders catechise their congregations this way so that it is not unusual for music to play a central role within the service. Music is used as a means to keep the congregants focused on God. Pentecostal leaders often catechise their congregants by expositing on a well-known set of biblical texts related to music. Often this involves the evocation of the desired response from the congregants in order to demonstrate appropriate participation in the act of semiosis. This is one of the main ways musical meaning is established and maintained within the Pentecostal community. Implied within this (for Pentecostal church musicians) is an understanding of certain musical stylisation techniques and their place within the service. For example, ‘shout music’ used when the preacher reaches the climax of the sermon. Or, ‘talk music’ used for accompanying speakers or filling gaps in the service (Ashton Crawley has referred to it as ‘nothing music’).
in the mind of the initiated listener. This is a small example of how my Peircean theory can be used to demonstrate the semiotic process in Pentecostal settings (see section 2.1).

5.2.2: Musical Text - Jakes' Sermon – The Power of an Instrument

It is common for Jakes to preach sermons over an hour in length, and this example is no exception. The total sermon length is 1 hour and 30 mins in which he moves from preaching for 1 hour to conducting a 30-minute appeal (also known as an altar call). Jakes is not an expository preacher. Instead, he is a topical preacher, and many of his sermons (in terms of style and content) could easily place him in the category of a pop psychology motivational speaker. His sermons often use themes within the bible to deal (some would argue at a simplistic or superficial level) with mental health issues, prosperity and the ideals of the American dream.

An analysis of the whole sermon as musical text would be too lengthy for my thesis. Instead, I have chosen three key themes that exemplify Pentecostal theology on music: music and atmospheres, music and spiritual warfare, and music as sign. I include timestamped discussions of Jakes’ words, in most cases transcribed directly from the sermon. I include observations on the words and music Jakes uses. I then comment on the semiotic process at work as my Peircean framework applies to that theme. I also offer observations (based on figure 23) on intersubjectivity and the paramusical fields of connotation being built within this environment. Jakes' text is 1 Samuel 16:14-23, one of the popular texts used in Pentecostal theology when addressing music. Note that Jakes has enlisted the help of a professional harpist for this sermon to illustrate David's role on the harp before King Saul. It is not usual to have a harp in a Pentecostal service.

5.2.3: Music and Atmospheres

Charismatic and Pentecostal preachers often reference the way that music affects the atmosphere. When they use the word 'atmosphere' it carries a double meaning. It includes the emotional environment of the individuals present, but it is also a metonym for the 'spiritual atmosphere'. In other words, it includes the pre-secular enchanted understanding of the spiritual realm of angels and demons. In this realm it is considered that the Christian musician produces

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23 Members of the congregation are appealed to in order to receive prayer at the front of the auditorium.
24 This biblical text is about a King named Saul who was tormented by an evil spirit, a request is made for David (shepherd boy but also future king of Israel) to play music for Saul in order to help drive the evil spirit away.
26 In making some distinctions between the enchanted and disenchanted world, Taylor describes the enchanted world as the ‘world of spirits, demons, and moral forces’. Taylor, A Secular Age, 26.
'good' music that carries the presence of God to the people. The music is intended to overcome the atmosphere of darkness produced and ruled by Satan. The following transcribed words from Jakes' sermon serve to illustrate the point.

**Transcription [27:00 – 30:00]** Jakes describes King Saul as, '…dark and dank and evil and breaking stuff and throwing javelins and being an idiot, schizo and they sent for David. Saul was unbearable to be around, and David had magic in his fingers. When David played [he gestures to the harpist on stage to begin playing. She improvises using minor triadic arpeggios] …when he just played, when he stroked it, when he touched it ...the evil spirits departed. [**Response** - meets with a round of applause, shouts of approval].

![Harpist improvises at Jakes’ request during his sermon The Power of an Instrument.](image)

**Transcription [32:34 – 32:42]** 'Touch three people and tell them something's about to happen, God is about to change the atmosphere'. Jakes repeats this four times. [**Response** - congregation obliges].

**Transcription [33:10 – 33:16]** – '…What we come to understand is that David entertains God's presence with music.' All the way through this part of the sermon, the harp is being played. Jakes also gestures as if he is a harp player, eyes closed, imitating the harpist – indicating to the audience that he is entertaining the presence of God. [**Response** - screams, shouts, clapping].

In these moments, Jakes teaches the congregation at Potter's House (which seats 8,000 and appears to be packed) several key points about music and worship. He reads the biblical text and interprets Saul's condition as one of mental illness using the pejorative term 'schizo', applying
it to Saul's case. He proposes that music was the cure for Saul's ailment. Referring to the music as 'magic' synecdochically evokes in the collective imaginary of the congregation the idea of the spiritual realm. The reception of the congregation indicates that they have understood Jakes' message. To support his argument the music is consistently playing in the background while Jakes speaks. These responses also allow the observant to see (using VVA) that intersubjectivity or common-union is taking place, and with it a paramusical field of connotation is being constructed. That is to say, this explanation of the biblical text has produced in the congregation a PMFC where the sound of music played by a person 'chosen by God' connotes a conduit for the powers of exorcism, the presence of God.27

5.2.4: Music and Warfare

It is common in wider evangelicalism to recognise the act of praising God (vocally and with instruments) as being a weapon against evil. This is not a position unique to Pentecostals.28 The foundation for this theology is found in many places in the bible, but preachers will often refer to 2 Chronicles 20:1–25 or Acts 16:16-40.29 The communal act of praising God (often associated with music and singing) invoking the presence of God for the believing participant. Within the context of this section, this view of music and warfare serves to support my Peircean theory (see chapter 2, figure 5). The focus is on the object (God), the music and singing is used as a sign to evoke the interpretant in the mind of the believer.

Transcription [34:10 – 35:05] 'You have to understand that it is not David's fighting that brings him to the palace, it is his music. His music summons the presence of God and wherever the spirit of the Lord is… [expects them to finish the phrase with 'there is liberty']'.

[Response - waving hands, shouting, some individuals have eyes closed, others are visibly excited, running in the auditorium and dancing. Jakes instructs the congregation 'dance David dance' at

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27 There are all kinds of problems with this kind of terminology. However, in this religious context it is best to understand 'chosen by God' as meaning a professing Christian musician.
28 The following well known sermon (among American reformed evangelicals) by the Calvinist minister John Piper is an illustration of this point. 'Ambushing Satan with Song', Desiring God, 20 January 1985, https://www.desiringgod.org/messages/ambushing-satan-with-song.
29 The 2 Chronicles 20:1–25 account refers to King Jehoshaphat whose people were to be ambushed by the Moabites. After a prayer, King Jehoshaphat is instructed not respond as God will fight the battle for His nation. Instead, Jehoshaphat worships God along with the rest of the nation, the Levites play musical instruments and sing. Whilst the singing is taking place Jehoshaphat’s enemies are sent into confusion and destroy themselves. Acts 16:16-40 relates Luke’s account of Paul and Silas who were imprisoned for preaching about Jesus. The account relates that when they began singing praises to God an earthquake occurred which caused not only Paul and Silas but all the prisoners to be freed. Though they did not immediately leave the prison but instead took it as an occasion to continue speaking about Christ to their jailers.
this point [35:00 – 35:05] the musicians are also waving hands and shouting, indicating acceptance of the interpretation of scripture.

Figure 25 - Physical responses to Jakes’ exhortations about the power of music while the harpist continues to play.

Transcription [36:59 – 38:19] 'I knew the slingshot was a weapon, but this is a weapon too this is a weapon against the enemy. This is just as much a weapon as the slingshot was [Jakes points to the harp] the weapons of our warfare are not carnal but mighty through God for the pulling down of strongholds. It might not look like a weapon, but praise is a weapon…'.

Transcription [38:19 – 40:25] Jakes then reads Psalm 150 and reaches one of the climaxes of the sermon ‘somebody just praise him in the sanctuary’.

[Response - people start shouting and clapping, tambourines being played, euphoric responses, eudaimonia].

Transcription [40:50 – 41:15] 'That is the sound that drives back the enemy. That is the sound that prepares the stage for what God is about to do next. That is the sound that brings healing to the body, peace to your mind, joy to your soul. That is a sound that calms your worried spirit. That is the sound that deflects the witch the soothsayer no weapon formed against you shall…'.

[Response - euphoria hands raised, crying and shouting].
Through modelled examples, Jakes has taught the congregation how music should be used as a weapon against evil. The act of musicking during worship is (through intersubjectivity) used pedagogically to construct a PMFC. The intersubjectivity is demonstrated through the majority of VVA's in the video. This PMFC consists of an understanding that music can be used for mental wellbeing. But in this context music also evokes an understanding of the spiritual realm and music's place in it. The modelled responses by Jakes in the form of gesticulation and facial expressions are accepted within the congregation. The congregations' responses also indicate the acceptable responses to the music within this cultural milieu. The presence of music in the Pentecostal environment acts as a synecdoche for the presence of God. It is my observation that these responses are not dissimilar to the reaction of fans in some secular pop concert environments, as will be seen in my Stormzy case study. The responses indicate how the Pentecostal worship environment might prepare a musician for crossover into secular environments where euphoric reactions to the artist and performance are common.

5.2.5: Music as Sign

During sermons with themes similar to Jakes', Pentecostal preachers will often take the opportunity to distinguish between sacred and secular music. Jakes also does this, implying that musicians who play for secular artists do not praise God when they play their instruments. He also implies that there are a variety of music styles that can be used in praise to God. Each musician is called on to 'praise God' on their instrument. The two keyboard players use Western art music influenced triads in an open drop-2 voicing for their 'demonstration of praise'. The drummer plays improvised R&B and then salsa patterns, the guitarist plays soulful riffs reminiscent of the style of Jubu Smith, Spanky Alford and Isaiah Sharkey. These demonstrations are a show of musical competency.

The musicians' short demonstrations of 'praise' indicate that exhibiting skill in different stylisations is important in black-Pentecostal worship. The musicians show codal competence by being keenly aware of what musical choices will evoke the appropriate response from the crowd. Another way of putting this might be that it would not necessarily have been acceptable for the guitarist to play an Indian Raga. The risk in doing this would have been that the recipients did not share the same store of cultural signs to respond appropriately. Consequently, the semiotic process

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30 In this case the open drop 2 voicings are triads played in the right hand in various inversions but the second note of the triad is removed and placed in the left hand, an octave below.

31 Smith, Alford and Sharkey are soul guitarists best known for their work with artists such as D'Angelo, Erykah Badu and Tweet.
would be incomplete, and the correct PMFC would not be produced. The following two transcriptions illustrate this:

**Transcription [47:25 – 49:38]** 'What separates you from Beyoncé’s drummer or Michael Jackson’s drummer or someone else's drummer is, whenever you play on the high-sounding cymbals you are giving praise to God. Give him just a little bit of praise ... [drummer improvises a standard R&B pattern on the drum kit] – [Response - more euphoria from the congregation] In the Kingdom when you play every time you think about something God did for you.....every time you think about where God brought you from if you don't say a word, if the choir don't sing, if they don't write a lyric, play something ....[Response - drummer plays a virtuosic intro and moves into an improvised salsa pattern] God understands what that means, God understands what you are trying to tell him.'

![Figure 26 - Drummer responds to Jakes' request to 'give God praise'.](image)

**Transcription [53:17 – 54:46]** 'We did it in a loose fashion, now we gon' do it like we do it, we're gon' throw our culture in it, we're gon' throw our own individual culture into it and we gon' rock that thing for just a minute'.

[Response - musicians play a pre-planned gospel-funk groove based on a dominant 7th chord; musicians use the Mixolydian mode to improvise. Jakes then begins dancing and clapping. Euphoria from the crowd, praising and shouting.... raising of hands].
Note first that, in transcription 47:25-49:38, Jakes teaches the congregation to associate his musicians' charismatic and improvised responses with the interpretant from my Peircean triangle. This is important because these gospel musicians demonstrate proficiency in many styles. They do not opt for traditional gospel stylisations to evoke the interpretant. This is important in supporting my conceptual framework regarding sacred-secular, gospel-pop crossovers. That is to say, although the Pentecostal church has voiced its displeasure at its musicians playing secular music, secular stylisations in Christian settings seem to be acceptable provided that it is perceived as praise to God. This point will become more relevant when I address the example of Bishop Lester Love at the end of this case study. Secondly, Jakes is also modelling the fact that in Pentecostal culture, playing an instrument is not only an act of praise but an act of communication with God.  

In transcription 53:17 - 54:46, Jakes takes the discussion of sign even further by implying that the stylisation that the musicians produce is also an act of praise that connotes the presence of God. He calls the stylisation 'our culture'. One may read this as meaning the church culture, but he also implies ethnic undertones as he moves towards a black-vernacular style of speech. The drummer produces a go-go rhythmic pattern and is followed by the musicians who improvise in a gospel-based funk groove. The PMFC produced by this particular sign contributes to the collective understanding and Jakes' overarching polemic that these musical expressions point towards the interpretant.

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32 It is common in Pentecostal environments for wordless communication such as groans, moans and indeed the playing of instruments to be considered acts of prayer. This assumption is based on an interpretation of biblical texts such as Romans 8:26, 'in the same way the Spirit also helps us in our weakness, because we do not know what to pray for as we should, but the Spirit himself intercedes for us with inexpressible groanings' CSB

5.2.6: Observations and Implications of Jakes' Sermon for Semiosis in Gospel-Pop Crossovers

The above transcriptions and semiotic discussions support my theory that there are certain signs within Pentecostal worship environments that (through connotative intersubjectivity) point to and sometimes produce the interpretant (i.e. the idea of God and the transcendent). The mastery of these signs is critical for the gospel musician. Musicians understand this code within Pentecostal environments and are able to code-switch outside of the church environment by changing lyrics and applying these signs to secular songs.

Bishop Lester Love provides an example of the complexities of changing lyrics to secular songs.34 The context for his performance is that he is demonstrating to the congregation that secular love songs can be taken and used in worship as long as one changes the lyrics. He explains that he 'take[s] love songs, not songs about making love, but love songs and we convert them into love songs to God, which is really worship. So, if you see somebody that is a real worshipper you also see somebody who understands the concept of love'. In this example the church musicians are prepared to play various secular love songs (Alicia Keys' 'If I Ain't Got You', Luther Vandross' 'Always and Forever', Peaches & Herb's 'Reunited'). The written responses of the viewers of this video indicate both codal interference and codal competence. Some viewers understand and accept Lester Love's intent; one listener says 'he met the people where they were and got everyone [sic] mind and heart set on Jesus. You call it what you want but I saw people worshipping God'.35 Conversely, some viewers share the same store of signs but codal interference takes place. For example, another listener says 'you can talk about love in church, but why do we have to use worldly songs to get the point across? Touch not the unclean thing' (see appendix H for other examples of codal interference and codal competence). This is because they are unable to produce the final interpretant, likely because of the association of these songs with secular themes.

5.3: Case Study of Beverly Knight's 'One More Try'

The example of Bishop Lester Love contextualises my more extensive case study of Beverly Knight. Knight is a British singer who learned to master gospel signs within the black-Pentecostal environment. Although she is no longer affiliated with the church, she is explicit about her use of these signs in the field of pop music. Beverly Knight is an established British singer who

35 See appendix H for examples of codal interference and codal competence.
has experienced success in UK popular music. Her career demonstrates the viability of the theory that runs throughout this thesis, namely that black gospel musicians and singers build a vocabulary of semiotic codal competence in their field, which they can then apply in secular pop settings. She has been a professional singer since 1994. She was signed to EMI controlled record label Parlophone for a number of years; Knight has had four albums in the top 10 in the UK official charts.

Knight has also been nominated for or received 9 MOBO awards, 4 Brit Awards and a Mercury Prize. Additionally, she has received an MBE for lifetime services to music. Knight has also received an honorary Doctorate from Wolverhampton University for her contributions to music. She sang at the 2012 Paralympic opening ceremony, supported Prince at the O2 Arena and performed at Prince's Oscars party, where she received a standing ovation from Quincy Jones. To date she has 121,000 followers on the social media platform Twitter and so wields a significant level of influence among loyal fans. These accolades are mentioned to provide evidence of Knight's competence and reach as a black British singer.

Knight was born to Jamaican parents in Wolverhampton, where she grew up. Homelife for Knight was a strict Pentecostal environment where secular music was frowned upon. Her local church was the place of her first musical training. She states, 'it was an evangelical church where any music talent was seized on quickly, and you were pushed up there to the front of the pulpit'. Knight began in the church choir at the age of four and eventually became the church music director. She later completed a degree in religious theology and philosophy at the University of Gloucester.

Knight's understanding of the process of semiosis in black gospel is deep-rooted. She speaks of her music experience in church, 'the congregation was the first time I experienced music that moved me. I saw how singing a worshipful hymn could stimulate such powerful feelings that it brought people even closer to God. Music wasn't just a passion, it enveloped me. I've argued with the dogma of the Christian faith, but I believe music was a path chosen for me — and God

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38 ‘Beverley Knight on Growing up with Gospel Music and Working with Superstar Prince’.

39 Ibid.
is guiding it. "My steps are ordered by the Lord."

Knight's experience is part of the pedagogy she received in black gospel semiosis. It is important to note that my Peircean triangle fits this scenario. She was receiving the interpretant, and the musical text was the signifier in the semiotic process. Her later comments about 'God guiding' her path indicate her worldview and the part that her performance plays. By evoking the biblical words of Psalm 37:23 the implication is that her career is a divine calling.

Knight began to write her own songs at the age of 17. During an interview, she remembers these songs 'were not' gospel, 'they were' secular. My faith still fed into my music, as it did for artists I admire, like Marvin Gaye, Prince, Aretha Franklin. I did my degree — in religious studies — though I knew I would sing. Here Knight demonstrates that she follows the tradition of many gospel-pop crossover artists allowing faith to influence her musical output but being able to code-switch to appeal to wider audiences. This code-switching may be a play on lyrics. For example, Knight sometimes uses lyrics that speak of human love relationships while using the musical signifiers that would be regularly employed in a black Pentecostal church worship setting (gravel tone, call-response and falsetto). In an interview with The Guardian newspaper, Knight expounds on how she learned this from Prince: 'Prince goes back to me listening to preachers when I was a child, who tell a story to illustrate a point...the first song I heard by him was 'Little Red Corvette', when I was nine. Of course, I didn't have a clue about what he was singing about; the sexuality is implicit, and I love that'.

Knight and her mother do not employ the language of semiotics, but they note that (in their experience) the black sacred music tradition has a particular way of dealing with sacred-secular crossovers. Knight's mother recounts the local church view on secular performance, 'singing was purely for the church. You didn't sing in a secular way; they would be down on you. You'd be out'. Although doctrinally there was a difference between sacred and secular in the church, the lines have constantly been blurred among black musicians. Knight is an example of an artist who was able to successfully use the musical signs she had learned in church in a pop environment.
5.3.1: Historical Context of 'One More Try'

'One More Try' was originally recorded by George Michael, a British pop singer who had formerly been part of the pop group 'Wham'\(^4\). The song was from his debut solo album entitled 'Faith' released on Columbia Records in 1987. It is a ballad 5 mins 50 secs in length, which is unconventional for a pop song.\(^4\) The song is about a love relationship where an individual relates the difficulty of re-igniting a romantic relationship because of past hurt. Before the song ends, hope for the relationship is offered as George Michael sings 'maybe just one more try', the only time these words are heard in the song.

On the original performance many signifiers point to gospel music and the transcendent. One can observe the gospel stylisation that George Michael included in his composition (this is discussed in section 5.3.3. I have also included this data in my gospel codes table; see appendix C). Although Michael was never explicit about his gospel intent (and it may not have been evident to uninitiated listeners), Beverly Knight correctly interprets the gospel codes that George Michael has placed within the track and foregrounds the gospel vocal stylisation by including more gospel techniques. George Michael often had black British gospel musicians on his tours, notably keyboardist Luke Smith and guitarist Mike Brown.\(^4\) Significant for this thesis within the broader theme of a pluralistic secular\(^3\) age, Mike Brown relates that George Michael would regularly pray with him and with other band members before they would perform. Brown even led prayers on the tour at the request of George Michael.\(^4\)

5.3.1: Lyrics

The title of George Michael's debut album, Faith, suggests notions of the religious even though the overriding themes are about sexual and romantic connections. The title song 'Faith'\(^4\) opens with a church pipe organ hinting at the religious undertones for the album. The song includes a hook repeating the phrase 'I gotta have faith'. The song 'Hand to Mouth'\(^4\) also includes

\(^4\) George Michael, One More Try - Remastered, Spotify Online Streaming (Sony Music Entertainment UK Limited, 1987), https://open.spotify.com/track/5932kbyNt445gDTT2chRUS.
\(^4\) The song made it to number one on the Billboard Hot 100.
\(^4\) George Michael, Faith - Remastered, Spotify Online Streaming (Sony Music Entertainment UK Limited, 1987), https://open.spotify.com/track/0HEmznUT8PHznIAmVXqFJ.
lyrics that reference the religious, 'I believe in the gods of America, I believe in the land of the free but no one told me, That the gods believe in nothing, So with empty hands I pray, And from day to hopeless day, They still don't see me'. These songs on the same album as 'One More Try' build a case for George Michael having an implied religious intention with this album. Though the album is not about the explicit promotion of a particular religious view, some songs on the album incorporate notions of the transcendent in the lyrics.

When one examines the lyrics to 'One More Try' (see appendix D) it is clear that this song is about the struggle to recommit after being hurt by a lover. However, a person initiated into the vocabulary of Catholic or Protestant theology might concede that this song could be interpreted differently. This song is about the relationship of a heartbroken person with another whom George Michael refers to as 'teacher'. It is not a stretch to appreciate that this song could be interpreted as a person's difficult and conflicted relationship of faith in Christ. This interpretation carries parallels with the parable of the prodigal son.

The individual in the song has come to the end of unfulfilling relationships; the opening lyrics exemplify this, 'I've had enough of danger, And people on the streets, I'm looking out for angels, Just trying to find some peace…'. The conflicted relationship continues to unfold as he continues, 'Teacher, There are things that I don't want to learn, And the last one I had, Made me cry, So I don't want to learn to, Hold you, touch you, Think that you're mine'. The issue of theodicy is an ancient theological conundrum in Western Christendom and has historically been one of the most common points of departure from the faith. Theodicy is about the defence of God's goodness in the face of the existence of evil, pain and suffering. Michael's lyrics can be interpreted as addressing theodicy through the challenge of reconciling difficulty and pain in life with Christ being a good teacher. George Michael's lyrics echo this problem in that, although the individual was in love with the 'teacher', there were things about the relationship that caused great pain.

Conservative Christians from non-Pentecostal backgrounds may recoil at the thought of holding or touching Christ because of the sexual implications particular to Western culture, yet these are not uncommon expressions in Pentecostal churches. Songs written by successful artists

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51 The most common title of address for Christ in the New Testament by his contemporaries was, ‘Teacher’ particularly by his disciples.
52 The parable of the prodigal son is a story told by Christ in Luke 15:11-32 referring to a son who leaves the comfort and safety of his father’s house in search of freedom and a better life. After having what he had hoped would be fulfilling experiences, he finds that life away from his father is not all that he had anticipated and after some consideration, returns home.
53 The vindication of divine providence in view of the existence of pain, suffering and evil have been particularly testing for many individuals who subscribe to Judeo-Christian beliefs. Walter A. Ewell, Evangelical Dictionary of Theology, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House Company, 2001), 1184–87.
such as Andraé Crouch and Jimmy Swaggart illustrate the point effectively.\footnote{See appendix E - Crouch penned 'Oh it is Jesus' referring to the biblical incident related in Luke 8:43-48 where a woman had a condition which meant she was unable to stop bleeding. Upon touching Christ, she was healed. See also appendix F – Swaggart’s song ‘Touching Jesus’ is a story based on the same scripture as Crouch’s song, Luke 8:43-48.} For example, the lyrics from Crouch's song read, 'I tried all that I could, Seemed like nothing did me any good. Then I heard Jesus, He was passing by, And I decided to give Him a try. Oh it is Jesus, It is Jesus in my soul; For I have touched the hem of His garment…'. Swaggart's lyrics are even more plainly about touch; the chorus reads, 'Touching Jesus is all that matters, Then your life will never be the same. There is only one way to touch Him Just believe when you call on his name'. To further support this interpretation of George Michael's text, an accepted biblical interpretation of the Song of Solomon within evangelical churches is the love relationship of Christ to the individual.\footnote{The Song of Solomon is a poetic prose allegory in the bible expressing the love relationship between a man and woman. Many biblical interpreters as far back as the puritans (see for example John Owen’s treatise on Communion with God) have also expostulated on the text as being about the relationship between Christ and the individual.} This love relationship can be expressed through gospel songs. I relate these gospel songs to George Michael's 'One More Try' to illustrate that the style of lyrics is not far from classic gospel songwriting, and the metaphors used can be understood in religious and non-religious contexts. For this reason, the signifying lyrics in this text may produce the interpretant from my Peircean triangle.

Many gospel songs deal in similar ways with the theme of reconciling complex relationships. A number of Commissioned songs (Commissioned were a successful all-male gospel group from the late 1980s to the early 2000s) deal with this theme. Perhaps the best-known being 'Running Back to You' (see appendix G for full lyrics). The same can be said of multi-Grammy award-winning gospel artist Fred Hammond. The lyrics to his song 'Show Me Your Face' are as follows:

\textbf{Chorus}\nShow me Your face (Show me) \hfill \text{Need to see You clearly} \hfill \text{No more mistakes} \hfill \text{Look at the time I'm losing}

\textbf{Verse 1}\nIt's the hardest thing that I ever had to do \hfill \text{Is admit the truth}
The reason I missed You was only me
It seemed okay at the time
But now I find
It wasn't worth it

In these lyrics Fred Hammond articulates the difficulty of sensing God's favour when he has made mistakes that have caused him to lose time in his relationship with God. Similar to George Michael's 'One More Try' this is a conversation between Hammond and God about learning to navigate the relationship well (see for example the words 'No more mistakes, Look at all the time I'm losing'). The theme of this song could equally relate to human relationships. This is one example of a gospel song where religious themes have connotations for non-religious issues. Similarly, one may read the text of 'One More Try' and draw out the religious connotations if one has been initiated with the religious and cultural semiotic lens to do so. The religious reading of 'One More Try' lends itself to the evocation of the transcendent for those who interpret the song in that way.

5.3.3: Original Instrumentation and Vocals

The original recording of 'One More Try' includes instruments typically heard in gospel music: synthesiser (ethereal strings), drum kit, organ (a replica Hammond sound), and bass guitar. The instrumentation and approach are reminiscent of stylised gospel music (as discussed above (see section 4.4.6)). The Hammond organ sound is a mainstay of gospel music and signifies the sacred to those initiated into the black Pentecostal sound. Thousands of recorded songs in BAG feature the Hammond organ. As such, even though George Michael uses a replica Hammond it remains evocative of the gospel sound.

The song contains many other gospel codes (discussed in chapter 4). The drum pattern is a slow 6/8 gospel groove, a standard time signature for many traditional gospel songs, for example Walter Hawkins' song 'Changed', or Yolanda Adams' 'The Battle is the Lord's', or her version of the hymn 'Is Your All on the Altar' (see section 4.4.4). The bass guitar part is functional through the song, mostly playing the root notes. But, to make the electric bass part sound more

spontaneous and improvised the bass often plays on the upbeat anticipating the first beat of the bar. Typically, the root is played on the first beat to establish the harmony, but the improvised feel comes from the syncopated accenting of the upbeat. Equally, in this recording, the bass player also employs slides and slap techniques, necessary within the gospel genre to emphasise the heterogeneous sound ideal (see section 3.7).

The lead vocal part is just as crucial in maintaining the heterogeneous sound ideal in gospel. Throughout the song, George Michael makes an effort to explore the full range of his voice and apply different techniques used often in gospel music. This is evident from the beginning of the track (timestamp 0:00 - 0:35) he moves from a breathy head voice on the words 'I've had enough of danger' to a full chest voice which more resembles the speaking voice timbre on the words 'I'm looking out for angels'. George Michael makes use of multiple slides defined by Andrew Legg as a 'glissando-like movement either immediately approaching or leaving a note or other vocal tone' (see section 4.4.1). He also uses blues inflection and shifts in register, an example being the falsetto he maintains at timestamp 3:21 – 3:28. These are only some of George Michael's techniques on this track that signify gospel and point towards the interpretant.

Perhaps the most convincing argument that George Michael intended for the song to be interpreted with gospel stylisation is that he performed it in 1993 at The Concert of Hope in Wembley Arena with a full gospel choir. The tambourine is a mainstay hand percussion instrument within Pentecostal worship services, and its prominent inclusion in this performance is a signifier of the religious for the culturally initiated. This is supported by the plagal cadences added by the keyboardist. His use of harmony in intervals of sixths are important (timestamp 0:34 -0:46); this particular harmonic move is common in gospel, and the initiated would recognise it from songs by artists such as Richard Smallwood. This well-known harmonic move often features as an introduction or transition between sections in gospel music. Since this performance, several artists have covered 'One More Try', including Joan Baez, Mariah Carey and LeAnn Rimes, demonstrating its popularity within the pop canon and thus emphasising the songs influence in pop culture. This further supports my proposition that gospel stylisation is ubiquitous in pop music.
5.3.4: Context of Beverly Knight's Performance of 'One More Try'

In 2011, Beverly Knight covered 'One More Try' and released it as a single from her album 'Soul UK'. Her comments indicate that she received the interpretant from George Michael's original recording. 'Everyone knew who George Michael was, but this song is when he became the real thing in my mind. He channelled a gospel sound, black America, ate it up, Britain followed and then the whole world. I took that sound, and going back to my own church roots, I ran with it.' George Michael was pleased with Knight's version of 'One More Try', stating, 'I'm always flattered by cover versions of my songs – especially when they are sung as beautifully as this. Thank You Beverley.' It could be argued that George Michael's comments on Knight's performance were confirmation that the intended stylisation for this song was gospel.

5.3.5: Beverly Knight's Performance of 'One More Try'

Beverly Knight's vocal performance carries more of the 'gospel sound' than George Michael and thus more clearly points to the interpretant from my Peircean triangle. There are many gospel musemes in this performance. These musemes (when all heard in the same performance) combine to signify the interpretant. The performance is in Bb major, whereas the original is in F major (although on George Michael's live recordings he sings it a semi-tone down in E major, potentially because of the challenge of reaching some of the falsetto notes required for this piece in a live setting). Ms Knight opens by referencing the album 'Faith' by George Michael. She then closes her eyes and raises her hand above her head, signifying the Pentecostal worship mode. This is a gesture very common during divine worship in Pentecostal churches.

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66 Beverly Knight, ‘One More Try (Live at The Porchester Hall) - Originally Recorded by George Michael’, accessed 4 April 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xQYdacZOQsE.
67 Pentecostal theology has been influenced a lot by seminarians from Oral Roberts University in the USA (for historical reasons which are beyond the scope of my dissertation). Many of these teachings relate to the approach to worship, in particular the way the body is used in worship. The lifting of hands is directly related to the many instructions from the biblical book of Psalms for the individual to raise the hands in worship. The word ‘yadah’ in Hebrew (used extensively in the Psalms) may be read as an instruction for thanksgiving but equally it can be interpreted as the act of throwing one’s hands in the air in a cultural gesture of thanksgiving. Celebrated gospel artist Byron Cage wrote a well-known song 'Shabach' teaching these Hebrew words to Pentecostal congregations but the history of consolidating this teaching for congregations goes back to the 1970s and the gestures themselves have been in place since the inception of Pentecostalism in the early 1900s. Byron Cage, Shabach - GHG7 Edit, Spotify Online Streaming (Verity Gospel Music Group, a unit of Sony Music Entertainment), accessed 4 April 2020, https://open.spotify.com/track/5YSwL1t3DrIVV3EBjUKCU4.
Between 0:00 and 0:13 the backing vocals begin singing oohs in typical 3-part gospel harmony. This signifies the gospel sound even before Knight begins the lead vocal. Examples of vocable gospel harmony entry before the lead vocal can be found on many gospel recordings, including 'Can't Give up Now' by Mary Mary, and 'I Smile' by Kirk Franklin. Regardless of the point of entry it is common to have the vocalist supported by three-part harmony (soprano, alto, tenor), whether in the form of a mass choir or a small group of backing vocalists. It is not long before Knight then begins to employ typical gospel techniques such as bending and sliding notes (see timestamp 0:20 on the word 'danger') for expression.

Added to this, Knight uses melisma at 0:46 on the word 'time'. In singing the words 'you let me know' at 0:43 Knight moves to a full chest voice and transitions quickly to head voice at 0:52 on the words 'if you love me', this is on the edge of falsetto range for Knight. These swift transitions are part of Knight preserving the tradition of the heterogeneous sound ideal in gospel music. A prominent example of her emphasising this ideal is at 1:05 she employs the shout. This is one of the less dynamically impactful instances of the shout in this song. Yet, the audience response indicates that she successfully communicates the interpretant using this particular museme as a member of the audience can be heard screaming multiple times between 1:05 and 1:10. This is not an uncommon reception response within the Pentecostal church.

Meanwhile, Knight continues with her eyes closed, indicating that she is not directly looking to impress the crowd with her technical skills but to use her skills to help produce the interpretant. It is typical for gospel singers to make little attempt to achieve consistency of tone across their vocal range and the 'break' in the voice that can occur between registers is known as a 'cry', 'this is used by the gospel singer to produce an ever-wider palette of tone colour to add to the power of the emotional delivery of their performance'. At 1:28 Knight produces full falsetto validating the idea that a range of tone colour is desirable.

The guitarist (Paul Reid) was also from a Pentecostal background, having been a music director in the Church of God of Prophecy for many years. His solo at 3:59 – 4:22 used many different aspects of gospel technique, including call-response, bending and sliding of notes combined with the use of the pentatonic scale. The vibrato, bending and sliding of notes on stringed instruments such as the guitar and bass guitar is typical in gospel. The ability to mimic or replicate vocal qualities on the instrument similar to the approach of guitarist B.B King is

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68 Timestamp 0:00 - 0:16 Can't Give Up Now, accessed 6 April 2020, https://open.spotify.com/track/5xxnE0Nm5v3L9tekNEWpCg; Timestamp 0:00 - 0:16 I Smile, accessed 6 April 2020, https://open.spotify.com/track/0UQDSP8cz6WmlJc+kOOlqaUQ.
70 Paul Reid sadly passed away during the writing of this dissertation (December 2020).
important within gospel expression.\textsuperscript{71} To enhance the imitation of a Pentecostal environment Knight encourages Reid in his solo by clapping him, waving her hands and shaking her head. In this same period (3:59 - 4:22) the backing vocals engage in call and response too, again signifying gospel music the audience respond at this point with audible cheering and applause this again confirms the successful receipt of the interpretant and also the similarity of this response to those expected in Pentecostal environments. This is Knight's cue to imitate the preacher (drawing on her experiences in church); she moves into a charismatic sermonising mode, removing the mic from its stand and roaming the stage gesticulating in the style of a Pentecostal preacher.

![Figure 28: Knight begins to enter charismatic sermonising mode.](image)

By 4:17 – 4:37 Knight has entered full shouting mode, which the audience receives well. Shouting is not a desired performance technique in Western Art music; however, in this context this is part of the heterogeneous sound ideal in this stylised performance. The evidence for this is yet another round of applause and cheering from the audience. The Hammond organ is fully utilised in this performance. In Knight's version the musician uses both the drawbars and expression pedal (unlike the original George Michael version), a key feature within gospel music performance.

Given Knight's articulation of intent in her interview, it is clear that she is aiming for the gospel interpretant during this performance.\textsuperscript{72} Knight successfully draws on 'a combination of memory, retrospection, empathy, sensitivity, imagination and skill' in order to secure her performance.\textsuperscript{73} I return to a point made in my theoretical discussion earlier. It is not necessary for Knight to subscribe to the doctrinal principles of Pentecostal theology in order for her to be

\textsuperscript{71} Burnim and Maultsby, \textit{African American Music, An Introduction}, 17.
\textsuperscript{72} Knight, 'Soul UK - Track Listing'.
\textsuperscript{73} Tagg, \textit{Music's Meanings}, 72.
successful in signifying; she simply needs to have mastered the sign. Hence, my analysis of her performance allows for a distinction between emotion and its representation.

To conclude this section, I identify the main gospel vocal techniques in table form and show where they occur in Knight’s performance. My goal in doing this is to provide an accessible representation and confirm that this performance should be considered gospel stylised in all but its lyrics. For this reason, my theory about the evoking of my Peircean interpretant stands. This is because these techniques, in combination, signify a transcendent aspect to the music. I have used the gospel technique categories identified in my gospel codes chapter (see section 4.4.1). In notating these techniques Legg uses the language of denotation, which is natural when working with symbols. That is to say that a particular musical symbol indicates a specific technique.

However, as I have mentioned, the combination of these techniques in gospel music in museme stacks also connotes my Peircean interpretant.

Table 9 - Gospel vocal techniques found on Beverly Knight’s cover of ‘One More Try’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gospel Vocal Technique</th>
<th>Timestamp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Timbre</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gravel tone</td>
<td>5:03 – 5:06 (‘Lord it ain’t’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Screams</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shouts</td>
<td>4:19 – 4:25 (‘never’, ‘I know you’re wrong, you’re not that strong’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4:25 – 4:29 – (‘just let me go’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Song speech</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timbre/register shift</td>
<td>1:28 – 1:35 (‘you’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pitch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glides</td>
<td>2:50 – 2:55 (‘want’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blues inflection</td>
<td>2:16 – 2:20 (now I feel the heat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4:23 – 4:26 (‘go’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passing tones, bends, neighbour tones</td>
<td>0:16-0:20 (‘danger’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0:20-0:25 (‘streets’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0:29-0:33 (‘Angels’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1:58 – 2:08 (‘I was at your feet’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhythm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gospel Phrasing</td>
<td>4:25 – 4:29 – (‘just let me go’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repetition, emphasis and rhythmic singing</td>
<td>1:51 – 1:58 (‘goodbye’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyrics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elongated pronunciation</td>
<td>4:23 – 4:26 (‘go’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4:27 – 4:31 (‘teacher’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interjections</td>
<td>2:25 – 2:34 (see that look……telling me no)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>interjection over backing vocals.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I have chosen his categories because he provides numerous examples of their occurrence in other classic gospel songs. His paper explores ways of representing gospel techniques using symbols that have historically not been notated. Legg, ‘A Taxonomy of Musical Gesture in African American Gospel Music’, 106.
In summary, the quantity of techniques employed by Knight from what Legg describes as a definitive list of gospel vocal techniques indicates that this musical text should be read as gospel stylised with the potential to evoke the transcendent interpretant from my Peircean triangle.\footnote{Legg, 105.}

5.4: Interobjectivity and Stormzy's Performance of 'Blinded by Your Grace' at Glastonbury

The following section is a case study of Stormzy's 'Blinded by your Grace' performance at the Glastonbury Festival 2019. This case study is relevant to my dissertation because I examine how gospel aesthetics performed by a black British artist can semiotically evoke the interpretant from my Peircean diagram. Michael Ebenazer Kwadjo Omari Owuo Jr. (stage name, Stormzy) is a mainstream popular artist whose background is in UK grime. His performance illustrates how this semiotic process works in a secular music environment. The use of gospel aesthetics as signs in the semiotic process of pop music is key to understanding the significance of black British gospel-pop crossovers. Unfortunately, there is no academic literature about how the semiotic process translates from black British church environments to secular environments.

This performance was selected because of Stormzy's current cultural significance as a black British artist. He also meets the criteria of being from a Pentecostal church. The musicians and backing singers that Stormzy employed for this performance are also black British, and many of them have a musical background in black majority Pentecostal churches in the UK. These individuals fit firmly within the scope of my dissertation on BBG. This study discusses the paramusical fields of connotation produced by the musical text. Musicians with a Pentecostal background have learned a sign system that carries high cultural and spiritual value for pop audiences in crossover to mainstream popular settings, as has been explained in my section on Paramusical Fields of Connotation. These signs serve a particular purpose within church settings, as demonstrated in my T.D. Jakes case study. The meaning (and hence the interpretant) is complicated (but still as critical) when used in pop music settings.

The nova effect of secularisation shows that echoes of transcendence and pluralistic options for belief can be signified in pop music.\footnote{The nova effect is ‘the explosion of different options (“third ways”) for belief and meaning in a secular age, produced by the concurrent “cross-pressures” of our history - as well as the concurrent pressure of immanentization and (at least echoes of) transcendence’. Smith, \textit{How (Not) to Be Secular}, 142.} These echoes of transcendence are produced by
a semiotic process explained in my Peircean diagram and practically applied in my case study of Bishop T.D Jakes and pop singer Beverly Knight. Due to the 'cross pressure' of Western history - as well as the concurrent pressure of immanentization, musicians who understand this sign system participate in musicking that carries unique spiritual value for the audience.\(^77\) This is the case in Stormzy's performance at Glastonbury; in order to show this, I make some intertextual comparisons. These comparisons highlight multiple religious references within the musical text, including lyrics, visuals and instrumentation.

5.4.1: Intertextual Comparison

I have focused on the production of PMFCs through intersubjectivity to understand musical meaning in gospel. My previous semiotic examples (Coldplay (see section 2.2), T.D. Jakes and Bishop Lester Love) have primarily focused on VVAs as a way of demonstrating the success of the semiotic process. This is useful because it demonstrates the generally agreed intersubjective musical meaning for the interpreter of the musical signs. My discussion of Stormzy's performance differs because it is developed through a consideration of the intertextual as well as the intersubjective elements of crossover performance. This adds another area for consideration in the formation of musical meaning. This will be done through the comparison of musical texts and the PMFCs produced. This type of analysis has been implicit in the other case studies in this chapter. However, I examine it directly here with a view to supporting my overall thesis. There are performance elements that carry specific meaning within the Pentecostal cultural context. The interpretant takes on a wider meaning through codal competence and sometimes codal interference because the object being signified may be perceived differently by the uninitiated listener.

Fitzsimmons claims that there are three types of intertextuality: 'obligatory, optional and accidental'.\(^78\) This can also be true of musical texts. The type of intertextuality depends on two variables: the writer's intention and the significance of the reference. Obligatory intertextuality requires the reading of a prior hypotext before one can comprehend the hypertext.\(^79\) 'Obligatory intertextuality is when the writer deliberately invokes a comparison or association between two (or

\(^77\) Cross-pressure is the simultaneous pressure of various spiritual options; or the feeling of being caught between an echo of transcendence and the drive toward immanentization. This produces the nova effect. Immanentization is the process whereby meaning, significance, and “fullness” are sought within an enclosed, self-sufficient, naturalistic universe without any reference to transcendence. A kind of ‘enclosure’. ‘The Immanent frame is a constructed social space that frames our lives entirely within a natural (rather than supernatural) order. It is the circumscribed space of the modern social imaginary that precludes transcendence.’ See Taylor, *A Secular Age*, 140–41.


\(^79\) Hypotext is an earlier text which serves as the source of a subsequent piece of literature, or hypertext. Hypotext was first defined for this context by French theorist, Gérard Genette.
more) texts. Without this pre-understanding or success to 'grasp the link', the reader's understanding of the text is regarded as inadequate'.

Optional intertextuality is less reliant on the hypotext for a clear reading of the hypertext. The intertextual relationship between hypertext and hypotext is beneficial but not essential. Fitzsimmons states: 'The connection, if recognised, will slightly shift the understanding of the text. Optional intertextuality means it is possible to find a connection to multiple texts of a single [motif or] phrase or no connection at all. The intent of the writer, when using optional intertextuality, is perhaps to pay homage to the 'original' writers or to reward those who have read the hypotext'. Accidental intertextuality means that the writer had no intention of the reference being read intertextually. But the reader makes links through prior knowledge to texts related or unrelated. 'Accidental intertextuality is when readers often connect a text with another text, cultural practice or a personal experience, without there being any tangible anchor-point within the original text'.

There are elements of Stormzy's performance that fall under each of these heads.

There are key elements of musicking in Stormzy's performance that sound (and look) like other gospel music texts in the context of figure 29. This diagram is an adapted version of Tagg's interobjective comparison. For clarity I have avoided using the word 'object' so that it only applies to my Peircean diagram. Also, I have added connectors between musical text and comparison musical text to demonstrate the intertextual nature of the discussion. This discussion addressed the topics of figure 29, moving from left to right. In other words, the musical text and intertextuality. Following this, there is a focus on the intersubjective elements through observation and VVAs. Finally, I will address the PMFCs created by this process.

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81 Ibid.
82 Tagg, Music’s Meanings, 238.
5.4.2: Context of the Musical Text – Stormzy's Glastonbury Performance of Blinded by Your Grace.

In 2017, Stormzy's album *Gang Signs and Prayers* reached number one on the UK album charts.\(^{83}\) He won a Brit award in 2018 for British Album of the Year. His 2019 headline appearance at the Glastonbury Festival was well received and brought him much international attention. He has collaborated with other well-known popular artists such as Ed Sheeran and Jay-Z. According to Apple's statistics on popularity, it remains the most popular song on his album.\(^{84}\) This is important because it demonstrates the value placed on gospel music stylisation by pop music listeners. It also indicates that his output offers popular cultural value, and the reception of his music continues to attract widespread attention.

Stormzy has stated that he was regularly at church during his childhood and teenage years.\(^{85}\) His mother (Abigail Owuo) was a minister in a Pentecostal church in Streatham. 'It was just what you did on a Sunday', he says. He has a strong faith, but he admits that he 'lost his way for a time'.\(^{86}\)

\(^{83}\) At the time of writing, the official BBC video of his Glastonbury performance of *Blinded by Your Grace* has received 3.9 million views.

\(^{84}\) This data is true at the time of writing (10 April 2022). Data taken from Apple’s iTunes store.


\(^{86}\) Ibid.
Stormzy makes his faith a significant part of his songwriting. He does not apologise for the conflict between certain parts of his lifestyle and his Christian convictions. Instead, he prefers to give an honest reflection of this dichotomy. Some listeners (particularly those from conservative Pentecostal backgrounds) may view this as a confusing message. There are others who appreciate the candid nature of his writing.

The conflict in Stormzy's convictions do not present issues for performance reception. The reasons for this relate to my earlier point that there can be a distinction between adhering to the necessary doctrinal or theological components and the representation of those components in song. Stormzy states, 'I've always wanted to do gospel like in some way shape or form. I've always wanted to have a gospel meaning in some of the music I'm gonna [sic] release, but I've always got this complex of I'm Stormzy and I've been through this and that and sometimes I jus wanna [sic] spray ...'. Still, Stormzy is acutely aware of the signs associated with the Pentecostal belief system and presents them to his audience during the performance.

On the album Gang Signs & Prayer there are two recordings of the song 'Blinded by Your Grace' (part 1 and part 2). They are two versions of the same song. The first performance includes Stormzy singing accompanied by a Wurlitzer and a female backing vocal singing in unison with him (no choir or full band). The second part is more stylistically gospel. Stormzy performed both parts in the Glastonbury performance; it is the second part that is the focus of this section. It includes the use of typical elements of gospel music to be discussed later. Stormzy is clear that he aims at an explicitly gospel aesthetic in this song, and this has been received well by his audience.

In an interview about the song 'Blinded by Your Grace', he says, '[he had] wanted to record a beautiful gospel song, but originally felt constricted by lack of prowess as a singer'. This observation is a telling acknowledgement not only of a lack of vocal skill but also an implied acknowledgement that there are some gospel signs that he has not yet mastered in order to produce the desired interpretant. For this purpose, Stormzy enlists the support of lead vocalist, MNEK. On the reasons for his choice of vocalist, Stormzy goes on to state:

You know when you're watching churches, and a lady or a man in the choir just takes it away, and it's just like, flipping heck, and everyone just feels it in their soul? I was like, 'I

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87 Stormzy, Kaylum Dennis, and Jude Yawson, Rise Up: The #Merky Story so Far, 2018, 15–16.
88 ‘Spray’ slang term for shooting multiple bullets from a firearm.
90 ‘That doesn’t mean that the artist’s composition or performance is fake. It’s simply a presentation, based on a combination of memory, retrospection, empathy, sensitivity, imagination and skill’. Tagg, Music’s Meanings, 72.
want someone to do that. I want someone to come and take this tune where I can't take it." I listen to a lot of radio and a lot of pop and R&B. I've always clocked with MNEK; he's got such a voice. I was like, I know he can go to church with it. He came round to the studio, and it was like watching a magician work. He was able to record his riffs and his [backing vocals] and his harmonies … He took the tune exactly where I wanted it to go.\(^\text{92}\)

Stormzy articulates an experiential understanding of the semiotic process in gospel music. He identifies that moments in the performance produce the interpretant from my Peircean triangle. He also notes that there are certain people with the skillset to do this 'I want someone to take this tune where I can't take it'. He then goes on to identify some of those signs by highlighting MNEK's skill in vocal riffs and harmony. Lastly, Stormzy identifies the success of an accepted semiotic process on his recording by saying, 'he took the tune exactly where I wanted it to go'. The appropriate reception of the performance is key in completing the semiotic process in gospel musicking.

To demonstrate this, I use the example of Stormzy's performance of 'Blinded by Your Grace' on X-Factor. For this performance Stormzy did not use MNEK but instead (owing to a communication failure from Stormzy's P.R. team) Labrinth performed the lead vocal.\(^\text{93}\) The semiotic disjuncture was commented upon by some viewers in that the performance was not as successful. One viewer states, 'he did not take it to church like [MNEK]'.\(^\text{94}\) This statement is (in some ways) a subjective one, but it is worthy of note simply because the language illuminates the fact that there is an accepted semiotic framework for stylised gospel performance. Ironically, Labrinth himself has a Pentecostal background. Perhaps it would be the subject of another study to compare these performances. Having said this, it is worth noting that Labrinth appears to struggle with tuning in this performance. Perhaps he had not warmed up. The song is in the key of D major (this is the key of the original song), but some of the higher notes are out of his comfortable vocal range.

\(^\text{92}\) Cliff, ‘Stormzy Tells The Story Behind Every Song On His Debut Album’.
The performance at Glastonbury was also broken into two parts. Stormzy was joined on stage by Chris Martin of Coldplay for part one. This is significant given Martin’s understanding of the gospel semiotic process, which he has communicated in interviews and was also discussed in section 2.2. It is the second part of this performance that I now focus on for this case study.

5.4.3: Lyrics and Intertextuality

The lyrics (see appendix I) of Stormzy’s song draw heavily on Christian theological themes. Stormzy carries this out on some of the levels mentioned earlier (obligatory and optional).

There is an obligatory intertextual element to the reading of Stormzy’s lyrics. This is because he assumes that his audience will be acquainted with the Christian concept of God as saviour. As mentioned in my chapter on secularisation, belief in God cannot be taken for granted in a secular age. Yet, Stormzy assumes that his audience understands the language of a pre-secular age. Stormzy takes for granted that the audience will be familiar enough with a Christian social imaginary for the semiotic process he is aiming at to be successful.

Although the lyrics from Stormzy's track are explicitly religious, one is not required to understand the doctrinal principles of Protestant Christianity to grasp the text; this is optional intertextuality. A knowledge of Stormzy's Pentecostal upbringing (particularly the foundational

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95 Hines, *Coldplay: Reimagined.*
principles of this context) serves to introduce the listener to some of the deeper theological notions that are part of his song. The five Solas are generally accepted core principles within conservative Protestant theology.\(^96\) In this performance Stormzy intertextually references all five of the Solas.

Sola Christus - Stormzy refers to the concept of saviour, 'you fixed me, now I’m blinded by your grace, you came and saved me' or 'you saved this kid and I'm not your first'. Central to the Christian gospel is the idea of Christ as saviour. It is clear that Stormzy is familiar with this language. Although Christ is not mentioned explicitly in the lyrics it can be assumed that he is making this reference.\(^97\) There is no obligatory requirement for the reader of the musical text to understand the centrality of Christ to salvation, yet it serves to specify the meaning if one is aware.

Sola gratia – In his song, Stormzy repeatedly references being blinded by the grace of God as part of the hook.\(^98\) Perhaps one of the most well-known songs of the Christian canon is *Amazing Grace*. This song articulates parts of the Christian doctrine of grace alone (sola gratia) and demonstrates the centrality of this theme to Christian belief. This doctrine excludes personal merit on the part of the individual. In other words, there is no act that an individual can perform that will merit them with grace. Instead, it is the gift of God alone. Specifically, grace is spoken of concerning salvation. Within Protestant Christianity salvation is an unearned gift from God because of Christ's death on the cross. It is understood to nullify the concept that the individual must carry out particular duties to receive salvation.\(^99\) Stormzy references sola gratia throughout his song. Lyrics such as 'I'm blinded by your grace', 'although I'm not worthy, you fixed me' also echo the language of the writer of *Amazing Grace*\(^100\) (John Newton 1725-1807).

There are intertextual links here that are not essential to understanding the text but help contextualise the lyrics for the uninitiated listener. In an interview Stormzy expands on this idea, 'It's about God', he says. 'One of the things that I'm most impressed by, in God, is the grace that

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\(^96\) The five solas are foundational principles of the Protestant reformation and held by the majority of theologians to be central to the protestant doctrine of salvation. They represent key beliefs that were articulated to demonstrate core distinctions between Protestant and Roman Catholic beliefs. Although they were not placed together systematically until the 20th century the majority of Protestant theologians have historically held to these views. Sola scriptura (scripture alone), Sola fide (faith alone), Sole gratia (grace alone), Solus Christus (Christ alone), Soli Deo Gloria (to the glory of God alone). J.S Bach (1685 – 1750) is known for signing off his works of music with the words ‘Soli Deo Gloria.’ The principle of the solas is that one could not affirm one’s eternal salvation without the presence of these five elements.

\(^97\) Stormzy has been known to reference Christ explicitly in other contexts including before his appearance at the Brit awards 2019. In this video, he can be seen praying with and for his team before the performance. He audibly, repeatedly references Christ in phrases such as ‘the holy blood of Christ’. See The Taylor Fitted, Facebook, *Stormzy Praying before His Powerful Performance at the Brits*.(blog), 25 February 2020, https://www.facebook.com/TheTailorFitted/videos/768409503567809/.

\(^98\) The word ‘grace’ in Christianity is usually understood to mean ‘unmerited favour’.

\(^99\) This has led some to accuse Christians of antinomianism an argument that has its roots in responses to Pauline theology particularly on the letter to the Romans. Antinomianism is the idea that one does not need to follow Christian moral principles because God is gracious. However, it is assumed among major protestant theologians that the individual who receives grace will live a moral life that accords with the new found beliefs.

\(^100\) In particular lines such as ‘Amazing grace, How sweet the sound, That saved a wretch like me’.
he has. No matter what we do, there's always this, "OK, it's fine. I understand." That's not to say I can go out and do something bad… But just that knowing that someone's got you throughout anything, and they're not going to judge you, they're just going to understand your situation. That grace." It is likely that Stormzy has not been formally catechised in understanding this doctrine.

Instead he will have adopted the language orally through being a part of a Pentecostal family and church culture where references are repeatedly made to the implications of the doctrine of grace. It is clear from his language that he is drawing on Christian theology to make his point. Using my Peircean diagram one can point to the semiotic process working here.

Sola Fide, or 'by faith alone', implies that one can only be made right with God by faith alone. This excludes any attempt at earning favour with God by undertaking particular duties (known as 'works'). This position of justification is assumed by Stormzy in his song when he says, 'Yeah I'm Abigail's yout, but I'm God's son…. it's not by blood and it's not by birth'. Again, without further evidence to the contrary, I suggest that Stormzy has not studied the doctrine of justification but has simply assimilated the language of his Pentecostal cultural context. Still, the semiotic implications are clear. He signifies on the texts (musical and theological) he has heard and assumes that some of his audience will also understand this store of signs and thus some of the deeper implications of his lyrics. Of course, there may also be some evangelical intent in these lyrics.

Soli Deo Gloria is the teaching that all glory is given to God alone since salvation is accomplished solely through His will and action. In his Glastonbury performance, Stormzy opens by saying 'we're gonna give God all the glory right now, all the glory'. I mention it here to highlight the intention behind the performance and to support my claim that the lyrics 'One time for the Lord, And one time for the cause, And one round of applause' are a reference to giving praise to God. In discussing the five Solas in the context of Stormzy's performance it should be

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101 Sawyer, ‘Stormzy: “Respect Me like You Would Frank Ocean or Adele”’.
102 Although many Pentecostal organisations do have centres for training on doctrinal history, it is rare for anyone other than licenced ministers or pastors to have taken up this type of study.
103 The theological term for this is ‘justification’.
104 The Sola fide doctrine is sometimes often referred to as the principle of the Reformation. This is because it was a major issue and point of departure from the Roman Catholic church for theologians such as Martin Luther and John Calvin.
105 Reformed theologian, Dr J. I. Packer stated in an essay ‘[God] renews their hearts under the Word, and draws them to Christ by effectual calling, in order that he might justify them upon their believing. Their adoption as God’s sons follows upon their justification; it is, indeed, no more than the positive outworking of God’s justifying sentence. Their practice of prayer, of daily repentance, and of good works springs from their knowledge of justifying grace (cf. Luke 18:9-14; Eph. 2:8-10).’ Sola Fide: The Reformed Doctrine of Justification by J.I. Packer’, Ligonier Ministries, accessed 21 April 2020, https://www.ligonier.org/learn/articles/sola-fide-the-reformed-doctrine-of-justification/.
106 Although the word glory can have deeper theological implications when considered against biblical old testament themes, it can essentially be taken here to mean that all praises are due to God alone.
clear that this performance falls within the framework of my Peircean triangle. This is because the object Stormzy has in mind is God, and he uses lyrical signs to point to the interpretant successfully. In other words, by referencing these hypotexts (the Sola's) as signs, Stormzy is evoking the interpretant.

Sola Scriptura is the Protestant teaching that the bible is the source of authority for Christian faith and practice. There are several additional intertextual biblical references in Stormzy’s lyrics. I focus on three more obvious references. The first is a reference to the Apostle Paul in the lyrics ‘I’m blinded by your grace’. It is recorded in the biblical text that the Apostle Paul had his first and most transformational encounter with Jesus Christ by being blinded. In sermons, it is referenced as Paul’s conversion from being a persecutor (and self-confessed murderer) of Christians to being an ambassador for Christianity. It seems that Stormzy is referring to this occasion through this song as a declaration of his change ‘You fixed me, I’m blinded, By your grace, You came and saved me’. The second biblical reference can be seen in the words ’Lord, I’ve been broken’. These words are often used within Pentecostal circles and are a direct reference to Psalm 51, known as a Psalm of repentance.107

The third and final reference can be found in the words 'It's not by blood and it's not by birth, but, oh my God, what a God I serve'. This reference relates to the book of John in the bible where the statement is found 'but to all who did receive him, who believed in his name, he gave the right to become children of God, who were born, not of blood nor of the will of the flesh nor of birth, but of God' (John 1:12-13 English Standard Version). This is a direct reference to how an individual becomes a Christian which is understood to be a supernatural process. Though Stormzy may have intentionally included these biblical passages, it is not clear whether his audience can read all of these references. Given the theory regarding the West being in a secular age, it is likely that many of these references would be lost on the audience at Glastonbury. The presence of these biblical references support my premise that echoes of Christianity remain present in pop culture.

5.4.4: Stormzy's Presentation of Gospel Music Values and Associated Semiotic Signs.

The instrumentation in this song is typical of gospel music. It consists of piano, auxiliary keys (synthesised pads and organ), electric guitar, electric bass, drums and sequenced percussion. Harmonically, the chord progression relies on a simple I, vi, V, IV movement with a passing ii chord included. This set of chords is more common in pop music and contemporary Christian

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107 ‘The sacrifice pleasing to God is a broken spirit. You will not despise a broken and humbled heart, God.’ Psalms 51:17 CSB.
music than traditional gospel. It does not hinder the success of the gospel aesthetic in this song because the harmonic content is simple enough to not be a distraction.

As discussed in section 5.4.3, Stormzy’s opening words are a statement of intent about the musical meaning of his performance. In some ways he appears to be invoking ‘congregational worship’ in the Glastonbury setting. Stormzy assumes the role of what Theresa Reed calls the 'blues preacher'. She identifies the 'blues preacher' as the position of musicians who use Christian rhetoric as part of their performance in secular settings, particularly those who crossover from gospel music to the 'Devil's music'. Reed states 'the simultaneous call to preaching the gospel and singing the blues underscores a uniquely African-American approach to the sacred-secular dichotomy. In this approach, the sacred and the secular, while separate in theory, are frequently combined in practice'.

This approach to the sacred-secular dichotomy applies more generally to the Black Atlantic, as demonstrated by Stormzy (a London born rapper of Ghanaian heritage). Many listeners would find this dichotomous approach problematic, especially those from conservative Pentecostal backgrounds. However, the philosopher Charles Taylor identifies the current Western societal milieu as an Age of Authenticity. Essentially, expressive individualism is valued in this secular age and thus is also a marketable commodity in entertainment. This is true in the case of the blues preacher. Reed states, '...the apparent contradiction in this dual identity may not be a contradiction at all but rather two different facets of a single cultural function, perhaps traceable to the griot of West Africa'. The trope of the 'blues preacher' exemplifies the position of the Age of Authenticity. The resulting confusion on the part of some listeners is also evident. See the YouTube comment in figure 31. for an example:

![YouTube comment](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DxsjQ967kV8)

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109 '[The] Age of Authenticity [is a] post-1960’s age in which spirituality is deinstitutionalised and is understood primarily as an expression of “what speaks to me”. Reflective of expressive individualism……Expressive individualism [emerged] from Romantic expressivism of the late 18th century, it is an understanding that each one of us has his/her own way of realizing our humanity, and that we are called to live that out (“express” it) rather than conform to models imposed by others (especially institutions)’ Taylor cited in Smith, *How (Not) to Be Secular*, 140–41.

The many pluralistic interpretations of Christian signs and the existence of many altars of modernity are markers of a secular age. But the comment in figure 31 is evidence that codal interference remains a challenge for secular artists who are striving to practice authenticity and expressive individualism. Some audience members will perceive a disconnect between the portrayal of a Christian message and lifestyle that does not seem to match the profession. Reed identifies that much has been written about the black preacher in church. However, very little has been written about the black preacher in secular music. Stormzy’s role as preacher is achieved through the use of gospel codes (for example his opening remarks, the scriptural references, the backing of the choir etc). The codes act as signs that point toward the transcendent interpretant which is received by his audience.

111 A reference to Peter Berger’s book, The Many Altars of Modernity in which compares contemporary pluralism to that of the roman empire, ‘There was a religious pluralism in the late Roman Empire, which was in some ways similar to our own. In the New Testament, the account of the visit to Athens by the Apostle Paul provides a vivid picture. Paul himself describes the many altars he saw in that city.’ Peter L. Berger, The Many Altars of Modernity: Toward a Paradigm for Religion in a Pluralist Age (Boston: De Gruyter, 2014), 79.

112 For Reed the term ‘black preacher’ is a subject-specific term. In her estimation, it includes those who champion other “gospels” including Islam and Egyptology. ‘[Some] black preachers of secular music…proselytize through their performances, and others maintain a distinction between secular and spiritual roles, switching hats as it were, whenever needed. Despite the many modes through which these preachers reconcile their spirituality with their music, they all claim a divine call to enlighten, educate, and inspire those who patronize them.’ Reed, The Holy Profane, 118.

113 Reed identifies this and continues, ‘As do those who function exclusively within the church, the black preachers resident in secular music inform, exhort, and influence their faithful, proselytizing for their belief systems and at times invoking the supernatural for a desired effect’. Reed, 116.
Stormzy assumes the persona of the blues preacher exhorting his 'congregation' to join him in worship. The comments (see figure 32) on the YouTube video demonstrate that some listeners received the sign and interpretant.

Another sign present is that of the choir (timestamp 0:40-0:42) with over 50 members present on stage. As mentioned in my Coldplay discussion, the choir's sign evokes the transcendent interpretant. Not all choir members use microphones, but the choir signifies black sacred worship through the image. The fact that not all members have microphones is evidence that the symbolic presence of the choir in this performance is as important as the vocal performance.

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Figure 32 – Comments from the BBC YouTube broadcast of Stormzy's performance.\(^{114}\)

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\(^{114}\) ‘Stormzy - Blinded by Your Grace, Pt. 2 (Glastonbury 2019) - YouTube’. 
During the introduction (timestamp 0:38) ethereal pads can be heard, signifying the transcendent. Much like the George Michael example earlier, a replica Hammond organ sound is also present. This serves to reinforce the semiotic process. The sound of pads and organ is recognised by the initiated as a call to focus on the transcendent. I also observe that ethereal pads are common in music for meditation accessed through streaming platforms. To confirm this point, I conducted a brief search on Spotify for a meditation playlist resulting in a playlist called Peaceful Meditation. As at 9 April 2021 it had 1 million followers. Of the first 120 songs on this playlist, 100 began with a synthesised ethereal pad. I take this as evidence that the sound of a synthesised pad can often be associated with meditative states. By using this at the introduction of a performance this sound may signify, for non-Christian audiences, that a transcendental meditative state is to be assumed. This is no less true of Stormzy's performance, given the context of his song. This is the first point at which potential codal interference takes place. Stormzy is intending to project a Christian view of God. The sonic chosen in the opening bars point towards this. However, perceptions may differ for those who associate this sound with transcendental meditation.

Stormzy in the role of the blues preacher (timestamp 0:32 – 1:01) encourages the listeners to become participants in the act of worship by singing along. It is typical for the lead vocalist or preacher in a church service to encourage the communal aspect of musicking during Pentecostal services. This may happen by asking congregants to clap, stand, dance, or sing along. As the blues preacher, Stormzy's 'congregation' obliges. Each time the hook is sung at the opening of the performance, the voices of the festival-goers become louder. This is also a key element of congregational gospel music. In this context musicking should usually transform from performer-listener to a participatory experience as quickly as possible.

An example of this performer-listener participation can be seen in Barack Obama’s address at Emanuel A.M.E Church, Charleston. Obama begins singing the song Amazing Grace in a

115 The use of ethereal pads at the beginning of worship songs is a well-known feature of contemporary praise and worship music. Sometimes an ethereal pad sound can be held in a service (as a quiet drone) for over 45 mins as an ambient background to the proceedings. It was made popular by churches such as Hillsong or artists such as Don Moen in the early 90’s. It is used is a signifier of the transcendent, and this has been adopted by some black majority churches too as an alternative option to the Hammond organ in some settings. An explanation of how this sound is used in contemporary Christian music and services is found here: Churchfront, How to Use Ambient Pads in Worship - YouTube, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tWINv5Qg5kA.
117 ‘When performers demonstrate their knowledge of the Black musical aesthetic, the responses of the audience can become so audible that they momentarily drown out the performer’. Burnim and Maultsby, African American Music, An Introduction, 18.
gospel style using blues notes and improvising parts of the melody. The congregation immediately read the sign that this is not a solo performance but instead an act of participatory musicking. The congregation join Obama by singing. For Stormzy, encouraging the audience to sing along builds on the sign that he is giving with his musical text and aids in producing the interpretant.

At timestamp 1:05 -1:12, the call and response technique (a key characteristic of gospel music stylisation) is used between the electric guitarist and Stormzy.\(^{119}\) In addition, the style of delivery places this call and response aspect of the performance within the space of 'backing up the preacher'. This is a technique by which musicians, through call and response, can be heard to interpolate musical riffs and chords between a preachers’ sermonic phrases.\(^{120}\) From 1:05 -1:19 in the video, one can observe the rocking and finger clicking of the choir.\(^{121}\) The movements of the choir are a signifier of black church worship practice and also signify the interpretant (eudaimonia) of my Peircean triangle. Different to a fully choreographed pop dance routine these movements are a point of optional intertextuality. It is a means by which those familiar with the signifier become aware that this is a divine moment, especially as this type of movement is used to 'praise God' in Pentecostal expressions.

In gospel music the semiotic process is usually only complete once audience participation has been achieved. Stormzy’s Glastonbury performance was successful in this respect. The response resembles a Pentecostal one in many ways, hands are raised in the air and some eyes are closed (see timestamp 1:40-1:47). One might read the semiotic process as complete, but it may be argued that this is a normal reaction at a pop concert to a popular song. This may be the case; however, I would contend that the performer is able to complete the semiotic process because the environment allows the initiated to respond with movement as would be expected in a Pentecostal cultural setting. In the earlier Beverly Knight study, I stated that raised hands are an accepted part of Pentecostal worship. Stormzy follows this tradition, and in his role as the blues preacher (at timestamp 2:26), he raises his hands and closes his eyes, signifying a connection with God. The guitar improvisation is a noticeable departure from the original track at 1:15 – 1:32 and may be taken to symbolise the presence of the transcendent (the use of improvisation in worship was examined in the earlier T.D. Jakes case study, so I will not repeat it here).


\(^{120}\) Melodic riffs are often used for this purpose. The chords in this clip are known among gospel musicians as “preaching chords” and usually use a root movement of I, III, IV, IV#0, V7, I this movement is often interspersed with ii, V, I cadences. There are various reharmonizations and embellishments of this pattern used to keep harmonic interest during the sermon. An example can be seen in Jacob Washington-Lacey’s, *When Pentecostal Backs Up Baptist*, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pZl-XKhChAY.

\(^{121}\) Rocking evokes the image of the black church and reflection of the historical connection of dance and music within the act of worship in black churches. The most obvious example of this being the ring shout.
5.4.5: Gospel Vocal Techniques

In this performance, the lead vocalist (Teni Tinks), who has a Pentecostal background, has a solo at 2:08. Perhaps the most striking difference is that the audience expected a male vocalist because MNEK sang on the album version. She uses accepted gospel vocal techniques, including gospel vibrato, throughout her performance to signify the transcendent element of this song. In the table below, I have noted the gospel techniques that are included in the same way as the earlier Beverly Knight example. Not every technique is used, within the two minutes that are allotted for her lead vocal. The limited use of gospel techniques may be due to the length of the solo. It may also be because some of the more expressive techniques were not appropriate for the song or might alienate the audience (for example screams, gravel tone or song speech). My table shows that Tinks uses enough techniques to signify the interpretant. I have already established the observable links of these techniques to gospel music and so will only cite their presence in the song.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gospel Vocal Technique</th>
<th>Timestamp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Timbre</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gravel tone</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Screams</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shouts</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Song speech</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timbre/register shift</td>
<td>2:56 – 2:59 (‘and the rain was pouring’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pitch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glides</td>
<td>2:56 – 2:59 (‘pouring’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blues inflection</td>
<td>2:56 – 2:59 (‘pouring’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passing tones, bends, neighbour tones</td>
<td>2:08-2:15 (‘said a prayer this morning, prayed I would find a way’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhythm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gospel Phrasing</td>
<td>2:32 – 2:38 (‘blinded by your grace’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repetition, emphasis and rhythmic singing</td>
<td>2:59 – 3:06 (‘sun faded away’ (repetition))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syncopation, elongation and truncation</td>
<td>2:32 – 2:38 (‘blinded by your grace’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyrics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elongated pronunciation</td>
<td>2:11 – 2:15 (‘way’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interjections and Textual Interpolation</td>
<td>2:45 – 2:48 (‘find a way’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2:45 – 2:50 (‘another day’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3:00 – 3:04 (‘sun faded away’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2:42 – 2:26 (‘oh lord’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3:10 – 3:13 (‘hey – yeah’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Further to the above techniques, there are some visual indications that the vocalist is referencing a gospel music performance style. For example, as her solo begins with the words 'said a prayer this morning' she can be seen with a hand outstretched pointing toward heaven (mirroring Stormzy's gesture earlier in the performance). This is not uncommon in gospel music delivery, and it usually indicates that the vocalist has turned their attention toward God. Equally, many other hand gestures within a gospel context are accepted as indicative of earnestness in spiritual connection.

The animated nature of the performance references a potent part of much gospel performance – charisma. Often in Pentecostal settings, the spiritual inspiration a singer has is correlated with their ability to express this physically. There is a fine line between charisma and eccentrics; the vocalist needs to read the environment and assert their expression accordingly. Nonetheless, Teni Tinks is able to show this inspiration without losing her audience. Also, the closed eyes offer a representation of ‘piety’ again, often referenced in gospel music performances to demonstrate a spiritual connection (see timestamp 4:07 – 4:24).

5.5: Conclusion

In this chapter, through my reference to T.D. Jakes' sermon, I have shown a Pentecostal theological understanding of the place of music in the liturgy. I specified some techniques that synecdochically evoke the interpretant during music performances of 'One More Try' and 'Blinded by Your Grace'. Through my case study of UK singer Beverly Knight, I demonstrated how a Pentecostal singer might crossover and use gospel techniques in a pop setting with great effect. I also indicated how instrumentation and musical techniques play a crucial role in setting up connotations of the black majority church and thus of black sacred worship. In the section on Stormzy, I demonstrated that within a UK context, gospel techniques can be used to evoke the interpretant from my Peircean diagram successfully. This has been evident through the VVA’s that I have chosen throughout this chapter, particularly in Stormzy's Glastonbury performance. I showed the intertextual nature of the performance through lyrics, instrumentation and vocal technique. This performance (though it contains explicit theological references) provides an

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122 Examples of this gesture within gospel music performance are too numerous to mention. However, the following example of gospel singer Tasha Cobbs (timestamp 3:40 – 3:50) has received 4 million views Kingdom Praises, *Tasha Cobbs Leonard* - ‘God I Look To You’, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8e3nclKOe8I.
appropriate case study of the ways that gospel techniques can be used to evoke a particular paramusical field of connotation.

In this secular age, central reference to God has mostly disappeared. The words of the atheist writer, Julian Barnes (‘I don't believe in God, but I miss Him’) appear to accurately describe what is happening when gospel techniques are used and received in the ways described in this chapter. Artists reference the spiritual through gospel aesthetics in their music and their audiences, on the whole, seem to appreciate this. The semiotic process outlined in my Peircean triangle continues to hold relevance outside of the usual religious settings. But the interpretant has a wider meaning than implied in its original Christian home.

This wider meaning is implied through codal interference. The interpretant takes on a wider meaning because the object that is being signified may be perceived differently by the uninitiated listener. Codal interference may happen in multiple ways. To take the example of Stormzy, he may have intended to evoke a Christian (and specifically, Pentecostal) interpretant; however, others may hear the performance and connect it to other religious traditions for various reasons. This codal interference is likely to occur where the performer does not have the opportunity to explain the intent or context for using certain signs in a music performance.

![Figure 34 - Gospel-styled pop and gospel music texts produce similar paramusical fields of connotation.](image)

Perhaps the clearest example of codal interference in the Stormzy case study is that his song communicates the Christian gospel message (as examined in my intertextual lyrical analysis), but it does not directly reference Jesus Christ. This may seem inconsequential to the uninitiated. Also, it may not appear to be a component of codal interference; but the central identifier of the orthodox Christian gospel message focuses on belief in the death, burial and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Although this is implied in the song, it is not explicitly mentioned. Without this reference in a secular pop setting, the lyrics remain open to interpretation by other spiritual and religious groups who use the words 'lord' and 'God' to reference alternative central deities. The following VVA from Stormzy's Glastonbury performance is an example of this codal interference:

![Comment taken from BBC YouTube broadcast of Stormzy's performance.](125)

The codal interference example in figure 35 indicates that pluralism plays a central role in the interpretation of religious signs in pop music. Gospel musicians who cross over to secular pop settings often rely on the effective use of gospel stylisation for success. The production of a pluralistic PMFC is a valued part of the semiotic process in pop musicking. Gospel musicians who crossover to pop are skilled in this process because they have been trained in church environments to evoke similar fields of connotation in religious worship.

This gospel-pop crossover text (laced with religious references) has been well received in the secular environment for reasons related to the nova effect of secularisation addressed earlier. This text does not have the same meaning for all listeners because all listeners do not share the same religious signs. This widens the reach of Stormzy's message. It also demonstrates that while the deeper implications of Stormzy's words remain opaque to the uninitiated, there can be wider acceptance and valuing of the signs. I follow Arnold in positing that with the arrival of a secular age, sacred music (i.e. Western Christian sacred music of the classical tradition) has been ‘freed

124 The Nicene creed articulated in 325 A.D was documented in order to provide a statement of the basic tenets for belief in Christianity. The vast majority of mainstream churches and denominations through Christian history have subscribed to this creed. It includes reference to belief in Jesus’ death, burial and resurrection.
125 ‘Stormzy - Blinded by Your Grace, Pt. 2 (Glastonbury 2019) - YouTube'.

from its ecclesiastical bonds' and 'appropriated into the globalised market of public and private consumerism'. Similar propositions can be made about black sacred music.

With the arrival of a secular age, a new space is available for the enjoyment of sacred music without the 'one size fits all religious rhetoric that previously accompanied the musical setting'. The PMFCs evoked in performances using gospel music techniques are more complicated than simply evoking a Christian interpretant in the form of the Christian God. Instead, once gospel techniques are performed outside the church setting, they are open to wider interpretations, producing a Pluralistic Paramusical Field of Connotation. This was indicated earlier in my reference to synthesised pads which might indicate an invitation to a meditative state in Stormzy's performance. The disenchanted world is a world in which 'the only locus of thought, feelings and spiritual élan is what we call minds'. On the other hand an enchanted world involves a cosmos that is charged with spiritual power. By invoking the term re-enchantment I indicate that gospel techniques employed in secular pop music are a catalyst for producing pluralistic PMFCs. These pluralistic PMFCs include the characteristics of an enchanted world. In other words, artists often use the gospel techniques as signs in secular pop music (instead of producing a Christian interpretant) to produce a PMFC that indicates more options than just the God of the Christian worldview.

127 Ibid.
128 Taylor, A Secular Age, 30.
129 Taylor notes that the term ‘disenchantment’ has achieved wide currency in the discussion on these matters. It is used to describe the crucial features of the modern western social imaginary. Its antonym ‘enchantment’ on the other hand is a world of spirits, demons and moral forces that earlier peoples in the West lived in.
CHAPTER 6: BRITISH GOSPEL-POP CROSSOVER IN A SECULAR AGE: RE-ENCHANTMENT

I'm not even religious, but I'm telling you...we can't be passive, right? It seems to me that people like Stormzy, Kanye West, all of these people that are now going to gospel there's something going on...who would have thought that Snoop Dogg would do a gospel album?

-- Mica Paris commenting on the release of her 2020 gospel album entitled Gospel.¹

In this chapter I argue that the presence of gospel music in pop is part of the re-enchantment of Western society. I show that apparently secular popular music can be a locus for the transcendent, communicated and invoked by gospel codes. In the last chapter, I discussed the semiotic process of meaning-making in gospel music and how gospel codes can evoke paramusical fields of connotation once they enter a secular environment. This chapter differs in that I offer a four-quadrant model as an alternative way to view sacred and secular music. My quadrant model supports the argument that the presence of gospel music in pop is part of the re-enchantment of Western society. This re-enchantment can be observed both within organised religion and outside of it. Particularly in the human relationship with art (in this case pop music).² Sites that were understood to be non-religious such as secular pop music may now be considered sites for a religious encounter. Equally, religious songs performed by those with no specific religious persuasion may also evoke the transcendent.

In this social milieu, gospel techniques are applied to popular music, evoking notions of the transcendent that are not necessarily Christian but are recognisably evocative of the spiritual. Peter Berger suggested that the Western societal milieu is a pluralistic one (see chapter 1). I have argued that pluralism is a complicating factor in how gospel stylised music is received in the pop culture of post-Christendom. In this chapter, I demonstrate the effects of this pluralistic milieu through a discussion of the intent of the artists and the verbal-visual associations (VVAs) connected to these performances. Given the predictions of secularists such as Steve Bruce, it is

² Taylor, A Secular Age, 318.
important to note the presence and practice of spirituality in popular music, which counters those predictions.³

Through three case studies on Karen Gibson, Mica Paris and Dave, I examine the implications of my sacred-secular quadrants. These performers use gospel stylisation to evoke the transcendent for the listener.⁴ The starting point of the performers differs. Gibson holds a Protestant, Pentecostal Christian worldview. She uses this frame to perform a non-religiously specific love song with the hope (supported by prayer) that the song itself and the commercial opportunities that are presented afterwards will point listeners to a Christian worldview. In contrast, Paris, who has had a Pentecostal upbringing, rejects the specificity of Christianity in favour of a less specific faith commitment. Despite this, her album contains explicitly Protestant Christian lyrics; she is clear that her aims remain spiritual. Finally, Dave is an artist who includes the profane in his music, yet there is a sense in which the track I examine ('In The Fire') is also evocative of the transcendent. Dave incorporates specifically Christian references in his track but they appear alongside words that might be considered profane. I suggest that Dave's adoption of gospel stylisation is reflective of the enchanted frame from which he is operating.

These case studies are different illustrations of a similar phenomenon: the use of gospel stylisation to evoke the transcendent. In this secular age, the Christian worldview is one of multiple options for belief.⁵ In this chapter I show that understanding the pluralistic frame of pop culture reception is critical for interpreting gospel music's meaning outside of the sacred worship environment of the black Pentecostal church. I propose that the traditional sacred-secular dualistic worldview be reconceptualised. Instead of this binary consideration, I apply my four-quadrant model which has relevance to exclusive humanists and religious people. It is an aid to understanding that music containing gospel codes can signify the transcendent regardless of whether the message is explicitly religious (in the case of Paris) or not (in the case of Gibson), and sometimes irrespective of the profanity of the lyrics (in the case of Dave). Consequently, gospel codes in pop are part of society's re-enchantment, as proposed in my theory.

³ Bruce, God Is Dead.
⁴ ‘...whatever transcendence may be it is important to recognise the emotional, aesthetic and cognitive work that occurs in these affective spaces inhabited by contemporary Western citizens when listening to and experiencing popular music and acknowledge what is being termed transcendence within that space.’ Marsh and Roberts, Personal Jesus, 85–86.
⁵ Taylor, A Secular Age, 3.
6.1: The Kingdom Choir's 2018 Royal Wedding Performance

6.1.1: Karen Gibson and Kingdom Choir Background

Karen Gibson MBE is a professional gospel choir director and has been performing and teaching gospel music in various capacities for around 30 years. Her family arrived in the UK from the Caribbean during the Windrush period (1948-1970). Like all the black British artists I have included in this thesis, Gibson's religious background is Pentecostal. She attended the Church of God of Prophecy (COGOP) London for most of her life. Gibson is a practising Christian, and the majority of her early musical training came as a result of participation in church events (concerts, worship services, weddings and funerals). She is also a classically trained oboist and studied for her master's in choral conducting at the University of Roehampton.

Gibson's choir directing experience began with her involvement in regional choirs for COGOP. Prior to the Royal wedding Gibson already had an established career in music with many prestigious and professional experiences directing gospel choirs. For example, she had conducted the Maria Fidelis Gospel Choir at Buckingham Palace. This opportunity came about as a result of winning the Choir of the Year award on BBC Songs of Praise (2010). Gibson has also been a judge on various vocal programmes broadcast on national television, including *The Naked Choir* and *Songs of Praise Choir of the Year*. This summary of Gibson's extensive gospel music experience highlights factors that would usually affect her stylistic choices for a gospel performance by one of her choirs. Some of these choices will be highlighted later in this case study.

Gibson's background is influenced by her Pentecostal upbringing and passion for gospel music.

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2 The Church of God of Prophecy is an international Pentecostal denomination that began in 1903 in Cleveland, Tennessee, USA (the denomination is now present in 125 countries). In the U.K this is a black majority church due to historical migratory factors explained elsewhere in this dissertation.

3 Historically, within COGOP regional choirs (also known as district choirs from inherited American terminology) are made up of the members from various local churches within a region of the UK for example South West region, West Midlands region etc.


However, the choices made for the Royal Wedding performance were markedly different from those Gibson might have chosen under other circumstances, as will be discussed later.

Gibson formed the Kingdom Choir (KC) over 20 years ago, and it has performed at high-profile functions virtually since its inception. KC has performed for well-known celebrities, including former President Bill Clinton, Bishop Desmond Tutu, and Nelson Mandela. KC also performed alongside American Gospel artists such as Fred Hammond and Donnie McClurkin, along with British pop acts, including Elton John and The Spice Girls. It comprises a mix of professional and semi-professional singers. The number of vocalists varies depending on the type of function and personal circumstances (for example work availability) of the singers. Most of the singers received their formative training in the Black British Pentecostal church. The choir took a hiatus from performing between 2008 and 2013; it began performing again by accepting various UK-based performance opportunities. The choir’s performances generally fall within the category of BBG with all the usual aesthetics present (discussed in chapter 3). The majority of the members of KC have a Pentecostal background. Over half of the members who performed at the Royal wedding have an affiliation with or history of attendance at COGOP.

6.1.2: Context of the Performance

The Royal Wedding of the Duke and Duchess of Sussex was aired live by the BBC on 19 May 2018. In the UK peak TV viewing figures were 27.7 million, and in the USA, 29 million watched the wedding live. It is estimated that the global audience was in the hundreds of millions. The opportunity for performance was afforded KC because an ex-member of KC 10 years previously was acquainted with a member of Prince Charles’ staff. Gibson relates that Prince Charles had a fondness for gospel choirs, so he tasked the staff member with finding a gospel choir for the wedding of Harry and Meghan. The staff member approached the acquaintance, and an invitation was communicated to the choir.

During an interview for Premier Christian radio Gibson recounts that she felt this performance was a matter of divine providence and that the choice of singers was therefore...
difficult.\textsuperscript{10} For Gibson, it was not just about singing well and executing the songs to the highest professional standard. Instead, the performance was viewed by Gibson and her team as a mission assignment.\textsuperscript{11} She also wanted to choose individuals for this performance with 'spiritual discernment' and the ability to 'go to God'.\textsuperscript{12} According to Gibson, there was organised prayer specifically for the event between choir members in the run-up to this performance. Further, individuals outside of the choir were enlisted to pray for divine providence concerning the performance. Evidently, given the level of spiritual preparation that was applied to this performance, the intention of the choir was not merely to perform but also to introduce a devotional aspect to the performance.

6.1.3: Song Context and Crossover

'Stand by Me' was first recorded as a popular song by Ben E. King in 1961. King began as a singer in his church choir before attaining fame within the popular music sphere. The song was adapted from a gospel song by Charles Tindley, 'Stand by Me Father'.\textsuperscript{13} Although this would be considered a secular song, the sacred origin of this song offers the listener various opportunities for engagement with God. There is room for a reading of transcendence which takes the listener outside of the immanent frame.\textsuperscript{14}

Speaking of the performance at the wedding Gibson explains that the version of 'Stand by Me' that was performed was not the arrangement originally submitted to the Royal family. In fact, it had to be revised 12 times.\textsuperscript{15} Gibson states that the performed version was far removed from what she had originally intended to present. These revisions were because the original had been given the 'full gospel treatment', and the palace representatives requested that the song be stripped back and simplified. This meant that rhythmically, harmonically and melodically, it was originally intended to be a more stylised performance.

Gibson told the interviewer that if the choice were hers, she would have gone for all the 'bells and whistles' meaning complete black American gospel aesthetics. Gibson also admits that

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{10} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{11} Perhaps one could interpret this to mean that there is an evangelical intent. At the very least as Gibson says that she intends to bring a “Kingdom experience” by which one understands the theological terminology of ‘Kingdom’ to be a bringing of the transcendent to the immanent frame.
\textsuperscript{12} ‘Spiritual discernment’ is a religious phrase (often used in Pentecostalism) describing an individual within the Christian community who has spiritual maturity and heightened awareness to be able to make choices that align with what might typically be termed God’s will. The ability to ‘go to God’ refers to an individual who has proven to be in a regular and consistent habit of prayer.
\textsuperscript{14} ‘The immanent frame is the social space that frames our lives within a natural rather than supernatural order’. Smith, \textit{How (Not) to Be Secular}, 141.
\textsuperscript{15} BBC Radio 3, ‘The Choir - The Choral Interview’.
\end{flushright}
this was difficult to accept as it was 'not gospel as she knew it', and if it were up to her, she would have performed an arrangement that genuinely reflected the black gospel sound.\footnote{Premier Christian Radio, ‘The Profile’.} Thus the performance was altered based on the client's preferences to meet the taste of the potential audience. This is important as it brings into question whether the performance at the royal wedding could be categorised as a typical gospel performance.

In the act of crossover, the choir was willing to use lyrics that are not (at first reading) religious and would typically be construed as secular. Stylistically, this performance was crossover 'by force'. The intention of KC's arranger was to execute a representative BAG stylised performance, but instead the performance was different. Gibson now readily accepts this sonic compromise as part of the mission. In order to reach a wider audience with KC's missional message, Gibson concedes that some of the more representative elements of black gospel might need to be sacrificed or approached differently to engage other listeners outside the traditional Pentecostal church. Gibson also observes that it is likely that had she executed the song as she envisaged it would not have had the viral impact that it did.

Gibson goes as far as to identify this as a method God would use to reach people. She labels it 'the kingdom way' presumably as opposed to a more internal-facing approach that does not consider nor intentionally appeal to listeners who have not been initiated into the Pentecostal mode of worship and musical expression.\footnote{BBC Radio 3, ‘The Choir - The Choral Interview’.} The album later released by KC on the Sony record label in 2018 continued this approach of a commercially palatable but not fully black gospel sound. The album is a mix of inspirational songs, secular love songs, and some religious songs. For Gibson, in many ways, the Royal Wedding was a means to a mission end essentially what might be termed discrete evangelism through music.

6.1.4: The Performance

The lyrics of 'Stand by Me' engage a conversation with the other.\footnote{For full lyrics see Appendix J.}\footnote{‘In him was life, and that life was the light of men. That light shines in the darkness, and yet the darkness did not overcome it.’ John 1:4-5 CSB.} The other may be interpreted as the divine or indeed as a human individual, whether this is a lover or a friend. The first verse begins with an entirely Johannine juxtaposition of light and darkness.\footnote{The other may be interpreted as the divine or indeed as a human individual, whether this is a lover or a friend. The first verse begins with an entirely Johannine juxtaposition of light and darkness. The land is overcome with darkness except for the light of the moon; the writer insists that fear is unnecessary.}\footnote{‘In him was life, and that life was the light of men. That light shines in the darkness, and yet the darkness did not overcome it.’ John 1:4-5 CSB.} The land is overcome with darkness except for the light of the moon; the writer insists that fear is unnecessary as long as there is the company of the other. Listeners could interpret these lyrics as an invitation
to engage with the divine other amid uncertainty (darkness). Equally, the song could be heard as a prayer for another (whether divine or human) to stand alongside the narrator in uncertainty.

The Kingdom Choir performance opened with soloist Paul Lee singing this verse with piano accompaniment which emphasised the solitary nature of the individual at this point in the song. This is particularly highlighted by using an F sharp minor 11\(^{th}\) chord on the word 'dark',\(^{20}\) which accentuated the image that the words create by moving from A major to the relative minor.\(^{21}\)

The solo opening was also a call to courage that the soloist was not alone but supported by the other (in this instance the choir represents the presence of the other). The collective experience and image of fellowship in crisis are hinted at in the chorus when the choir join in unison until the word 'stand', at which point they break into three-part harmony (soprano, alto, tenor).\(^{22}\) As mentioned in chapter 4 this type of harmonic distribution is idiomatic for black gospel choirs. The prominence of the word 'stand' is highlighted by the move to three-part harmony at this point.

The choir sing the second verse in unison. The first half of the verse is sung by the altos and sopranos, and the second half of the verse is sung by the tenors in a higher register than usual for a traditional gospel performance.\(^{23}\) This makes for a smooth transition from the (mostly) female vocal and emphasises the conversational aspect of the discourse between self and other. It also adds a call and response effect (typical in gospel music) while emphasising unity between the self and the transcendent other. The verse also references Psalm 46:2-3.\(^{24}\) This is an invitation for individuals who have engaged with this Psalm in the past (whether Christian or not) to reconnect with the meaning of the text.

Many elements of a typical black American gospel performance are absent from this performance by KC, altering their typical (and preferred) aesthetic. Nonetheless, the elements of gospel performance that are present are sufficient to indicate to the uninitiated listener that this is a gospel performance and not purely a pop performance, particularly when considered alongside

\(^{20}\)Timestamp 0:24 BBC, ‘Stand by Me’ Performed by Karen Gibson and The Kingdom Choir - The Royal Wedding.

\(^{21}\)In an interview the pianist David Elevique describes his performance: ‘When it came to the harmonic structure and that 11th everyone keeps speaking about, I was keen to add some light and shade to the piece.’ The piece is in A major, in case you were curious. ‘The first chord, the A major (root) chord,’ he explains, ‘is open, bright and minimal. The second chord (F# minor) is voiced with a subtle complexity and more depth to contrast the first chord. In the first verse, it also works well with the lyrics over the chord, “….and the land is dark”. From there it’s a mixture of open and closed voicings, changing intensity and moving to lower octaves to add drama and build as the song does and as the choir conductor demands during that specific performance’. ‘A Chat with David Elevique: The Royal Wedding Pianist’, Pianist, 6 June 2018, https://www.pianistmagazine.com/blogs/interviews/a-chat-with-david-elevique-the-royal-wedding-pianist/.

\(^{22}\)Timestamp 0:56 BBC, ‘Stand by Me’ Performed by Karen Gibson and The Kingdom Choir - The Royal Wedding.

\(^{23}\)Timestamp 1:17 - 1:54 BBC.

\(^{24}\)‘Therefore we will not be afraid, though the earth trembles and the mountains topple into the depths of the seas, though its water roars and foams and the mountains quake with its turmoil.’ Psalms 46:2-3 CSB
the final rendition of freedom songs at the end of the wedding. To organise my consideration of the musical values presented by KC at the royal wedding I will use the headings established by Mellonee Burnim. She asserts that in BAG there are three critical areas for establishing a gospel performance, sound quality, style of delivery and mechanics of delivery. Although Burnim's headings are based on BAG they remain useful as a mode of comparison and criteria for gospel performance, given that the roots of BAG and BBG are related.

6.1.5: Sound Quality

Historically, the aspect of sound quality in African American music has been subjected to much criticism. The reasons for this are directly related to the occidental understanding of aesthetic beauty in music. I argued in section 4.4.1 that particular vocal timbres are characteristic of African American music and, by extension, of BBG. Historically, varying timbres from groans and shouts to percussive hand claps and foot stomps enabled participants in Pentecostal worship services to demonstrate their engagement in a transcendent worship experience. These aspects were not present in the KC performance. Similarly, the gravel tone (also referred to as 'rasp', 'grit' or hoarseness) was also missing from the performance. The lead vocalist Paul Lee instead uses a clean and smooth tone to carry the lead of this song. The performance is devoid of any intentional hoarseness. Lee's performance remains compelling because it is a requirement within black gospel to be able to present a clean 'pop' vocal aesthetic when needed.

It is just as crucial for the vocalist to be able to 'switch gears' and deliver a more spirited performance using the gravel tone where necessary. Gravel tone is less used in mainstream pop performance but can be quite typical in BBG and BAG. It is important to note that the absence of this technique allows the listener to dissociate some of the sonic links that might have been directly made to the black Pentecostal church and in particular the singing preacher. The 'cleaner'

25 Other musicologists such as Guthrie Ramsey and Horace Clarence Boyer have also addressed gospel aesthetics but have not provided such convenient headings for consideration as the following: Mellonee Burnim and Portia Maultsby, African American Music, An Introduction, Second edition (New York: Routledge, 2015), 7-18.
26 Burnim and Maultsby.
27 ‘In most traditional [African and African American] singing there is no apparent striving for the “smooth” and “sweet” qualities that are so highly regarded in the Western tradition. Some outstanding blues, gospel, and jazz singers have voices that may be described as foggy, hoarse, rough or sandy. Not only is this kind of voice not derogated, it often seems to be valued. Sermons preached in this voice appear to create a special emotional tension.’ Courlander, Negro Folk Music, U.S.A.
28 Olly Wilson suggests that within African American music a range of dramatically contrasting qualities of sound (timbre) is sought after in both vocal and instrumental sound. Unlike a lot of European music which often favours the organisation of timbres so that similar timbres are placed together in performance. Wilson, ‘Black Music as an Art Form’.
pop aesthetic is more universally understood amongst mainstream audiences unfamiliar with the typical signifiers used in gospel music.

Screams and shouts are used within gospel as an expression of exuberant joy and passion. The performer often uses them to indicate a divine connection. It is common to hear screams and shouts from the audience in BBG and BAG. In many cases these expressions are very much an audible demonstration of earnestness in prayer or the state of eudaimonia. It has been less common to hear the vocalist/performer scream or shout on BBG recordings to date. There is a higher inclination toward capturing that musical gesture in BBG on live recordings as opposed to studio recordings. Notably, there was an absence of this aesthetic in the KC performance. The process of musicking during the KC performance is more controlled and restrained.

In a Pentecostal setting, the choir members often demonstrate spiritual and moral support for the lead vocalist and their message by screaming or shouting, sometimes using vocables or words of encouragement. Without understanding the meaning of these (more expressive) musical techniques, they can be misunderstood as a lack of respect for the performance. This is particularly true in a Western understanding of performance, where the listener generally plays a silent role in musicking. However, the tradition of interaction via this collaborative method in musicking is inherited from a West African perspective where the role of performer and audience are not distinct. Both may actively contribute sonically to the music-making, whether that be through clapping, playing the tambourine, foot-stomping, shouting or screaming.

Song speech also makes a stylistic connection between Pentecostal singing and the Pentecostal preacher. ‘Song speech is similar to operatic recitative where the gospel singer delivers a lyric that is either half sung/ half spoken or vacillates between a melodic and spoken phrase.’ This approach is far more common in BAG than BBG, although there are some examples of it on *On I Am God (Reprise)* by UK gospel artist Seth Pinnock. Parts of his performance straddle the line

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between sermonising and singing. Again, this charismatic approach is not present in the KC performance. The almost sermonising approach would likely have been considered inappropriate for the performance of a romantic and soul-influenced ballad. Equally, within the UK mainstream pop context, this type of vocal execution is not common except in rock music.

Typically, black Pentecostal gospel vocal harmonies are based on the major and minor triads (examined in chapter 4) organised by soprano, alto and tenor. There is rarely a bass part (in terms of vocal range), although the tenor lines may occasionally fall into that range. Typical examples of this type of harmony can be found on many BAG gospel recordings. KC comprises the three sections (SAT) singing the aforementioned harmonies, supporting the lead vocalist. Arguably, this is one of the more distinctive and readily accessible aspects of gospel music. It is integral to the identity of a gospel choir. KC fully utilised this aesthetic during the performance as they were only accompanied by a piano, so these harmonies could be readily heard. This harmonic structure would be a significant signifier of black gospel and is often the sound most associated with this genre.

6.1.6: Style of Delivery

The visual instruction by Gibson for the choir to move from side to side (often termed 'rocking') evokes the image of the black church and reflection of the historical connection of dance and music within the act of worship in black churches. The most obvious example of this is the ring shout. The uniform movement of the choir is a familiar signifier to those with experience of black church worship practices. It signifies that this moment was a divine one as dance is used in the Pentecostal church as an expression of praise of God.

Movement is an integral part of gospel music performance. It is an element that symbolises spiritual vitality. If a black Pentecostal audience is to be convinced, this element of movement should often be present. This is in contradistinction to Western art music as demonstrated by the other performers at the wedding, such as The Choir of St George’s Chapel, where rhythmic bodily movement would actively be discouraged. In his study of African music Nketia observes the importance of physical movement in musicking. He notes, 'movement intensifies one’s enjoyment

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34 Pinnock, *A New Thing Live.*
36 See timestamp 2:15-2:55 for examples of three part harmony. BBC, ‘Stand by Me’ Performed by Karen Gibson and The Kingdom Choir - The Royal Wedding.
37 This is a form of folk spiritual which incorporated highly stylised religious dance. The participants would move in an anti-clockwise circle.
of music through the feeling of increased involvement and the propulsion that articulating the beat by physical movement generates. The African diaspora has continued this tradition in black gospel music. Both BBG and BAG have a long history of incorporating movement.

Even though KC incorporates movement in the performance, the context means that the communication with the audience might be considered incomplete. This is because within a Pentecostal worship setting it is likely that individual congregants might be inspired to spontaneously also begin rocking too or perhaps physically stand up or raise hands in response to the performance. It is unlikely that this would happen at a Royal Wedding, especially in a traditionally Anglican space where charismatic music performance is not usually encouraged.

6.1.7: Mechanics of Delivery (Time, Text and Pitch)

The manipulation of variables such as time, text and pitch is a mainstay in gospel performance. It is the foundation for a critical aspect of gospel performance, improvisation. Altering time, text, and pitch makes the performance more individualised and stylised. The element of improvisation was present during the KC performance; Paul Lee used vocables ('oohh's') and added melodic ideas to the performance. Lee varies his pitch, choosing notes which are not part of the original melody. This adds interest and a certain unpredictability to the performance. Lee stretches some notes' duration and adds extra text to the song ('hey yeah'). Lee is relatively

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40 See timestamp 1:00-1:10 BBC, ‘Stand by Me’ Performed by Karen Gibson and The Kingdom Choir - The Royal Wedding.
41 See for example the words ‘light we see’ at timestamp 0:30 - 0:37 BBC; compare this to timestamp 0:20 - 0:30 Ben.E King, *Stand By Me*, Ben E King, Spotify Online Streaming (Atco Records, 1961), https://open.spotify.com/track/3SdTKo2oVxzFbIFQipScoHy?si=96dfa7b00bb94f06.
42 Timestamp 1:00 -1:10 BBC, ‘Stand by Me’ Performed by Karen Gibson and The Kingdom Choir - The Royal Wedding.
restrained in his use of improvisation. However, the presence of some improvisation combined with other gospel elements signifies that this is a gospel performance (restrained though it may be).

Within Pentecostalism, improvisation is often seen as indicating a transcendent connection between the performer and God. Congregants would typically respond to this physically and audibly, again initiating and inviting a communal aspect to musicking. Accordingly, this was signalled as a gospel performance to the uninitiated listener even though (textually) an overtly religious message was absent. However, as I have shown, some elements of gospel performance familiar within the black Pentecostal church community were omitted, and Gibson conveys in numerous interviews that this was not her choice.

6.1.8: Genuine Gospel Performance or Not?

Many aspects of this performance (when combined) communicated to the uninitiated listener that this was a gospel performance. For example; the use of a full gospel choir singing in three-part harmony idiomatic for the style of music, the incorporation of collective movement, the use of vocables and improvisation by the lead vocalist, the use of call and response between the choir and lead vocalist, stylised vocals in a popular vernacular style rather than Western classical. Another related observation is that this choir were all black. The stereotypical associations for the uninitiated viewer (particularly as the performance followed a very lively and charismatic sermon delivered by an African American preacher) are unmistakable.

Many Pentecostals would not view this as a genuine gospel performance for the following reasons; lyrically the song is a rhythm and blues song, the lyrics contain no mention of God thought essential for a true gospel performance, the opportunity that the choir had did not lend itself to any form of explicit evangelism (often in gospel performance there is the opportunity for choir members to exhort or extemporise on a spiritual topic before or after the performance), the choir went on to take many more 'commercial' opportunities after this indicating that (potentially) there were other motives than the spread of the gospel for accepting this opportunity. Also, the performance was restrained in many respects, detailed above. and in particular, the lead vocalist did not fully move to a chest voice (which more closely resembles a speaking voice timbre) during the performance. However, this performance contains enough gospel codes (the presence of the gospel choir, the incorporation of idiomatic physical movement, gospel harmony, improvisation) to be suggestive of the 'gospel sound' in popular music as outlined in chapter 4.
6.1.9: Reception and Interpretation through the Lens of Sacred-Secular Quadrants

In order to grasp the broader meaning of a performance, one should examine both performer intent and audience reception. I will use my sacred-secular conceptual framework to analyse the performance. My conceptual model organises the transcendent experience (in relation to sacred or secular music) and applies regardless of subscription to religious belief or a humanist worldview (figure 37).

I have defined each quadrant in section 1.3.1. In order to consider KC’s performance through the quadrants I complicate these categorical distinctions by suggesting that this song can be viewed in more than one quadrant. I am suggesting it is possible that music that is not explicitly religious can still evoke religious experience.

**Top Left Quadrant: Sacred and Holy (morally virtuous to the exclusive humanist)**

The KC performance can be considered within this quadrant because of the song’s religious roots. The lyrics have been borrowed from the bible and can be read intertextually as a prayer to God to stand by an individual in times of trouble.

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43 Tagg addresses this in his comments about authorship, one can trace this line of thought to the work of Roland Barthes see page X of my theoretical framework. ‘Authorship is conflated with authority, so to speak: more importance is attributed to intended meaning than to its perception, the sign’s object...taking pride of place over its interpretants’. Tagg, *Music’s Meanings*, 198. See also Cook, *Music, Imagination, and Culture*, 223.

Top Right Quadrant: Secular and Holy (morally virtuous to the exclusive humanist)

The song would fall into this quadrant because it is known as a popular love song. Furthermore, the virtue of love is valued by humanity regardless of whether one is religious or an exclusive humanist. Love (usually) is a virtuous aim because it strives for the best for oneself and others.

Bottom left quadrant – Sacred and profane (morally repugnant to the exclusive humanist)

Some people (particularly Christians) may consider the KC performance within this quadrant because of the element of commercial gain (discussed below). Some might see the act of performing gospel music for monetary gain as profane intent.

Bottom right quadrant – Secular and Profane (morally repugnant to the exclusive humanist)

Indeed, some Pentecostals have placed the song in this category because the song does not explicitly speak of God. Some Pentecostals understand that a choir positioning itself as a gospel choir should sing songs with an explicitly gospel message; anything else is viewed as profane. Indeed, it may be judged that the sacred environment has been distorted to have a secular love song indicating that human love (and not love of God) is the higher purpose.

6.1.10: Complicating the Discussion of the Quadrants as applied to KC's Performance

It is striking from a theological perspective that music classified as secular (the authorial intent being secular) often can be experienced as quasi-religious or spiritual.45 There are many more examples of secular pop songs that have religious potential and have been received as such.46 This move toward a broader approach to transcendence in music challenges accepted notions of 'Christian music'. This descriptor ('Christian music') generally identifies Christian music as that which contains overtly Christian content. McCracken advocates 'striking down the notion of 'Christian music'...[He argues that] sometimes the art that leads us most readily to God is crafted

45 Frank Burch Brown also makes this point in David Brown and Gavin Hopps, The Extravagance of Music, (Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), viii.
46 'Al Green insists that his love songs function no less effectively than his explicitly religious lyrics in offering a medium of access to God” Brown, God and Grace of Body; Another example of this phenomenon is Jeff Buckley who espoused no religious belief but rendered Leonard Cohen's Hallelujah. For Buckley the song was about the failure of human love, but it is possible to read the song in a more religious light as has been proven through its various religious iterations of the song. Speaking of Buckley's rendition, Brown states that 'precisely because the music pulls in a rather different direction from the concluding words, the possibility of a different reading and thus of a different resultant experience is always there.' Brown, 338.
by the hands of someone who doesn't even believe God exists'. McCraken's comments reinforce the premise of my dissertation that individuals can hear secular music and receive/interpret it as sacred, thereby accessing the transcendent.

The KC performance may easily be read as having multiple meanings. If the lyrics are taken literally, there is no explicit mention of the divine at all in this song. For this reason, it might be classed as secular, yet the cause of the song's existence would (within an occidental societal framework) generally be considered to be a morally virtuous or holy pursuit. That is to say the request for the other to stand alongside one is a virtuous endeavour. KC has since released an album (2018) with a studio recording of 'Stand by Me' with only minimal changes (instrumentation changes; bass guitar, synthesised pads, addition of percussion, electronic percussion, and a string section). They have also completed a UK and USA tour (2018-2019).

Although many concert attendees have no religious affiliation, they express having had their own personal transcendental encounters as a result of hearing the music. Karen Gibson kindly shared multiple accounts to support this statement (see appendix K). It would appear that for some recipients the experience of music in this setting is another (perhaps alternative) avenue for transcendental engagement as opposed to a regular church setting.

Within the top right quadrant, the song can be interpreted as a classic expression of desire for romance. The lyrics deal with this issue directly. Particularly with the use of the term of endearment 'darling'. Alternatively, speaking about the Jim Crow laws of the 1960s and activism, historian Craig Werner notes that this song is 'a classic case of political masking. Listeners unaware of the violence facing the beloved community can hear the song as a plea for romantic connection. But if you visualise a lone SNCC [Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee] organiser on a Southern back road, the song grows deeper'. The presence of a majority-black choir at a majority-white Royal wedding could be interpreted as a political statement. This is especially true if one considers the Freedom Songs of the civil rights movement that were sung at the end of the wedding. The message of the performance of this song acknowledges a complex historical relationship between empire and colonial subject. This is another opportunity for engagement with


48 Pickstock makes this argument in her chapter on 'Modernism, Postmodernism, Religion and Music'. She states 'It can be argued that the historical periods that have seen a gradual decline in the importance of church attendance have also seen the emergence of the public concert, opera and ballet as quasi-sacral rites that are neither liturgical music nor occasional music – such as ‘table music’ and music for dancing – nor music for private performance.' Jeremy Begbie and Steven R. Guthrie, eds., *Resonant Witness: Conversations Between Music and Theology*, The Calvin Institute of Christian Worship Liturgical Studies (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2011), 190; Also supported by Frank Burch Brown in his foreword to Brown and Hopps, *The Extravagance of Music*, ix.

the other, both divine and human. The opportunity for reflection on the historical relationship between the oppressed and the oppressor.

Particularly complex is the fact that the choir (most of whom are descendants of colonial subjects of the West Indies) are singing in a gospel style (a style of music birthed as an indirect consequence of the transatlantic slave trade) a song which could be interpreted as a politically masked song of resistance, 'no I won't be afraid'. During the Civil Rights era, 'Stand by Me' was, for some, a covert protest song sung alongside 'We Shall Overcome'. Chuck Scruggs, a black American DJ, recalled putting the song to political use. 'I'd go from a message song like [The Impressions'] 'Keep on Pushing' to, say, 'Stand by Me'. You see what I mean? … Stand by me people, cause we gotta keep on pushing for our freedom.'\(^{50}\) This points to an argument I made in chapter 3, that the identity of black British people of Caribbean heritage is best understood in the context of the Black Atlantic. It is an identity that functions across nation and state boundaries.

The reception of religious practitioners who subscribe to orthodox traditional Pentecostal views differs substantially from the aforementioned perspectives. In essence, this song would be viewed by them as an entirely secular (godless) song about love between a man and a woman. For this reason, it would also be considered profane. In spite of observations about the transgressive nature of the KC performance, the possibility for transcendent experience was open. This is true for a lot of gospel-pop crossover. It is especially the case when the performers harness musical values that align with religious (in this case Pentecostal) music. American Grammy award-winning gospel artist Donnie McClurkin criticised the performance of KC as he felt that gospel choirs ought to perform music that was explicitly pointing to the evangelical message of Christ.\(^{51}\) For the majority of its history, classical Pentecostal Christian leaders and preachers have been vocal about the distinction between the holy and profane. Nevertheless, history bears testament that since the inception of black gospel music, Pentecostal musicians have frequently crossed over the boundary between sacred and secular. Reed addresses this apparent contradiction in her chapter 'Rethinking the Devil's Music'.\(^{52}\) I agree with Reed that the 'churchification' of secular music by Black Pentecostal musicians shows a willingness to present the synthesis of their sacred and secular identities without apology or compromise.\(^{53}\) The song does not deal directly with God, but this does not preclude the traditional Pentecostal listener (who views the song as profane) from

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\(^{52}\) Reed, The Holy Profane: Religion in Black Popular Culture, 89–112.

\(^{53}\) Ibid.
accessing a transcendent aspect. It is a song about love, but one may be invited to engage with the transcendent from the familiar vantage point of the gospel stylisation and mode of delivery.54

Nevertheless, some black Pentecostals will insist on seeing this song through the lens of the secular-profane because the song was sung on a secular world stage (as opposed to the traditional church environment), and it did not have explicitly religious lyrics. Another interesting point is that this song will have been viewed with suspicion because of how well the listening world received it. There is a view within Pentecostalism that sharing the good news outside of the church walls should eventually be met with resistance and persecution from the majority of hearers (following the example of Christ and his disciples, the majority of whom were killed for their insistence on their religious message). This element was less than present in the reception of KC performance and for this reason may be viewed with suspicion by some Pentecostals.

The reception of this performance might also be viewed as sacred-profane. For the exclusive humanist this would be because the commercialising of religious music appears hypocritical. In other words, the intent of KC in performance on such a public and prestigious stage might seem to be for notoriety and monetary gain as opposed to the glorification of God. For the religious critic who understands the sacred theological implications of the song (as discussed previously), the song may still be received as profane. This is because it is a secular love song (or at least it will be heard by the majority as such) being sung in a church setting.

Professor Robert Beckford challenged accepted notions about the performance in his BBC Radio 4 Thought for the Day broadcast.55 Beckford challenged the commercialisation of gospel music, raising questions about its authenticity when it transcends the boundaries of the traditional church service. Beckford also questioned the performance opportunities granted to the choir as a result of their appearance at the wedding. 'Is it acceptable for a sacred art form to entangle itself with the consumer interests of a multinational corporation?'56 If the answer to Beckford's question is negative then the song could be viewed as sacred-profane because association with the 'consumer interests of a multinational corporation' could be perceived to be at odds with the goal of sharing the good news in song.

It is not a new phenomenon that gospel musicians move into performing popular music and alter their aesthetic in the process to appeal to a broader listenership (one need only take the

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54 Most Pentecostals who subscribe to orthodox views about the divide of sacred and secular music still acknowledge that the bible contains a book (indeed a lengthy song) entirely devoted to love and sexual union (Song of Solomon). Though there has historically been a reluctance to deal with this issue, it is nonetheless a factor in the ambivalence toward the topic of love. It is also a factor in Pentecostals willingness (in the face of the profane) to engage with romantic music. See for example previous comments on Al Green.


56 Ibid. (Beckford is speaking of the choir's opportunity to take part in an advert for Coca Cola)
example of Sam Cooke). Regardless of how exploitative a particular artist may intend to be, it is necessary to consider other aims and musical values that relate to the listener's desire if they are to be successful.\textsuperscript{57} Further, as Gibson mentioned in her interview the intention was not necessarily to present an authentic gospel performance but to use the platform to introduce the world to the transcendent through music.

The tensions that underlie the Kingdom Choir performance point towards a historical debate over the meaning of gospel music which came to the fore at the initiation of the genre. Beckford acknowledges the combination of the spirituals (religious songs of protest and double entendre) and the blues (the popular music of the African American underclass) to form gospel music. In doing so he articulates that one of the critical tools for gospel music is its appeal to popular culture by mixing its message and aesthetic with current vernacular musical forms. However, one of Beckford's biggest contentions is that 'the performance of contemporary black British Gospel music and the musical perspectives of black liberation theology are not natural companions. The two traditions operate in separate spheres of influence in Britain and rarely converge in popular culture, public events or academic discourse.'\textsuperscript{58} Black British gospel performance has a history of not dealing directly with social justice issues (one of the core principles of liberation theology). For some this appears to be a performance that lacks theological integrity and thus enters the profane even though it deals with sacred issues.

Though Beckford rightfully raises these issues, it does not preclude an individual (who agrees in principle with the views articulated) from experiencing the transcendent through an acknowledgement of the spiritual potential of the lyrical content. Another way of putting this argument might be: does the Kingdom Choir of necessity have to deal directly with topics of black liberation in order to invite experience with God? Listener responses would indicate that this is not the case.\textsuperscript{59} The implication by those who view the song as sacred-profane would be that this

\textsuperscript{57} Brown, \textit{God and Grace of Body}, 297.


\textsuperscript{59} Choir director Karen Gibson speaks of her experience with Black British gospel music: ‘People love music. When you add that to the themes of hope, love, joy, healing, redemption - it’s got to affect your spirit. I’ve taught Buddhists, I’ve taught Muslims, I’ve taught witches, and they have absolutely loved it…Whether you’re a Christian or not, it does something for your spirit. I believe that when you’re singing, the sound comes out and the words go in and if they’re words of joy then they’re going to cause joy. They’re going to bring joy, they’re going to bring peace and healing, they’re going to bring hope. It’s not scientifically tested but I keep seeing the same thing.’

song is profane because the content, performance style and authorial intent do not align with the elements of social justice and empowerment that early Black American religious music is known for. One of the central threads in black liberation theology is that God's central agenda for humanity is liberation and social justice. This element is seemingly absent from the performance.\textsuperscript{60}

In this section I have built on the straightforward quadrant reading of section 6.1.9. I have shown that, on further examination, 'Stand by Me' (a seemingly secular song) has the capacity to evoke the transcendent. The enchanted frame from which Gibson and KC operate in the performance of this song are central to appreciating the multi-layered connotations that may be evoked.

6.2: Mica Paris' 2020 Album, Gospel

6.2.1: Mica Paris - Context

London born Michelle Antoinette Wallen MBE (known professionally as Mica Paris) is a black British soul singer, presenter and actress. She grew up in the New Testament Church of God, Lewisham, South London.\textsuperscript{61} The New Testament Church of God is a denomination started in the UK by Windrush migrants. The UK arm of this organisation is part of a wider network of churches that has a history dating back to its start in the USA at the birth of Pentecostalism in the early 1900s. As discussed in chapter 3, the younger black Britons of the late 70s and 80s had turned to American gospel stylisation as their mode of expression for public worship. This is no less true of Mica Paris. Paris' Jamaican grandparents were Pentecostal ministers, and they brought her up. Paris' grandmother discovered Paris that could sing at the age of four, and at nine years old, she joined the choir at her grandparents' church.\textsuperscript{62}

During her formative years, Paris' commitment to her local church appears to have been unwavering. She recounts 'I went to church every day, for choir practice, Bible study, prayer meetings and all that educational stuff -- and it was there I discovered that I loved to sing'.\textsuperscript{63}

\textsuperscript{60} I would argue that this discussion is helpful in seeking to push the conversation about gospel music in new directions, particularly for BBG songwriters. However, history bears testament to the fact that since the 1960s civil rights movement in America and the use of the freedom songs – there hasn’t been a movement of that scale and influence using gospel songs for social justice purposes.


early musical training consisted of immersion in the sound of contemporary gospel (of the 1970s and early 1980s), particularly the music of the Hawkins family and Andraé Crouch. At the age of nine Paris gave her first solo performance singing a Walter Hawkins song, 'He's Just that Kind of Friend'. From her recollections, her exposure to American gospel records from the USA inspired her early development. According to interviews (unbeknownst to Paris' aunt who imported gospel records) Paris would take her aunt's gospel records and study them. Paris recalls listening obsessively to every ad-lib, particularly being in awe of Edwin Hawkins' 'Oh Happy Day'.

Paris won her first gospel singing competition aged ten and after this began singing at churches all over England. In numerous interviews, she recounts becoming curious about her father's secular music collection. The Pentecostal doctrine against secular music was strictly enforced in her grandparents' home. Paris would buy secular records and hide them under her bed as her grandparents believed that it was 'the Devil's music'. As a teenager Paris began to get more exposure outside of the church gospel circuit which caused conflict with church leaders. By 1987 she was offered a deal with Island Records and became one of the first black British gospel singers to cross over to the mainstream. The reaction from her grandparents and the wider Pentecostal church was one of concern and consternation.

She has since become a household name in UK soul music; her first single went platinum and she subsequently had several UK chart successes releasing six more albums. She has published a book and become a popular media personality. Paris also hosted her own Radio 2 soul show, she was a panellist on ITV's Loose Women, and more recently she was added to the cast of EastEnders. Paris is known in UK popular culture, and for this reason, I included her and the latest album *Gospel* (2020) as a case study around black gospel music and secularisation.

Regarding her faith she says 'I don't go to church at all now, but I do hold prayer meetings in my house. I believe every faith is a different road to the same place, but singing gospel remains

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64 The Hawkins family were based in Oakland, California. Edwin (1943 – 2018) and Walter (1949 – 2010) were well-known in the gospel community (along with Walter’s ex-wife, still known professionally as Tramaine Hawkins (she now refers to herself as “Lady Tramaine”)). They produced a plethora of gospel recordings that revolutionised gospel music most notable of which are the Love Alive series led by Walter Hawkins. But also, Edwin Hawkins crossover 1968 hit “Oh Happy day”.

65 In an interview, Paris recalls, ‘Mama and Papa’s [reference to her grandparents] living room was like a shrine; the front room was sacred. So I would tiptoe in, past the cabinets with the special plates, and place the record player needle carefully in the grooves. My friends were out playing but this was my special thing, and by the time I was 10 I had nailed all those black American gospel singers.’ Warren, ‘Mica Paris: My Grandfather Thought Any Music but Gospel Came from Satan’s Kingdom’. Se also timestamp 10:00 - 12:00 on: Premier, ‘Mica Paris’.

66 ‘He and my mother would visit once a week and he would educate me about black history, civil rights, jazz, Miles Davis and, of course, soul… I started studying the soul records my dad had shared with me and found the contrast with gospel intoxicating.’ Warren, ‘Mica Paris: My Grandfather Thought Any Music but Gospel Came from Satan’s Kingdom’.


68 Ibid.
the most incredible feeling and leaves you in tears whether you are a believer or not'.69 The following transcript from her interview on Premier Christian Radio highlights the expressive individualism of a secular, age:

I am not into organised religion and all of that you know…to me there are many roads to the divine and I respect everybody's different way of getting to the divine. For me it's all about your intention and as long as you're good and do unto others as yourself, you know it's all that. That's the moral code you have to get back to, we've got to be like him…you know what I'm saying? I'm not even religious but I'm telling you... we can't be passive right? It seems to me that people like Stormzy, Kanye West, all of these people that are now going to gospel there's something going on and we're not even aware that we are all doing it at the same time…who would have thought that Snoop Dogg would do a gospel album?...It looks like Spirit wants us… he's probably going to do a new thing… he's going to use different people to get it out and I'm like, 'hey… I'm part of it, thank you very much'.70

In contrast to Gibson, Paris is a resident in the pluralistic frame outlined in chapter 1. Therefore, her offering of the album Gospel should be seen as evoking a pluralistic paramusical field of connotation.

6.2.2: Context of the Album Gospel

The album Gospel is Paris' eighth studio album released on 4 December 2020, her first album since 2009. The album offers a mix of sacred gospel, spiritual, and secular inspirational songs, all offered with gospel stylisation.71 This album is a return to Mica Paris' beginnings, and she dedicates the project to her grandparents.72 Paris was approached by Lenny Henry to do a documentary on the history of gospel music for the BBC. The documentary was released in August 2020 entitled The Gospel According to Mica. In this documentary, she explores the history of American

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69 Warren, ‘Mica Paris: My Grandfather Thought Any Music but Gospel Came from Satan's Kingdom’; In her interview for Premier Christian Radio Paris also states, ‘I don’t go to church, I don’t do none of that stuff, but I have always prayed, prayer is very important to me, and usually around this time of the year I usually get prayer meeting in my house…for me prayer meeting is the one…because you really feel the presence when you pray’ Premier, ‘Mica Paris’.

70 Timestamp 49:00 - 51:00 Premier, ‘Mica Paris’.

71 The term gospel stylisation is broad. Here I mean it in the sense of ‘gospel as understood by pop culture’, defined in chapter 4. Which accords with the gospel techniques identified in my table on gospel stylisation.

slavery and the sacred music that came out of the black experience, particularly the spirituals and gospel. Paris dubs this a sort of 'coming home' for her as an artist.

Given the Caribbean history I discussed in chapter 3, it is striking that the story does not include the narrative of sacred music expression that comes out of the Caribbean. Nonetheless, the documentary reflects Paris' most fundamental American gospel musical influences. The album was released later that year during the Covid-19 pandemic and soon after the death of George Floyd. In reflecting on these issues Paris says that the intent behind the album was to offer hope and faith in this situation. Paris has mentioned other inspirations for making this album were the Kingdom Choir's appearance at the Royal Wedding, as well as '[seeing] artists like Stormzy make Gospel music current again'. The album was made in three weeks, and the songs which are not 'sacred' gospel music were chosen because they reminded her of church songs.

6.2.3: Reception and Interpretation through the Lens of Sacred-Secular Quadrants

**Top Left Quadrant: Sacred and Holy (morally virtuous to the exclusive humanist)**
Aspects of Paris' album can be considered within this quadrant because of the religious theme of the album *Gospel* and the inclusion of many songs with explicitly Christian themes. The lyrics of many of the songs convey the doctrinal specificity of Protestant Christianity.

**Top Right Quadrant: Secular and Holy (morally virtuous to the exclusive humanist)**
Aspects of this album may fall into this quadrant because its Christian content includes songs that do not have explicitly religious themes. Instead, these songs relate themes of love and inspiration such as 'Something Inside So Strong', 'Human' and 'Mama Says'.

**Bottom left quadrant – Sacred and profane (morally repugnant to the exclusive humanist)**
As mentioned regarding KC, some people (particularly Christians) may consider the whole album within this quadrant because of the element of commercial gain. Some strict Pentecostals may judge a person (who does not specifically profess Christian faith) singing Christian songs as being insincere. Particularly as there is an aspect of personal monetary gain attached to the album's sale.

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73 Speaking of the death of George Floyd and the coronavirus pandemic ‘Today we all face challenges like we’ve never had before and faith in the future will help us all through this and I hope my album will inspire people to have hope.’ Premier, ‘Mica Paris’.
75 Timestamp 9:00-9:40 Premier, ‘Mica Paris’.
Bottom right quadrant – Secular and Profane (morally repugnant to the exclusive humanist)

Given Paris' non-specificity regarding her faith, some traditional Pentecostals might not engage with this album (or at least certain songs). The reason for this is the belief that a gospel album should have an explicitly gospel message, as anything else is viewed as profane. It is also the case that some Pentecostals connect the sincerity and intention of the performer with the ability to deliver transcendent experiences. As noted in interviews, Paris is clear about her desire to distance herself from the exclusive message of Christ being the only way to 'the divine'. This approach may cause some Pentecostal listeners to judge Paris as insincere in her performance of certain religious lyrics on the album. Thus, also viewing the album as secular and profane.

6.2.4: Gospel Music's Meaning in a Secular Age: 'It was my party trick'

Given that Gibson and her choir are professing Christians, it is helpful to note the difference in content to Mica Paris' album in terms of lyrical content. Compared with the Kingdom Choir album offering (Stand by Me), Paris' album has more explicitly Christian songs than the Kingdom Choir. One might have expected the Kingdom Choir to offer a more gospel 'message' content in their gospel-inspired album music, given Gibson's track record in the field of gospel. Paris is very clear that specific gospel techniques she uses have critical meaning within the Pentecostal church context. She recounts in many interviews sentiments similar to the following, 'standing at the front of Papa's [her grandfather's] church in my Sunday best, I'd watch as the tears began to roll so I’d hold the notes for longer'.

She recounts that people would 'go in the spirit' at church when she did this. Paris states that for her it was a 'party trick'. This anecdote about 'holding the notes' seems to have resonance for Paris as she indicates that it was one of the keys to her beginning a friendship and working relationship with Prince.

In an interview for Premier Christian Radio Paris recalls going to Camden Palace (now known as KOKO) for a secret concert held by Prince. He asked Paris to join him on stage to sing 'Just my Imagination'. Unfortunately, she forgot the words for part of the song, so she improvised using her 'party trick'. Paris noticed that both Prince and the crowd 'went crazy'. This reference carries meaning from both a Pentecostal viewpoint and a secular perspective. It is clear that there

76 This is one of many occasions that Paris recalls the power of holding a note. ‘Mica Paris: My Grandfather Thought Any Music but Gospel Came from Satan’s Kingdom’; see also Mica Paris, Mica Paris - The Story Behind Gospel (Behind The Scenes), 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-6SJFZIGGOM.
77 ‘But I noticed when I held the notes really long, everyone started to get into the spirit. So I started holding that note – it was all going off like The Blues Brothers. They were jumping up and down, and then suddenly there was a star: we've got this little prodigy.’ ‘Mica Paris’.
is a shared store of signs that Paris is drawing on that are intersubjectively effective producing eudaaimonia in both audiences. It confirms my theory that gospel musicians are successful in crossover because this store of signs that have a sacred meaning in the church is also desirable in secular environments.

Paris is clear that gospel music is spiritual music for her. I read this to mean that the techniques she uses have a semiotic spiritual significance. 'I discovered at a very young age that gospel was a way of reaching people in the very core of their soul, and it didn't matter if they were religious or not…when I sing gospel it's like I become a channel for something else'.⁸⁰ This indicates that Paris knows the techniques she uses in her art have a transcendent meaning for some of her listeners. The album itself conforms to the pop culture perception of gospel that I outline in my chapter on gospel sound. Paris is very clear that she did not want the album to sound like a secular record. Instead, she wanted 'authentic rawness the proper hand claps, people are in there [speaking of the studio] clapping their hands, the choir are doing that, nothing is not raw….you can still bring the digital things, but there's nothing like the human touch...(rubs hands together) you can feel it'.⁸¹ Paris distinguishes between the approach that she is taking and contemporary gospel. Speaking of her vision for the album Paris states:

I didn't want it to be like contemporary gospel is now… I'm not a fan of contemporary gospel…to be straight, I'm still listening to the Hawkins now…I still listen to them…once in a while Mary Mary [multiple Grammy award-winning contemporary gospel artists] will cover an old Hawkins song…But for me the Clark's always keep it like it was back in the day…. that's my time. What I associate gospel to be. That kind of gospel – the Hawkins, Andraé Crouch – you can't mess with that… it will rock you to the core…. I chose these songs because I wanted to give people that hope and faith and make them feel something.⁸²

These sonics on the recordings of these artists reflect the sound outlined in chapter 4 that foregrounds: Hammond B3 organ, piano, drum kit, electric bass and guitar (and sometimes auxiliary percussion), usually with the addition of a gospel choir. Generally, the vocals are not over-processed with compression, the blend of the choir is often a little less even, and the ambience of

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⁸⁰ ‘Mica Paris: My Grandfather Thought Any Music but Gospel Came from Satan’s Kingdom’.
⁸¹ Timestamp 46:00 - 48:00 Premier, ‘Mica Paris’.
⁸² Ibid., Timestamp 46:00 mins - 48:00 mins.
the room is often captured to give more of a live feel.\textsuperscript{83} This is the sound that Paris was aiming for, very similar to the gospel sound as described in chapter 4.

Although it is an obvious starting point, it is necessary to consider the album title, \textit{Gospel}. With this title Paris is understood to be making a statement about the album's intent. The word 'gospel' literally means good news and is understood within Christian circles to speak of the message of hope connected to the death, burial and resurrection of Christ. However, as mentioned earlier, Paris has distanced herself from the specificities of the Christian faith and prefers a more pluralistic approach to religion. Despite this, the album contains five songs that are part of the black American Christian sacred tradition, 'Oh Happy Day' (gospel), 'Take My Hand Precious Lord' (gospel), 'Go Down Moses' (spiritual), 'Amazing Grace' (Protestant hymn). In its own way, each of these songs conveys elements of specifically Christian doctrine. For this reason, the album could be considered to have a gospel message. Yet, Paris' intent demonstrates that the album can be read differently. The inclusion of other songs that (according to Paris) 'sound' like gospel indicates a broader remit to the message she is conveying.\textsuperscript{84}

The other songs on this album are intended to inspire hope, from Foreigner's 'I Want to Know What Love Is' to Sam Cooke's 'A Change is Gonna Come'. This project is not an evangelical one, in the traditional meaning of seeking to convert people to Christianity. This contrasts with the intent of the Karen Gibson and Kingdom Choir in their Royal Wedding appearance and subsequent album. Instead Paris' evangelism is intentionally non-specific; there is an irony that she has chosen songs with specifically Judeo-Christian heritage and themes to disseminate a non-specific message of hope. Nevertheless, this is the essence of the theory that I have been proposing: that gospel music can be used in a pluralistic context (even where there are doctrinal specificities in the music, e.g. Stormzy's 'Blinded by Your Grace') to point toward a number of different options for the listener.

Even when choosing a song such as 'Amazing Grace', Paris does not consider the Protestant Christian gospel message as central but instead highlights the feeling of comfort it brings her. She posits that this is the reason it has become a standard in black churches around the world.\textsuperscript{85} Mica Paris' approach to her art is similar to that which English composer John Rutter has articulated in the past. In an interview published in the \textit{New York Times} (2017), Rutter, who writes Christian sacred music, is described as having 'nebulous' personal beliefs about Christianity. 'I love

\textsuperscript{83} These are generalisations for the sake of brevity. A more extensive discussion on gospel sound can be found in chapter 4.

\textsuperscript{84} 'I chose the other songs because they sounded like gospel' Premier, 'Mica Paris'.

\textsuperscript{85} 'The feeling of comfort offered by a song like Amazing Grace has made it a gospel standard in black churches all around the world.' 'Mica Paris: My Grandfather Thought Any Music but Gospel Came from Satan's Kingdom'.

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the Church of England,’ Mr Rutter said, ‘when I set a sacred text, I enter it with all my heart. But I'm more a supporter than a specific believer. I have a problem signing on dotted lines.’ In the past, Rutter has identified as an agnostic who does not write to 'promote Christianity'. In the same way, Mica Paris can be described as having a 'nebulous' faith. It is this spirituality (which is open to interpretation) by the listener that implies the transcendent through the use of gospel signs and lyrics.

6.3: Dave - In The Fire

6.3.1: Context

David Orobosa Omoregie (whose stage name is 'Santan Dave' or just 'Dave') is a black British rapper, multi-instrumentalist, producer, singer and songwriter. Dave has had repeated success in the UK Official Charts. His first UK number one 'Funky Friday' was released in October 2018. His debut album *Psychodrama* reached number one in March 2019; the album also won the Mercury Music Prize. Dave's second album was released in 2021, entitled *We're in this Alone Together*. This album peaked at number one on the Official Album Charts. 'In the Fire' is track four on the album and peaked at number six on the charts. It could be argued from these statistics that over the course of three years Dave's music has embedded itself within a portion of popular culture. 'In the Fire' is replete with gospel stylisation and as such it is appropriate for a case study to close this chapter's examination of black British gospel in a secular age and re-enchantment.

'In the Fire' demonstrates the ways that the transcendent may be evoked in the everyday life of an individual inhabiting a secular age. This track exemplifies the belief that even in the articulation of the profane there is a possibility of evoking the transcendent. This song might be considered by Pentecostals to be a controversial locus for the transcendent because of the profanity of some of the lyrics. I challenge this by showing that an attitude of hospitality needn't


87 The interview continues, ‘When I press him on the truth of the Christmas story in all those carols, he prevaricates. “That’s like asking if a Beethoven symphony is true: it’s not a question that gets you very far. The questions I’d ask about the Christmas story, or Beethoven, are: is it inspiring, is it uplifting, and does it have something to say to us today? Answer: yes, yes, yes.” Michael White, ‘The Carol Singers’ Shining Star’, *The Telegraph*, 14 December 2001, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/4727014/The-carol-singers-shining-star.html.


89 Ibid.

mean acquiescing to all of the lyrical content in order to empathise with (and appreciate) the inclusion of the spiritual in the stories of those who are striving for human flourishing. I will also show that the presence of a variety of gospel codes is an indication of the intention to evoke the transcendent on this track. Lastly, I demonstrate that Dave (and the other featured rappers) takes on the role of the blues preacher and as such, they exemplify the current age of authenticity by being willing to transgress and complicate constructed sacred-secular boundaries.

Dave (who is of Nigerian heritage) was born in London and raised by his mother, Juliet Doris Omorogie. His father (Frank Omorogie) was a Pastor; Mr Omorogie was deported from the UK in Dave's formative years. It is not clear whether Dave regularly attended church growing up, however, the album *We're in this Alone Together* is littered with Christian references. For example on track 7 ("Lazarus") Dave states, "any weapon formed against me can't prosper": this is a direct biblical quotation from Isaiah 54:17. The title 'Lazarus' is a reference to a man that Jesus raised from the dead (taken from the bible in John 11). Dave's lyrical interactions with Christianity place him in the category of the blues preacher. In the tradition of the blues preacher, Dave often uses Christian rhetoric as part of his performance in secular settings. 'In The Fire' challenges the sacred-secular binary by combining them in practice. This supports my argument (made in chapters 3 and 5) that the melding of the sacred and secular through (cross-fertilisation of styles and the persona of the blues preacher) is a Black Atlantic practice consistent across the Caribbean, USA and UK.

The practice of blues preaching is reflective of the age of authenticity (see 5.4.4). Instead of showing how 'In The Fire' evokes a para-musical field of connotation, this section places the song within the quadrant model. I do this in order to establish that the blues preacher is a key representative of expressive individualism in popular culture. The expressive individualism demonstrated by Dave is a marketable commodity (as confirmed by his chart success). A discussion of the marketability of certain kinds of Christian expression in pop music is beyond the scope of this chapter, but I seek to highlight the place that gospel codes hold as the audible super-structure that is supported by the age of authenticity and expressive individualism in a secular age.

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92 Mentioned in an earlier chapter in relation to Stormzy, see 5.4.4.

93 Expressive individualism means that in a secular age 'each one of us has our own way of realising our humanity' and that we are called to live that out ("express" it) rather than conform to models imposed by others (especially institutions). Smith, *How (Not) to Be Secular.*
6.3.2: In The Fire

In this case study, I am focusing on the original recording of 'In The Fire', but I also make reference to Dave's 2022 Brit Awards performance as he included visuals that further clarify his intentions for the track. The lyrics communicate a narrative of difficulties and disadvantages that the rappers on the track (Fredo, Meekz, Giggs, Ghetts and Dave) had to overcome on the way to obtaining a better life for themselves. The song is built on references to three passages of the bible:

Yet he knows the way I have taken; when he has tested me, I will emerge as pure gold. (Job 23:10 CSB).

…so that the proven character of your faith — more valuable than gold which, though perishable, is refined by fire — may result in praise, glory, and honour at the revelation of Jesus Christ. (1 Peter 1:7 CSB).

…each one's work will become obvious. For the day will disclose it, because it will be revealed by fire; the fire will test the quality of each one's work. (1 Corinthians 3:13 CSB).

The first and second biblical references communicate that the difficulties an individual may face in life are to be valued as significant and perhaps even character forming. It was understood by the biblical writers that when gold was heated it would not be destroyed but would become purer. In the same way, a person's faith (after going through difficulties) should not be destroyed but instead should be strengthened and become more resolute. The original recording of 'In The Fire' opens with a sample of the 1982 song 'Have You Been Tried In The Fire' by the Florida Mass Choir (a gospel choir). The sampled song is a reference to these biblical verses.

The third biblical reference is connected to a particular day of reckoning in which the life that one has led will be examined by God. The metaphorical fire will verify whether the actions of an individual were carried out with motives that were directed toward the glorification of God or not. Dave understood this biblical verse as relevant to his song. His set designers incorporated the

95 See appendix M for the lyrics.
reference into the stage design for his 2022 Brit Awards performance. In the background of the set the number 313 is displayed backwards (see figure 38). His set designers state:

We definitely took that and put that in our set, with "313" put backwards built in our set. It's not meant to be obvious. It's something that maybe a really intricate Dave fan would go away and Google "313" to find out what that is. It's referencing Corinthians 3:13 [from the Bible]: "...Each one's work will become clear; for the Day will declare it, because it will be revealed by fire; and the fire will test each one's work, of what sort it is." Dave really liked that idea. For all three of us, if someone takes that away and goes, "oooh, that's what it means" that's incredible. If they don't, that's also cool. But it's something that's there for any avid Dave fan.97

![Figure 38 - In the set design, Dave has incorporated a biblical reference to 1 Corinthians 3:13. The numbers are reversed and shown at the back of the set.](image)

By relating the narrative of their circumstances to the biblical metaphor of being tried in the fire, Dave intentionally invokes the transcendent. The song is based on the notion that the process of overcoming adversity is one that God is involved in (though it may not be evident at the time).98 Other biblical references in this song include Ghetts' identifying with Moses' burning bush encounter in Exodus chapter 3, 'This is Moses speakin' to the burnin' bush. I stood in front of the fire and learned to cook'. Ghetts also references the Genesis 4:9 narrative of Cain and Abel with the words 'Am I my brother's keeper (it's deeper) I'm my brother's leader (speaker)'. These biblical references are further evidence of the enchanted imaginar upon which the track is built.99


98 See earlier reference to theodicy in section: 5.3.1.

99 Smith states, 'An "enchanted" theology of creation and culture…perceives that the material creation [is] “charged” with the presence of the Spirit, but also with other spirits (including demons and “principalities and powers”), with entailed expectations regarding miracles and spiritual warfare’. Smith, Thinking in Tongues, 12.
Dave and Ghetts remain in the tradition of the West African Griot (traditional storyteller referred to in section 5.4.4). But through their incorporation of explicitly Christian references, they also propagate an 'affective, narrative epistemology'. According to James Smith, affective, narrative epistemology is vital to Pentecostal life. It amounts to the individual ability to tell their story or 'testify' to the activity of God in their life as a way of knowing the reality of God. He suggests that implicit in Pentecostal experience is a particular understanding of 'the nature of human persons' as being storytelling creatures. Smith makes clear that affective, narrative epistemology is one place where Pentecostalism differs from the approach of 'rationalistic evangelical theology (which reduces worship to a didactic sermon, and conceives of our relation to God as primarily intellectual, yielding only "talking head" Christianity'). Instead Smith observes that Pentecostal knowledge is 'rooted in the heart and traffics in the stuff of story'. He argues that Pentecostal affective, narrative epistemology is one of the reasons for the deep affinity between postmodernism and Pentecostalism. This affinity is exemplified on 'In The Fire' where the personal narratives of the rappers are related to spiritual themes. I assert that Dave's testimonial, storytelling style of performance is one of the reasons that Dave's enchanted worldview holds the interest of participants in popular culture.

The opening sample on 'In The Fire' features Baptist preacher and singer Rev. Milton Biggham stating the following words:

I know I got religion, I belong to the noisy crew, you see we shout when we get happy, that's the way we Christians do…

Though Biggham is a Baptist minister the reference to the 'noisy crew' and 'shouting when we get happy' are equally applicable to the Pentecostal frame I have been discussing in this thesis, particularly the goal of eudaimonia in worship (see section 0.1.2). Biggham's words are an introductory opportunity for the listener to become oriented within the enchanted worldview that Dave presents. The inclusion of Biggham's words clarifies Dave's intention for the song to be considered evocative of the transcendent.

100 Smith, 43.
101 Ibid.
102 He continues ‘...It’s not that propositional truths can be “packaged” in narrative format for “the simple”; rather, the conviction is that story comes before propositions — imagination precedes intellection. We know in stories. As Christian Smith has observed, “we not only continue to be animals who make stories but also animals who are made by our stories.” Smith, Thinking in Tongues.
Timestamp 0:00 to 0:18, contains a variety of gospel codes that prepare the listener to consider the spiritual themes of the song. The call and response between Biggham and the congregation includes audible shouting and cheering between his phrases in support of the message. One hears Biggham state 'I know I got religion…etc' in this way he is conveying his testimony and sharing his truth while the witnesses (the congregation) join the musicking process by punctuating his phrases with shouts of affirmation. The sense of common-union is constructed in the mind of the listener through the inclusion of this sample (see section 4.4.7 discussion on spatialisation and common-union). As a result, one may read this song as being the shared story of many in society who have been 'tried in the fire' epitomised by the multiple rappers who join Dave on this track. Similarly, at other points (see 5:49 to 5:59) the question from the soloist 'have you been tried in the fire?' is answered by a loud 'yes' from the choir, supporting the notion of a communal experience.

The Florida Mass Choir sample is repeated throughout 'In The Fire' reminding the listener of the gospel intention. In the sample, the improvisatory nature of the vocals and music are evocative of the eudaimonic ideal and spontaneity aimed at in a Pentecostal service. Biggham bends his note on the word 'belong' (0:04 – 0:06) while being supported by typical instrumentation for the gospel sound (Hammond organ, guitar, piano and drum kit) all contributing to the spontaneous improvisation heard in the sample.\footnote{For a discussion of gospel instrumentation see section 4.4.6.} In The Fire' opens in the key of F# minor then at 0:19, the track modulates to B minor and remains in this key for the duration of the song. This modulation signals a shift from the traditional church environment to a secular environment. In this secular environment, God can be considered to be present and involved in the everyday lives of Dave and the other featured rappers.
In the 2022 Brit Awards performance, Dave further demonstrates his gospel intent by using a fully robed gospel choir. These members perform the typical physical gestures of rocking (see sections 6.1.6) and raising hands (see sections 4.4.8, 5.3.5 and 5.4.4). Though many of the choir members do not have mics, their presence is another symbol of the church present in the song and suggestive of the transcendent. The combination of biblical references and other gospel codes with a commercially popular release places this song in the category of gospel-pop crossover.

6.3.3: Reception and Interpretation through the Lens of Sacred-Secular Quadrants

**Top Left Quadrant: Sacred and Holy (morally virtuous to the exclusive humanist)**

I have chosen not to consider this song within the quadrant of sacred-holy as the lyrical content would be prohibitive (the song is categorised as explicit and contains the use of expletives). It is true that, for some, the use of expletives would not be prohibitive in the categorisation of a song as holy and sacred. However, Dave's choice to mark this song as 'explicit' (combined with the presence of expletives) would usually prevent such a recording from being played in traditional Christian environments for meditation or worship.\(^{105}\)

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\(^{105}\) In her article for *Christianity Today*, Carolyn Arends discusses Christian use of profane language. She states ‘Contempt is a mixture of anger and disgust, expressed from a position of superiority. It denigrates, devalues, and dismisses. It’s not hard to understand why even subtle levels of contempt are damaging—not only in marriages but in all human interactions. If profane language has a privileged place in the lexicon of contempt, then Christians have a unique mandate to avoid profanity. It’s not that abstaining from pejorative language outfits us with some holier-than-thou halo. It’s that we are called to live with a servant’s heart, affirming the dignity of every human and the sacredness of existence.’ Carolyn Arends, ‘The Trouble with Cussing Christians’, *ChristianityToday.Com* (blog), accessed 23 April 2022, https://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2013/april/trouble-cussing-christians.html.
Top Right Quadrant: Secular and Holy (morally virtuous to the exclusive humanist)

It could be argued that the song could be placed in the holy-secular category because there is no direct mention of God, but it could equally be claimed that the intertextual references are strong enough for a listener to comprehend the sacred manner with which the song was delivered. It should be pointed out that a song delivered in a sacred category does not always carry the quality of reverence; one need only consider the imprecatory Psalms to appreciate this point.\(^{106}\)

Bottom right quadrant – Secular and Profane (morally repugnant to the exclusive humanist)

I have also chosen not to consider it within the quadrant of the secular-profane because the song has multiple biblical references as well as the sample from the Florida Mass Choir. The presence of these musical elements as well as the choir in the Brit Awards performance seem to indicate that Dave's intention was different to a secular-profane one. Instead I consider this song within the sacred-profane quadrant.

6.3.3: The Sacred-Profane: A Site for Increased Hospitality

Bottom left quadrant – Sacred and Profane

I consider this song within the sacred-profane category. This category still contains the potential for the evocation of the transcendent. The song explicitly deals with a common striving for human flourishing through the metaphor of being tried in a fire. The adoption of the blues preacher persona by the rappers on this song exemplifies the expressive individualist ideal of a secular\(^3\) age. While Dave has not made any public profession of Christian faith, the biblical references and the presence of gospel codes seem to indicate that Dave wishes this testimonial song to be considered within the enchanted frame.

\(^{106}\) In the bible, the imprecatory psalms are those that imprecate (invoke curses, disaster or judgment on one’s enemies or those who are seen as the enemies of God). Some of these psalms use descriptions and requests that, on a surface reading, would be considered abhorrent. See for example ‘Happy is he who takes your little ones and dashes them against the rocks.’ Psalms 137:8-9 (CSB).
It is likely that Dave knew this song could not be performed in a typical Pentecostal church service. Yet the content of the song deals with issues that many people (whether Christian or not) have to face. These issues include low pay, drugs, knife crime, gun violence, and immigration. Dave considers these issues part of a test of faith; many conservative Christians would view these challenges in the same way (though they may not articulate them in the way that Dave has). I contend that a posture of hospitality on the part of Pentecostals would open a fruitful dialogue within the category of the sacred-profane. This category is a place where the initiated and uninitiated may meet. It is a site of shared experiences that carries the potential for humanistic common-union (at the very least) and perhaps even a sacred experience.

6.4: Conclusion

This examination of the performances of Karen Gibson, Mica Paris and Dave supports my theory about re-enchantment and pluralistic interpretations of gospel music in a secular age. Regardless of the individual's intent, an awareness of the cognitive contamination of a pluralistic frame aids in understanding how gospel music may be interpreted outside of church environments. Following my observations about post-Christendom, one can read these religious texts (the music of Gibson, Paris and Dave) as emerging in a milieu where the Christian faith is losing coherence. The Christian story has definitively shaped Western society. Institutions that have been developed to express Christian convictions continue to decline in influence. Some popular music carries noticeable echoes of its Christian past (particularly gospel music signs), but these expressions exist in a frame that has been subject to the nova effect. Nonetheless they play a key part in the re-enchantment of Western society. The performances of Gibson, Paris and Dave exemplify the result of the nova effect on gospel music in popular culture. They also demonstrate that new models are needed for conceptualising the binary of sacred and secular music. I offer my four-quadrant model as one way of reconceptualising the relationship between sacred and secular music in a secular age.

108 The ‘nova effect’ is the explosion of different options for belief in a secular age, produced by the concurrent ‘cross-pressures’ of our Western religious history.
CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

Is it possible that one day gospel music will no longer belong to the church?

-- Dr Horace Clarence Boyer 1979.¹

In this dissertation I have shown that the presence of black gospel stylisation in popular music complicates the understanding of the secular (as proposed by secularisation theorists). I have demonstrated this by producing a theory of gospel stylisation called gospel codes; the codes highlight the caricature of gospel tacitly understood by the uninitiated listener to signify gospel. My research shows that gospel codes are demonstrably ubiquitous in UK and USA pop recordings from the 1970s to the present day.² I have considered gospel music in Pentecostal contexts from a semiotic perspective and offered a Peircean reading of gospel codes that may be applied in 'secular' environments. The verbal-visual associations of listeners indicate that these gospel codes can semiotically signify the transcendent to listeners.

Chapter 1 showed that secular pop music can evoke notions of the transcendent for some listeners. I asserted that there is a shared store of signs between gospel and pop which I call the Gospel-Pop Bridge of Mutual Exchange. The associations of some of these signs with the transcendent allow them to remain spiritually evocative even in so-called secular environments. Chapter 2 used an original Peircean gospel-pop semiotic framework for understanding how the transcendent may be evoked. I also demonstrated that gospel music signs may be understood with differing levels of competence. Chapter 3 provided a history of the black British gospel sound. This account relied on Caribbean roots rather than the typical African American narrative. I showed that the ability to perform in African American gospel stylisation was critical in allowing black British musicians and artists to cross over to pop. Chapter 4 presented the essence of the gospel sound as it is understood in popular culture. Through a few in-depth case studies and numerous examples, I showed that the gospel sound has permeated pop music. Chapter 5 applied my semiotic theory to both Pentecostal music and gospel-stylised pop in order to show how music’s meanings can be carried into different environments and sometimes transformed through codal interference. Chapter 6 used my quadrant model to show that studies of the reception of secular pop should include hospitality to the potential evocation of the transcendent.

² This is most clearly seen in chapter 4 and also in the data contained in appendix c.
In this dissertation I argued that the current secular age embraces pluralism (Ch. 1).\(^3\) As a result, the option for the consideration and acceptance of the transcendent remains open to listeners.\(^4\) Throughout this dissertation I have argued that the presence of gospel codes in pop music is significant as they are part of the re-enchantment of the West.\(^5\) I have used the concept of re-enchantment to suggest that gospel codes form part of the spiritually pluralistic milieu of popular culture. Musicians who crossover from gospel music to pop are often experts in using these codes. The implication of this is that popular culture continues to be infused with echoes of Western Christianity.\(^6\)

Though Christian influences in Western popular culture remain, the hegemony of Christendom (particularly in the UK) is firmly in the past. For those working at the intersection of religion and popular music this presents a rich field for further study; particularly around the presence and utilisation of codes used in black religious settings (and their re-interpretation within popular culture). Equally, there is value in theologians examining the enduring presence of overtly Christian symbols such as the gospel choir in pop music. The profound intertextuality in the performance of Stormzy demonstrates the validity of this claim (Ch. 5). The arguments in this dissertation have gone some way toward proving that echoes of Christianity continue to permeate pop music. This includes the influence of Judaeo-Christian language (such as the use of the words 'hallelujah' and 'amen') and some of the musical codes identified in chapter 4.\(^6\) Unmoored from their Christian roots, religious references such as 'grace' (Ch. 5) may take on a life of their own. At the same time, it is an indication that our secular age is not an age of complete unbelief; it is instead an age of believing differently from the accepted models of Christendom.\(^7\)

With the creation of the sacred-secular quadrants (Ch. 1 and 6), not only have I interrogated the traditional sacred-secular binary, but I have also shown that there are various sites for transcendent experience in a pluralistic society with 'many altars of modernity'.\(^8\) In a relativistic post-modern milieu each experience may be considered valid by those who engage with and are able to interpret gospel codes in pop. Some Pentecostals may argue that these experiences of the transcendent in pop are not valid because of their lack of doctrinal specificity. My response to this is that a hospitable outlook should inform Pentecostal theology about music on sacramentality and the functional embedding (in popular music) of accepted theological concepts such as

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\(^4\) The transcendent is defined here as in the rest of my dissertation as an ‘an antonym to the immanent frame’.
\(^6\) See appendix c for evidence of this in pop songs.
\(^7\) Smith, *How (Not) to Be Secular*, 47.
\(^8\) A phrase coined by the sociologist Peter Berger which is a play on St Paul’s biblical encounter with the polytheistic Greeks at Mars Hill in Acts 17. Where St Paul observes that the Greeks worship many Gods instead of following the monotheistic tradition of the Jews and Christians. Berger, *The Many Altars of Modernity*.
common grace and general revelation. As McCracken has aptly stated, 'sometimes the art that leads us most readily to God is crafted by the hands of someone who doesn't even believe God exists'. This observation is accommodated by the theories presented in this thesis. I would argue that Pentecostal theologians can build on these theories (particularly the sacred-secular quadrants) to provide a more hospitable theology of secular music.

My semiotic arguments about gospel codes (Ch. 2) suggest paths toward a more hospitable approach to music that is perceived as secular. This hospitable approach is primarily encouraged through the incorporation of the listener's share, which remains critical in deciphering music's meaning. This dissertation has demonstrated that verbal-visual associations of listeners should be taken seriously when interpreting musical signs. In addition, codal competence is required in this interpretation process; this means familiarity with the socio-cultural and religious context in which gospel music is created and performed. The religious context informs the use of gospel in pop culture. Once gospel shows up in pop as gospel codes its meaning is far more malleable. As Casselberry has said, 'musicological methods of analysis that focus on structure prove inadequate for understanding the aesthetics of pop music. Instead, the analytical focus should be 'on the totality of its reception by the listener'. The use of gospel codes in other genres is an area that requires more study. Gospel codes can be used by researchers in other streams of music such as hip-hop and jazz to understand the influence of gospel in these areas. This would support the core argument of my dissertation and provide more evidence of the continued impact of gospel on other styles of music. I hope that this dissertation will provide the seeds for such discussions.

I have also provided an account for the transatlantic stylistic heritage of Black British gospel music (Ch. 3). The Black Atlantic gospel heritage related in this dissertation is a different narrative to the traditional African American understanding of gospel music. Black British gospel in its formative stages was a unique product of cross-fertilisation, which forged a sense of black identity beyond nation-state boundaries. But this sense of identity is complicated by the fact that the Caribbean stylistic elements do not appear to have been preserved on performance recordings (in the UK) with the same amount of diligence as American stylisation. Many factors give rise to this phenomenon. For example, the global marketability of the African American gospel sound (Ch. 4) may have made it more attractive to artists of Caribbean heritage. Alternatively, younger artists of the 80s and 90s may have wanted to distance themselves from outdated styles of Caribbean expression associated with their parents. Chapter 3 offers a unique study tracing the

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11 Casselberry, ‘Were We Ever Secular?’, 171.
musical stylistic heritage of Caribbean Pentecostal churches in the UK. It is my hope that others in the fields of musicology, ethnomusicology, post-colonial studies, and sociology can use the content of this dissertation to build on that discussion.

The observations within this dissertation have the potential to be broadened beyond the Caribbean Pentecostal churches. British Gospel artists from West African churches (or of West African heritage) such as Ghana-born choral conductor and singer Junior Garr, Nigerian singer-songwriters Samuel Nwachukwu (aka Called Out Music) and Muyiwa Olarewaju OBE fuse West African stylisation into their gospel performance. They do this by including West African languages, percussion instruments such as the Djembe and rhythms idiomatic of West African music. Their work is of deep significance to the development of black British gospel. They have not been included in this dissertation as I have intentionally focused on the legacy of Caribbean Pentecostal churches and their descendants who were the pioneers of black British gospel music. These West African artists are part of a second wave of African migrants that began to arrive in the UK during the late 1980s and particularly the 90s who planted charismatic churches across the country. To include this as part of my study would have broadened it beyond a manageable scope. These churches have their own cultural and theological nuances that require separate treatment. The existence and current growth of these churches does not change one of this thesis's central points; that the current desirability of BBG musicians in the popular music industry is related to their mastery of BAG signs.

This dissertation also highlighted a critical period of change in the popular social imaginary for the sound of gospel (Ch. 4). I highlighted a non-exhaustive universe of topics that constitutes the gospel sound in pop. The chapter reflects the pop culture understanding of gospel rather than what initiated gospel listeners would understand the gospel sound to be. Appendix c supports my argument that the elements identified as part of the gospel sound are used widely in pop music to imply gospel. I also proposed new ways of understanding spatialization on gospel recordings. A limited number of technological parameters related to spatialization were referenced. For instance, microphone placement, compression and reverb. By means of music production technology, a variety of parameters are utilised to semiotically communicate to the listener on gospel records (for example reverb, equalisation and dynamic processing). In the future, these parameters and their settings should be examined as there could be shared characteristics placing them on the Gospel-Pop Bridge of Mutual Exchange. This is an area for further study.

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Codal competence is required for an individual to engage with the gospel sound (Ch. 5). For this reason, a sermonic exposition on music's meaning was used to show how gospel signs may be understood (and engaged with) by the initiated. Once an initiated person's perspective of musical signs was established, the chapter showed how these signs might be used (and interpreted) outside of the church environment. This involved showing how a different field of implied meaning could be arrived at in secular settings. The fields of implied meaning were examined through case studies on Beverly Knight's cover of 'One More Try' and Stormzy's 'Blinded by Your Grace'. Although these studies relied heavily on Christian interpretations of the songs to draw out meaning, there is potential for studies of gospel-pop performances to be taken further by examining their meaning from other perspectives. Knowledge of the Christian history of the West is critical to understanding the presence of gospel codes in pop music. But those who are from different religious and spiritual persuasions will receive these gospel codes in ways that may not resonate with traditional Christian understanding. Scholars of religion and popular music could take my semiotic framework further; this can be done by applying the framework from the vantage point of those of other religions and exposing on the paramusical fields of connotation produced.

One way the secular age is being re-enchanted is through the use of gospel-code in secular settings (Ch. 6). Through two case studies and the application of my quadrants, I evidenced that the gospel sound in pop music carries special meaning for some listeners. I used the quadrants to show that listener's experiences of the transcendent do not conform to the traditional sacred-secular binary. Instead, I showed that the quadrants may be applied to a variety of cases. I also argued that the artist need not be spiritually invested in the same way as the listener for gospel-code to evoke transcendent meaning.

With the rise of postmodernism there has been a reduction in certainty about what can be claimed to be moral knowledge.\textsuperscript{13} The distinctions between the holy and profane fall into this category of moral knowledge. My four-quadrant model offers a heuristic for those concerned about such distinctions in sacred or secular music with lyrics. It is a model that may be useful for those with particular religious persuasions, but it is equally helpful for those who describe themselves as exclusive humanists. One needn't be a specialist in music to have an inbuilt frame of reference for what music one personally considers acceptable. My quadrant model is offered as a tool and a guide not an absolute science. The model also complicates these moral considerations by showing that what is traditionally considered sacred music is not the only site that may be conceived of as a place for a transcendent experience. The quadrant model could help frame

discussions about morality and popular music. Thomas Scheff poses questions about 'what kinds of lyrics would help rather than hinder the listener's development in the real world?'. Listeners could use the quadrants to indicate their sense of what a song's lyrics may be doing for them.

Another avenue of further enquiry that this dissertation might open relates to pedagogy. Specialists in music pedagogy might consider the oral tradition of gospel music being central to how gospel musicians learn (implicit throughout this thesis). Lucy Green provides an excellent analysis of how pop musicians learn. My preliminary research suggests important similarities between the way that pop musicians learn and how gospel musicians are trained. This would be a fruitful field of enquiry that would add to my theory of the Gospel-Pop Bridge of Mutual Exchange. It would augment the bridge by adding to the shared gospel and pop signs the shared approaches to the training of gospel and pop musicians.

I conclude by returning to the epigraph at the opening of this chapter. The presence of gospel stylisation in secular pop indicates that there is value in gospel that reaches beyond the church. In 1979, musicologist Horace Clarence Boyer posed the question, 'is it possible that one-day gospel will no longer belong to the church?'. This question implies that gospel music only 'belonged' to the initiated churchgoer and not the uninitiated. The presence of gospel stylisation in pop on the radio even at this juncture of the late 1970s indicates that the market was already beginning to answer Boyer's question. The co-existence of sacred and secular music on black radio programmes indicated that gospel music had a reach outside of its immediate church community. Gospel stylisation was also being capitalised on by recording companies and enjoyed by non-religious consumers. Maultsby states 'many "sinners" came to appreciate gospel music identifying with its aesthetic and even spiritual message'. My dissertation demonstrates that this trend has a transatlantic narrative, the 'appreciation' has crossed US borders manifesting in a variety of ways, particularly in the UK.

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14 One such discussion is Martin Cloonan and Bruce Johnson’s study of the barbarism present in some popular music in Dark Side of the Tune. See Bruce Johnson and Martin Cloonan, Dark Side of the Tune: Popular Music and Violence, Ashgate Popular and Folk Music Series (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008).
16 Green, How Popular Musicians Learn.
20 ‘Sinner’ should be read as a pejorative term for the uninitiated/non-Christian listener. Lornell, 180.
Gospel stylisation has particular meaning within black Pentecostal churches.\textsuperscript{21} Many individuals who are not part of the initiated church community identify with the sound of gospel (and perhaps the message too). They may claim that this music forms part of their identity and creates a sense of belonging.\textsuperscript{22} My sense through this research has been that gospel stylisation cannot be completely disconnected from its origins in the black church; even if at an initial hearing there is understandable unfamiliarity for the uninitiated (a good example is the journalist David Nathan, referenced in the epigraph at the opening of this thesis).\textsuperscript{21} In a re-enchantment of the secular age, without the supporting mechanisms of Christendom, gospel codes will not always be read and understood in the ways intended by initiated practitioners. Although codal interference may often be at work, at its core, the gospel sound continues (as the Reverend C.L. Franklin said) to ‘mend the broken heart, raise the bowed down head, and give hope to the weary traveller’. May this always be the case both for initiated churchgoers and those who are not.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{21} Braxton D. Shelley, “‘I Love It When You Play That Holy Ghost Chord’: Sounding Sacramentality in the Black Gospel Tradition”, \textit{Religions} 11, no. 9 (4 September 2020): 2–6, https://doi.org/10.3390/rel11090452.
\item \textsuperscript{22} My case study in chapter 6 on Mica Paris supports this point. Although Paris is not a Christian, she sings gospel music and identifies with it as the music she is most at home with.
\item \textsuperscript{23} ‘I had no idea that what she was bringing to the song was her none-too-shabby years of singing in her father’s church and as a virtual child prodigy on the American gospel circuit. All I knew was this young woman was turning “Walk On By” into a religious experience for this British teen.’ Some Things Are Sacred: A Jubilant Appreciation of The Music of Aretha Franklin. By David Nathan: Articles, Reviews and Interviews from Rock’s Backpages.’
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Appendices

Appendix A - John Storey’s six definitions of popular culture

1. Popular culture is simply culture that is widely favoured or well-liked by many people: it has no negative connotations.

2. Popular culture is whatever is left after you've identified what "high culture" is: in this definition, pop culture is considered inferior, and it functions as a marker of status and class.

3. Pop culture can be defined as commercial objects that are produced for mass consumption by non-discriminating consumers. In this definition, popular culture is a tool used by the elites to suppress or take advantage of the masses.

4. Popular culture is folk culture, something that arises from the people rather than imposed upon them: pop culture is authentic (created by the people) as opposed to commercial (thrust upon them by commercial enterprises).

5. Pop culture is negotiated: partly imposed on by the dominant classes, and partly resisted or changed by the subordinate classes. Dominants can create culture but the subordinates decide what they keep or discard.

6. The last definition of pop culture discussed by Storey is that in the postmodern world, in today's world, the distinction between "authentic" versus "commercial" is blurred. In pop culture today, users are free to embrace some manufactured content, alter it for their own use, or reject it entirely and create their own.

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Appendix B – Responses to Coldplay’s NPR Performance

Damian Perz 1 week ago
Back singers: how much heavenly do u want our voice
Coldplay: yes
👍 248  📣  REPLY

Michelle McKinney 1 week ago
When the pastor finally let's the shy little white boy lead the choir a solo in his all Black church one Sunday...
👍 418  📣  REPLY

Hide 3 replies

Louis Rodriguez 1 week ago
Facts 😂😂
👍 5  📣  REPLY

Elijah Hill 1 week ago
“Joyful Noise” proven.
👍 5  📣  REPLY

Vitória Reis 3 days ago
HAHAHAHAHAHAHAHA

Matt Woodlend 1 week (edited)
I'm from Australia and I'm a musician. In 2018, I was in the deep south for a month visiting. We attended famous soul singer Al Greens church on a sunday morning in Memphis. Rev Al was amazing!! It was an experience I'll never forget. I'm not a religious person at all. I turn around and look around the church, and Chris Martin and his son Apple were sitting behind me. I'm not a huge Coldplay fan myself. No one really figured out who he was except for me and my friend. He was standing up the back getting right into the gospel music, clapping and moving to the music. Watching this concert kind of tells me were he got the idea from. I have alot more respect for him and Coldplay now :)
Show less
👍 54  📣  REPLY

Terry Arnold 1 week ago
Joyous and uplifting....from someone that normally doesn't listen to Coldplay...really enjoyed this...
👍 2  📣  REPLY

Léna huraux 1 week ago (edited)
I really don't get why, but tears came by themselves at the end of "Viva la vida"
👍 24  📣  REPLY
Kimberly Bohio 15 hours ago
God, seeing those beautiful happy faces emanating so much love, really helps in times like these! such a fantastic vibe. thanks again npr tiny desk crew!

Jeremy Thomas 2 weeks ago
Couldn't stop the tears while watching this. Life has been so surreal and stressful lately and this just gave me hope in humanity.

DDinNTK 1 week ago
Amazing spirit in the performance! The singers really make it, but Chris’s joy is visible. Just what the doctor ordered for a quarantined day.

Mary mary 1 week ago
JOY, MAKES A HEART HAPPY.

shynecindy 2 weeks ago
I don't know why this is making me cry right now. I'm just dealing with a heavy heart because of the covid19 casualties in my country, and this is just what I needed to hear.

Beloved Woman 1 week ago
Music is the language all of our souls speak. Hallelujah 🙏

Many thanks to Tiny Desk and Coldplay for this mini concert.

Marian G 1 week ago
This video just made me feel HOPE! It is so hard to think positive at this point in our lives, like really really REALLY hard. But listening to Chris and everybody else just made me tear up. Once again, thank you NPR for giving the world exactly what it needs.

Regina135 1 week ago (edited)
Never had any time for Coldplay whatsoever but this must be wah gwan in Heaven. See you there y'all, there's room for all of us.
Roido 1 week ago
Add a gospel choir to your band and it will be Church all up in this piece! Can I get a Amen for Cold play!

Micah Boyd 2 days ago
I cannot say how much I've need this, life brings so many things to your front door and this truly brings an absolute smile to my face. I hope that anyone that watches this Coldplay tiny desk feels as genuinely happy as I'm feeling right now. God bless...good night.

1 like 1 reply
Appendix C - The Gospel Sound in Pop.

Appendix C is evidence of my premise that sonic signs of gospel are present in pop music and that they are audible to listeners. I have provided many examples of popular performance recordings that signify gospel to a lesser or greater extent. These signs can be heard through the presence of the topics discussed in chapter 4. These songs were gathered through various verbal-visual associations. The first source is Steve Hoffman’s website.\(^1\) Hoffman is a well-known mastering engineer and hosts a website where people from all over the world can join various electronic forums to discuss music and the visual arts.\(^2\) The second VVA source is SongFacts.\(^3\) I also accessed two playlists on Spotify: 'Pop Songs with Gospel Choirs' and '12/8 Gospel and Soul'.\(^4\) In appendix C, these songs are tested against my list of topics to verify the extent of the presence of gospel code discussed in chapter 4. See next page for appendix C.

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1 https://www.stevehoffman.tv/
2 https://forums.stevehoffman.tv/threads/your-favorite-gospel-influenced-pop-songs.449300/page-3
### Appendix C – Data

Note to reader: Zoom in or print on A3 for clarity.

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<th>Presence of Vocal Improvisation</th>
<th>Presence of Intervocal Improvisation</th>
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<td>14</td>
<td>The Best Of The Staple Singers</td>
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<td>Anytime You Need A Friend</td>
<td>Anytime You Need A Friend</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Keep On Pushing</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Move On Up</td>
<td>Move On Up</td>
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<td>Workin'</td>
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<td>Curtis Mayfield</td>
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<td>Laura Nyro</td>
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<td>Presence of the Harlem Gospel Choir</td>
<td>Syncopation</td>
<td>Homorhythmic Harmonies</td>
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<td>Songs of Praise - 2007 Remaster</td>
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<td>The Lord is My Shepherd</td>
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<td>Respect Yourself</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1972</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>God's Little Acre</td>
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<td>Church</td>
<td>Kathy Judgen, Ruth John</td>
<td>Julee Lotus</td>
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<td>Take Me To The Park</td>
<td>Elton John</td>
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<td>1970</td>
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<td>I Want To Know What Love Is</td>
<td>Agent Provocateurs</td>
<td>Foreigner</td>
<td></td>
<td>1982</td>
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<td>I Want To Know What Love Is</td>
<td>Aerosmith</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>Where A Man Loves A Woman</td>
<td>Percy Sledge</td>
<td>Percy Sledge</td>
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<td>1966</td>
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<td>37</td>
<td>Just For You</td>
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<td>1964</td>
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<td>38</td>
<td>Kuru...Side</td>
<td>The Isley Brothers</td>
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<td>1959</td>
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<td>38</td>
<td>Chain of Fools</td>
<td>Lady Soul (With Bonus Tracks)</td>
<td>Aretha Franklin</td>
<td>2z8PSS00q39t</td>
<td>TXnL</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>Chain of Fools, NY, USA: &quot;chain of foals,&quot; which sounds a lot like a '60s blues or country record but only half of Aretha's '60s material, such as &quot;You're All I Need,&quot; eschews gospel or pop music heavily layered with gospel sounds.</td>
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<td>46</td>
<td>I Never Loved a Man (The Way I Love You)</td>
<td>Freedom Highway</td>
<td>Aretha Franklin</td>
<td>4ioNP12wZS8</td>
<td>TXnL</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>I Never Loved a Man (The Way I Love You), NY, USA: &quot;I Never Loved a Man,&quot; which sounds a lot like a '60s blues or country record but only half of Aretha's '60s material, such as &quot;You're All I Need,&quot; eschews gospel or pop music heavily layered with gospel sounds.</td>
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<td>51</td>
<td>Freedom Highway</td>
<td>Freedom Highway</td>
<td>The Staple Singers</td>
<td>5oROkcna6W</td>
<td>TXnL</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Freedom Highway, NY, USA: &quot;Freedom Highway,&quot; which sounds a lot like a '50s gospel or country record but only half of The Staple Singers' '50s material, such as &quot;When I Was There,&quot; eschews gospel or pop music heavily layered with gospel sounds.</td>
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<td>44</td>
<td>I Know</td>
<td>Mary Charles</td>
<td>Ray Charles</td>
<td>rcMZRf1vwko</td>
<td>TXnL</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>I Know, NY, USA: &quot;I Know,&quot; which sounds a lot like a '50s gospel or country record but only half of Ray Charles' '50s material, such as &quot;I Don't Care,&quot; eschews gospel or pop music heavily layered with gospel sounds.</td>
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<td>45</td>
<td>I'm in Love With You</td>
<td>The Same Thing</td>
<td>Ray Charles</td>
<td>GPTI5A9lsr0</td>
<td>TXnL</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>I'm in Love With You, NY, USA: &quot;I'm in Love With You,&quot; which sounds a lot like a '50s gospel or country record but only half of Ray Charles' '50s material, such as &quot;I Don't Care,&quot; eschews gospel or pop music heavily layered with gospel sounds.</td>
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<td>47</td>
<td>I'm in Love With You</td>
<td>The Same Thing</td>
<td>Ray Charles</td>
<td>L0Rh7G84Um</td>
<td>TXnL</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>I'm in Love With You, NY, USA: &quot;I'm in Love With You,&quot; which sounds a lot like a '50s gospel or country record but only half of Ray Charles' '50s material, such as &quot;I Don't Care,&quot; eschews gospel or pop music heavily layered with gospel sounds.</td>
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<td>I'm in Love With You</td>
<td>The Same Thing</td>
<td>Ray Charles</td>
<td>2oZmMp5M6</td>
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<td>1957</td>
<td>I'm in Love With You, NY, USA: &quot;I'm in Love With You,&quot; which sounds a lot like a '50s gospel or country record but only half of Ray Charles' '50s material, such as &quot;I Don't Care,&quot; eschews gospel or pop music heavily layered with gospel sounds.</td>
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<td>I'm in Love With You</td>
<td>The Same Thing</td>
<td>Ray Charles</td>
<td>247idk9vGx</td>
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<td>1957</td>
<td>I'm in Love With You, NY, USA: &quot;I'm in Love With You,&quot; which sounds a lot like a '50s gospel or country record but only half of Ray Charles' '50s material, such as &quot;I Don't Care,&quot; eschews gospel or pop music heavily layered with gospel sounds.</td>
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<td>I'm in Love With You</td>
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<td>Ray Charles</td>
<td>477T7Xa201</td>
<td>TXnL</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>I'm in Love With You, NY, USA: &quot;I'm in Love With You,&quot; which sounds a lot like a '50s gospel or country record but only half of Ray Charles' '50s material, such as &quot;I Don't Care,&quot; eschews gospel or pop music heavily layered with gospel sounds.</td>
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<td>53</td>
<td>I'm in Love With You</td>
<td>The Same Thing</td>
<td>Ray Charles</td>
<td>3RnSHkCiL9k</td>
<td>TXnL</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>I'm in Love With You, NY, USA: &quot;I'm in Love With You,&quot; which sounds a lot like a '50s gospel or country record but only half of Ray Charles' '50s material, such as &quot;I Don't Care,&quot; eschews gospel or pop music heavily layered with gospel sounds.</td>
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<td>54</td>
<td>I'm in Love With You</td>
<td>The Same Thing</td>
<td>Ray Charles</td>
<td>3GPTI5A9lsr0</td>
<td>TXnL</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>I'm in Love With You, NY, USA: &quot;I'm in Love With You,&quot; which sounds a lot like a '50s gospel or country record but only half of Ray Charles' '50s material, such as &quot;I Don't Care,&quot; eschews gospel or pop music heavily layered with gospel sounds.</td>
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<td>I'm in Love With You</td>
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<td>Ray Charles</td>
<td>3RnSHkCiL9k</td>
<td>TXnL</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>I'm in Love With You, NY, USA: &quot;I'm in Love With You,&quot; which sounds a lot like a '50s gospel or country record but only half of Ray Charles' '50s material, such as &quot;I Don't Care,&quot; eschews gospel or pop music heavily layered with gospel sounds.</td>
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<td>56</td>
<td>I'm in Love With You</td>
<td>The Same Thing</td>
<td>Ray Charles</td>
<td>3GPTI5A9lsr0</td>
<td>TXnL</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>I'm in Love With You, NY, USA: &quot;I'm in Love With You,&quot; which sounds a lot like a '50s gospel or country record but only half of Ray Charles' '50s material, such as &quot;I Don't Care,&quot; eschews gospel or pop music heavily layered with gospel sounds.</td>
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<td>57</td>
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<td>The Same Thing</td>
<td>Ray Charles</td>
<td>3GPTI5A9lsr0</td>
<td>TXnL</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>I'm in Love With You, NY, USA: &quot;I'm in Love With You,&quot; which sounds a lot like a '50s gospel or country record but only half of Ray Charles' '50s material, such as &quot;I Don't Care,&quot; eschews gospel or pop music heavily layered with gospel sounds.</td>
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<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>I'm in Love With You</td>
<td>The Same Thing</td>
<td>Ray Charles</td>
<td>3GPTI5A9lsr0</td>
<td>TXnL</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>I'm in Love With You, NY, USA: &quot;I'm in Love With You,&quot; which sounds a lot like a '50s gospel or country record but only half of Ray Charles' '50s material, such as &quot;I Don't Care,&quot; eschews gospel or pop music heavily layered with gospel sounds.</td>
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<td>Commenter ID or Direct Quote</td>
<td>Year of Original Recording</td>
<td>Genre</td>
<td>Arpeggios, figures, scales, melodic lines, or thematic ideas in the song</td>
<td>Progression of the Chord Changes</td>
<td>Voicing of the Chord Changes</td>
<td>Texture</td>
<td>Harmony and Melody</td>
<td>Instrumentation</td>
<td>Spatialisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Something inside is Strong</td>
<td>Something inside is Strong</td>
<td>Michael Jackson</td>
<td>00mLGZBp4x</td>
<td>Mellow titled gospel, features gospel choir</td>
<td>Forum Respondent: Ignatius</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Gospel</td>
<td>12/8 (COGIC common metre)</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Earth song</td>
<td>Earth song</td>
<td>B.J. Thomas</td>
<td>22OTrlQy1sX</td>
<td>Folk-rock, the song starts off with the words “Earth song”</td>
<td>Forum Respondent: Rhett</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Pop</td>
<td>Three-part gospel harmonies</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>You Can't Keep A Good Man Down</td>
<td>You Can't Keep A Good Man Down</td>
<td>The Rolling Stones</td>
<td>6rGezFbnwY</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Forum Respondent: Rhett</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Rock</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Shine A Light</td>
<td>Shine A Light</td>
<td>The Rolling Stones</td>
<td>5Zl2kzDFqQP4</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Forum Respondent: Rhett</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>Rock</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Sunnyday</td>
<td>Sunnyday</td>
<td>Joy</td>
<td>e8n8oevqR6M</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Forum Respondent: Rhett</td>
<td>2020</td>
<td>Pop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Put Your Hand In The Hand</td>
<td>Put Your Hand In The Hand</td>
<td>Joy</td>
<td>TzUcYEekR92</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Forum Respondent: Rhett</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Soul</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Mighty Clouds Of Joy</td>
<td>Mighty Clouds Of Joy</td>
<td>L. Thomas</td>
<td>1rFlLys75oj</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Forum Respondent: Rhett</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Hip Hop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>58</td>
<td>I Won't Want To See His Face</td>
<td>I Won't Want To See His Face</td>
<td>The Rolling Stones</td>
<td>32dTaYYGFjG2k</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Forum Respondent: Rhett</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>Rock</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Need A Dream</td>
<td>Need A Dream</td>
<td>Point Of Grace (Deluxe Version)</td>
<td>22dGfBk4Gzu</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Forum Respondent: Rhett</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>Pop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>For All We Know - Remastered</td>
<td>For All We Know - Remastered</td>
<td>Point Of Grace</td>
<td>SxMGh6vQ0L3P</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Forum Respondent: Rhett</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>Pop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Around Town</td>
<td>Around Town</td>
<td>Joy</td>
<td>9Pv74k9FwM0</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Forum Respondent: Rhett</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>Pop</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Album Name</td>
<td>Artist Name(s)</td>
<td>Spotify ID</td>
<td>Year of Original Recording</td>
<td>Number of Comments</td>
<td>Track Type</td>
<td>Genre</td>
<td>Time (Vocal)</td>
<td>Inversion (Vocal)</td>
<td>Chroma (Vocal)</td>
<td>Visiblity (Vocal)</td>
<td>Timbre (Vocal)</td>
<td>Pitch (Vocal)</td>
<td>Rhythm (Vocal)</td>
<td>Lyrics</td>
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</table>
Crying In the Chapel / Elvis Presley, 1960

It became a much performed and successfully singing gospel song, and is still being performed on a regular basis, as it is a standard gospel album from Elvis Presley's 1960s gospel work. The song is included in Presley's gospel albums and球场.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>Track Name</th>
<th>Album Name</th>
<th>Artist Name(s)</th>
<th>Spotify ID</th>
<th>Year of Original Recording</th>
<th>Commenter ID or Direct Quote</th>
<th>Instrumentation</th>
<th>Pitch (Vocal)</th>
<th>Rhythm (Vocal)</th>
<th>Lyric</th>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Texture</th>
<th>Harmony and Melody</th>
<th>Implementation</th>
<th>Specialization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Glory (feat. Nate Dogg)</td>
<td>The Chronic</td>
<td>Dr. Dre, Snoop Dogg, Nate Dogg</td>
<td>[SongID]</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>“I didn’t write the song with myself in mind as a vocalist, so I was thinking, oh, the thing that’s least like a gospel singer is my voice. And I want to make a thing out of my range vocally. But then I kinda heard it as a blend of R&amp;B and hip-hop. I had this idea that we want to create music that is similar to that type of rhythm. So I ended up playing on the song, and I feel to achieve that, I had to be able to perform it live. So I signed up how to do it.”</td>
<td>Spoken word</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Guilt (Un肩负)</td>
<td>West</td>
<td>Frank Ocean</td>
<td>[SongID]</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td>“This gospel-tinged tune is about the struggle of a murderer, as opposed to my struggle.”</td>
<td>Spoken word</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Restless</td>
<td>South of a cement</td>
<td>Pardal</td>
<td>[SongID]</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td>“Restless is a song about a man who is trying to find peace in his life.”</td>
<td>Spoken word</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Heaven's real</td>
<td>Figurative</td>
<td>cashier</td>
<td>[SongID]</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td>This song is about the realness of heaven.</td>
<td>Spoken word</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Explain (We Know That Can't Blow Up Next)</td>
<td>The Chosen Few</td>
<td>Anthony Brown</td>
<td>[SongID]</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td>“This song is about the power of God’s love.”</td>
<td>Spoken word</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Sing Us To Sleep</td>
<td>3000 Miles</td>
<td>Cat Power</td>
<td>[SongID]</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td>“Sing Us To Sleep is a song about the struggle of a murderer.”</td>
<td>Spoken word</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>I'm Not Simple (We Know That Can't Blow Up Next)</td>
<td>The Chosen Few</td>
<td>Anthony Brown</td>
<td>[SongID]</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td>“This song is about the power of God’s love.”</td>
<td>Spoken word</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>History</td>
<td>The Chosen Few</td>
<td>Anthony Brown</td>
<td>[SongID]</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td>“History is a song about the struggle of a murderer.”</td>
<td>Spoken word</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
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<td>Track Name</td>
<td>Album Name</td>
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<td>Year of Original Recording</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| I Am Blessed | Solo Country | Kasey Musgrave | P772bYTSWjJ9 | 2014 | | The prevailing view is about human's struggle to find happiness, as in a tune where \( x \) wants to be in love but the love is not working out.

| Keep The Devil Off | 95 | Big K.R.I.T. | https://www.songfacts.co/m/facts/big-krit/keep-the-devil-off | 2017 | | There's a song it's sung by gospel singer and preacher William Mcvurry at the end of the week — that it's capes an annual winner, why did you decide on that?

| I Still Haven't Found What I'm Looking For | 1987 | U2 | https://www.songfacts.co/m/facts/rum/backs/i-still-havent-found-what-im-looking-for | | | "I Still Haven't Found What I'm Looking For" exhibits influences from gospel music and its lyrics. There's nothing more disorienting, there are no curse words. There's nothing more disorienting, there are no curse words.

| What's Wrong With My Life? | 1987 | Mary J. Blige | https://www.songfacts.co/m/facts/rumer/i-am-blessed | | | This way helps musicians with the gospel elements of the song suggests that the values is for the message it can project. The way to help individuals with the gospel elements of the song. Business is more disorienting, there are no curse words. There's nothing more disorienting, there are no curse words.

| Keep The Devil Off | 95 | Big K.R.I.T. | https://www.songfacts.co/m/facts/big-krit/keep-the-devil-off | 2017 | | | "I Still Haven't Found What I'm Looking For" exhibits influences from gospel music and its lyrics. There's nothing more disorienting, there are no curse words. There's nothing more disorienting, there are no curse words.

| What's Wrong With My Life? | 1987 | Mary J. Blige | https://www.songfacts.co/m/facts/rumer/i-am-blessed | | | This way helps musicians with the gospel elements of the song suggests that the values is for the message it can project. The way to help individuals with the gospel elements of the song. Business is more disorienting, there are no curse words. There's nothing more disorienting, there are no curse words.

| Keep The Devil Off | 95 | Big K.R.I.T. | https://www.songfacts.co/m/facts/big-krit/keep-the-devil-off | 2017 | | | "I Still Haven't Found What I'm Looking For" exhibits influences from gospel music and its lyrics. There's nothing more disorienting, there are no curse words. There's nothing more disorienting, there are no curse words.

| What's Wrong With My Life? | 1987 | Mary J. Blige | https://www.songfacts.co/m/facts/rumer/i-am-blessed | | | This way helps musicians with the gospel elements of the song suggests that the values is for the message it can project. The way to help individuals with the gospel elements of the song. Business is more disorienting, there are no curse words. There's nothing more disorienting, there are no curse words.
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<th>Artist Name(s)</th>
<th>Spotify ID</th>
<th>Year of Original Recording</th>
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<th>commenter ID or Direct Quote</th>
<th>Year of Visual Association</th>
<th>Commenter ID or Direct Quote</th>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Lately&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;3krbSH3rd8lh&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Hozier, Mavis&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>2018</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Highly Suspect&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Naked&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Nina Cried Power&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>2018</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Before We Were&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Naked&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Taylor Hicks&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>2018</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;The Fire&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Nine Track Mind&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Jonnas / One More Day&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>2015</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;One of Us&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Rateliff &amp; The Night Sweats&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;The 70s TV Soundtrack&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>2017</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;The Floor&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Freedom&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;DJ Khaled, Nicki Minaj&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>2021</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;One More Day&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Home Free&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Oren Waters&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>2018</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;See You Again&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Over My Head&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Liam Gallagher&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>2018</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;One More Day&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;One More Day&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Christina Aguilera&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>2018</td>
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<td>&quot;The Floor&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Home Free&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Oren Waters&quot;</td>
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<td>2018</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>To Love Her Is To Live</td>
<td>Love Letter</td>
<td>Amos Lee</td>
<td><a href="https://www.songfacts.co.uk/lyrics/amos-lee/to-love-her-is-to-live">https://www.songfacts.co.uk/lyrics/amos-lee/to-love-her-is-to-live</a></td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>The song was written by Big Joe Turner called &quot;There'll Be No Crying in That Land,&quot; so the title was changed to &quot;To Love Her Is To Live,&quot; which is the song's title.</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>All &amp; All</td>
<td>Afrobeat R&amp;B</td>
<td>Niman &amp; The Right Move</td>
<td><a href="http://www.stardust.com.au/all-all">http://www.stardust.com.au/all-all</a></td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>Afrobeat R&amp;B is a genre that has been gaining popularity in recent years.</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Stay The Course</td>
<td>Journey To Heaven</td>
<td>Bruce Springsteen &amp; the E Street Band</td>
<td><a href="http://www.couriermail.com.au/music/stay-the-course">http://www.couriermail.com.au/music/stay-the-course</a></td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Bruce Springsteen's iconic voice is perfect for this soulful, uplifting song.</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Kentucky For My Sweetheart Mary</td>
<td>Beware Of The Liar, Then Leave Him Alone</td>
<td>Merle Haggard &amp; the Strangers</td>
<td><a href="http://www.couriermail.com.au/music/kentucky-for-my-sweetheart-mary">http://www.couriermail.com.au/music/kentucky-for-my-sweetheart-mary</a></td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>Merle Haggard's classic country sound sets the stage for this timeless ballad.</td>
<td>Y</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Verbal-Visual Association

- **The song was written by Big Joe Turner called "There'll Be No Crying in That Land," so the title was changed to "To Love Her Is To Live," which is the song's title.**
- **Afrobeat R&B is a genre that has been gaining popularity in recent years.**
- **Jennifer Hudson's raspy voice adds a unique touch to this soulful gospel number.**
- **Bruce Springsteen's iconic voice is perfect for this soulful, uplifting song.**
- **Kele Okereke's own take on the original song by Big Joe Turner.**
- **Steve Winwood is a legendary musician known for his soulful, smooth vocal style.**
- **Amos Lee's soulful voice and heart-wrenching lyrics create a powerful emotional experience.**
- **Merle Haggard's classic country sound sets the stage for this timeless ballad.**
- **Tom Petty's soulful voice and passionate delivery make this a classic rock anthem.**
- **The Righteous Brothers are known for their harmonious sound and powerful, soulful delivery.**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Track Title</th>
<th>Album Name</th>
<th>Artist Name(s)</th>
<th>Spotify ID</th>
<th>Year of Original Recording</th>
<th>Genre</th>
<th>Promotion</th>
<th>Engineering</th>
<th>Arrangement</th>
<th>Interpretation/Interjection</th>
<th>Vocal Style</th>
<th>Pitch (Vocal)</th>
<th>Rhythm (Vocal)</th>
<th>Lyrics</th>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Texture</th>
<th>Rhythm and Metre</th>
<th>Harmony and Melody</th>
<th>Instrumentation</th>
<th>Specialization</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teach Me</td>
<td>Teach Me</td>
<td>Baker Street</td>
<td>2016/4/13/BakerStreet</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Folk</td>
<td>3rd Place</td>
<td>Studio</td>
<td>1st Ballad</td>
<td>1st Place</td>
<td>1st Place</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>1st Place</td>
<td>1st Place</td>
<td>1st Place</td>
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<td>Tiny Dancer</td>
<td>R.E.M.</td>
<td>R.E.M.</td>
<td>2008/11/24/R.E.M.</td>
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<td>Thank You</td>
<td>Thank You</td>
<td>The Rolling Stones</td>
<td>2016/1/1/ThankYou</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Rock</td>
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<td>You Make Me Feel Like Dancing</td>
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<td>Special Thanks</td>
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<td>The Rolling Stones</td>
<td>1965/1/1/SpecialThanks</td>
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<td>The Rolling Stones</td>
<td>1965/1/1/StraightAway</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Additional Information
- **Genre**: Various genres including pop, rock, folk, and soul.
- **Promotion**: All tracks were released as singles.
- **Arrangement**: Simple arrangements with occasional harmonies.
- **Interpretation/Interjection**: No notable interpretations or interjections.
- **Vocal Style**: Mostly lead vocals with occasional harmonies.
- **Pitch (Vocal)**: All tracks feature pitch-perfect vocals.
- **Rhythm (Vocal)**: Consistent with the genre, tracks featuring rock and pop have more complex rhythms.
- **Lyrics**: Themes range from personal to societal reflections.
- **Structure**: Songs follow traditional structures with verse-chorus-bridge patterns.
- **Texture**: Simple textures with occasional instrumentation.
- **Rhythm and Metre**: All tracks have strong rhythmic patterns.
- **Harmony and Melody**: Tracks feature chord progressions typical of their genre.
- **Instrumentation**: Standard instrumentation with occasional guitar solos.
- **Specialization**: No specialized techniques or effects used.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>Track Name</th>
<th>Album Name</th>
<th>Artist(s)</th>
<th>Spotify ID</th>
<th>Year of Original Recording</th>
<th>Original Recording Artist(s)</th>
<th>Textual Association</th>
<th>Verbal-Visual Association</th>
<th>Commenter ID or Direct Quote</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>152</td>
<td>Why Me</td>
<td>Heart Will a</td>
<td>Kris Kristofferson</td>
<td>Track ID</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Kris Kristofferson</td>
<td>&quot;Why Me&quot; is an American country and gospel song written and recorded by American country music singer and songwriter Kris Kristofferson.</td>
<td>&quot;This got a white boy feeling.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;You're just appreciating the Non-White part of your life, and looking your friends and being alone, and then suddenly, you know it all, suddenly you can't, you can't make it, you can't shot it out, and you know you did up your defence and they still keep coming so that's what this isn't valued. I play a song and my mind is chomped on this groove and I can't wait to play it.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>With a Little Help</td>
<td>The Best of</td>
<td>Joe Cocker</td>
<td>Track ID</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Joe Cocker</td>
<td>&quot;Love&quot; was inspired by and related to &quot;Are You Sure You Want to Know About Love&quot;.</td>
<td>&quot;The gospel-inspired, Staples-esque vocals.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;You could hear the Spirit of God and the Holy Ghost.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>154</td>
<td>ichever</td>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>Janis Joplin</td>
<td>Track ID</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Janis Joplin</td>
<td>&quot;You Can't Hurry Love&quot; was inspired by and partially based on &quot;This Can't Hurry Love (He's Right on Time)&quot; by Mavis Staples.</td>
<td>&quot;The gospel-inspired, Staples-esque vocals.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;You could hear the Spirit of God and the Holy Ghost.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>155</td>
<td>One for The Road</td>
<td>Varius</td>
<td>Jerry Scott</td>
<td>Track ID</td>
<td>2018</td>
<td>Jerry Scott</td>
<td>&quot;Thank you for sharing the gospel-inspired song.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;The gospel-inspired, Staples-esque vocals.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;You could hear the Spirit of God and the Holy Ghost.&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Harmony and Melody**

- **Timbre (Vocal)**
  - Rich
  - Mellow
  - Heathered
  - Banal
  - Harmonized
  - Intimate-Personal
  - Social-Public
  - Unison

- **Rhythm (Vocal)**
  - Call-and-response
  - Repeated
  - Intensified
  - Handclaps
  - Sustained

- **Lyrics**
  - Spiritual
  - Pious
  - Gospel
  - Religious

- **Structure**
  - Three-part gospel harmonies
  - Call-and-response
  - Repeated
  - Intensified

- **Texture**
  - Layered
  - Mixed
  - Integrated
  - Isolated

- **Harmony and Melody**
  - Spiritual
  - Pious
  - Gospel
  - Religious

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jesus Walks</td>
<td>808s Revolution</td>
<td>Kanye West</td>
<td>478487</td>
<td>&quot;I had written a new gospel song, which would be a record, with a more explanatory subject, than 'People Get Ready.' This is a great example of a song with a lot of meaning in it...&quot;</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Spirit In The Sky</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lay It Down</td>
<td>Old School Vol. I (from the Rock Artifacts, Epic Records)</td>
<td>Al Green</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>&quot;While I had written a few gospel songs, which would be released as records, I thought they were more exploratory...&quot;</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Put Your Hand in the Hand</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>&quot;Put Your Hand in the Hand is a song that most casual rock music fans don't even realize is a gospel song. It's not as famous as 'People Get Ready,' but it's a great example of how Al Green brought his own style to gospel...&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>220</td>
<td>Jesus Walks</td>
<td>The College Dropout</td>
<td>Kanye West</td>
<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vtLkFCgQ10a">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vtLkFCgQ10a</a></td>
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<td>274</td>
<td>4:44</td>
<td>Before The Rain</td>
<td>CÉCILIA</td>
<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4MchgATAOB">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4MchgATAOB</a></td>
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<td>298</td>
<td>Waiting To Exhale</td>
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<td>Whitney Houston, Cita #1</td>
<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4MchgATAOB">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4MchgATAOB</a></td>
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<td>I’ll Be Missing You</td>
<td>I’ll Be Missing You</td>
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<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4MchgATAOB">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4MchgATAOB</a></td>
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<td>Amazing Grace</td>
<td>For All The Trucks</td>
<td>Cheryl James</td>
<td><a href="https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cheryl_James">https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cheryl_James</a></td>
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<td>Sinnerman</td>
<td>Sister</td>
<td>Nina Simone</td>
<td><a href="https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nina_Simone">https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nina_Simone</a></td>
<td>1987</td>
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<td>We Find Love</td>
<td>Coming Home</td>
<td>Stormzy,MNEK</td>
<td><a href="https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stormzy,MNEK">https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stormzy,MNEK</a></td>
<td>2020</td>
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<tr>
<td>Always And</td>
<td>Ritual (Expanded</td>
<td>Kirk Franklin</td>
<td><a href="https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kirk_Franklin">https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kirk_Franklin</a></td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>y</td>
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</table>

**Notes:**
- Tones (Vocal): The use of different vocal tones.
- Pitch (Vocal): The range of pitches used by the vocalist.
- Rhythm (Vocal): The rhythmic patterns used in the song.
- Lyrics: The content and structure of the lyrics.
- Structure: The overall structure of the song.
- Texture: The textural elements, such as harmonies and melodic lines.
- Harmony and Melody: The harmony and melodic content.
- Instrumentation: The instruments used in the song.
- Specialization: Specialized elements, such as call and response or improvisation.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>Track Name</th>
<th>Album Name</th>
<th>Artist Name(s)</th>
<th>Spotify ID</th>
<th>Year of Original Recording</th>
<th>Verbal-Visual Association</th>
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<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>Bring It On Home</td>
<td>Many Times</td>
<td>The Supremes</td>
<td><a href="http://www.soulbounce.com/2017/06/21/motown-songs-you-should-listen-to/">http://www.soulbounce.com/2017/06/21/motown-songs-you-should-listen-to/</a></td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>&quot;If your love cannot be moved ...&quot;</td>
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<td>Album Name</td>
<td>Artist Name(s)</td>
<td>Spotify ID</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bring It On Home</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sam Cooke</td>
<td></td>
<td>1962</td>
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<td>Do You Feel</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>2014</td>
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<td>Hot Fuss</td>
<td></td>
<td>The Killers</td>
<td></td>
<td>2004</td>
<td></td>
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<td>ID</td>
<td>Track Name</td>
<td>Album Name</td>
<td>Artist Name</td>
<td>Spotify ID</td>
<td>Verbal-Visual Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>Bridge Over Troubled Water</td>
<td>Theerry/Doxology &amp; Praise/Temples/Lucretian-idsyou</td>
<td>Paul Simon</td>
<td><a href="https://www.lyricstranslations.com/bridge-over-troubled-water">https://www.lyricstranslations.com/bridge-over-troubled-water</a></td>
<td>The famous arrangement was sold for $200 to a blind, white-gospel-singing, street-corner singer, Blind Willie Johnson.</td>
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<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>So in a Victory</td>
<td>Hidden Figures: The Album</td>
<td>Kirk Franklin, Kirk Franklin</td>
<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AdafOjOnm6Q">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AdafOjOnm6Q</a></td>
<td>&quot;So in a Victory&quot; is a fitting sonic summation, with the hall's grouds in a rare, intimate setting. It's a gospel medley in a basketball arena.</td>
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<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>Soul Deep (Soul on the Black)</td>
<td>The Very Best Of</td>
<td>Stevie Wonder</td>
<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H9E8dS6QeH4">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H9E8dS6QeH4</a></td>
<td>Stevie Wonder's soul-soothing vocal performance -- in addition to anything else you hear at this date, that's what stands out.</td>
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<tr>
<td>127</td>
<td>Never Alone</td>
<td>From the Ground Up</td>
<td>Rend Collective</td>
<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g9q3FDxRlqQ">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g9q3FDxRlqQ</a></td>
<td>The song totally failed to connect with its intended audience. It's a kind of white neo-soul, with no appeal beyond its own genre.</td>
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<tr>
<td>128</td>
<td>Patience Paradigm</td>
<td>Songs In The Key Of Life</td>
<td>Stevie Wonder</td>
<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2dx5VpJw09Y">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2dx5VpJw09Y</a></td>
<td>A gospel choir's interpretation of the song shows how far the genre has come.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>129</td>
<td>Believe Can Fly</td>
<td>In The Pocket</td>
<td>Kirk Franklin</td>
<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ah_Bhomen_Can_Fly">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ah_Bhomen_Can_Fly</a></td>
<td>Categorized as gospel.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td>A Long Walk Home</td>
<td>The Good / The Bad / The Ugly</td>
<td>Ani DiFranco</td>
<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YQ45xJY8lWU">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YQ45xJY8lWU</a></td>
<td>We also joined forces with the New Orleans-based Gospel Star Children's Choir.</td>
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<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>Rings of a Dream</td>
<td>Keep Moving</td>
<td>Madness</td>
<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1wI8Q7CIQk8">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1wI8Q7CIQk8</a></td>
<td>Written by Suggs and Chas Smash, rings of sin were also inscribed in the form of perfect justice a very good song.</td>
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<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>The Song And Dancing Road (Recreational Sex)</td>
<td>Like My Magneto To Your Street</td>
<td>Paul McCartney</td>
<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gweOOGOOGv8">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gweOOGOOGv8</a></td>
<td>Yambaru Community Gospel Choir: 「ボンバルデッド」</td>
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<tr>
<td>133</td>
<td>Whistling Underwater</td>
<td>Long Live The Angel (Deluxe)</td>
<td>IsraelFields</td>
<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VQyUq6cKvVw">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VQyUq6cKvVw</a></td>
<td>The bassist has a great assist that helps propel the song to new heights. His bass lines are so tight and strengthened in this arrangement.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ID</td>
<td>Track Name</td>
<td>Album Name</td>
<td>Artist Name(s)</td>
<td>Spotify ID</td>
<td>Verbal-Visual Association</td>
<td>Commenter ID or Direct Quote</td>
<td>Rhythm and Metre</td>
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<tr>
<td>286</td>
<td>Colors</td>
<td>Black Pumas</td>
<td>Black Pumas</td>
<td>6J3HNhDBIwE</td>
<td>The song was inspired by church, as Black Pumas made their debut as a gospel twist, with an edge, hard drive, and mighty background vocals for two female singers: Lauren Convent and Anga Mather.</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
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<tr>
<td>287</td>
<td>The Best That Man</td>
<td>MANMANA</td>
<td>Michael Franklin</td>
<td>3t6Wrb6UQ4Q</td>
<td>There are moments—such as the “This is the place” gospel choir or The Best That Man, or hopeful comic light—when positivity bursts through with such dazzling effect one wants to cheer.</td>
<td>y</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>288</td>
<td>Come in Out Of The Rain</td>
<td>Children, JFK</td>
<td>Parliament</td>
<td>1tX9k9sD6/9wV/9z5V60b</td>
<td>No.2 (2012): “The Lord is my shepherd”TW &amp; Thursday says: I got chills up my spine every time I hear this. Great lyrics, great guitars, great gospel harmonies.</td>
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<td>y</td>
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<tr>
<td>289</td>
<td>Sing</td>
<td>Earth</td>
<td>Henry Diltz</td>
<td>6y8l3pdly/LkL2Fzq5r83</td>
<td>It is loved by sinners—though it’s not quite as easy, and even the sound of a gospel choir gets processed to an annihilating intensity—and sounds nothing like his blandly secular British indie peers, or the disjointed synth-pop that’s dominated this year.</td>
<td>y</td>
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<tr>
<td>290</td>
<td>Light Up</td>
<td>Fear Lee</td>
<td>Harry Styles</td>
<td>6y8l3pdly/LkL2Fzq5r83</td>
<td>The great thing about love is that he moves in his music, which increases the metaphor in his lyrics and a statement with a clear direction.</td>
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<tr>
<td>291</td>
<td>Never Let Me Go</td>
<td>Commissarios</td>
<td>Giancarlo Menozzi</td>
<td>I0N5r2kx/jk4depq</td>
<td>The great thing about love is that he moves in his music, which increases the metaphor in his lyrics and a statement with a clear direction.</td>
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<td>y</td>
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<tr>
<td>292</td>
<td>Joy of Life</td>
<td>John Bell</td>
<td>Status Quo</td>
<td>3H3KdWxv/hk31omp8</td>
<td>The last track on the album is a joyous celebration of how big and bright the world can be. It’s a perfect way to end an album by Status Quo.</td>
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<tr>
<td>293</td>
<td>Redemption</td>
<td>Elkie Brooks</td>
<td>Signature, Taking Back, Jack Banks</td>
<td>3H3KdWxv/hk31omp8</td>
<td>The track is a joyful celebration of how big and bright the world can be. It’s a perfect way to end an album by Status Quo.</td>
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<td>294</td>
<td>Another One Bites The Dust</td>
<td>Joe Elliott</td>
<td>Status Quo</td>
<td>3H3KdWxv/hk31omp8</td>
<td>The song is a joyous celebration of how big and bright the world can be. It’s a perfect way to end an album by Status Quo.</td>
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<td>295</td>
<td>Take Me To Church</td>
<td>Peter Gabriel</td>
<td>Peter Gabriel</td>
<td>3H3KdWxv/hk31omp8</td>
<td>The song is a joyous celebration of how big and bright the world can be. It’s a perfect way to end an album by Status Quo.</td>
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260
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>Track Name</th>
<th>Album Name</th>
<th>Artist(s)</th>
<th>Spotify ID</th>
<th>Year of Original Recording</th>
<th>Verbal-Visual Association</th>
<th>Commenter ID or Direct Quote</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>216</td>
<td>Holy Water - Gospel</td>
<td>Holy Water</td>
<td>JP Cooper</td>
<td>c7Q4vXuij2q</td>
<td>2021</td>
<td>Song is classified as gospel</td>
<td>Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>217</td>
<td>Holy Mother - Live</td>
<td>Pavarotti - The Greatest Hits</td>
<td>Eric Clapton, Stephen Bishop, Luciano Pavarotti, East London Gospel Choir, Marco Armiliato, Orchestra Filarmonica di Torino</td>
<td>71xpDhR4ruG</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>The pair were joined by the East London Gospel Choir for the touching Christian hymn, penned by Clapton himself.</td>
<td>Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>218</td>
<td>Put Your Hand in the Hand - Single Version</td>
<td>Donny Hathaway</td>
<td>Donny Hathaway</td>
<td>5MtqmgOc8x</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>Out of the Hand is a gospel pop song composed by Gene MacLellan and not recorded by Canadian singer Donny Hathaway from his third studio album Money, Wheat and Rhythm.</td>
<td>Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y</td>
</tr>
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**Columns:**
- **ID**: Identification number.
- **Track Name**: Title of the song.
- **Album Name**: Name of the album.
- **Artist(s)**: Names of the artists.
- **Spotify ID**: ID for Spotify.
- **Year of Original Recording**: Year the song was originally recorded.
- **Verbal-Visual Association**: Attributes related to the verb and visual aspects.
- **Commenter ID or Direct Quote**: Additional information or direct quote from the commenter.
Appendix D – George Michael ‘One More Try’ Lyrics.

**One More Try – George Michael**

I've had enough of danger
And people on the streets
I'm looking out for angels
Just trying to find some peace
Now I think it's time
That you let me know
So if you love me
Say you love me
But if you don't just let me go

'Cause teacher
There are things that I don't want to learn
And the last one I had
Made me cry
So I don't want to learn to
Hold you, touch you
Think that you're mine
Because it ain't no joy
For an uptown boy
Whose teacher has told him goodbye, goodbye, goodbye

When you were just a stranger
And I was at your feet
I didn't feel the danger
Now I feel the heat
That look in your eyes
Telling me no
So you think that you love me
Know that you need me
I wrote the song, I know it's wrong
Just let me go

And teacher
There are things
That I don't want to learn
Oh the last one I had
Made me cry
So I don't want to learn to
Hold you, touch you
Think that you're mine
Because it ain't no joy
For an uptown boy
Whose teacher has told him goodbye, goodbye, goodbye

So when you say that you need me
That you'll never leave me
I know you're wrong, you're not that strong
Let me go

And teacher
There are things
That I still have to learn
But the one thing I have is my pride
Oh so I don't want to learn
Hold you, touch you
Think that you're mine
Because there ain't no joy
For an uptown boy
Who just isn't willing to try

I'm so cold
Inside
Maybe just one more try

Appendix E – ‘Oh it Is Jesus’ – Andraé Crouch

Oh it is Jesus – Andraé Crouch

Oh it is Jesus,
Oh it is Jesus,
It's Jesus in my soul;
For I have touched the hem of His garment,
And His blood has made me whole.

Oh it is Jesus,
Oh it is Jesus,
It's Jesus in my soul;
For I have touched the hem of His garment,
And His blood has made me whole.

I tried all that I could,
Seemed like nothing did me any good.
Then I heard Jesus, He was passing by,
And I decided to give Him a try.

Appendix F – ‘Touching Jesus’ – Jimmy Swaggart

Touching Jesus – Jimmy Swaggart

A woman tried many physicians
Yet grew worse so to Jesus she came.
And when the crowd tried to restrain her
She whispered these words through her pain.

I was bound when I knelt at that old alter
But they said Jesus would meet my every need.
And when this prisoner finally touched Jesus
He set me free oh praise the lord free indeed.

Touching Jesus is all that matters
Then your life will never be the same.
There is only one way to touch him
Just believe when you call on his name.

Ending

Just believe when you call,
Just believe when you call,
Just believe when you call on his name.
Appendix G – ‘Running Back to You’ - Commissioned

Running Back to You - Commissioned

How can you forgive me
When I've often gone astray
How can You think of me
When I do things my way
Turning my back from You
The One who loved me first
Having my own desires
Renewing worldly thirst

You told me You loved me
And I should make up my mind
You tell me come back now
But I keep wasting time
Feeling so very weak
You say I can be strong
I feel I've gone too far
You tell me to come home
You love me still
And I know this is real.

And I am running back to You
I see You're standing there for me
Your arms are open wide
And I don't have to cry no more
You're standing there for me
And I am running back to You
Why did I go away
When I know I am no good
When I'm on my own

You told me you could keep me
But I've turned it away
I've failed you so much now  
I don't know what to say  
Using the same excuse  
That I am just a man  
You tell me You've been there  
And show your nailed, scarred hands  
So I can see  
Now I know I am free  

And I am running back to You  
I see You're standing there for me  
Your arms are open wide  
And I don't have to cry no more  
You're standing there for me  
And I am running back to You  
Why did I go away  
When I know I am no good  
When I'm on my own  

I have taken advantage of Your love and grace  
Forgive me Lord and take me home  
Take me home  
I'm running to you Jesus  
Please take me home  
See, I've been in this wrong way too long  
And I can't do right anymore  
I'm tired of pain  
And I don't like fear  
But Lord I want to be more sincere  
I never should have left Your side  
Return me to Your guiding light  
You're standing there for me  
And I'm running back to you
Appendix H – Responses to Bishop Lester Love’s Secular Songs

Aljay Lazard 3 years ago
He met the people where they were and got everyone mind and heart set on Jesus, you call it what you want but I saw people worshipping God.

D. Wilson 5 years ago
This will be my Sunday morning praise.

William purnell 7 years ago
Things like this really surprise me sometimes, people act as though God has to take everything we come up with. The whole point of the Bible is to bring us up to his level of holiness. God didn’t allow us to use our understanding to do this, he gave his Laws, his concepts and his spirit to do this and how was to be done is all in the Bible not our minds.

Monica 1 month ago
Good way to look at it. I look at it from both perspectives.

Tamika Quinn 1 year ago
This should be titled “Blurred Lines”. Yes I enjoyed those secular songs, but God is not the author of confusion and in this wicked world we live in we don’t need any more blending of secular with the gospel. Which side are you really tryna convince.

Beverly Wedgeworth 3 years ago
Judge Ye Not that You be judged I loved every drop of it Pastor Love brought it home With Jesus Keep me near the Cross. Every song was about how He Worshipped God. Hallelujah JESUS Thanks Pastor Love I was touched by This Video. Stay with it...

Disanne Lucas 3 years ago
I glad you like this, I saw Bishop Love a number years ago at Bethel AME, Baltimore, He did this with an Alicia Keys song and 15 people went to the alter if this reaches souls I don’t mind.

James Baldwin 4 years ago
People have to understand many R&B songs were turned into gospel songs, Gladys knight you are the best things, James cleveland turned that into one the best gospel songs ever- “Jesus is the best thing”
Deborah Boyd 7 years ago
Bishop Lester Love has away to bring Love for Jesus stronger, I really feel inner peace when I listen to him sing and spread the word of God!

Acie English 3 years ago
Wow I love it! I do it all the time

Derrick Gallien 3 years ago
You can talk about love in church, but why do we have to use worldly songs to get the point across? That's not the unclean thing. That's in the book.

Arthur Gilliam 3 years ago
Derrick Gallien, question? What makes it unclean?

Derrick Gallien 3 years ago
What makes it unclean is the unclean people who made the song. If we say we're different from the world, why do we have to use what the world has to talk about love. That's lukewarm

Kat Siat 2 years ago
EXACTLY! Also, what makes it unclean because it's "SECULAR"!!!

Ormal Murraine 7 years ago
I grew up in the Church and I love it. When I first saw this video, I applaud this minister. A local Caribbean artist converted to Christianity and now produces his music from political and other West Indian genre to reach a wider audience and he too have been criticized for the same reason. The R&B groups of the ‘60’s did the same thing to change our views and they came mostly from the Church. Let is go and support this Minister. I have been sending the link to my family and friends.

Jackie Johnson 5 years ago
I had an opportunity to see and hear this man in Baltimore one time and was just blown away with what I heard. People were swooning like they were in a club. I don’t think God needs to borrow from the world for any love songs. Those secular songs were written with a certain spirit behind it and it wasn’t to glorify God. That’s why we have to be careful what we sing and do all in the name of Jesus. Satan is cunning and lets not forget he was in charge of the music so don’t think he won’t try to deceive the people of God through song. I can think of so many love...

Lidis Bellard 7 years ago
Bishop Love is alright!! This is a jovial way to have church!!!!!! God is Love!!!!!!

lorenzo24711 8 years ago
God is in charge of all things. We need to redeem the music that Satan has used for bad and bring it back to God. I agree god looks at the heart of a worshiper. It’s time to take back that was stolen from us and a lot of that is music. Cause Satan new the impact that music can have. Lets not forget, Satan was once worship leader in heaven, so he know the power of the song. Like I said, time to take back what is rightfully His.
Appendix I – ‘Blinded by Your Grace, Pt. 2’ - Lyrics

I'm blinded by your grace
I'm blinded by your grace, by your grace
I'm blinded by your grace
I'm blinded by your grace

Lord, I've been broken
Although I'm not worthy
You fixed me, I'm blinded
By your grace
You came and saved me
Lord, I've been broken
Although I'm not worthy
You fixed me, now I'm blinded
By your grace
You came and saved me

One time for the Lord
And one time for the cause
And one round of applause
One time for Fraser T Smith on the chords (woo!)
I feel we got one
I stay prayed up, then I get the job done
Yeah, I'm Abigail's yout, but I'm God's son
But I'm up now, look at what God's done
Now I real talk, look at what God did
On the main stage runnin' 'round topless
I phone Flipz, then I tell him that we got this
This is God's plan, they can never stop this
Like, wait right there, could you stop my verse?
You saved this kid and I'm not your first
It's not by blood and it's not by birth
But, oh my God, what a God I serve
Lord, I've been broken
Although I'm not worthy
You fixed me, I'm blinded
By your grace
You came and saved me
Lord, I've been broken
Although I'm not worthy
You fixed me, now I'm blinded
By your grace
You came and saved me

I said a prayer this morning
I prayed I would find the way
To another day, I was so afraid
'Til you came and saved
You came and saved me
And the rain was pouring
'Cause the sun faded away
Now I'm in a better place
No longer afraid
Blinded by your grace
You came and saved me
I said a prayer this morning
I prayed I would find the way
To another day, I was so afraid
'Til you came and saved
You came and saved me
And the rain was pouring
'Cause the sun faded away
Now I'm in a better place
No longer afraid
Blinded by your grace
You came and saved me

Lord, I've been broken
Although I'm not worthy
You fixed me, I'm blinded
By your grace
You came and saved me
Lord, I've been broken
Although I'm not worthy
You fixed me, now I'm blinded
By your grace
You came and saved me

Source: LyricFind
Songwriters: Uzoechi Osisioma Emenike / Michael Ebenazer Kwadjo Omari Owuo Junior / Fraser T Smith
Blinded By Your Grace, Pt. 2 lyrics © Warner Chappell Music, Inc
Appendix J – ‘Stand by Me’ Lyrics

When the night has come
And the land is dark
And the moon is the only light we'll see
No I won't be afraid
Oh, I won't be afraid
Just as long as you stand, stand by me

So darling, darling
Stand by me, oh stand by me
Oh stand, stand by me
Stand by me

If the sky that we look upon
Should tumble and fall
Or the mountain should crumble to the sea
I won't cry, I won't cry
No, I won't shed a tear
Just as long as you stand, stand by me

And darling, darling
Stand by me, oh stand by me
Oh stand now, stand by me
Stand by me

Darling, darling
Stand by me, oh stand by me
Oh stand now, stand by me, stand by me
Whenever you're in trouble won't you stand by me
Oh stand by me, oh won't you stand now, stand
Stand by me...

Songwriters: AARON JOSEPH NEVILLE, CHARLES A. TINDLEY
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Appendix K – Responses to Kingdom Choir Performances while on Tour

Respondent 1 (USA Tour)
'hi i [sic] just wanted to tell you again that tonight has actually changed my life, everything you said to me has truly had an impact that i can never forget. religion [sic] is something i have always had strife with but after tonight i truly feel like i might have found my place with christ [sic]'

Respondent 2 (Facebook message)

'Hello,

I'm writing this message to tell you of how your performance at the royal wedding touched my girlfriend and I. Although time has passed, it still gives me pleasure. My girlfriend Shannon passed away yesterday August 24th. As she was taking her last breaths I played Stand by me performed by your choir. It was towards the end of the song, that she was able leave this world to be with God.

Thank you for your wonderful rendition.'

Respondent 3 (Glasgow Show)

'You all look like a family up there and tonight you invited us into your family...It was just like church tonight... '

Respondent 4 (Liverpool Show)

'You all have a really beautiful way of sharing about God without pushing it down people's throats…You’re 100% preaching and sharing the love of God but in a way that feels so natural and like your just being yourselves [sic]. The joy and love on that stage was infectious….'
Appendix L – ‘Personal Jesus’ Lyrics

Personal Jesus

Reach out and touch faith
Your own personal Jesus
Someone to hear your prayers
Someone who cares
Your own personal Jesus
Someone to hear your prayers
Someone who's there
Feeling unknown
And you're all alone
Flesh and bone
By the telephone
Lift up the receiver
I'll make you a believer
Take second best
Put me to the test
Things on your chest
You need to confess

I will deliver
You know I'm a forgiver
Reach out and touch faith
Reach out and touch faith
Your own personal Jesus
Someone to hear your prayers
Someone who cares
Your own personal Jesus
Someone to hear your prayers
Someone who's there
Feeling unknown
And you're all alone
Flesh and bone
By the telephone
Lift up the receiver
I'll make you a believer

I will deliver
You know I'm a forgiver
Reach out and touch faith
Your own personal Jesus
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Reach out reach out
Reach out and touch faith
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Source: LyricFind
Songwriters: Martin Lee Gore
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Appendix M – ‘In the Fire’ Lyrics

I know I got religion
I belong to the laws and crew
You see we fought when we get happy
That's the way we Christian do
Oh
(Have you been tried-)

Have you been tried in that fire?
I heard bullets sing higher than Mariah in choir
Spent a lot of time trappin', now I'm tryna retire
But this shit runs in my blood, and I'm the guy they require
And these guns bring nothin' but prison and death, still
All my niggas just admire the fire
Bro squeeze and he miss, but we admire a trier
Finesse king, you can never lie to a liar
But Fred got the fire, I fire for days
I gotta write them in my notes, they'll be ignitin' the page
Grindin' on cold nights, puttin' light to the flame
Now there's no flame that can melt the ice in my chain, yeah
I really put the ice in rice for the 'caine
Me and Santan, you won't see nothin' like this again
That's my young boys again, on the glide with the flame
I just really hope your block came with fire-escapes

Before my entrance, I took the fire exit
Tried and tested, about twenty times arrested
Two times guilty, no comment, I guess they guessed it
Couple time bail, no forensics
This a Deezy pendant, I don't need a necklace
We stay protected and connected
It's the energies I'm blessed with
And now they watchin' like Netflix, had me doin' next shit
Tryna get rich, but what's rich?
Took more losses than Boris
I sold more boxes than the post-office
Twenty-one in jail, it turned me so solid
Why you think my vision sick, I changed the game in my brain
And sold robotics  
If you fell in my fire, you probably roast on it  
Heat up the stove and put hope on it  
Cah they don't care 'bout our lives, I put my soul on it  
I'm done tryna be somebody to some nobodies  
I'm bein' so honest, and they don't know porridge

If I get burnin' while I'm watchin', higher learnin'  
Guns bustin', tyres turnin', that's a Russian and a German  
That's your phone ringin', you can hear the beep  
You won't be saved by the bell when you hear the screech  
And it's so deep, open, ocean

This man escapin' some shells they can barely see  
Me and bro raisin' hell, we gon' share the heat  
Now put us in the same cell, we gon' share the sleep  
Am I my brothers keeper (it's deeper)  
I'm my brothers leader (speaker)  
I'm the eldest  
The one who had to make a name so the bells ring  
So nobody would trouble my siblings in this whirlwind  
My older cousin wasn't known for nothin'  
Never had no one I could call, but I was old in somethin'  
I'm diggin' deep with this tool like I'm known for plumbin'  
Somethin' in your chest like it's Robitussin  
Word to arsonist, I burn all this  
I stood in front of all three dragons and heard "Dracarys"  
And now we're jumpin' out G-Wagons and murkin' parties  
Man are comin' out with these bangers and dirty dancin'  
Nobody puts baby in a corner  
I uplift my girl, like I'm Swayze in the water  
And if it's already written, maybe I'm the author

So accustomed to the fire, I get shivers when I'm naked in the sauna  
How, many times have they mistaken me for Scorch?  
I'm lookin' in the mirror, sayin' "Justin, just cool, huh"  
Send Ghetts downstairs and tell them "Just bring me water"  
And tell Ghetts I put somethin' in the formula  
I'm focused, I don't need to burn the kush  
This is Moses speakin' to the burnin' bush
I stood in front of the fire and learned to cook
Finished my verse and never heard a hook

Riskiest numbers, this jungle, stick through your youngers
He's hungry, picked off the fungus
Kept humble, slipped him a hundred
Yeah, lived in a dungeon
Those AirMax, which nigga stung them?
Can't walk in my shoes, you could be riskin' a bunion
The government's twisted
I cover this shift to cover this Christmas
Forget them old friends, I'm done with those bitches
They color coded my brothers and sisters
Run the rhythm, you're a brother, but you run the rhythm
Try accusin' me of colorism
Blinded 'cause you look at me with tunnel vision
I was fallin', but I've gone and risen
Is this nigga trusty or Sideshow Bob when he's creepin' on Krusty?
Streets keep me tusslin', people disgust me
Racist disease, that shit that disgust me
Don't touch me on the streets with the sweeper
'Cause the streets pretty dusty
And I've always got love for genuine people that bust me
Santan and the gang advisor, I'ma check him out, I'm a analyzer
She was callin' me an antagonizer
Let me sanitize, where's the sanitizer? (Jheeze)
Just flutter by, he said "Giggs can you handle this?"
He said "Float like a butterfly"
I bring truth, but they love a lie
Plans, I'm the man you should run 'em by

In the fire, been tried
Affected the way I been wired inside
You can hide or glide
I could've been deported
That's the definition of a "Fight or flight"
You can type all you like
I know about homeless
Immigration, they took me from my mums arms
Fuck a gun charge, two swords, I'm a ronin
Błaszczykowski, I'm tryna score with the Polish
Pain in my eyes, plans of me stayin' in the guide
With a vision of this changin' my life
Crimes on the rise, hates on the rise
Feel like everythin' but my mum's pay's on the rise
"Did you come through?" that's the question
Affording a burner was never mans problem
Adoption, we couldn't find homes for the weapons
By the station, we got polls, no election
In the fire, been tested
Before I had money, it was time I invested
Nothin' change, still time I invest in
Watch-game delicate, Tutankhamun, there's money in skeletons
All I gotta do is point, they're gonna sever his head
And tell- that we're better as friends
Nights that I can't remember with some people I could never forget
Caza Cruz, you could bet a Nusr-et
Don't make me call a young gunner in the back of a PED
Slappin' a lead, civilians grabbin' your friends
There's chaos on the main road
They called choppers and PEDs
All because of some shit that you said
I got killers with me (killers with me)
And they love me, they make a mans heart stop
The shit you find horrifyin' gets laughed off
I'm like Meekz, bro, I won't stop, can't stop
Yeah, it's kinda different when the fire's what you start from

Have you been tried in the fire? (Hot)
Have you been tried in the fire? (Yeah)
Have you been tried in the fire? (Oh yeah)
Tell me (did you come to)
Did you come to
Have you been

"Do your research to travel
Don't see, don't really see the corners of the world
That are alien to you, really do interest you
And you know, 'cause in due process then you'll meet new people
And then those people will tell you new stories
Then you become a voice for the voiceless
I mean, you should ask Daniel, really, truly, where he goes to find himself
'Cause I don't know anything, I'm just speculatin'
More importantly for you and your family
You then get to ask the questions and answer the questions
About where you were made
Like "Where you come from, where you're goin, London, Lagos, LA"
The journey is the film"
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