

## **Soul Music: Its Sociological and Political Significance in American Popular Culture**

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One of the most innovative and generative forms of music that evolved from the 1960s Black Power Movement served to elevate the consciousness of an African heritage among black Americans. This music, coined "soul," established new trends and direction for the tradition of urban black popular music. Performers of soul music, in communicating the philosophy of the Black Power Movement, promoted the black pride or self-awareness concept. Their African-derived fashions and hair styles encouraged an identification with the mother country while their song lyrics advocated national black unity. Through their texts, soul singers not only discussed the depressing social and economic conditions of black communities but they also offered solutions for improvement and change. The overall awareness of an African heritage on the part of black performers influenced the conscious and unconscious revival and intensification of musical concepts that represented standards and aesthetics understood by the black community. The intense and emotional nature of songs performed by these musicians captured the new spirit, attitudes, values and convictions of blacks that later altered the social, political and economic structures of American society. Soul music, in the 1960s, served as a vehicle for self-awareness, protest and social change. In the 1970s, it provided musical resources for the evolution of new forms of American popular music. The sociological and political significance of soul music in American popular culture will be examined from three perspectives: 1) its use as an agent for advocating social and political change; 2) the path it paved for the acceptance of black music in an unadulterated form and 3) its impact on American popular culture. Since soul music is a by-product of the Black Power Movement, it will be discussed in this context.

### *Soul and the Black Power Movement*

The foundation for the Black Power Movement was established by the Civil Rights Movement, which was an outgrowth of the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott of 1955-56. This boycott later proved to be the first of a series of organized efforts on the part of blacks to protest the "second-class" citizenship that defined their status. Discontented and frustrated with social, economic and political discrimination, black Americans began to organize non-violent courses of action to challenge these injustices. Leaders of the Civil Rights Movement adopted the "integration" philosophy—a philosophy they viewed to be the most effective strategy of achieving "first-class" citizenship. Integration was equated with emancipation and emancipation with full access to those rights and privileges granted to the larger society.<sup>1</sup>

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Beginning in the 1960s, activities of the Civil Rights Movement drew national attention. Bombings, killings and the brutal treatment of blacks constituted the responses of white Americans. Such violent reactions coupled with poor enforcement of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the assassination of Malcolm X in 1965, provided the fuel for a major black revolution in America. Around 1965 blacks residing in large urban centers throughout the United States began to reject the non-violent approach of the Civil Rights Movement and retaliated to violent attacks by arming themselves and demanding immediate entry into society on their own terms. This change in philosophy and strategy gave way to the emergence of the Black Power Movement. Leaders of this movement encouraged the rejection of standards, values, beliefs and goals of the white society while they advocated the self-awareness or self-pride concept. The objective of the Black Power Movement as explained by Stokely Carmichael was to gain "full participation in the decision-making process affecting the lives of black people..."<sup>2</sup>

In view of this goal, black Americans sought to enter into the mainstream of American life as a unified group. Conditions for entry were to be guided by policies established and controlled by black people.<sup>3</sup> A philosophy inherent in the Black Power Movement promoted the concept of inclusion. In discussing this concept sociologist Talcott Parsons insists that "full inclusion and multiple role participation are compatible with the maintenance of distinctive ethnic and/or religious identity..."<sup>4</sup>

Although most blacks would agree with Parsons, white Americans generally, in theory and practice, are unwilling to act upon this interpretation of inclusion. The full implementation of the inclusion concept, however, can only occur when white Americans first recognize and accept cultural standards and values established and adhered to by blacks. Then black Americans must have the power to exercise control and to define their own needs, priorities, goals and courses of action. The concept of inclusion, therefore, necessitates social freedom and the re-distribution of economic and political power. The Black Power Movement was organized to promote these objectives.

### *The Concept of "Soul"*

Urban black popular music traditionally has been subject to exclusion from the society at large. Representatives of record companies, the music industry and the mass media encouraged its exclusion by creating labels to identify black performers who *they* believed would appeal only to black communities. In addition, these representatives played a major role in selecting the listening audience and potential consumers of black music. *Billboard* magazine, for example, coined the phrase "Harlem Hit Parade" in the early 1940s to identify recordings made by blacks of urban black popular music. In the mid-1940s, this phrase was changed to "Race Records" then to "Rhythm & Blues" in 1949 and later to "Soul" in 1969.<sup>5</sup> Since the 1940s, music recorded by black artists, who modified their style to conform to musical standards and tastes of the larger society, has been classified as "pop." This music therefore was included in *Billboard's* listing of songs that were recorded by white "pop" performers and distributed in white communities. It could be argued that these labels contributed to the identification of music style. But to the contrary, available evidence reveals that recordings made by white performers, when presented in a black or

black-oriented style, became instant hits under the label of "pop." The Crew Cuts, Elvis Presley, Jerry Lee Lewis, Janis Joplin, Joe Cocker, the Bee Gees and Linda Ronstadt represent a few of many such artists.<sup>6</sup> Even when black artists modified their style to appeal to the white market, white performers, who recorded the music of blacks and in the same style, became benefactors of the "hit" in the "pop" market.<sup>7</sup>

Urban black popular music was first introduced to the larger society in the 1940s by white performers who presented "cover" versions of black hits. The performance style of these covers represented either diluted versions or poor imitations of the original song. When it appeared in the 1950s that black music played by black performers would gain acceptance in white markets, the term "Rock 'n' Roll" was coined by Alan Freed, a disc jockey from Cleveland, Ohio, to describe blues-derived black music with the black "beat." As explained by Gillett, when Freed first used the term,

he was applying it to music that already existed under another name, "rhythm and blues." But the change in name induced a change in the music itself. "Rhythm and blues" had meant music by black people for black people. "Rock 'n' Roll" meant at first only that this music was being directed at white listeners, but then, as the people producing the music became conscious of their new audience, they changed the character of the music, so that "rock 'n' roll" came to describe—and be—something different from "rhythm and blues."<sup>8</sup>

After black performers provided the musical ingredients and style for the new treatment of "rhythm and blues," record companies began to contract white performers to record this music for white consumers who had discovered the "beat."<sup>9</sup>

Prior to the evolution of soul music, black performers of urban popular styles of black music had either been excluded from or assimilated into the American popular musical tradition. The music industry, mass media and the adult segment of white America refused to accept black music played by black musicians according to black definitions. Many adults regarded the commercial dissemination of black music to be "part of an NAACP plot to corrupt the nation's (and particularly Southern) youth."<sup>10</sup> The Citizen's Council of Greater New Orleans, Inc. distributed a circular that protested the air play of music recorded by blacks:

STOP  
Help Save the Youth of America  
DON'T BUY NEGRO RECORDS

(If you don't want to serve negroes in *your* place of business, then do not have negro records on your juke box or listen to negro records on the radio.)

The screaming, idiotic words, and savage music of these records are undermining the morals of our white youth *in America*.

Call the advertisers of the radio stations that play this type of music and complain to them!

Don't Let Your Children Buy, Or Listen To These Negro Records.<sup>11</sup>

In addition to this form of rejection, neither the mass media nor the music industry considered giving credit or sharing profits made from the creative efforts of black musicians.<sup>12</sup>

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The rise of the Black Power Movement represented the first nationally unified group effort by blacks to directly counteract these and other forms of discrimination. "As black people became more immersed in social concerns and developed greater political activism, noticeable changes began to occur in their music." The music they created revealed "discernible impatience, courage and assurance."<sup>13</sup> Soul music emerged from this new spirit of social, political and economic liberation. Black performers of soul music were to serve as messengers who would communicate the philosophy of the Black Power Movement to the masses.

The term "soul" can best be defined as black nationalism. As a concept, it advocated the re-ordering of attitudes and values. As a symbol, it encouraged "the re-evaluation and re-definition of black identity, experience, behavior and culture" by blacks for blacks.<sup>14</sup> The term previously had been used in composition titles and group names not only to describe the "from the roots" character of songs but also to identify the source of inspiration and a black performance style of individual groups.<sup>15</sup> By the mid-1960s, soul nationally was regarded as a group attitude which mirrored the philosophy of the Black Power Movement.

The term "soul" was used consistently by black businessmen, who during the ghetto uprisings of 1964 (Harlem), 1965 (Watts) and 1967 (Detroit and Newark), identified their stores by displaying signs that read "soul brother." These signs served as a deterrent for potential looting and destruction of businesses owned by blacks. In July 1965, a black disc jockey from WOL in Washington, D.C. pioneered the national acceptance of the term "soul" when he identified his black-oriented station as "soul radio." The term was later used to describe various cultural trends, behavioral patterns and a particular style of verbal and non-verbal communication that evolved in black communities by and for black people. Although the term "soul" had become a household word in these communities by 1965, the mass media and music trade magazines did not give full recognition to its use until 1967, 1968 and 1969.<sup>16</sup>

The eventual acceptance of this term by the mass media, the music industry and the larger society signified an initial victory for the Black Power Movement. White Americans were to describe features distinctly unique to black culture by employing a term that had been *first* selected, sanctioned and used by black people. In the recording industry, the music that captured the essence of this victory was internationally known as "soul." The phrase "soul music", conceived by blacks, identified black vocalists and instrumentalists whose musical style corresponded to the "from-the-roots" concept. In returning to the roots, they drew their musical ideas, vocal and instrumental styles from the gospel tradition. The emotional, intense, spontaneous and participatory nature of this tradition coupled with contemporary textual themes of black pride and protest provided the foundation for soul music.

### *Soul Music: A Force in Social Change*

The period 1965-1969 witnessed the use of the phrase "soul music" as it was originally defined by blacks. When Sam Cooke recorded "A Change Is Gonna Come" in 1964 and the Impressions' "People Get Ready" in 1965, black artists were entering into the mainstream of the American society as politicians and spokesmen communicating the concept of "black pride."

Prior to the era of "soul," black performers rarely addressed themselves to the social conditions and concerns of the black community. Performers of "rhythm and blues" sought to relate the realities of unfulfilled, broken and fantasized relationships, teenage romances, and good times in their texts.<sup>17</sup> Soul singers in establishing new roles for black performers discussed the reality of social and economic problems that plagued black communities. They called for community action and set examples for others to follow.

In addressing themselves to relationships, social problems, economic and political concerns, they gave advice and offered solutions for improvement and change. These performers preached the message that

life is not to be accepted as it comes, hardship is not merely to be borne, but life is to be made worth living. Lessons are learned from unfortunate experiences which may either patch up existing failure, or give a better chance of success at a future date.<sup>18</sup>

This positive view of life reveals the fundamental relationship between gospel and soul music.

The two musical traditions served the same function, which is to console and comfort while providing direction and encouragement. Black performers of "soul," like black preachers, addressed themselves to the realities of the black community. Both related to their congregations and audiences in the same manner and their emotional approach to the delivery of their messages encouraged responses and activism. If for no other reason than its gospel roots, soul music penetrated through all social classes, religious denominations and age groups of the black community.<sup>19</sup>

Black performers and black preachers are in positions to serve as role models. They often coin phrases and influence the social behavior and life styles of the community. Given the acceptance and daily exposure of black performers in the community, they were able to communicate and elaborate upon the philosophy of the Black Power Movement.

James Brown was perhaps one of the greatest forces in advocating black pride, protest and social change. During his twenty-seven years as a successful performer, he never altered his unmistakably black gospel-oriented style for acceptance in the white market. For this reason, he always had a solid black following and has earned the titles "Soul Brother No. 1" and "Godfather of Soul." His personal involvement with black communities extended from business investments, and financial donations to informal appearances.

Mr. Dynamite, as he was often called, re-invested a large portion of his earnings in the community. He gave large contributions to youth programs and charities and created jobs by establishing a variety of businesses. His interest in young blacks motivated him to make informal appearances in black communities where he discussed and emphasized the importance of education. The hardships Brown experienced resulting from the termination of his formal education after the sixth grade, coupled with his impressions from a 1966 tour through a ghetto area in San Francisco, motivated him to record his message. The recording "Don't Be A Drop-Out" sold over a million copies. His influence on the youth of America was recognized by the late Vice-President Humphrey, who invited Brown to lead a national anti-dropout campaign.<sup>20</sup>

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Brown's first recordings that focused on the social problems of black communities encouraged blacks to be proud and to speak out against injustices. This message was expressed in his million-dollar seller "Say It Loud—I'm Black And I'm Proud" (1968) which was followed by "I Don't Want Nobody to Give Me Nothing" (1969). The call-response structure of the refrain section of "Say It Loud" encouraged blacks to participate by shouting "I'm Black And I'm Proud." After recording this song, Brown changed his hair style from a "process" to a "natural" and other blacks followed suit. Between 1969 and 1975 Brown continued to remind blacks of the reality of their condition and social status. Through his recordings during this period, he offered many suggestions as to how blacks could achieve social, political and economic independence. Brown's philosophy regarding community action is captured in his song titles: "Soul Pride" (1969), "Ain't It Funky Now" (1969), "It's A New Day" (1970), "Get Up, Get Into It, Get Involved" (1971), "Soul Power" (1971), "Talking Loud And Saying Nothing" (1972), "King Heroin" (1972), "Down And Out In New York City" (1973), "The Payback" (1974), "Funky President" (1974) and "Reality" (1975). The near and plus million sales of these recordings indicated that black America was listening.

Brown proved himself to be an elected spokesman for the black community when the mayors of Boston and Washington, D.C. called on him to help curtail rioting in these cities which followed the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. in 1968. His unusual ability to influence and control also was recognized by the late President Lyndon B. Johnson, who invited him to a White House dinner. On this occasion, a personally written and signed card, which read, "Thanks much for what you are doing for your country," was placed in front of him.<sup>21</sup> James Brown had the same kind of rapport with his audiences that black preachers have with their congregations. His experiences of poverty and hardship, of being black provided him with special insights into the problems and feelings of the black community. His songs were in the dialect and musical style that black people recognized and understood. They, consequently, responded to his messages, his music and to him as a successful black man with pride.

Other black performers<sup>22</sup> of soul music made significant contributions to the social awareness of the black community. In addition to employing themes of a social and political nature, they, as Brown did, spoke of unfulfilled relationships. In assuming the role of counselors, black performers provided a source of strength and encouragement through their words of wisdom and philosophical comments. Otis Redding and Aretha Franklin demanded "Respect" from their partners while Luther Ingram in "You Can Depend On Me," expressed his reliability and dependability. Other singers confessed their wrong doings but asked for forgiveness by declaring "I'm Gonna Do Better." Songs with these and related themes encouraged unity through expressions of "faith in love, hope for love, and the joy and happiness of love."<sup>23</sup>

The soul era was a productive period for black Americans. Group cohesion, political activism and community self-help programs were their responses to the messages of soul singers and leaders of the Black Power Movement. The music created by blacks and for blacks during this era communicated a general philosophy of refusal to accept the undesirable "and a determination to create a better future."<sup>24</sup> The Soul or Black Power Movement fostered black pride, black identity and black unity among black

Americans. It also signaled to white America that blacks would now and in the future establish their own priorities and enter into the mainstream of the American society on their own terms.

*Soul Music And American Popular Culture*

In December, 1968,  
...soul singer James Brown, 35, became the first black man in the 30 year history of *Cash Box* to be cited as the male vocalist on single pop records. For the uninitiated, "pop" means sales to the whole record-buying public, not simply in the predominantly Negro rhythm 'n' blues market...<sup>25</sup>

Brown's accomplishment established a precedent for other black performers. He was accepted on his own musical terms and did not alter his distinctive black style and dialect for inclusion and recognition in the popular music tradition. Although black music was subject to assimilation by white performers prior to the era of soul, the trend of the 1970s indicated that consumers of popular music were ready to listen to soul music played in its authentic form by black performers. Music critics credit the emergence of British musicians to be responsible for this change in attitude. Unlike earlier American white imitators and assimilators of black music, the Beatles and Rolling Stones<sup>26</sup>

were the first to tell their audiences which Soul artists they were imitating—which led to the wider recognition of such greats as Chuck Berry, Muddy Waters, Little Richard, Don Covay, etc.<sup>27</sup>

With the advent of soul music, other British groups and individuals<sup>28</sup> attempted to acquire vocal and instrumental styles that characterized this music. In employing techniques associated with gospel singing, they incorporated the use of melismas and explored the potential of the entire voice. The blues and gospel traditions supplied them with a complimentary instrumental style. Soul music was the only available material that suited the vocal and instrumental techniques adopted by these British performers.<sup>29</sup>

The Vietnam protest of the 1960s also contributed to the change in musical taste of white Americans. In rejecting values and standards of the establishment, they increasingly turned to minority cultures for alternative lifestyles and values. This rebellion against establishment fostered the so-called "blues revival" which allowed many white Americans to hear blues and other contemporary forms of black music for the first time. Concerned promoters, local clubs and, later, universities engaged in a series of bookings of blues and soul performers. Artists such as Sam and Dave, the Staple Singers, Ike and Tina Turner, Aretha Franklin, Otis Redding, Sly and The Family Stone, Muddy Waters, Albert King, B.B. King, Jimmy Reed and many others appeared before predominantly white audiences at the Fillmores East and West, Central Park and large auditoriums and other parks throughout the country.<sup>30</sup> This trend even continues today under the bill of "Jazz Festivals" which are dominated by blues, soul and soul-based jazz artists.

This form of exposure to black artists, coupled with the popularity of

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British groups in America during the 1960s prompted American white groups to turn to soul and other forms of black music for their stylistic and musical resources. The Righteous Brothers, Boz Scaggs, the Rascals and Janis Joplin were among the many American whites to achieve fame from the use of black vocal and instrumental styles.<sup>31</sup> The imitation by white performers, and its international commercialization by record companies, gave soul music a new meaning by the 1970s. In the music industry, it was used to identify any performer—black or white—whose musical and performance style reflected influences of the blues or gospel idiom. The editors of *Billboard* magazine, in foreseeing that white Americans would eventually accept soul music in its authentic form and that larger numbers of white musicians would imitate its style, changed the magazine's chart heading from "rhythm & blues" to "soul." The editorial announcing this change reads:

Beginning with this issue dated August 23, (1969), *Billboard* uses the designation "soul" in place of "rhythm and blues." The editorial department in making this change, is motivated by the fact that the term "soul" more properly embraces the broad range of song and instrumental material which derives from the musical genius of the black American.

A valid music is dynamic. It changes and grows more complex with the years, even while it reflects root influences. Thus it is with soul music, a rich blend of Musical Americana incorporating in its ken many diverse influences from blues to gospel. The term, too, has relevance to a style of performances as well as to musical form.<sup>31</sup>

This change in chart titles called attention to a new style of black music that appealed to white musicians and, in general, members of American popular culture.

The impact soul music had on American popular culture was realized when disc jockeys of Top 40 stations began to program some of this music. They did so in an effort to retain that segment of their listening audience who began to tune in on soul stations. Between August, 1968 and August 1969, "virtually every single making the Top 20 on the R & B Chart was a 'Hot 100 Singles' Chart entry also, and a good many of these went to positions 50 or better."<sup>33</sup> By 1973, thirteen of the "Top 30 Artists" that were listed in *Billboard's* Soul Charts were included in the "Top 30 Artists" category of "Top Pop Records." The influence of soul on the pop market was so great that major record companies who had never specialized in the "black sound" began to sign black artists to their roster. By 1979, Columbia records probably had retained the largest number of such performers. Warner Brothers, A & M, Epic, Mercury, Casablanca, ABC, Atlantic and Capitol also had many under contract.

The success of black artists in the white market provided the impetus for producers of record companies to contract and record white performers in a black style. Such practices have been the topic of heated debates among blacks because of economic and political implications. Recordings of these white performers received air play on both Soul and Top 40 radio stations. In addition, their recordings are promoted and sold in both communities. On the other hand, recordings of black performers receive air play on Top 40 stations only when program managers deem it absolutely necessary. Until recently, record outlets did not promote or sell recordings of black



performers, whose style was distinctly black, in white communities. In view of these and other political trends, white performers reaped millions of dollars by imitating black artists and winning air play on Top 40 and black-oriented stations.<sup>34</sup> Chapple and Garofalo in their discussion on politics in the music industry attributed this practice to pervasive racism.<sup>35</sup>

In an effort for blacks to receive more recognition and financial rewards for their creative output, a non-profit Black Music Association (BMA) was formed in September, 1978, by black executives of the music industry. One of the organization's goals as expressed by its first vice-president, Jules Malamud,

is to perpetuate and further black music on a national and international level, and . . . to work with schools and universities to bring blacks into music not only as performers, but also on the business end.<sup>36</sup>

In elaborating on these goals, co-founder and first President Kenny Gamble, chairman of Philadelphia International Records, stated:

In 1977, the music industry grossed more than \$3.5 billion . . . . Approximately one-third of that gross volume was receipts on black music. If we want to reduce this issue purely to economics, the reality is that the industry has gotten fat off black music. It must not be exploited any longer. The world respects black music. It is time for the industry to respect black music.<sup>37</sup>

In view of the diverse forms of commercial music recorded by blacks and in a variety of black styles, BMA advocates replacing the term "soul" with the label "black music." Furthermore, the confusion regarding what styles and forms constitute soul music encouraged other blacks to endorse the proposed label substitution. The ambiguity surrounding the use of the term "soul music" resulted, in part, from the redefinition of the purpose, function and use of it. Its original message of self-awareness, protest and social change was transformed into quick dollars by the music industry. For white America, its beat, handclap, tambourine, language and musical style provided the ingredients for new forms of popular music. Black America's response to this exploitation of black music was the formation of the Black Music Association. The establishment of this association suggests that the philosophy promoted by leaders of the Black Power Movement continued to provide social, economic and political direction for black people throughout the 1970s.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>For a detailed account of philosophy, see Martin Luther King, *Why We Can't Wait* (New York: Signet Books, 1964).

<sup>2</sup>Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America* (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), p. 47.

<sup>3</sup>For a detailed discussion about the philosophy of the Black Power Movement see Carmichael *Ibid.*, pp. 34-56.

<sup>4</sup>Talcott Parsons, "Full Citizenship For The Negro American? A Sociological Problem," *Daedalus. Journal of The American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. XCIV (Fall 1965), p. 1016.

<sup>5</sup>Joel Whitburn, *Top Rhythm & Blues Records 1949-1971*, (Menomonee Falls, WI: Record Research, 1973), p. 5.

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<sup>6</sup>For detailed information about this trend, see Steve Chapple and Reebee Garafalo, *Rock 'n' Roll Is Here To Pay* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1977) and Lawrence Redd, *Rock Is Rhythm And Blues*, (Michigan State Univ. Press, 1974).

<sup>7</sup>Chapple, *Ibid.*, pp. 239-40.

<sup>8</sup>Charlie Gillett, *The Sound of The City* (New York: Outerbridge & Dienstfrey, 1970), p. 27.

<sup>9</sup>Gillett, *Ibid.*, pp. 15-20.

<sup>10</sup>Charles Gillett, "The Black Market Roots of Rock," in *The Sounds of Social Change*, eds., R. Serge Denisoff and Richard A. Peterson, (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1972), p. 280.

<sup>11</sup>Lloyd Miller and James K. Skipper, Jr., "Sounds of Protest in Avant-Garde Jazz," in *Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>12</sup>Chapple, *Rock 'n' Roll Is Here To Pay*, pp. 231-267.

<sup>13</sup>William H. McClendon, "Black Music: Sound And Feeling For Black Liberation," *The Black Scholar*, VII (Jan.-Feb. 1976), p. 23.

<sup>14</sup>Michael Haralambos, *Right On From Blues To Soul In Black America* (New York: Drake, 1975), p. 130.

<sup>15</sup>Ira Hoare, ed., *The Soul Book* (New York: Dell, 1976), p. 10.

<sup>16</sup>Arnold Shaw, *The World of Soul* (New York: Cowles Book Co., 1970), pp. 2-4.

<sup>17</sup>Gillett, *The Sound of the City*, pp. 24, 188.

<sup>18</sup>Haralambos, *Right On*, p. 117.

<sup>19</sup>Haralambos, *Ibid.*, pp. 131-134; Phyl Garland, *The Sound of Soul* (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1969), pp. 18-20.

<sup>20</sup>Thomas Barry, "The Importance of Being Mr. James Brown," *Look* (Feb. 18, 1969), pp. 56-62.

<sup>21</sup>Shaw, *The World of Soul*, p. 256.

<sup>22</sup>Such performers include: Impressions—"We're A Winner" (1968) and "This Is My Country" (1968); Marvin Gaye—"Inner City Blues" (1971); Staple Singers—"Respect Yourself" (1971) and "Be What You Are" (1973); Gladys Knight and The Pips—"Friendship Train" (1969); O'Jays—"Back Stabbers" (1972), and "Love Train" (1973), "Sly and the Family Stone." "Thank You For Talkin' To Me Africa" (1971), "Africa Talks To You" (1971) and "The Asphalt Jungle" (1971); Temptations—"Cloud Nine" (1968); Diana Ross and The Supremes—"Love Child" (1968).

<sup>23</sup>Haralambos, *Right On*, p. 166.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 117.

<sup>25</sup>Barry, "The Importance of Being Mr. James Brown," p. 56.

<sup>26</sup>The Animals, Fame and Cream also attributed their early influences to black performers. David Bowie and Joe Cocker acknowledge black influences on their current style.

<sup>27</sup>Sue C. Clark, "Soul Sounds In The Mass Market Place," *Billboard*, (Sect. 2) "The World of Soul" (August 16, 1968), p. S-6. The English groups were also the first to provide mass and consistent exposure to black artists by including them on their concert tours.

<sup>28</sup>These groups include performers John Lennon, Joe Cocker, Stevie Winwood, Mick Jagger, Roger Daltrey, Eric Burdon, Stevie Marriott, Rod Stewart, Tom Jones and Davie Bowie.

<sup>29</sup>Hoare, ed. *The Soul Book*, pp. 191-92.

<sup>30</sup>Clark, "Sould Sounds In The Mass Market Place," pp. S-6—S-8.

<sup>31</sup>Hoare, ed. *The Soul Book*, p. 194.

<sup>32</sup>*Billboard Magazine* (August 23, 1969), p. 3.

<sup>33</sup>Ira Trachter, "Soul Trends—The Widening Of Its Audience Into Pop," *Billboard* (Sect. 2) "The World of Soul" (Aug. 16, 1968), p. S-8.

<sup>34</sup>Ronald Kisner, "White Stars Cross Over And Get Rich On Black Music," *Jet* (April 13, 1978), p. 14.

<sup>35</sup>Chapple, *Rock 'n' Roll Is Here To Pay*.

<sup>36</sup>*Billboard Magazine* (May 27, 1978), p. 3.

<sup>37</sup>*Billboard Magazine* (Sept 23, 1978), p. 3.

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