A Friendly Space: Popular Music in North American Evangelical Missions to Germany from the 1950s to the 1990s

Friedemann Walldorf

Surprisingly, perhaps, different forms of American popular music such as blues, jazz, gospel and rock & roll played an important role in conservative North American evangelical missions to Europe in the Cold War era (1947–1989). This chapter explores this remarkable missionary musical encounter by mainly looking at the example of West Germany from the 1950s to the 1990s and by interpreting popular music in mission as a transcultural friendly space (Henri Nouwen) for spiritual renewal. Whereas the history of (American) popular music has received much attention in research,[1] there has been relatively little historical research on North American Christian Missions to Germany after 1945 and even less on the role of popular music in these missionary efforts. Mission historian James C. Enns divides the American missionary endeavour in West Germany after 1945 into three streams:[2] (1) post-war relief efforts by American mainline denominations partnering with the *Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland* (EKD); (2) denominational Baptist and Mennonite missions partnering with the respective national denominational groups in Germany and (3) interdenominational evangelical missions specializing in evangelism and partnering with national organizations in the context of the German Evangelical Alliance (DEA). Since only the stream of interdenominational evangelical missions has significantly interacted with American popular music I will focus on this stream.[3]

But what is American popular music? Starr-Waterman describe it as "a kaleidoscope of contributions, a cross-fertilization of styles and a blending of dreams. It hardly could be otherwise in this nation of immigrants."[4] In historical perspective it certainly is a complex, diverse and dynamic diachronic and synchronic

1 For a popular introduction see Larry Starr/Christopher Waterman, American Popular Music, New York 2007; for a thorough methodological treatment see Richard Middleton, Studying Popular Music [1990], Milton Keynes/Philadelphia 2002.

2 Cf. James C. Enns, Saving Germany – North American Protestants and Christian Mission to West Germany, 1945–1974 (McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion 77) Montreal/Kingston 2017, 26–140.

3 For an overview of the evangelical stream see Friedhelm Jung, American Evangelicals in Germany: Their Contribution to Church Planting and Theological Education, in: Southwestern Journal of Theology 47, 2004, 13–24. On the affinity of the evangelical movement to popular music see Friedemann Walldorf, Why should the devil have all the good music? Populäre evangelikale Musik als kultureller Dialog. Missionsgeschichtliche Perspektiven, in: Jahrbuch für evangelikale Theologie 24, 2010, 175–193.

4 Starr-Waterman, American, 3 (see note 1); for a detailed analysis of a contextual and dynamic understanding of popular music see Middleton, Studying, 3–11 (see note 1)

movement constantly combining and recombining e. g. European hymns, ballads and polyphonic compositions with African call & response structures and polyrhythmic textures in multiple contexts and media like church, dance hall, radio or record. The forms and uses of American popular music in the context of North American evangelical missions to West Germany do not reflect all, but certainly some aspects of this complexity.

In the following, this missionary musical encounter will be described in three phases defined by key aspects of American and German cultural und missionary history in the Cold War era (1947–1989). The first phase in the 1950s is shaped by the postwar experience and the rebuilding of democratic structures on the basis of conservative middle class values.[5] Favored missionary methods were mass and radio evangelism combined with gospel music. The second phase is characterized by the student protests of the late 1960s and the critical interaction with conservative values in the 1970s. The Jesus Movement as well as street, student and personal evangelism combined with Christian rock music (sometimes called Jesus rock) became critical evangelical missionary expressions in those years. A third phase (which is treated only shortly) saw the breakdown of the Berlin wall in 1989 and increasing globalizing and pluralizing cultural forces. Evangelical missions in that phase concentrated on community-oriented approaches as church planting and missional church development in combination with soft rock worship music.

1950s–1960s	Mass, youth and radio evangelism	Southern Gospel
1970s–1980s	Student and street evangelism	Jesus Rock
1990s–2000s	Missional churches and church planting	Contemporary Worship

YOUTH EVANGELISM AND MUSIC IN THE 1950S AND 1960S

Youth for Christ and Billy Graham

North American evangelical missions in Germany after 1945 started with initiatives of the *Youth for Christ*-Movement (YFC) that were usually combined with some form of popular music: "For YFC their signature event was the evangelistic youth rally, which drew heavily on the idioms of the American entertainment industry as means to invite young people to 'accept Christ into their hearts'."[6] The close link between evangelism and popular music was strongly advocated by young Billy Graham (b. 1918) who in 1944 had become an evangelist with YFC. He once described an evangelistic rally as offering "smooth melodies from a consecrated saxophone."[7] Graham remembers that the rallies "used every modern

5 Cf. Hermann Glaser, Deutsche Kultur 1945–2000, Bonn (Lizenzausgabe BPB), 1997, 64–79.
6 Enns, Saving Germany, 103–104 (see note 2).
7 Graham cit. Barry Alfonso,The Billboard Guide to Contemporary Christian Music, New York 2002, 14.

means to catch the attention of the unconverted – and then we punched them right between the eyes with the gospel."[8] In the 1940s evangelistic youth rallies in the USA were major events and attracted large crowds. In 1944 the Word of Life Victory Rally in Madison Square Garden in New York City had 20.000 people and the 1945 Memorial Day Rally of YFC in Chicago drew 70.000.[9] These missionary show programs combined fast paced evangelistic preaching with upbeat and (in the day) contemporary popular music: "Tight harmony girls' trios abounded as did swing style instrumentals."[10] Since this model had worked so very well in North America YFC transferred it to postwar Europe to spur spiritual and moral renewal. In 1948 YFC founded a German branch in Solingen that was led by the American missionary couple Reinhold Barth and Helen McAlerney Barth, a well-known gospel singer.[11] Under their leadership YFC Solingen became a launching pad for North American mission initiatives (see below: Janz Team and Greater Europe Mission) and the *Jugend-für-Christus-Chor* (1958) as a pool and platform for musical talent that helped to spark a Christian youth/pop choir movement in Germany.[12]

The most prominent proponent of YFC inspired mass evangelism in Germany was former YFC-evangelist Billy Graham. In 1953 Billy Graham came to Germany for the first time and started a series of rallies and evangelistic *crusades* that used to combine Protestant German hymns with popular American gospel songs, mostly performed by gospel singer George Beverly Shea (1909–2013).[13] Against the background of racist conflicts in the US and the racist ideology in former Nazi-Germany it seems especially relevant that Graham featured African American gospel singer Jimmie McDonald (b. 1937) as the main soloist in his crusade in Berlin in 1966.[14]

8 Cit. Alfonso, Billboard Guide, 14 (see note 7).

9 Cf. Joel A. Carpenter, Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism, Oxford/New York 1997, 161.

10 Carpenter, Revive us, 165 (see note 9).

11 Before her evangelical conversion Helen McAlerney Barth (1918–2017) had been a blues singer in a dance orchestra. While studying at Moody Bible Institute she joined Moody Radio (WMBI) as staff soloist. In 1946 she started a recording career with the publisher Singspiration, recording 22 LPs and numerous singles, among them It's no Secret (Single 3071, 1951), Solos By Helen McAlerney Barth (LP 109), It Took a Miracle (LP 157). Cf. Helen McAlerney Barth, Life Legacy, www.yoderculpfuneralhome.com, accessed July 5, 2017; Indianapolis Star, February 26, 1949, 11.

12 Cf. Peter Bubmann, Wandlungen in der kirchlichen Musik in den 1960er und 1970er Jahren, in: Siegfried Hermle et al (ed), Umbrüche: Der deutsche Protestantismus und die sozialen Bewegungen in den 1960er und 70er Jahren, Göttingen 2012, 303–324: 314. For a detailed account cf. Andreas Malessa, Der neue Sound: Christliche Popmusik-Geschichte und Geschichten, Wuppertal 1980, 32–48.

13 Cf. Uta A. Balbier, Billy Graham in West Germany. German Protestantism between Americanization and Rechristianization, 1954–70, in: Zeithistorische Forschungen/Studies in Contemporary History 7, 2010, 343–363: 348.

14 Cf. Erich Beyreuther, Der Weg der Evangelischen Allianz in Deutschland, Wuppertal 1969, 137. In 1965 MacDonald had become a fulltime member with the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, cf. liner notes, Jimmie McDonald sings for the people (LP Zondervan Records); Jimmie McDonald sings so that the world may hear (LP Word 1965).

Greater Europe Mission

A somewhat different model was introduced by the *Greater Europe Mission* (GEM),[15] founded by Robert P. Evans (1918–2011), YFC International's first executive director. With the intention to make missionary results in Europe last longer, GEM founded Bible schools in France (1949),[16] Germany (1955) and other European countries to train young European converts as evangelists and church planters. From early on, Evans and GEM emphasized the role of music in missions in Europe. Not only did they send North Americans as theological teachers to their European Bible schools, but they also tried to recruit musical teachers to train young Europeans to use music for evangelism. In his seminal book *Let Europe hear* (Chicago 1963) Evans even envisioned an evangelical "conservatory of Music" in Europe.[17] In France GEM aimed at forming "an International Congress of Christian Musicians [...] to encourage young European and American evangelical musicians [...] to communicate their witness through performance of high art and traditional religious music."[18]

In 1955 GEM started a Bible school in Germany, the *Bibelschule Bergstrasse* in Bensheim north of Heidelberg. From the beginning, the school was closely connected with popular gospel music. Its founder, Canadian GEM-missionary John Parschauer (1912–2000),[19] was not only an evangelist, but also a gifted saxophone and guitar player.[20] In 1950 Parschauer, who had a German Lutheran background, had first visited Germany as translator for the American YFC summer mission teams in Solingen (see above)[21] In 1954 Parschauer returned to Germany with his family to start the school in Bensheim. Around the time of its foundation GEM promoted the new project by publishing gospel singles with the Parschauer Trio: John accompanying his singing daughters (The Parschauer Sisters) on the guitar.[22] The singles were distributed both in the US and in Germany.

15 Cf. Tim Crow, Greater Europe Mission, in: George T. Kurian, Mark A. Lamport (eds.), Encyclopedia of Christianity in the United States, Lanham 2016, 1013–1014; Carpenter, Revive us, 182 (see note 9).

16 Alan V. Koop, American Evangelical Missionaries in France, in: Joel A. Carpenter Joel, Wilbert R. Shenk (eds), Earthen Vessels: American Evangelicals and Foreign Mission 1880–1980, Grand Rapids 1990, 180–202: 180–181.

17 Cit. in William L. Wagner, North American Protestant Missionaries in Western Europe: A Critical Appraisal (afem mission academics 1), Bonn 1993, 44.

18 Donald P. Hustad, Jubilate II: Church Music in Worship and Renewal, Carol Stream 1989, 408–409.

19 Cf. Stephan Holthaus, Gott ist treu: Die Geschichte der Bibelschule Brake, Bielefeld 1995, 14–21.

20 Cf. Holthaus, Treu, 15 (see note 19).

21 Holthaus, Treu, 20. YFC founder Torrey Johnson explained the missionary logic of these summer tours: "Foreign teenagers could convey to these German young people what older German people could not do. The common age breaks down national and even language barriers." Enns, Saving Germany, 121 (see note 2).

22 Cf. Sharon and Donna Parschauer (ages 9 and 7 yrs,), If we never meet again/Men strive for wealth (Greater Europe Mission 45-1094), Dearborn, Chicago, Ill. (David Barnes – Organ, John Parschauer – Guitar); Sharon and Donna Parschauer (ages 10 und 9 yrs,), My Sins are Gone/It took a Miracle (Greater Europe Mission P-5421), Dearborn, Chicago, Ill./Bensheim, Germany (David Barnes – Organ, John Parschauer – Guitar).

Word of Life

A third model, the combination of American gospel music with youth camp ministry, was introduced to Germany in 1964 by the *Word of Life Fellowship*. The Word of Life Fellowship had been founded in New York in 1939 by Brooklyn-bred youth evangelist Jack Wyrtzen (1913–1996). Before his evangelical conversion Wyrtzen "was an insurance agent who led a jazz dance band in the evenings."[23] Wyrtzen arguably invented the youth rally format that became the main model for YFC.[24] In 1964 four Canadian Word of Life-missionaries, Chuck Kosman, Larry Locken, Bob Parschauer and Len Wiebe, who at the same time formed a gospel quartet, came to Germany and established the camp and music ministry of *Wort des Lebens* (WDL). First situated in Lemgo in northern Germany, WDL later relocated to Starnberg in Bavaria, to organize summer camps and to conduct evangelistic concerts in local churches, hospitals, schools and prisons. From the mid-1960s the German WDL quartet recorded singles with Spirituals and gospel songs in a four-harmony style and distributed them through their own label to "the musically interested young people,"[25] who at that time, however, were more likely to listen to *The Beatles* (see below 3.1).

While YFC, GEM and WDL are typical examples of the use of American popular music in the missionary encounter in Germany, the most influential and continuous contribution in the 1950s and 1960s came from the Canadian Mennonite *Janz Team* with its combination of mass evangelism and Southern gospel quartet music.

Southern Gospel in West Germany: The Janz Team

Canadian Background

It seems curious that the combination of *American* popular music and evangelism was mainly introduced to Germany by *Canadian* missionaries (see also Parschauer of GEM and WDL). On the other hand, the example of the Canadian Mennonite Janz Team shows that this was quite logical, not only because of the German cultural and language heritage of Mennonites in Canada, but also because the Janz brothers, before coming to Germany, had already gained experience in transferring the progressive American model to the conservative context of the Mennonite colonies in Canada. Canadian Mennonite historian Regehr observes:

> The fine singing of the Janz brothers Gospel quartet, combined with aggressive evangelistic preaching, reached Mennonite audiences at a time when many church leaders were still suspicious of non-Mennonite evangelists. The brothers took care

23 Daniel R. Roeber, Word of Life Fellowship, in: George Thomas Kurian, Mark A. Lamport (eds.), Encyclopedia of Christianity in the United States, Lanham 2016, 2519–2520: 2519.

24 Cf. Carpenter, Revive us, 161–165 (see note 9).

25 "Die musikalisch interessierten jungen Menschen." Liner notes on single Wort des Lebens Quartett Singt Spirituals (WdL Lemgo 202); cf. also: Wort des Lebens Quartett Singt für Teenagers (sic!) (WdL Lemgo 203).

> neither to endorse nor refute historic Mennonite peace principles. Sometimes they preached in German, but said little about distinctive Mennonite social and cultural practices, leaving the impression, that these were peripheral matters. In many western Mennonite communities the Janzes introduced [...] North American evangelistic techniques.[26]

This experience predisposed the Janz brothers to become catalysts in the use of American-style evangelism combined with popular music in Germany. The Janz Quartet consisted of the three Janz brothers Leo Janz (1919–2006), Hildor Janz (1921–2007), Adolph Janz (dates unknown) and brother-in-law Cornie Enns (1924–2013). The three Janz brothers grew up as part of a Mennonite Brethren farming community (Main Centre) on the plains of Saskatchewan.[27] Leo was the initiator of the missionary endeavours of the Janz Quartet. In 1940 he finished nearby Herbert Bible School, went on to study at the Prairie Bible Institute (PBI)[28] in Three Hills, Alberta, married and became pastor of a church plant of the Western Children's Mission close to Swift Current, Saskatchewan.[29] In 1946 the Janz quartet first came together to sing at a summer camp of the Children's Mission, and two years later started full-time evangelistic ministry with the PBI, conducting evangelistic rallies and running a daily 15-minute radio program titled "Hymns that live."[30] While visiting Los Angeles on an evangelistic tour with PBI-director L. E. Maxwell, an American businessman even provided the quartet with a small private plane for their evangelistic travels.[31] The Janz Quartet's daily radio program with PBI was well received by the listeners. In 1951 their most popular songs were printed as *Hymns that live as sung by The Janz Quartet: a collection of gospel solos, duets, and male quartets*, arranged by Kathleen Dearing. In the following years Sacred Records in Los Angeles[32] published several recordings of the Janz Quartet[33] culminating in the LP *Hymns that live* (LP 7013) in 1955.[34]

While modern American style evangelism irritated some of the older generation of Canadian Mennonites, it resulted in numerous conversions among young

26 T. D. Regehr, Mennonites in Canada, 1939–1970: A People Transformed, Toronto 1996, 208–209.

27 The Janz Family had immigrated to Saskatchewan from Southern Russia in 1904, having formerly immigrated to Russia from the Netherlands and Northern Germany in 1786. Cf. Leo Janz, Die Janz Team Story, Wuppertal 1974, 5.

28 On the history of the PBI see Tim W. Callaway, Training Disciplined Soldiers for Christ: The influence of American fundamentalism on Prairie Bible Institute (1922–1980), Bloomington 2013.

29 Janz, Story, 38 (see note 27).

30 Janz, Story, 45 (see note 27).

31 Cf. Janz, Story, 49 (see note 27).

32 Sacred Records was founded in 1944 and in 1960 acquired by Word Records, Waco, Texas. Cf. Sacred Records Album Discography, www.bsnpubs.com/word/sacred.html, accessed August 2017.

33 Janz Quartet Singles with Sacred Records (all 1950s): Are you washed in the blood/Softly and tenderly (J353), My God and I/Oh I am a pilgrim (4098), When the world's on fire/Jesus rose of Sharon (J350), He lifted me/Sweet hour of prayer (J348).

34 Full title: Janz Quartet of the Prairie Bible Institute, Three Hills, Albert, Canada. With Jack Symons, piano. The songs contained are: Fade, fade, each earthly joy; No, not one; Sail on; Everybody said, Amen; Glory hallelujah; Does Jesus care; Mother's prayers have followed me; A grand old highway; Behold, I show you a mystery.

Mennonites. 1949 the Janz Quartet came to Saskatoon and 1950 and 1951 to Osler to evangelize among the Old Colony people. One participant remembers: "With their beautiful quartet [...] and the powerful preaching of Leo Janz, thousands of people [...] came to listen."[35] A Mennonite journalist at that time judged the Janz ministry as "a liberating influence,"[36] since "the evangelists preached and emphasized conversion and new spiritual life that was not tied to the German language, to old [...] cultural traditions, or to [...] an increasingly artificial separation of the church from the outside world."[37] However, some theological narrowness concerning conversion and adolescence was implied even in the more progressive evangelistic approach. Mennonite sociologist Calvin Redekop explains:

> The child, as long as it was innocent, was a natural child of God, but when that child entered adolescence and started to express his or her own will and autonomy, he or she moved from a 'saved' condition to one of being 'pagan'. This ambiguity created great concern to Mennonite parents and tended to develop pressures upon children to experience a religious conversion.[38]

Since Christian camps and revival meetings were seen as important opportunities for conversion, they were not entirely free from this pressure. In some ways these perspectives continued to shape the Janz Quartet's evangelistic ministry in Germany, where Baptist or Mennonite North American evangelists generally tended to doubt the salvation of traditional European Christians (over 95% of the Western German population in the 1950s and 1960s) that had not performed an evangelical style conversion.[39] On the other hand, evangelical Christocentric conversion had a biblical warrant and offered a ritual for personal spiritual renewal that seems to have filled a void in the traditional religious landscape and the growing secularism of the *Wirtschaftswunder*-society in West Germany.

Mission to Germany

In 1951 *Youth for Christ* took notice of the singing evangelists and sent the Janz Quartet on a three-month mission trip to West Germany. The Janz brothers seemed especially suitable because – alongside English – they had grown up speaking the traditional Mennonite Low German (*Plattdeutsch*). Leo Janz remembers their first evangelistic meetings in Solingen in the *Ruhrgebiet*:

> Our meagre German did not deter them from listening and deciding for the Lord [...]. They had previously neither known nor heard of us. But there was a sense of fellowship immediately which erased from our minds the feeling that we were in a foreign land. We were cared for in families which received us so warmly that we

35 Cit. in: Bob Wahl, The Story of Saskatchewan School No. 99: The Lives and Times of Pioneers on the South Saskatchewan River, Victoria, BC: Friesen Press, 2014, 440.

36 Frank H. Epp, Editor of the Canadian Mennonite newspaper (1957), cit. Regehr, Mennonites, 210 (see note 26).

37 Regehr, Mennonites, 210 (see note 26).

38 Cit. Regehr, Mennonites, 203 (see note 26).

39 Evangelical style conversion was usually conceptualized as a datable decision in the form of a personal prayer of surrender and faith as the response to a call to come forward by the evangelist. This concept of course had been made well known by the Billy Graham crusades, where it was criticized among others by Karl Barth, cf. Balbier, Billy Graham, 353 (see note 13).

> were genuinely moved [...]. The [fellow Christians] from Solingen went to bat for us. Not only did they support our campaign [...] but they also put us in touch with individual Christians and churches in other places. In one sense they became the springboard for our future work in Germany.[40]

In 1955 Leo and Hildor returned to Europe for long-term ministry and were joined by Canadian pianist and organ player Harding Braaten. They recruited support from their Canadian churches and the Bible school network and settled in Basel, Switzerland, with their families. In 1956 the Janz brothers moved across the border to Lörrach, Germany, and founded the *Christliche Radiomission,* whose name a few years later they changed to *Janz Team.* They started a weekly 15-minute radio broadcast on Radio Luxembourg with the title *Lieder des Lebens* (Songs of Life, derived from the title of their former PBI-program "Hymns that live"). Each radio program was introduced by the German version of the American 19th century gospel hymn "Throw out the life line,"[41] a transnationally remarkable song.[42] The program combined musical numbers accompanied by piano or Hammond organ with the evangelistic preaching of Leo Janz, always "concluded by an invitation for listeners to 'accept Christ' into their lives."[43] In 1961 Adolph Janz and Cornie Enns followed and thus completed the original quartet. The strong mail response the broadcasts received indicated that the weekly radio program had become popular with many listeners. This in turn "led to invitations from churches across Germany to come and hold meetings in their cities."[44] Soon evangelistic rallies became the hallmark of the Janz Team. Despite their Mennonite background the Janz brothers took a non-denominationalist stance and looked for cooperation with all protestant denominations in Germany: Lutheran, Reformed, Baptist, Methodist or Free evangelical churches – on three conditions: (1) the rally had to be supported by all local pastors that were associated with the local Evangelical Alliance, (2) a call for a decision to accept Christ would be made and (3) one of the largest indoor meeting places in the city had to be rented.[45]

Southern Gospel in West Germany

From the beginning, Southern gospel quartet music was an important and singular feature of Janz Team's mission in Germany: "Musical numbers made up

40 Cit. in Enns, Saving Germany, 125 (see note 2).

41 Cf. Eckhard Kraska, Es begann mit Musik. Die Geschichte des Janz Teams 1954–2004, in: 50 Jahre Janz Team, Kandern 2004, 4.

42 The well-known American revival hymn written by Edward S. Ufford (1851–1929) has been recorded by many gospel and jazz singers including Mahalia Jackson and Ella Fitzgerald. The German version was recorded on the Janz Team single Wirf ihm das Seil zu (Lieder des Lebens 145) and had been translated by German background American social gospel theologian Walter Rauschenbusch (1861–1918). It had originally been published in 1897 in a two volume songbook for German language minorities in North America edited by Rauschenbusch and Ira D. Sankey, cf. Das Rettungsseil, No. 124 in: Evangeliums-Lieder 1 & 2 mit deutschen Kernliedern, Chicago/Cincinati/New York 1897.

43 Enns, Saving, 126 (see note 2).

44 Enns, Saving, 126 (see note 2).

45 Cf. Enns, Saving, 129 (see note 2).

at least half of each crusade meeting, featuring a mixture of quartet numbers, solos by Hildor Janz, congregational songs and choral numbers from a volunteer choir of local church singers."[46] Southern gospel music had developed in the United States from the roots of the 19th and early 20th century revival traditions of Dwight L. Moody and Billy Sunday.[47] But the immediate context for the emergence of white gospel quartets was the rise of gospel publishing houses in the American South. In the 1920s, gospel song publishers like James D. Vaughn[48] in Tennessee or the Stamps-Baxter Company in Dallas, Texas, employed gospel quartets to travel the country and advertise for the sixty cent songbooks that fueled the gospel singing in the churches and families.[49] At the same time they started their own singing schools like the "Vaughn Conservatory Music and Bible Institute" that offered a five month course of bible study and gospel singing. At one time the Vaughn Company in Tennessee had 16 employed quartets, which all traveled "under the generic name of *Vaughn quartet*."[50] The publishing houses soon also embraced the new technology of radio and recording, which brought the "message and music to a wider audience much more quickly than hymnals and singing schools."[51] In the 1930s and 1940s "hundreds of family groups sang at local churches and monthly gatherings."[52]

When the Janz brothers first performed as a quartet in Saskatchewan in 1946 (see above), southern gospel quartet singing in the United States had already changed. By the 1940s the white quartets had become independent from the publishing houses. They also distanced themselves from the church context and became secular entertainment acts (Statesmen Quartet, Blackwood Brothers, The Swanee River Boys, Rangers Quartet and others)[53] with a swinging show style and elements of rhythm and blues.[54] The Janz Quartet, on the other hand, stayed with the musical tradition of the Vaughn and Stamps-Baxter quartets of 1920s and 1930s and made serious evangelism their clear priority. Musically, their performance certainly was "'up-tempo' combining the call-and-response techniques of the African American spirituals with the word repetition common to the quartet song,"[55] but it lacked the flashiness of the newer show-oriented American quartets. Still, the songs they performed at their crusades and record-

46 Enns, Saving, 136 (see note 2).
47 Cf. Walldorf, Why should, 180–183 (see note 3); Melvin Butler, Gospel Quartets, in: W.K. McNeil, (ed), Encyclopedia of American Gospel Music, New York 2005, 156–160.
48 James David Vaughn had strong evangelical convictions and next to commercial goals aimed with his pioneering gospel publishing business "to win many precious souls for Jesus." James R. Goff Jr., Close Harmony: A History of Southern Gospel, Chapelhill/London 2002, 72.
49 Cf. S. Turner, Hungry for Heaven: Rock & Roll and the Search for Redemption, Downers Grove 1995, 29–30.
50 Cf. Goff, Close Harmony, 73 (see note 48).
51 Kip Lornell, Southern Gospel, in: W.K. McNeil (ed), Encyclopedia of American Gospel Music, New York 2005, 357–362: 361.
52 Lornell, Southern Gospel, 361 (see note 51).
53 Cf. Goff, Close Harmony, 96–155 (see note 48); Turner, Hungry, 30 (see note 49).
54 This did not have to contradict the church context per se. Gospel entertainer and Statesmen-leader Hovie Lister saw gospel entertainment as a good way to keep young people out of "the beer joints and the rear seats of cars," cit. Turner, Hungry, 29 (see note 49).
55 Hustad, Jubilate II, 265 (see note 18).

ed on their own German label "Lieder des Lebens,"[56] including African American spirituals and gospel songs by African American authors like Cleavant Derricks' "Just a little talk with Jesus,"[57] came as a real and certainly entertaining novelty for their (mostly) pietistic audiences in Germany. At the same time the songs were direct expressions of the evangelistic message. The German lyrics emphasized a welcoming evangelical spirituality that encouraged listeners to trust Christ as their personal savior from sin and as their comforter in life's daily troubles:

> Fass Jesu Hand und schau empor nach oben / Er schenkt Geborgenheit / dir tief ins Herz. / Vertraue ihm, auch wenn die Zweifel toben / Glaube ihm, der niemals dich verlässt. (Take the hand of Jesus and look up / He gives assurance / deep in your heart. / Trust him, even when the doubts are raging / believe him, he will never leave you alone).[58]

Some songs, however, could be misunderstood as putting on the evangelistic pressure mentioned above, for example when the return of Christ was presented as an apocalyptic event threatening all those with eternal damnation who had not made an evangelical-style decision for conversion:

> Jesus kommt wieder / Wirst du dabeisein / [...] Jesus kommt wieder / Hin eilt die Zeit / Heute noch Retter / Morgen der Richter / Immer verloren / In Ewigkeit. (Jesus will come back / will you be taking part / [...] Jesus will come back / time is flying / today he still is a savior / tomorrow he will be the judge / [you will be] lost forever / in eternity).[59]

Such perspectives may have been part of the reason why some listeners took a critical stance and dismissed Janz Team's combination of a call to conversion with Southern gospel music as "an expression of religious sentimentality." On the other hand, some conservative Christians felt Janz Team's music was too "worldly."[60] Yet, on the whole and despite of some short-comings, the model was successful and welcomed by many local churches, because the "mission came as partners, not as rivals, with local churches."[61] In 1957 a month-long crusade was held in Basel, Switzerland, which attracted up to 5000 people each night. 1200 were reported to have come forward to make a decision for Christ.[62] In 1958 a 30-day campaign took place in the Gruga Convention center in Essen with up to 10.000 people per night.[63] Many campaigns followed. The positive reception is

56 For a comprehensive discography see de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lieder_des_Lebens, accessed August 11, 2017.

57 For example: Just a Little Talk with Jesus (Lieder des Lebens 172), We Are Climbing Jacob's Ladder (Ge-schenkschallplatte), Wunderbar ist Jesus, a rhythmic version of the gospel song Wonderful by Rowe and Yondell (1938) on Janz Quartett und Harding Braaten (JQHB) (Janz Team LP 6016).

58 An Jesu Hand (W. Elmo Mercer, German text: Manfred Paul), JQHB (JT LP 6016), transl. FW.

59 "Jesus kommt wieder" (W.B. Stephens, German text: Manfred Paul), JQHB (JT LP 6016), transl. FW.

60 Cf. Enns, Saving, 136–137 (see note 2).

61 Leo Janz, cit. Enns, Saving, 132 (see note 2).

62 Cf. Enns, Saving 129 (see note 2).

63 Cf. Janz, Story, 73 (see note 27).

also reflected in the sales of the Janz Team records, mostly singles, which reached up to 12.000 copies in a month in 1963.[64]

But the success of the Janz Team mass evangelism model reached its limits when a new generation of North Americans and Europeans, mostly students, struggled with new and critical questions about conservative western culture, its military and consumerist progress and its social problems. These questions found their expression in the rock and folk culture of the 1960s and 1970s, especially the music of Bob Dylan and the so-called British invasion, the enormous success of the Beatles and the Rolling Stones in North America and Europe.[65]

Jesus Rock and Student Evangelism in the 1970s and 1980s

The Jesus Movement

While Janz Team's more traditional and institutional missionary efforts contributed to an evangelical form of transatlantic understanding that reflected the culture of the 1950s, a completely different form of North American evangelical mission to Europe emerged in the late 1960s, starting to build a new version of common ground: the countercultural Jesus Movement. The Jesus Movement originated in the Californian hippie and rock music culture of the late 1960s and questioned the affluent superficiality of Western society and middle class Christianity, turning to a more personal, biblically radical and social expression of Christian faith. While being strongly missionary minded, the Jesus Movement hardly had any connections to institutional North American foreign missions to Europe. Instead, by way of missionary attraction, a new generation of young Europeans took interest in American rock artists like Larry Norman, Barry McGuire or the folk-rock band *Love Song*, who had come out of the hippie culture of the late 1960s, experienced an evangelical conversion and now formed an important part of the Jesus movement.[66] Especially *Love Song* "has taken on legendary status since its 1970–74 heyday."[67] They were often referred to as the "Christian Beatles," since the "longhaired Southern California dudes [...] literally composed the rule book for a new kind of gospel music as they went along."[68] Love Song was also instrumental in the foundation and growth of Calvary Chapel in Costa Mesa, Los

64 Cf. Enns, Saving, 136 (see note 2).

65 Cf. Anthony DeCurtis (ed.), The Rolling Stone Illustrated History of Rock & Roll: The Definitive History of the Most Important Artists and Their Music, London 1992, 199–208, 223–251, 299–308.

66 On the biographies and discographies of the named artists see Alfonso, Billboard Guide (see note 7) and Mark A. Powell, The Encyclopedia of Contemporary Christian Music, Peabody 2002.

67 Alfonso, Billboard Guide, 192 (see note 7). In 2012 Love Song was introduced into the Gospel Music Hall of Fame (GMHF) together with gospel singer Aretha Franklin and bluegrass musician Randy Skaggs, cf. GMHF, Inductees Archive, www.gmahalloffame.org/inductees-archive, accessed August 6, 2017.

68 Thom Granger (ed), The 100 Greatest Albums in Christian Music, Eugene/Nashville 2001, 101.

Angeles, one of the most visible Jesus people churches.[69] In the 1980s Calvary Chapel turned into a nationwide association of evangelical churches,[70] with a special musical outreach to Germany since 1984.[71]

Jesus Rock

The Jesus people rock artists understood themselves as missionaries to the rock culture of their generation, proclaiming that "Jesus is the rock and he rolled my blues away."[72] An outstanding example is Larry Norman (1947–2008),[73] a self-proclaimed rock evangelist based in Hollywood and one of the more strategic minds of early Jesus rock music. He wrote:

> Today, the new Christian music (Jesus Music, Jesus Rock) is accessible common ground between the religious and the secular world. [...] Music has become the second language of the youth. It has the power to lead or mislead. Just as it [...] influenced the misdirection [...] into drugs [...] it can be used to proclaim in a modern tongue a message that is almost 2000 years old.[74]

For Norman, authentic cultural expression and evangelism in the idiom of rock & roll were two sides of the same coin. Still, he did not understand his music simply as a cultural means to an evangelistic end. Instead, he aimed at a genuine expression of being a Christian in contemporary culture in the symbolic language of rock & roll. At the same time his songs conveyed a message very similar to the Janz Team's gospel songs, inviting personal faith in Jesus Christ. Nevertheless, Norman's musical versions of the gospel were more holistic and controversial, filled with drastic detail and critical social awareness. The song "Why don't you look into Jesus" on his album *Only Visiting This Planet* (Verve, 1972)[75] typically combines direct evangelism with cynic social commentary:

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69 Cf. Love Song, Music and Memories, North Hollywood, 1976, 7–11; Chuck Smith, founding pastor of Calvary Chapel, remembers: "I will never forget the day when some hippies walked into Calvary Chapel, announced that they were musicians, and asked me if they could share their music [...]. When they played that night, their music had the same dynamic effect on the crowd of young people as it had on me. For many years God used them in a vital way in the great revival that the press called 'The Jesus Movement.'," http://hof.doveawards.com/speaker-lineup/love-song, accessed August 6, 2017.

70 Cf. Calvary Chapel, History, https://calvarychapel.com/about/calvary-chapel-history/view/calvary-chapel-history, accessed August 6, 2017.

71 In 1984 a Calvary Chapel based Christian rock band took a six month mission trip to Germany to perform evangelistic concerts. One of its members, Nick Long, decided to stay and started the Calvary Chapel ministry in Germany, cf. Calvary Chapel Siegen, Geschichte, http://cc-siegen.de/neu/geschichte, accessed August 6, 2017. At the present date there are around 20 Calvary Chapel churches in Germany.

72 Cf. Larry Norman "Why should the devil have all the good music," Only Visiting this Planet (LP Verve 1972).

73 Cf. Gregory A. Thornbury, Why Should the Devil have all the Good Music? Larry Norman and the Perils of Christian Rock. New York 2018.

74 On the inlet of Larry Norman album In Another Land (Solid Rock 1976).

75 In 2013 Only Visiting This Planet (Verve, 1972) was among the 25 albums inducted into the Library of Congress National Recording registry, "showcasing the range and diversity of American recorded sound heritage." Library of Congress, www.loc.gov/programs/national-recording-preservation-board/about-this-program, accessed August 6, 2017. The album also became Nr. 2 of the 100 Greatest Albums in Christian Music, cf. Granger, The 100 Greatest, 16–19 (see note 68).

> Sipping whiskey from a paper cup / You drown your sorrows till you can't stand up / Take a look at what you've done to yourself / Why don't you put the bottle back on the shelf [...] / Gonorrhea on Valentine's Day / And you're still looking for the perfect lay / You think rock & roll will set you free / You'll be deaf before your thirty three / Shooting junk till your half insane / Broken needle in your purple vein / Why don't you look into Jesus, he's got the answer.

"The Great American Novel," another song on the same album, extends the evangelistic message into the political realm without providing easy (political) answers:

> Your money says in God we trust / but it's against the law to pray in school / you say we beat the Russians to the moon / and I say you starved your children to do it / you say all men are equal all men are brothers / then why are the rich more equal than others / don't ask me for the answer I've only got one / that a man leaves his darkness when he follows the Son.

Schaeffer, Student and Short-term missions

Even though not all Jesus rock artists were as controversial as Larry Norman, it is not surprising that American evangelical missions were at first reluctant to make Jesus rock part of their missionary strategies in Europe. While this reluctance was part of a more widespread insecurity towards Christian rock music in the evangelical American community, another American missionary to Europe, Independent Presbyterian Francis A. Schaeffer (1912–1984), became influential in providing a missionary interpretation of Jesus rock in a European mindset.[76] In 1972 Larry Norman – like many young intellectuals and artists of this evangelical generation – had visited Schaeffer's missionary community L'Abri in Switzerland[77] and voiced his "feeling of isolation as an artist" in the evangelical community. Schaeffer "expressed sympathy for the tightrope walk" that Jesus rock artists like Norman had been attempting between evangelism and rock & roll. He later wrote to Norman:

> "I feel we have a double responsibility. We must say that Christ is the Lord of the whole of life and therefore we do not have to make everything into a tract, and yet looking at the wounded world we do have a responsibility that each of us is a 'teller' in our own place."[78]

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76 Schaeffer had been a missionary to Europe with the Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions since 1947. In 1955 he broke with fundamentalism and became an independent evangelical missionary, developing L'Abri as a missionary community for intellectuals and artists, cf. Markku Ruotsila, Francis Schaeffer in Europe: The Early Missionary Years, in this volume; see also Barry Hankins, Francis Schaeffer and the Shaping of Evangelical America, Grand Rapids/Cambridge 2008, 28. 51–56. Hankins interprets Schaeffer as a "European Evangelical," ibid. 28.

77 Thornbury correctly thinks that "it is almost impossible to overstate the influence Schaeffer had on young Christian intellectuals in the wake of the Jesus movement." Thornbury, Why should the Devil, 111 (see note 73). Norman He also mentions the visit in the song "Fly, Fly, Fly" on the album So lang ago the Garden (MGM, 1973): "We'll hitchhike up through Switzerland and drop in at L'Abri." Hankins maintains that L'Abri in those years became part of a transnational "evangelical pop culture," Hankins, Schaeffer, 61 (see note 76).

78 Cit. Thornbury, Why should the Devil, 112 (see note 73).

Schaeffer saw rock music as a serious contemporary art form, encouraged Christians to use "rock as a bridge to preach the Christian message" and at the same time to critically reflect the process of communication: "When you have finished playing, you must ask whether the people who have heard you play have understood what you have been doing."[79] Next to providing an intellectual missiological framework for Jesus rock (not only) in a European context, Schaeffer's community L'Abri also served as a base and bridge to European culture for American evangelical rock artists like Mark Heard (1951–1992). Heard spent significant portions of time in 1975 and the early 1980s in L'Abri and recorded and toured in Switzerland.[80] He lamented what he observed as European evangelicals' desire to emulate American culture: "They see churches, state run, as cold and heartless places, and the grass to them is greener on the other side of the Atlantic [...]. It is a shame, for the national sense of aesthetic here is remarkably higher than back home. [...] They don't realize what they have, and what they will give up to emulate America."[81]

While L'Abri became an intellectual and transcultural space that inspired American rock artists to missiologically and critically reflect American popular music in a European context, a new wave of American student missionary organizations like *Campus Crusade for Christ* (founded by Bill Bright 1951)[82] and *Youth With a Mission* (founded by Loren Cunningham in 1960) – in a less critical but more pragmatic way – discovered the potential of American Jesus rock music as a missionary bridge between a new generation of Americans and Europeans and began to integrate it into their outreach to Europe. In 1972 Campus Crusade organized Explo '72, a week-long musical and missionary festival in Dallas, Texas, that *Newsweek Magazine* called the "Christian Woodstock."[83] Up to 100.000 young people attended daily training sessions for personal evangelism and celebrated in nightly concerts with Jesus rock artists like Larry Norman, Randy Stonehill, Love Song and Barry McGuire.[84] An open air concert in downtown Dallas drew an audience of around 150.000.[85] With its combination of personal evangelism and rock concerts Explo '72 became a prototype for similar though smaller missionary musical festivals in Europe, e. g. the Christival '76 in Essen, West Germany, with more than 12.000 participants. The festival in Essen prominently featured American Jesus rock artists like Terry Clark, the Texan band Liberation Suite and Love Song's lead vocalist Chuck Girard[86] as well as upcom-

79 Francis A. Schaeffer, Art and the Bible. Two Essays, London 1973, 52.

80 Cf. Matthew Dickerson, Hammers and Nails: The Life and Music of Mark Heard, Chicago 2003, 190–192.198–199.

81 Mark Heard cit. in Dickerson, Heard, 191–192 (see note 80).

82 Campus Crusade started its work in Germany in 1967, having made first contacts in the context of the World Congress on Evangelism in Berlin 1966.

83 Newsweek Magazine, June 26, 1972, 52.

84 Cf. Jesus Sound Explosion. Recorded live at Explo '72 (LP, CCC/Strawberry Creek Productions, 1972).

85 Cf. Malessa, Sound, 82 (see note 12).

86 On blues rocker Terry Clark, the Texan band Liberation Suite, whose jazz-rock style reminded of Chicago's brass arrangements, and Chuck Girard see Powell, Encyclopedia, 528–529.362–363 (see note 66).

ing German evangelical rock artists like Markus Egger and Arno & Andreas.[87] In 1972 Youth With a Mission (YWAM) organized an international evangelistic outreach during the Olympics in Munich in West Germany.[88] Around one thousand young Christians participated, among them Ex-Love Song guitarist and violinist Fred Field and his band (Tom Marchbanks, Henry Cutrona) who supported the street evangelism outreach with country rock concerts in public parks, city squares and coffee bars.[89] Field's song "He Lives" on his Album *Fred Field and Friends* (Maranatha, USA 1976) captures the band's missionary experience and the gist of their message in Munich:

> As we come before you in the Lord / as we gather round now / Don't walk away / Let your fears fall this day. – He lives, He gives us life / He lives, He gives us love / to change today, today. – Let his kindness fill you up inside / Let his Son become your Lord / Don't be afraid, no ... / Let your heart begin to pray.

Following the evangelistic outreach in Munich, the Field band toured in Germany and made recordings for the *Evangeliums-Rundfunk* (ERF), the German branch of Trans World Radio,[90] before moving on to Amsterdam, where the band worked with YWAM for another year. Field's missionary encounter with European culture also impacted his biography and his decision for a second career as a linguistic scholar in the field of bilingual research: "when asked how he transitioned from life as a professional musician to academia, Field says that he became interested in how Europeans learned languages while touring Europe."[91]

American student missions like YWAM and Campus Crusade thus played an important role in the transmission of American evangelical rock music to Europe. Young Europeans took up the impulses and contextualized them into their own local settings. Along with the foundation of rock music magazines (*Cogo*, *Pax*) and record publishers (*Blue Rose Records*, *Pila Music*) in the 1970s and 1980s, hundreds of Christian singers and music groups sprung up in Germany and other European countries to play missionary concerts in coffee bars (*Teestu-*

87 Cf. the LP Gott lädt uns ein zu seinem Fest. Christival 76. Kongress junger Christen. Essen, Pfingsten 1976. The record contains the songs "Run, run Lucifer" by Liberation Suite and "Rock & Roll Preacher" by Chuck Girard, "Hallo Freunde" by Arno und Andreas and "Jesus stillte den Sturm" by Markus Egger (with playback tracks by the Fred Field band, see below) cf. Malessa, Sound, 96 (see note 12). The Christival since then has become a regular mega-event in the evangelical community in Germany.

88 Cf. YWAM Germany, http://www.jmem.de/en/locations/hurlach-the-castle.html, accessed August 9, 2017.

89 Cf. Malessa, Sound, 90–9 (see note 12). On Fred Field (born in Hollywood in 1946) and his band see Powell, Encyclopedia, 325–326 (see note 66). In 2012 Field – together with Love Song – was inducted into the Gospel Music Association Hall of Fame, cf. What do Aretha Franklin and Dr. Fredric Field have in common?, in: CSUN College of Humanities Newsletter vol. 7, Fall 2012, Issue 1, http://www.csun.edu/humanities/coh-newsletter-fall-2012, accessed April 29, 2015.

90 The tracks were later used as playbacks on the productions of upcoming German evangelical pop singers like Jürgen Werth, cf. Malessa, Sound, 93 (see note 12); see also the Christival recording mentioned above.

91 Field became Professor of Linguistics at the California State University Northridge (CSUN) and has been visiting scientist in the Linguistics Department at Max Planck Institute of Evolutionary Anthropology in Leipzig, Germany, cf. CSUN, College of Humanities, http://www.csun.edu/humanities/english/fredric-field, accessed April 29, 2015.

ben), schools and streets, creating a distinctly European version of Jesus rock[92] and laying the foundations for the rise of popular worship music in evangelical churches across Europe in the 1990s (see below).

On the whole, the second phase of the American-European missionary musical encounter in the 1970s and 1980s was more music-centered, less institutional, more individualistic and yet more participative on a grassroots level than the activities in the first phase. Instead of long-term missionary service and mass evangelism in the 1950s, in the second phase short-term student missions, personal evangelism and diverse forms and levels of rock music evangelism dominated. Yet in a generational and migrational perspective, there are also aspects of continuity, since some of the children and grandchildren of North American missionaries to Germany continued to live in Europe and naturally became part of the developments in the second and third phases, thus strengthening the cultural evangelical transatlantic ties in a new generation.[93]

Soft Rock for Spiritual Seekers and Evangelical Worship in the 1990s

The 1990s, marked by the breakdown of the Berlin Wall and the German re-unification, opened up new perspectives of cultural pluralism, community and cooperation that also influenced the role of popular music in American evangelical missions to Europe. The focus shifted from the radically evangelistic Jesus rock concerts in the context of street evangelism and coffee bar work to a community and missional church oriented approach, using mainstream popular music to make local churches more attractive for secular spiritual seekers. The main example for this approach in Germany are the missionary activities of *Willow Creek Community Church*, a non-denominational megachurch founded in 1975 by Bill Hybels in the Chicago suburban area.[94] In 1993 Hybels was invited to Germany to speak at the 2nd Congress on Church Development in Nuremberg.[95] Hybels presented a model of missionary church with a central evangelistically oriented worship service geared towards reaching secular spiritual seekers. The so-called seeker service was meant to transmit an attractive aesthetic experience

92 For detailed accounts cf. Malessa, Sound (see note 12).

93 An outstanding example of this was the Canadian-German Christian rock band Deliverance with Paul, Danny and Ken Janz, sons of Leo and Hildor Janz of the original Janz Team. With their albums Lasting Impressions (Atlantic, Germany/Canada, 1978) and Tightrope (Global Records, Canada/Germany, 1979) Deliverance reached a fair amount of secular success in Germany and North America and can be understood as part of the transatlantic missionary musical space described here. For details see Ken Janz, Rebell in Gottes Hand, Winterthur 2003; Malessa, Sound, 153 (see note 12).

94 Cf. Rainer Schacke, Learning from Willow Creek? Church Services for Seekers in German Milieu Contexts. Göttingen 2009; Friedemann Walldorf, Missionarische Bemühungen im Kontext gesellschaftlicher Veränderungen in Deutschland von 1945–2000, in: Evangelikale Missiologie 23, 2007, 38–53: 47–48.

95 Cf. Fred W. McRae, A Case Study in Contextualization: The History of the German Church Growth Association 1985–2003, Eugene 2014, 139.

of Christian spirituality using contemporary art forms like drama and popular music "committed [...] to calling people to Jesus Christ, not so much by means of persuasion as through allowing them to hear, see, think, and decide about their relationship to Christ."[96] Rory Noland, long-term musical director of WCCC, explains:

> The arts can play a major role in reaching the unchurched. I've had countless people tell me that they first started coming to a seeker church service because they liked the music. [...]. Seeker ministry and the worship movement have brought new life to music in the church. God is calling studio players and jingle singers out of the professional music business to serve in the church. He's also calling nonprofessionals [...] people from all walks of life that used to play an instrument or sing. [...] They are discovering the joy and reward that comes from using their talent to serve the Lord."[97]

In Germany the new concept was enthusiastically welcomed far beyond the evangelical community and encouraged musicians and church leaders to seek higher levels of excellence in integrating popular music into worship services. What is more, the new concept also coincided with the widespread rise of popular praise and worship music in Germany's evangelical churches[98] as a long term result of the musical impact of the Jesus movement in the 1970s. In that context the strategic role of the North American actors changed. While the musical missionaries of the 1950s and the Jesus rock evangelists of the 1970s had in common that they took center stage as *performers*, as mass evangelists and gospel singers or Jesus rock stars, American missionaries in the 1990s increasingly acted as *trainers* and *consulters*. This can be seen in the training conferences that Willow Creek regularly organized in Germany and that developed into a German branch of the Willow Creek network.[99] Another example is Greater Europe Mission (see 1.2.) that assigned the folk and country musicians Don and Susie Newby[100] as music teachers to their Bible institute and church ministry in Germany. While the Newbys also developed a concert and recording ministry, in the 1990s they mainly concentrated on leading pop music seminars for church musicians to deepen and foster praise and worship music in evangelical churches across Germany.[101]

96 Rutt Vander Hart, The Seeker Service: A New Strategy for Evangelism, in: Reformed Worship, March 1992, http://www.reformedworship.org/issue/march-1992, accessed August 2, 2015.

97 Rory Noland, The Heart of the Artist: A Character-Building Guide for you and Your Ministry Team, Grand Rapids 1999, 25.28.

98 Cf. For a detailed analysis see Guido Baltes, Worship im europäischen Kontext, in: Arnold, Jochen et al (Hg), Gottesklänge: Musik als Quelle und Ausdruck des christlichen Glaubens, Leipzig 2013, 247–260.

99 Cf. Willowcreek, Geschichte, www.willowcreek.de/ueber-willow-dch/geschichte, accessed August 1, 2016.

100 Cf. the album Don & Susie Newby, Stepping Through the Changes (Hänssler, Germany, 1989).

101 This also included the publication of a guide to contemporary acoustic guitar playing, cf. Don Newby, Die akustische Gitarrenschule, Holzgerlingen [2004], 4th edition 2014.

A FRIENDLY SPACE: POPULAR MUSIC IN MISSION AS A CONTEXTUAL PROCESS

The changing role and forms of American popular music in evangelical missions to Europe roughly and with considerable delay and selectivity follow the history of popular music in general[102] – from southern gospel music in the 1940s and 1950s to rock and folk in the 1970s and 1980s to varied pop-oriented worship and praise music in the 1990s. In that way it reflects the basic contextual character of the missionary encounter, engaging the spiritual, cultural and aesthetic perceptions of European receptors and North American missionaries alike and thus contributing to an evangelical version of a musical and spiritual transatlantic space at different points in time. In the 1950s and 1960s the postwar generation looked for new spiritual orientations on a personal and societal scale. Mass and radio evangelism like those of Janz Team catered to that need. The large scale evangelistic meetings transmitted a sense of collective identity and addressed felt needs of forgiveness, new beginnings and hope. The accompanying southern gospel music came as a symbol of harmony and new beginnings. In the 1970s a new generation interacted critically with not so harmonious realities behind middle-class facades. Student missions such as Schaeffer's L'Abri, Campus Crusade and YWAM in different ways connected with the countercultural spiritual message of the Jesus movement and opened up a new chapter in the North American-European missionary encounter. Jesus rock as a musical expression of the Jesus movement can be understood as a specific evangelical contribution to the overall cultural dynamics of the 1960s and 1970s.[103] In the American-European missionary encounter it reflected the transformation of the transatlantic missionary space opened up in the 1950s and laid the foundation for new interactions in the 1990s.

Through its different phases the missionary musical encounter between North Americans and Europeans can be seen as contributing to the creation of culturally *entangled* spaces on biographical and institutional levels, which facilitated new perceptions and opportunities for participants on both sides of the encounter.[104] In a further perspective the missionary musical process can be understood as a *friendly* space in an enlarged understanding of what Dutch-American Catholic writer Henri Nouwen has formulated: "The minister [...] is a host who offers hospitality to his guests. He gives them a *friendly space* where they may feel free to come and go, to be close and distant, to rest and to play."[105] Even though the missionary encounters did not always and in varying degrees offer that kind of space, with music sometimes only a means to an end, they were often perceived

102 Cf. Hustad, Jubilate II (see note 18).

103 For a similar conclusion cp. Axel R. Schäfer (ed), American Evangelicals and the 1960s, Madison 2013, 3–5.

104 For the concept of entangled spaces see Samir Boulos, European Evangelicals in Egypt (1900–1956). Cultural Entanglements and Missionary Spaces (Studies in Christian Mission 48), Leiden/Boston 2016, 3–4.

105 Henri Nouwen, The Wounded Healer: Ministry in Contemporary Society, New York 1979, 92, italics mine.

and pursued as such friendly spaces, filled with new experiences and opportunities. Especially different forms of American popular music, because of its culturally diverse, often painful and yet hopeful origins, its inclusiveness and its playful creativity, can be seen as decisively contributing to making the missionary encounters a friendly space, communicating "concern and respect for people, for their beliefs and their culture," as musicologist Nathan Corbitt paraphrases Nouwen's concept.[106]

In conclusion, the important role that American popular music played in the North American-European missionary encounter from the 1950s to the 1990s seems not so surprising after all. On the one hand, it resonated with the global influence of American popular music in the 20th century[107] and on the other hand it represented the American evangelical missions' often pragmatic affinity towards popular culture as an effective missionary and bridge-building tool. Yet, one of the reasons why American popular music was so successful in building intercultural bridges and inspiring friendly cultural spaces has rightly been seen in its diverse cultural roots: American popular music developed from a "mixture of African rhythms, Latin American folk music and European harmonies and dances. Given these hybrid antecedents, [...] [it] represented what was most cosmopolitan in American culture."[108] Moreover, blues, jazz and gospel as typical forms of American popular music in their origins and diverse developments were intricately interwoven with the African American experiences of slavery, forced migration, segregation and marginalization and thus are constant reminders of and admonishers against racism, oppression, injustice and exclusion.[109] Similar to the way American Jazz was embraced by cultural and political leaders in Germany in the 1950s as a symbol of anti-totalitarianism and democracy,[110] the depicted missionary versions of American popular music were perceived by many traditional and secular Christians in Germany as a friendly space offering spiritual renewal and hope and opening up new horizons of intercultural and societal dialogue.

106 Nathan Corbitt, The Sound of The Harvest: Music's Mission in Church and Culture, Grand Rapids 1998, 128.

107 Whereas musical currents in the 19th century mainly flowed from Europe to America, the tide turned in the 20th century with American popular music becoming a preeminent cultural influence in Europe and globally, cf. Jessica Gienow-Hecht, Sound Diplomacy: Music and Emotions in Transatlantic Relations, 1850–1920, Chicago 2009; cf. Lisa E. Davenport, Jazz Diplomacy: Promoting America in the Cold War Era, Jackson 2009.

108 Richard Pells, Modernist America: Art, Music, Movies, and the Globalization of American Culture, New Haven/London 2011, 132.

109 Cf. Friedemann Walldorf, "There's a better day a coming": Afroamerikanische Musik als Inkulturation – eine historisch-missiologische Spurensuche, in: Interkulturelle Theologie: Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft 34, 2008, 68–90.

110 Cf. Uta G. Poiger, Searching for Proper New Music: Jazz in Cold War Germany, in: Agnes C. Mueller (ed), German Pop Culture: How "American" is it? Ann Arbor 2004, 83–95: 91.