COMMUNITY AND MARKETPLACE:
AN EXAMINATION OF SOCIAL AND COMMERCIAL FACTORS INFLUENCING THE EVOLUTION OF ROCK MUSIC

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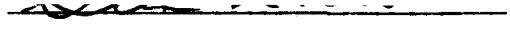
Author: 

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ABSTRACT

Most works on rock music are limited to consideration of popular performers, hit records or special topics such as particular genres. These works usually ignore the social contexts that generate the musical forms and give only brief attention to the part played by commercial forces in the shaping of music and taste. This thesis focuses on the social and commercial roots of the music as well as offering a characterization of the main genres.

The first chapter presents a typological formulation of the core concepts, "community" and "marketplace", and indicates how the term community will be applied to an urban context. The second chapter explains the relationship between "folk" and "pop" music and gives a brief account of the history of pop music. In the third chapter, rock music is examined in terms of three basic areas of concern: the subcultural situations in which the various musical styles have emerged, the ways in which the music industry (and in particular the recording industry) has shaped the music and an account of the resulting music. This chapter covers four main phases in the development of rock music: an original period of vitality during which subcultural styles gained mass popularity (1955-58), a period during which these styles were replaced on the radio by formulistic concoctions of the music industry (1959-63), a second period of vitality during which many of the original styles were revived and elaborated upon (1964-69) and

a second period of decline during which commercial formulas became predominant once again (1970-?).

On the basis of this examination, the study concludes that community and marketplace play a major role in the shaping of rock music. Suggestions regarding events that would likely accompany a resurgence of rock music include a weakening of the corporate oligarchy in the record industry and the development of an urban community with a strong musical identity.

An Appendix to the thesis presents an outline of the history of rock music.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Approval ii

Abstract iii

Acknowledgements v

Table of Contents vi

Introduction 1

I. Community and Marketplace 6

1. Community and Marketplace Defined 6
a) Community 11
b) Marketplace 16

2. The Urban Communities 21
a) Black Ghetto Communities 21
b) Adolescent Communities 24

II. Folk Music and Pop Music 27

1. Folk and Pop Defined 27

2. Pop Music: A Short History 29
a) Music Halls and Minstrel Shows 29
b) Tin Pan Alley and the Centralization of Pop Music 30
c) From Folk Roots to Ragtime 31
d) The Role of Technology in the Centralization of Pop Music 35
e) Jazz and Swing 37
f) Realignments in the Music Industry 40

III. Community and Marketplace in Rock Music 44

A. The First Wave: Music of the Urban Communities Reaches A Mass Audience (1955-58) 45

1. Developments in the Music Industry 46
a) The Procurement of Raw Materials 46
b) The Transformation into Commercial Products 49
c) Distribution and Consumption 52

2. The Role of Urban Communities 53
a) Black Ghetto Communities 54
b) The Greasers: South and North 57

3. The Effects of Community and Marketplace on the Music 62

B. The Counter-Reformation (1959-63) 66

1. The Search for the Magic Formula 66
a) Raw Materials 67
b) The Transformation into Commercial Products 71
c) Distribution and Consumption 77

2. The Continental Look and the Folkies 78

3. The Musical Results 82

C. The Second Wave: The Return of the Music of the Urban Communities (1964-69) 84

1. Developments in the Pop Music Marketplace . . . 84
a) The Procurement of Raw Materials 85
b) Transformation into Commercial Products . . 87
c) Distribution and Consumption 89

2. Urban Communities of the Second Wave 91
a) The Rise of Black Power 92
b) English Adolescent Communities 94
c) American Adolescent Communities 98

3. How the Communities and Marketplace Shaped the Music 102

D. The Seventies 105

1. The Return of the Magic Formulas 105
a) Raw Materials 105
b) The Transformation into Commercial Products 107
c) Distribution and Consumption 111

2. Urban Communities in the Seventies 113

3. The Influence of Community and Marketplace . . . 116

IV. Conclusion - New Wave? 119

Appendix: An Outline of the History of Rock Music . . . 125

1. The Roots of Rock 125
a) Country Music 125
b) From Blues to Rhythm and Blues 131

2. The First Wave (1955-58) 135
a) Northern Band Rock'n'Roll 138
b) The New Orleans Dance Blues 139

c) Memphis Country Rock 141
d) Chicago Rhythm and Blues 145
e) Vocal Group Rock'n'Roll 147

3. The Counter-Reformation (1959-63) 148
a) Schmaltz 150
b) The Dance Craze 157
c) Instrumental Dance Bands 158
d) The Folk Revival 160

4. The Second Wave (1964-69) 162
a) Surf Music 163
b) Soul Music 164
c) The English Invasion 172
d) The American Response: Folk Rock and Punk Rock 180
e) Underground Music: California and London . 184

5. Music of the Seventies (1970-?) 192
a) The Rural Escape 194
b) The Urban Machine 197
c) The Rise of the New Schmaltz 202
d) Disco and Its Roots 206

Reference Notes 210

Bibliography 221

INTRODUCTION

Most works on rock music simply offer a fan's account of the major performers[1] or the most popular songs,[2] although there is also a number of serious works including biographies of major figures,[3] considerations of aspects of the music business[4] or analyses of various styles.[5] None of these, however, give a coherent picture of both the industry that lies behind the music and the social roots of the music. Even those works that claim to be more comprehensive, such as The Rolling Stone Illustrated History of Rock & Roll, Belz's Story of Rock, Gillett's Sound Of The City and Laing's Sound Of Our Time, are all lacking in one or both of these areas. The most regularly ignored factor is the social one.

The Rolling Stone book contains a wealth of information, but focuses primarily on personalities rather than genres and generally ignores social and commercial factors.

Belz's history attempts to explain the social roots of rock by asserting that rock is a "folk music", but he does not connect his definition of "folk" to any particular social relations, defining it instead in terms of the amount of understanding possessed by the artist. For instance, he bases his distinction between folk and fine arts on the rather questionable belief that "folk" artists achieve their effects unconsciously while "fine" artists are conscious of the effects that they are trying to achieve.[6] His distinction between folk and popular music is equally dubious[7] and his basic argument is,

therefore, unconvincing.

Gillett's is the best book available on the evolution of rock music. Unlike the Rolling Stone book, he focuses on the various genres, what styles influenced them, and how they influenced each other. He also gives an excellent history of the music business since World War Two, including an account of the relationship between the major coprorations and the independents, but he is not apparently interested in the social origins of rock's popularity apart from considering its roots in the black styles.

Unlike the other three books, Laing's is not an attempt at a systematic history of the music. Although he examines its development sequentially, he uses different methods of analysis on different periods. In the course of his work, he presents certain elements of the music business and even explores the relationship of the "mod" subculture to the music of the so-called "English Invasion", but he does not apply this analysis to other periods and it is this lack of systematic development that is the book's major limitation.

The present work seeks to remedy the shortcomings of the above histories through a systematic presentation of two areas that they have left only partially developed: the social origins of the music and the ways that the music has been shaped by commercial factors. The analysis of these two factors is based on the definitions we have developed for the terms "community" and "marketplace". After a brief examination of

somewhat similar formulations and a review of other influential literature, a definition of the term "community" is developed, focusing on certain shared features of social groupings. The term "marketplace" is developed stressing the role of large corporations in the modern commercial world.

A distinction is also developed between "folk" and "pop" music and a short history of pop music is presented emphasizing the relationship between communities and commercial factors. The bulk of the thesis is then taken up with an examination into each of the four main phases in the development of rock music. (The division of the music into four phases is based on an outline of the history of rock music which forms the Appendix of this thesis.) Each of these phases is examined in terms of three basic themes: the ways that commercial factors have shaped the music; the relationship of the music to various urban communities; and the way these two factors have influenced the music.

The "First Wave" (1955-58), the name we give to the first of these phases, was the original period of vitality for rock music. In our consideration of this period we examine various commercial developments which, taken together, destroyed the control that the major record companies and radio networks had previously exercised over popular music. We also examine the black ghetto communities and the "greasers" (an adolescent community) within which the musical styles which came to be known as "rock music", were developed.

In the period we call the "Counter-Reformation" (1959-63), these styles were replaced on the radio by formulistic concoctions of the music industry. The reasons for this shift are examined.

During the "Second Wave" (1964-69) many of the styles of the First Wave were revived and elaborated upon. This second period of rock music vitality was shaped by certain commercial factors, such as a struggle between major American record companies and their English counterparts, and certain social factors, such as the emergence, in England, of the "mods" (another adolescent community); shifts in the self-image of the blacks in America; and the rise of the hippie movement.

Styles rooted in these social developments deteriorated after 1969 and musical styles based on commercial formulas gradually became predominant once again. This coincided with a resurgence of power by the major record companies and an erosion of the social movements of the sixties. This fourth phase we simply term "The Seventies".

The analysis is concluded with a statement indicating that community and marketplace, as defined in the first chapter, have played major roles in the shaping of rock music. On the basis of the preceding examination, the suggestion is made that a new period of vitality for rock music would be accompanied by an erosion of the power of the corporate oligarchy that exists in the music business and by the emergence of new musical styles rooted in an urban community.

At the end of the main text is an Appendix which presents an outline of the major musical events in the history of rock music - the major phases in its development, the major genres that evolved during each of these phases, and the major artists that operated in each of these genres. The main text of the thesis is written with the assumption that the reader has a basic understanding of this material. For many readers, therefore, it might be best to begin with the Appendix.

I. Community and Marketplace

> The invasion of the community by the new and relatively impersonal and mechanical modes of combined human behavior is the outstanding fact of modern life, and the Great Society created by steam and electricity may be a society but it is not a community.
> - John Dewey[8]

Central to the view taken in this work is the notion that music styles are developed in "communities" (where they serve an integrative function) and are then commoditized by commercial interests (for whom they serve the function of economic enrichment), and that these two processes are major influences on the development of the popular music form known as "rock". The task undertaken in this thesis is to examine, within the outline of the major phases in the history of rock (as offered in the Appendix), the communities from which the assorted styles of rock have emerged and the activities of and alignments within the music industry that have accompanied the popularization of these styles. To explore these factors we have evolved a method of analysis which examines the various phases of the music's history in terms of the definitions we have developed for two core concepts: "community" and "marketplace".

1. Community and Marketplace Defined

There is a long tradition in social thought of developing tools of analysis based on the differences between the kind of social relations found in rural, kinship-based systems and those found in urban, commercially regulated systems. (Sorokin suggests that even Confucius used a variant of this

methodology.[9] Since late in the nineteenth century this distinction has been developed in terms of pairs of "ideal types". These "types" are not developed as accurate characterizations of existing social situations, but rather as opposite ends of a continuum of possible social systems. The poles of such a continuum are used "as a basis of comparison with life situations",[10] and, through such comparisons, explanations of various features of the empirical situations are suggested.

The method used in this thesis is a variant of the methodology of ideal types (or "typological formulation") and, as our basic orientation has been shaped somewhat by the work in this area of Ferdinand Tönnies, Robert Redfield and Charles Horton Cooley, a brief description of their work is included below. Because of his widely recognized contribution in this field, an outline of Emile Durkheim's "mechanical" and "organic" forms of solidarity is also included, although his influence on the present work is minimal.

Tönnies (1855-1936), a German sociologist, was the first to make explicit use of ideal types (which he termed "normal types")[11] in his work Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft (1887). Gemeinschaft (Community) "refers to the 'community of feeling' (a kind of associative unity of ideas and emotions) that results from likeness and from shared life-experience".[12] It is characterized by the intimate relations found among parents and their children, between husband and wife, and among friends, and it typifies the social life found in rural areas.

Gemeinschaft relationships tend to be deep and long lasting.

On the other hand, people living in a Gesellschaft (Society) system tend to be more isolated and to operate on the basis of self-interest. "In such a society, rational will operates in terms of the logic of the market place. Relationships are contractual; values are monetary. Profit is the sole end of trade, and one man's gain is another's loss."[13] Gesellschaft relationships tend to characterize the social life of urban areas.

Although Tönnies believed that no social system could be purely Gemeinschaft or Gesellschaft, he saw a general historical development from the former to the latter.[14]

The French sociologist Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) came to very different conclusions regarding the historical development of societies. Whereas Tönnies saw a decline of the intimate, socially-integrated Gemeinschaft and an increase in the socially isolating Gesellschaft, Durkheim saw the two poles as simply different types of social integration (which he termed "social solidarity"). In his book The Division of Labor in Society (1893), he introduced the terms "mechanical solidarity" and "organic solidarity" around which he developed his characterization of these two basic types. He defined mechanical solidarity as a characteristic of societies (such as folk societies) where beliefs and skills tend to be shared by all members and the division of labor is rudimentary. In contrast to this, organic solidarity is defined as a characteristic

of urbanized societies where an increased division of labor makes people more interdependent.

Durkheim saw a general historical development from mechanical to organic, a development which he connected to "such factors as increasing population size and density, the growth of cities, and improvements in communication".[15]

Durkheim has had a major influence as a methodologist on the subsequent development of sociology, but his characterization of mechanical and organic solidarity is not widely accepted. The central problem, as pointed out by Robert Merton, is that Durkheim has overemphasized the degree to which the division of labor results in social solidarity.[16] (Anthropological research since Durkheim's time has also indicated that his view of social relations in folk society was somewhat simplistic.[17])

While Tönnies can be seen as a direct influence on the formulation developed for use in this thesis, Durkheim's influence has been negligible except to the extent that he influenced Robert Redfield. Redfield (1897-1958), an American anthropologist, claimed that he was indebted to both Tönnies and Durkheim for the development of his terms "folk" and "urban".[18] Redfield's folk society is characterized by:

> ...a small collectivity containing no more people within it than can know each other well. It is an isolated, nonliterate, homogeneous grouping with a strong sense of solidarity. Technology is simple, and, aside from the division of function between the sexes, there is little other division of labor; hence the group is economically independent of other groups ...The more remote ends of living are taken as given;

> hence the folk society exists not so much on the basis of exchange of useful functions as in common understandings as to what is to be done.19

Redfield did not make an explicit characterization of urban society except as the polar opposite of the folk society.

His unique contribution to the method was his examination of the impact of the modern urban world (and especially the effect of participation in a commercial economy) upon folk societies.[20] He conducted his examination in the Yucatan area of Mexico where he compared a city, a town, a village and a tribal settlement to his ideal type of a folk society.[21] He used this study to test the hypothesis that "progressive loss of isolation, when associated with an increase in heterogeneity, produces social disorganization, secularization and individualization".[22] Evidence confirmed his hypothesis, although Redfield did not believe that conclusions about other social systems should be drawn from the study of this single example.

The methodology of ideal types is based primarily on the work of Tönnies and Durkheim (and to a lesser extent Henry Maine, an English historian of legal systems). Redfield and other theorists in this tradition, such as Parsons, Becker and Sorokin,[23] have built upon the contributions of these European predecessors.

The American, Charles Horton Cooley (1864-1929), does not fit this pattern, however. Without any apparent influence from Tönnies or Durkheim, he developed a variant of the typological method.

Cooley was concerned with the process of socialization - how our "self" is constructed and sustained in society. Central to this process is what Cooley termed the "primary group", which he characterized by:

1) Face-to-face association.
2) The unspecialized character of that association.
3) Relative permanence
4) The small number of persons involved. [24]
5) The relative intimacy among the participants.

Typical primary groups are the family or the old-fashioned neighborhood. Cooley did not develop an explicit characterization of an opposite type of social grouping, although he stated that the process of urbanization, with its "crowded tenements" and its "general economic and social confusion" had severely eroded the primary group. [25] (Subsequent sociologists have used the term "secondary" to identify the kinds of social relations characterized by impersonality. [26])

* * *

The above thinkers shaped the basic methodological orientation used in this thesis. The specific formulation of our terms, however, is based on other works.

a) Community

There seems to be a fair amount of confusion among social theorists about how the term "community" will be used. The past sixty or seventy years have seen various attempts to develop a workable definition. During the twenties and thirties, under the influence of the "Chicago School", a number of definitions were constructed which were based on "territory" or "area".

All people living within a definable location were considered to be members of a community (regardless of their own description of their relationship to others living in that same area). The interests and beliefs of the inhabitants were not important elements of the definition. An example of this approach is found in Robert E. Park's 1929 definition:

> Community, in the broadest sense of that term, has a spatial and a geographical connotation. Every community has a location, and the individuals who compose it have a place of residence within the territory which the community occupies.[27]

Park also saw that a major limitation of such a definition was that it could include a town, a city or the whole world -- any territorially definable social grouping.[28] Because of this limitation, attempts were made to include other features in the territorial definition so that its scale was not simply based on the decision of the theorist. For instance, Louis Wirth suggested that communities are characterized by "close living together on the basis of kinship and organic interdependence, and a common life based upon the mutual correspondence of interests..."[29] This modification of the territorial view accords fairly well with the definition of community that we will develop below for use in this thesis. It does not seem to have been widely embraced, however.

In 1950, Amos H. Hawley offered the following definition: "From a spatial standpoint, the community may be defined as comprising that area the resident population of which is interrelated and integrated with reference to its daily requirements,

whether its contacts be direct or indirect."[30] Superficially, this definition appears to be similar to Wirth's, but the central difference is the inclusion of the phrase "whether its contacts be direct or indirect" (our emphasis), which renders it almost as general as Park's. Even the idea that these interrelationships should be "daily" does not add much firmness to the definition when we consider that modern telecommunications systems daily link up most of the major social settlements in the world. Further, when we consider the central importance of imported automobiles, oil and foodstuffs to any modern social system, we can see that Hawley's definition amounts to little more than saying that the world is a community. Nonetheless Hawley's definition or ones like it[31] remain popular and seem to be considered adequate characterizations of certain elements of modern society.[32]

Recognizing that modern technological and commercial developments have reduced the possibility of a territorial community, a more recent view of community has developed definitions around a narrow range of shared "interests", such as "occupational activities, leisure pastimes, social relationships, or intellectual pursuits."[33] In this view, the sharing of a common territory is considered unnecessary. In fact, members of communities of interest seem to have only limited association with one another (if any).

Like the territorial community, the community of interest depends to a great extent on the formulation of a social

theorist for its existence. Through this method, a community can be established among any number of more or less unrelated individuals simply by indicating that they happen to share a certain narrow range of characteristics. Hence carpenters, unmarried mothers, or axe murderers could all be said to form communities of interest, even if they have no perception of themselves as belonging to such communities. The number of communities of interest that people live in seems to be limited only by the imagination of sociologists.

Although definitions of community based on shared interests have certain practical applications[34] they seem to share with most definitions based on territory the limitation that, using these methods, a collection of people become a community simply by being defined as such (whether or not these people have any but the most nebulous behavioral relationships with one another). These definitions have been presented here to give some indication of the breadth of usages to which the term "community" is put. They have contributed very little to the formulation used in this thesis.

Our definition is based primarily on the formulations of Robert Nisbet and Fred Brown. Nisbet's use of the term is not based on geographical location or the interests and habits of individuals. In The Quest for Community (1953), he views community as a characteristic of certain kinds of human social groupings in which people share a broad range of values and behaviors. He says:

> Community is the product of people working together on problems, of autonomous and collective fulfillment of internal objectives, and of the experience of living under codes of authority which have been set in large degree by the persons involved.35

Nisbet believes that the conditions of modern life (and in particular the role played by the state) have eroded or are presently eroding the community, as he defines it.

Community is defined in terms of a number of the same characteristics, such as shared goals, integrated behavior, and social autonomy, in Fred Brown's unpublished paper "Nostos". The characteristics which are presented below amount to a somewhat modified and abbreviated form of the terms developed in that paper.[36] For the purposes of this thesis, a community has the following features, as defined below: a shared awareness, a sense of scale to the social grouping, and autonomy of the social group from others.

A central characteristic of shared awareness is the sharing of a world view or cosmology. This shared world view is held stable by a common language, but it involves the sharing of other behaviors as well as words. The people in a community share a repertoire of socially learned habits (often called customs) that are common throughout the community. This creates a common world of behavior that is the basis of their shared manner of naming and describing events. Their world view is not only general, but also particular, familiar situations (including a common history) which all members of the community share.

The shared world view of the community also includes the sharing of intentions which means that the community's behaviors are directed towards similar ends. Ideally these goals would be formulated by the whole community, not imposed upon it by a hierarchy from within the community or from without.

The second essential characteristic of a community is its scale. The social grouping has an optimum size beyond which the people involved can no longer remain in touch with one another. Beyond a certain scale, their shared cosmology, which is produced in social situations which are familiar, breaks down. This is because the social situations which generated the familiar world cease to exist. A sense of scale means that a community has a boundary or limit.

Autonomy, the third characteristic of a community, refers to the degree to which a community looks after its own needs. To the extent that they are dependent upon the outside world for the fulfillment of these needs, their internal allegiances are weakened.

Using the above three criteria, a hunting and gathering band more closely approximates an ideal community than any of the American "communities" in which we find the roots of rock music. The three features are used as tendencies, however, rather than as descriptions of actual life situations.

b) Marketplace

Although there is a broad range of sociological concerns about "mass" (or "technological" or "capitalist") society, the

definition of "marketplace" to be developed in this section has a fairly narrow scope. In a review of the literature on urbanization (a process which has closely attended the "massification", "technologization", and "commercialization" of society), Leo Schnore points out four main areas of theoretical concern: "spatial segregation of activities and groups", "bureaucratization", "stratification" and "alienation".[37] This list is by no means exhaustive. Researchers have also examined the rise of the state, the erosion of the traditional family, the development of modern education, and various other factors but, although these studies might be viewed as characteristics of a polar opposite to the "community", our definition of marketplace will be developed primarily in terms of commercial factors.

The marketplace is, taken broadly, the commercial world, the central purpose of which is the accumulation of capital. It is, in a sense, the antithesis of the community, the central purpose of which is the welfare of its members. The marketplace has been described by Marx and Engels in their characterization of the "bourgeois epoch" as having "left no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous 'cash payment'".[38]

The three characteristics we ascribed to the community are not typical of the marketplace. For instance, in the marketplace there is no shared awareness of a particular, familiar world, such as exists in the community and activity tends to be <u>regulated</u> by bureaucracies or managers rather than being

directed by shared goals and a common cosmology.[39]

The commercial world also lacks any inherent sense of human scale (or limits). It simply grows as it can.

> The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere.[40]

Because the marketplace has no sense of scale, cultural autonomy also means nothing. The market has no organic limits (except destruction of its own ecosystem) which means that there are no cultural forms that are particularly respected. There is nothing that remains autonomous from commercial pressures. In fact the marketplace stands in opposition to autonomy. As Marx and Engels said "The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls..."[41]

An earlier phase in the economic evolution of the marketplace was dominated by the individual entrepreneur, but the central feature of the modern commercial world is the corporation. The individual entrepreneur now controls only the smaller business. In Monopoly Capital, Baran and Sweezy describe our present economic system as "monopoly capitalism" (their use of the term "monopoly" includes what is usually called "oligopoly"[42]), about which they say:

> The dominant element, the prime mover, is Big Business organized in giant corporations. These corporations are profit maximizers and capital accumulators...It is their initiative that sets the economy in motion, their power that keeps it moving, their policies that get it into difficulties and crises. Smaller business is on the receiving

> end, reacting to the pressures of Big Business, to a certain extent shaping and channeling them, but without effective power to counter them and still less to exercise an independent initiative of its own. From the point of view of a theory of monopoly capitalism, smaller business should properly be treated as a part of the environment within which Big Business operates rather than an actor on the stage.43

The activities of the corporation are directed by a centralized bureaucratic administration, the goal of which is "profit maximization and capital accumulation". Towards this end attempts are made to control (and thereby make more rational and efficient) the various phases of the productive process. Whether in the automobile industry, the textiles industry or the music industry, this results in the extensive division of labor and the development of assembly line techniques. The acquisition of raw materials, the transformation of these materials into finished products, the promotion of these products, and their distribution are all separate areas of specialization (within each of which there are further areas of specialization) and all are run as rationally as possible (from the point of view of the corporations involved).

As Baran and Sweezy have pointed out, the monopolistic economic system differs from a system of competitive capitalism in other ways than simply the replacement of the individual entrepreneur by the giant corporation. A major difference is seen in the way innovations are handled in a monopolistic as compared to a competitive system.

> Under monopoly capitalism...innovations are typically introduced (or soon taken over) by giant corporations which act not under the compulsion of competitive pressures but in accordance with careful calculations of the profit-maximizing course. Whereas in the competitive case no one, not even the innovating firms themselves, can control the rate at which new technologies are generally adopted, this ceases to be true in the monopolistic case. It is clear that the giant corporation will be guided not by the profitability of the new method considered in isolation, but by the net effect of the new method on the overall profitability of the firm. And this means that in general there will be a slower rate of introduction of innovations than under competitive criteria...
>
> We conclude that from the monopolist's point of view, the introduction of new techniques in a manner which involves adding to productive capacity (demand being assumed unchanged) will normally be avoided. He will prefer to wait until his existing capital is ready for replacement anyway before installing the new equipment.44

What this feature of the monopolistic system means, in terms of the music industry, is that the major record companies (assuming an unchanged demand for records) will not introduce a new style or develop new stars while the old ones are still profitable.

To summarize briefly, the marketplace is based on economic gain and its central feature is the corporation (important characteristics of which are its economic domination of small businesses and its rationalization of all elements of the productive process). To this description we need to add that, for the purposes of this thesis, the use of the term marketplace does not include the whole commercial world as defined above. Rather, it is limited to that aspect of the marketplace which is the music industry in North America and Great Britain.

2. The Urban Communities

Although the roots of rock music are to be found in rural American folk culture, the various styles themselves have evolved in urban communities. In this section we will characterize the two main types of urban communities that have influenced the development of rock music: black ghetto communities and adolescent communities. Both share the characteristic that they are heavily constrained by the mass society in which they have emerged, and yet they are also very dependent upon it. Relationships that are negotiated within the mass society, between dominant and subordinate classes, between different races and ethnic groups, between young and old, and between the various sex roles, are also expressed, often problematically, within the urban communities.

Our examination will touch on various institutions of socialization such as family and neighborhood, work (and/or school), and leisure activities, but will focus on the latter area as it is here that the urban communities can most freely express their separate identity.

a) Black Ghetto Communities

The social relations of American blacks have been constrained most obviously by racism, although class oppression has also been an important factor. Immediately following the Civil War, the black population was made up almost entirely of southern peasants, but, during the past hundred years, this population has gradually migrated to urban areas, particularly

in the North and the West, where they have become a ghettoized urban proletariat (replacing the Irish, Russian-Jewish and Italian populations as they have been assimilated).[45] The pace of the black exodus from the South was particularly rapid during the forties and the fifties, partly because of the increasing industrialization of agriculture, which pushed laborers off the land, and partly because of increased urban industrialization which created new jobs in the cities. By 1960, seventy-five percent of the black population in America was urbanized.[46]

Their standard of living improved with the move to the city. "In other words, the bottom of the urban-industrial ladder is higher than the bottom of the Southern agricultural ladder, and when Negroes stepped from the one to the other it was a step up."[47] This immediate improvement was not followed by further opportunities for economic advancement, however.[48]

Rapid urbanization also meant major changes in other areas of life for the blacks. Their family life, their work and their leisure activities were all disrupted. The extended family, and the rural community that was its context, were shattered. The massive, impersonal scale of the ghettos could not reproduce the social fabric of the rural community. However, because blacks were not allowed to enter white society, they were forced to build their own society within the confines of the ghetto. As Harold M. Rose has said: "The extent to which a person's life style repertoire is dominated by aspects of

ghetto culture is a function of the extent to which he is barred from participation in mainstream institutions".[49] He sais further that "the process of ghettoization leads to the evolution of a black subculture".[50] Although constrained by racism, poverty and a variety of commercial factors, the social situation that Rose has termed a "subculture" manifests the characteristics which we have used to describe a community.

For instance, a life of confinement in the ghetto produces a shared awareness among its inhabitants. This includes a shared way of describing their common condition (in ghetto slang), a shared history and shared ways of relating to one another.

Ghetto confinement also gives the blacks a community's sense of scale or limit. Although coercively imposed by the racist white society, it is nonetheless real.

Within the ghetto, blacks also experience a certain cultural autonomy which is most clearly reflected in their leisure activities. In each of the major black ghettos, they developed their own systems of entertainment, with black dancehalls and bars, black entertainers, a black record market and, after World War Two, black radio stations.[51] The result of all this exposure to forms that openly expressed their own values and spoke to their own concerns was a strengthened sense of allegiance to their community and an increased confidence in their own abilities. (This confidence can be heard in their music.)

The confidence and sense of community did not extend beyond the ghetto, however. Whereas a community would ideally control its own labor as well as its homelife and its leisure, the black community's autonomy was confined to their homelife (which, as we indicated above, was disrupted by the process of urbanization) and their leisure. The constraints of race and class in the urban job market (or in the school system) allowed for very little expression of black confidence and autonomy.

Racism, as we have said, was the unifying factor within the ghetto. To a great extent it also unified the various ghettos (although there were regional variations in clothing, dances and musical styles).

b) Adolescent Communities[52]

Sociologist Hans Sebald has defined adolescence as "the unstructured and ill-defined phase that lies between childhood and adulthood".[53] According to this definition, although all societies produce young people, not all societies produce adolescents. In agricultural and tribal societies, for instance, the transition from childhood to adulthood is usually clearly structured and defined by customs and traditions. Urban-industrial societies, however, generate adolescents through such factors as "the spearation of the location of work from the domicile, the highly specialized division of labor, the necessity of a long period of education and training in preparation for a position within the complex urban-industrial structure, the availability to the young of a

considerable share of the economic affluence, and the relatively high social and geographic mobility so characteristic of urban-industrial life."[54] These factors encourage the decay of the extended family and the decline of parental authority. Although adolescent communities are not an inevitable consequence, Sebald views them as primarily a compensation by adolescents to the above factors.[55]

In the examination of the black ghetto communities in the previous section, we indicated that, because they are heavily constrained by the surrounding society, they are not ideal examples of communities. This is true to an even greater degree of the adolescent communities. Whereas the expression of community identity in the ghetto tended to be limited to home life and leisure activities, the expression of identity in the adolescent community is usually limited to leisure activities alone.[56] (This is particularly true of working class adolescent communities. In a middle class adolescent community such as the "hippie movement" a certain amount of community identity is also expressed in such things as communal or cooperative living or in occupations such as craft production or dope dealing. Even in middle class adolescent communities, however, the primary expression of community identity is found in leisure activities.) Adolescent communities generate styles in the use of their territory, in their speech, in music, dance, dress, grooming, and in their behavior in general. These styles are consutructed out of items and behaviors that are readily

available to the members, such as (in the case of the "greasers"), the clothing of the working class or elements of the black culture. By placing these elements in the context of the adolescent community, however, their meanings were altered. For instance, their use of leather motorcycle jackets or the aggressive display of denim work clothes gave a certain symbolic power to these items. The same was true of the use of black dance music or other black cultural elements. It is, perhaps, difficult to understand the power of these items in retrospect. For instance, denim has been commonplace for years as has music based on black r&b, but in the mid-fifties this bizarre new combination was viewed as threatening.

The process of selecting the elements of a community identity is, of course, eclectic. Items and behaviors associated with (or carrying) what are viewed as outmoded responses to the world are rejected and the meaning of those elements that are appropriated is modified according to the needs of the members.

Through their styles urban communities, in a sense, resist symbolically the authority of the outside world. The styles have a socially integrative function and give the members of the community the experience of having control over their own world. (Ultimately, however, the resolution of their problems is only symbolic. The community can only be at best a partial solution. In the outside world, the family continues to decay, low paying manual labor or unemployment still awaits them, and

they remain incapable of succeeding in the existing educational system.)

II. Folk Music and Pop Music

1. Folk and Pop Defined

> The production and care of human beings is the source of all the arts.
>
> - Fred Brown[57]

The central consideration upon which the distinction between folk music and pop music is based is the function of the music within its social context.

The community and the marketplace naturally have differing views on music (and on all other arts). In the community, music is integrative.[58] As well as narrating important features of the cosmos, it expresses the shared rhythm of behavior there. Hearing or making this rhythm through song or dance reaffirms the socially recognized, shared behaviors of the group and thereby reaffirms the relationships of those in the group to one another. Of course different seasons (harvest, spring, winter) involve different shared behaviors, so they naturally have different rhythms as to different shared events such as death, birth or marriage and the music for each event varies accordingly. Such musics are termed "folk musics".

The arts of the marketplace bear an essentially parasitic relationship to folk (and "fine art") forms. Clement Greenburg has said of popular culture (for which he uses the German word "kitsch") that its precondition "is the availability close at hand of a fully matured cultural tradition, whose

discoveries, acquisitions, and perfected self-consciousness kitsch can take advantage of for its own ends...It draws its life blood, so to speak, from this reservoir of accumulated experience."[59] "Popular" or "pop" music has borrowed its forms from the musical traditions of rural communities, ghetto subcultures, youth subcultures and from classical music.[60]

The development of popular music was originally associated with urbanization. The rapid development of cities that accompanied the process of industrialization involved the displacement of people from various rural communities. This meant that the integrated sets of customs and the familiar life of the community was replaced by the somewhat regulated, but socially disintegrated, life of the city. With the disappearance of the community that had generated and sustained the folk forms, folk musics as such tended to die out and be replaced by popular music (which drew upon the assorted folk forms).

This use of forms developed elsewhere has remained the central feature of popular music. The contexts in which the forms were originally generated are destroyed, however, by the same processes that draw the music into the marketplace. Popular music is not an integrative element in any kind of community, nor does it pretend to be. It is simply entertainment and it is commoditized and sold as such.[61]

Because it lacks any generative context, however, it must constantly prey upon those contexts where musical forms still thrive. The history of this predation is the history of

popular music.

2. Pop Music: A Short History

a) Music Halls and Minstrel Shows

Before the development of electronic media, the music business was based on the live performance of music in music halls or travelling shows and on the sale of sheet music. Of course these two aspects of the business overlapped. If, for instance, a prominent music hall performer could be persuaded to add a newly written song to his or her repertoire, the sales of that song would most certainly increase.

In England (particularly in London and other major urban areas), the public performance of music occurred primarily in the music halls, which were basically drinking establishments that encouraged their customers' patronage by providing live entertainment. Here burlesque, pantomime and vaudeville all co-existed with popular song. Music halls thrived during the nineteenth century, but were largely killed off during the nineteen twenties by the popularity of the new movie houses.[62]

In the middle of the nineteenth century, troupes of music hall performers began touring the eastern United States inspiring American performers to create similar troupes. One of the characters the English troupes introduced was the so-called "nigger minstrel", which was a white musician who rubbed burnt cork on his face and parodied the music and behavior of American blacks. This character was extremely popular with white American audiences (who also enjoyed

parodies of Irish and German immigrants)[63] and became such a staple of the American variety troupes that they became known as "minstrel shows".

b) Tin Pan Alley and the Centralization of Pop Music

> Not until the end of the century with the enactment and policing of firmer copyright laws enacted in 1870, 1897 and 1909 and the consolidation of the Tin Pan Alley music business in New York, did sheet music publishing become the center of the popular music industry.
> -Peterson and Berger 64

The music business, made up largely of touring musical troupes and the publishers of broadside ballads, remained decentralized throughout most of the nineteenth century. The process of centralization began with an increased demand for sheet music for home pianos. Song publishers competed for the attention of the customers who naturally tended to buy material with which they were familiar.

This meant that the tasks of the music business came to include not only song writing and publishing but also song exposure which was termed "song plugging". In the late eighteen hundreds and the early decades of this century, this meant introducing songs to the music buying public by means of minstrel show and music hall performers. Performers were paid to play songs or were given co-credit for writing the songs in return for performing them.

To hire song pluggers and to pay the necessary bribes required capital and as smaller companies either went bankrupt or were absorbed by larger publishers, the industry increasingly centralized.

The centralization of the industry while attempting to appeal to buyers of sheet music for home performance also brought about a change in the music itself. Whereas the songs of the eighteenth and nineteenth century had often been topical,[65] the productions of Tin Pan Alley dealt almost exclusively with stages of the courtship ritual. This change in topic occurred because the publishing firms feared offending any part of their buying public. So the songs were written about gaining or losing love and were careful not to place these emotions "in any larger institutional or emotional framework".[66] The musical complexity of the song was also determined by the audience. The songs had to be kept very simple and mechanical so that they could be easily mastered by technically inept piano players. In discussing this process of song writing and plugging Peterson and Berger suggest: "In large part the Tin Pan Alley formula-tune was a product of the oligopolistic concentration of the music industry in a few firms".[67]

c) From Folk Roots to Ragtime

In his book Country Music U.S.A., Bill Malone suggests that there are basically three regions in North America that have strong musical traditions. These are: the Maritimes in Eastern Canada, the rural upstate New England region, and a vast area in the South stretching from Virginia across to Eastern Texas and extending inland from the coast to the Appalachian and Ozark mountain ranges.[68] It is in the third of these regions that

most of the musical forms that have dominated twentieth century popular music have been developed.

As mentioned earlier, folk musics are closely related to the rhythms and major events in the lives of the people who play them. People are able to keep alive a folk music tradition only as long as they continue to live the lifestyle to which the musical forms correspond. There was undoubtedly a strong musical tradition at one time along the Atlantic seaboard between Boston and Washington, but the disruptions caused by the early development of industry throughout this area eventually disintegrated this tradition. The South developed a primarily rural, agricultural economy and folk music continued to flourish in these rural areas long after it had largely disappeared in the North.

Because of the rural bias of their economy, the towns in the South tended to be small and somewhat isolated.[69] The people in the towns tended to be conservative. The result of these characteristics was a fairly autonomous tightly knit community in which a commonly held body of music played an important role as a social integrator. For instance, song collectors were impressed with the "prevalence of singing among both young and old"[70] in the southern mountain regions.

As well as predominance of a traditional rural economy, the South had one other important feature that has shaped American musical forms and that was racism. Because of the segregation of blacks and whites, two folk traditions came to

exist side by side in the South. The white styles are usually lumped together as country or country and western music (which is dealt with in the Appendix). The black styles include ragtime, jazz, blues, and gospel. These black styles have been central to the American music industry throughout this century.

After the American Civil War, racial segregation replaced slavery as a means of excluding blacks from the mainstream of American society. Denied access to the white commercial world, blacks developed their own culture based on their shared predicament.[71] As they moved from rural to urban areas, the practice of segregation against them, combined with extreme economic exploitation, forced them to live in ghettos. Because of this ghettoization, blacks tended to maintain their sense of communal identity even in urban areas.

The musics the blacks developed in the post-Civil War period combined both European and African traditions. For instance, European instruments were usually used (although the banjo, which was based on an African instrument, was extremely popular) and European song forms were also common. Vocal styles and rhythmic elements were often traceable to African roots. The conditions of labor shared by much of the black community, whether as agricultural workers in the South or factory workers in the North, also shaped their music. The music stressed very physical rhythms and the lyrics often dealt with physical pleasures or hardships at a time when the northern Tin Pan Alley productions were usually bland, sentimental evasions of reality.

The popularity of the minstrel shows inspired black musicians to form their own minstrel troupes. Whereas in the original troupes white musicians and dancers parodied blacks, in the black troupes, the performers parodied whites parodying blacks. The music they performed was a syncopated version of the popular white jigs and reels which they often played on a banjo (an instrument on which syncopation is an easily produced effect). To syncopate music in this manner came to be known as making it "ragged" which is the etymological source of the term "ragtime".[72] The minstrel shows that played this music were particularly popular in the pioneer states of Kansas, Arkansas, Oklahoma and Missouri[73] and other black musicians in these areas adapted this style to their own instruments. Marching bands and small dance bands made their music "ragged" as did the black piano players in these pioneer areas. This "ragged" piano style bacame widely popular throughout the eastern United States in the late eighteen nineties and remained popular until about the time of the First World War.

Like jazz and rock music after it, ragtime was largely generated by the segregated black community. The masters of the style were mostly black performers, few of whom ever received recognition or money from their innovations, but the people who became famous and wealthy by working in the style were mostly white. This has been common throughout the whole of twentieth century American music. The "King" of Ragtime was a white band leader named Mike Bernard, the "King" of Jazz

was a white band leader named Paul Whiteman, the "King" of Swing was Benny Goodman and the "King" of Rock and Roll was Elvis Presley. All of these "Kings" were, of course, proclaimed by the white music industry.

Ragtime broke through to a wider public in 1897 and was carried across the United States by the "cakewalk", a dance craze with which it became associated. The cakewalk was a black dance style which parodied the manners and behaviors of white high society.

The town of Sedalia in Missouri is often mentioned in connection with this commercial breakthrough although its fame may stem from the fact that it was the home of Scott Joplin, one of the only black composers of ragtime to receive acclaim. St. Louis and New Orleans developed local styles, but New York, the center of the music publishing industry, also became the ragtime center. Tin Pan Alley treated ragtime as a fad and cranked out thousands of "rags". Ragtime was viewed primarily as a piano music and the popularity of the player piano at this time helped to spread the Tin Pan Alley creations. The fact that it was often played in silent movie theatres also added to its popularity.

d) The Role of Technology in the Centralization of Pop Music

The history of Tin Pan Alley is the history of the commoditization of musical forms (usually borrowed from folk or fine art sources). This commoditization takes different directions depending largely upon the sorts of technology being applied

to the process of making music. The record industry began in 1877 with Edison's invention of the "phonograph" with its cylindrical record, but even when Emile Berliner introduced the disc record fourteen years later, the main business in the music industry was song printing and publishing. With the widespread popularity of the player piano, more complex material could be marketed and ragtime was exploited for this purpose, but the writing and publishing of a song and the means of getting exposure for it remained the same.

With the introduction of the 78 rpm record this began to change as the market for this technology blossomed in the first two decades of this century. The piano declined in popularity (and with it ragtime, a piano music). In the early twenties commercial radio was developed and it rapidly took over from minstrel shows and music halls as the most important means of "plugging" a song. It also replaced the phonograph at least temporarily as the most important technology of the music industry. In 1924 the mechanical recording was replaced by a vastly superior electronic process and in 1927 sound recording was applied to the movie business which meant that it immediately became another powerful means of "song plugging".

Each of these new technologies increased the centralization of the music industry because "each increased the costs of production and promotion which had to be paid before a record or a performer who was to be promoted into "star" status could give any return on the investment".

> The prime mechanism for insuring the success of the large initial investments has been the vertical concentration of the industry. Music publishing companies became closely linked to the record-making companies who retained performers under long-term exclusive contracts. These record companies, in turn, were linked to Broadway theatres, movie studios, and broadcast networks. Thus, through the years the various factors of production - talent, reputation, copyright, distribution, and promotion - became concentrated into several huge combines.75

The depression of the early thirties furthered this process by weeding out the smaller independent companies.

e) Jazz and Swing

New Orleans Dixieland jazz grew out of the application of the ragtime-style syncopation to small band music during the first couple of decades of this century, but it did not enjoy a similar commercial breakthrough until after the First World War and the introduction of radio. Many New Orleans musicians had moved to northern urban centers in search of work and, during the early twenties, many worked in the Chicago speakeasies where a new style emerged which has been called the Chicago Dixieland style.[76] It was this style rather than the New Orleans style that became well known. In the twenties, jazz was seized upon by the music industry as the "fad" to replace ragtime.

The emergence of jazz was as sudden as the earlier emergence of Ragtime. Richard A. Peterson has proposed three interrelated explanations for the breakthrough of jazz at this time. The first factor Peterson considers is the "dynamics of popular music fads".[77] Although popular music's primary

subject matter is "one stage or another of the puppylove to divorce cycle, there is a rapid succession of formats in which the formula tunes are packaged and there is a continual search for novel formats. Thus, pop music is characterized by a succession of fads".[78] By the early twenties, the

> cycle of Tin Pan Alley formula tunes which mixed sentimental ballads with 'coon songs' and other ethnic stereotypes had become repetitious and boring even to the relatively unsophisticated pop audience. And a generation of star performers was growing old while its replacements were little more than pale imitations. Finally, the audience's acceptance of jazz may have been preconditioned to the radically different beat and sound of jazz by the earlier incursions into pop music of ragtime and W.C. Handy-type blues.79

This description of the condition of popular music before the emergence of jazz in many ways parallels the condition of music just before the appearance of rock and roll.

Peterson continues:

> A second line of explanation for the emergence of the vital fad era of jazz has to do with the social ferment of the times brought on by World War 1, rapid urbanization and industrialization as well as the anguish over prohibition. A high degree of geographic mobility exposed black folk culture to white pop culture. What is more, jazz and the Roaring Twenties culture in which it became imbedded provided appropriate symbols of rebellion against the predominant middle-class Victorian mores dealing with sexual behavior, social class distinctions, racial attitudes, liquor, female liberation and intergenerational conflict.80

This rebellious edge to the sub-culture in which jazz "became imbedded" caused it to be widely attacked by church groups as a cause of immorality just as ragtime had been attacked earlier and rock and roll was attacked in the fifties and sixties.

> The third line of explanation focuses on dislocations in the industry which manufactured and disseminated popular music. The oligopolistic control which characterized the industry temporarily gave way to intense competition and thus the logic of producing carbon copies of proven hit formulas gave way to rapid experimentation. Such competition was triggered by the rapid dissemination of new technologies, which in the post World War 1 era meant the 78 rpm phonograph and the radio. These technologies profoundly changed the nature of performance and instrumentation and thus ushered in a whole new wave of performers. The rich operatic baritone which could fill a theatre was replaced by the thin tenor voice which could carry over the surface noise of the shellac record. The changes also made possible the exploitation of new markets and marketing techniques for the products of the popular music industry. Where the prime product had been the sale of sheet music for dining hall and home - family piano performance in a predominantly small town setting, the crucial new market was recorded music for college youth and urban performance in places featuring dancing and drinking.81

As we will discuss later, these "dislocations in the music industry" also parallel in many ways dislocations that happened during the early fifties.

Peterson does not stress the white exploitation of black musical forms, but this continued during the Jazz Age. Tin Pan Alley once again took over the production of songs in this style and New York song publishers made most of the money off this new "fad".

With the depression the music business went into decline, but by the late thirties "swing", a new "big band" style of jazz was gaining mass popularity. Pioneered in the late twenties and early thirties by black bandleaders and arrangers such as Fletcher Henderson, Don Redman and Duke Ellington, it was not until young white musicians mastered the style that it broke

through to large white audiences. Most of the well-known bands of the Swing Era were led by white musicians although some black bandleaders (such as Ellington or Count Basie) were accepted by white audiences and some white bandleaders (such as Benny Goodman) had black musicians in their bands.

Whereas earlier jazz styles had stressed a certain amount of individual improvisation, the swing style was characterized by sections of trumpets, trombones, saxophones and rhythm instruments. Rather than improvising individually, the sections of instruments played off each other in a manner that provided a very rhythmic dance music.

By the early forties the swing style, under attack by church leaders as a corrupter of youth and attempting to gain wider acceptance, had become much sweeter and had sacrificed much of its rhythmic emphasis. During the late forties rising wage rates made it increasingly difficult to support large numbers of musicians and, facing competition from smaller bands equipped with new electronic instruments, most of the Big Bands broke up. Another major factor contributing to the break up of these bands was the realignment of the industry at the time of the ASCAP-BMI dispute and the Petrillo Ban. These will be dealt with in the next section.

f) Realignments in the Music Industry

In 1941, because of a "war" between rival arms of the entertainment business, Tin Pan Alley received a serious setback in terms of the industry's control over popular music. After

the introduction of "talkies", the Hollywood movie industry (and in particular Warner Brothers) had quickly realized the potential for making money from the royalties of songs that occurred in their movies. As a result they soon bought out major Tin Pan Alley publishing firms.[82]

The Tin Pan Alley publishers had banded together in 1914 to form the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP), an agency to collect their royalties for them. When Hollywood bought out Tin Pan Alley, it also gained control of ASCAP. In 1941, recognizing that radio was growing in popularity and realizing that it was keeping customers home from the movies, the movie industry, through ASCAP, attempted to block the playing of records on the radio. The plan was to double the royalty rate on their songs. ASCAP was known to have all the top songwriters in America under its control, so the radio stations, which would be unable to meet the increased royalty charge, would be unable to play popular music. The plan backfired drastically.

A group of independent radio broadcasters responded by forming Broadcast Music Incorporated (BMI), a rival royalty collection agency. Tin Pan Alley's songwriters had been exploiting black and rural white folk styles since its inception. The actual practitioners of the styles had not been allowed, in most cases, to publish for ASCAP. BMI published them and radio stations played their material. This gave country music and rhythm and blues an unprecedented access to

the popular market. Although ASCAP settled with the radio industry within the year, Tin Pan Alley's grip on popular music had been broken.

Further difficulties ensued. During the period that radio stations were unable to play ASCAP tunes (because of the new royalty rates), they discontinued the broadcasting of live music, almost all of which at that time was controlled by ASCAP, and started favoring recordings of BMI tunes. When the royalties controversy ended, radio stations continued favoring records over live broadcasts. This meant that musicians were being hired less often. The American Federation of Musicians went on strike over the issue of royalty payments to musicians performing on recorded material. The strike lasted from August 1942 to October 1943 and is known as the Petrillo Ban after the leader of the musicians' union: James Caesar Petrillo.[83] Although they won the strike the industry underwent further changes as a result of it. The recording companies turned to singers who were not union members. This led to the period, in the late forties and early fifties, of the "crooners". The companies also developed the system of using a "house band" on their recordings. These two factors contributed to the decline of the Big Band period in that the role of the band leader was deemphasized and opportunities for a band to record became less frequent. By 1946 most of the bands had dissolved.

Another aspect of the music industry's effect on popular

music which needs to be dealt with at greater length is its commoditization and commercialization of musical forms. We end this section with a quote from Peterson and Berger which sums up much of the music industry's activity in this area:

> The industry structure and marketing tactics of the first half of the century provided little incentive for merchandising controversial tune lyrics. Rather, it was more profitable to write songs in the accepted escapist love formula in order to catch as wide a segment of the market as possible. Success came from marketing a song that was more 'average' than any of the others being offered. This strategy was codified early: by 1900 songs were literally manufactured according to a number of fixed formulas and promoted in standard ways...The economics which insured the homogeneity of product in this mass market industry are not unlike those that produced the formula Hollywood movies of the 1930's, the Detroit automobile of 1946-1965, and the TV series of the 1960's.
>
> The Tin Pan Alley mass media-disseminated popular music represents only the most conspicuous music of the time, however. Beneath the surface several sorts of "communal" music - that is, music not merchandised through the mass media but disseminated primarily through live performance to relatively homogeneous groups of fans - developed in the first half of the century. Each of these: blues; jazz; country and western; gospel; and trade union and Radical Left expressed contrasting world views and engaged in political - social commentary much as popular music had done before it was commercialized. Thus, taken as a whole, popular music consisted of an ideologically sterile mass media-disseminated mainstream and several ideologically rich but segmented communal side streams.
>
> The continuing vitality of these communal genre strongly suggests that Tin Pan Alley music did not reflect the range of sentiments that the mass audience would pay to hear. Even more telling evidence is provided by the explosive popular reaction which occurred when one or another of the communal musics entered the mainstream. The two major cases are, of course, the injection of jazz in the early 1920's and the far greater incursion of blues and country music as rock'n'roll after 1954.84

III. Community and Marketplace in Rock Music

The distinguishing trait of rock music is its energetic, rhythmic momentum. This momentum is carried by an emphatic, physically-compelling beat and is accentuated by vocal and instrumental techniques which are not characterized, primarily, by virtuosity or complexity, but rather by sensuality, exuberance and vigor.

Whether or not rock music is commercialized is not an essential characteristic; nor is its relationship to community. This is the relationship between pop and folk musics. Rock can be either. For the record corporation, music publisher or radio station, rock music is packaged and sold for only one reason - to make a profit. When it is no longer profitable they no longer have any interest in it. Its role in an urban community, however, is as an integrative element. (This latter role is, of course, somewhat ambiguous because, as we have said, the urban communities are constrained by and yet depend upon the heavily commercialized mass society, which is their context.) Whether rock is folk or pop depends on the degree to which it has been shaped by the process of commercialization. Some music is written, performed and marketed as a commercial product while other music begins as the music of a racial or adolescent community and, even after it is mass marketed, it retains its communal characteristics. The original breakthrough of rock music (which we call the "First Wave") was dominated by the latter type of music as was the period

from 1964 to 1969 (which we have termed the "Second Wave"). The period between 1959 and 1963 (which we have termed the "Counter-Reformation") and most of the Seventies have been dominated primarily by marketplace interests. These four periods will be examined below in chronological order.

(The basis of our presentation of the music in terms of four periods is an examination of the main styles or genres of pop music over the past twenty-five years. Each period is dominated by a small number of styles. The main styles of each period are explored in depth in the history of rock music presented in the Appendix of this thesis.)[85]

A. The First Wave: Music of the Urban Communities Reaches a Mass Audience (1955-58)

In the present chapter we will explore the roles of community and marketplace during the First Wave, the original period of rock music's vitality. Our procedure will be to divide the inquiry into three sections: "developments in the music industry" (the role of the marketplace); "the role of urban communities"; and "the music itself". The first section centers on those commercial developments that allowed an assortment of new styles to receive widespread exposure and the ways in which the industry attempted to deal with the popularity of these new styles.

In the section on urban communities, we characterize the social groupings in which the musical forms were originally generated and sustained.

The third section briefly examines the major musical styles of the First Wave, in terms of their regional origins and the influence of commercial factors.

1. Developments in the Music Industry

Our procedure for examining developments in the music industry will be to divide our inquiry into three main phases: the procurement of raw materials, the transformation of raw materials into commercial products, and the distribution and consumption of these products. "Raw materials" refers to both performers and songs. The transformation of these raw materials refers not only to the recording process, but also to the various means of "plugging" the product. Without exposure, whether by live concert, radio, TV or whatever, a record is not yet a "commercial product". "Distribution and consumption" refers to the fact that the public must be able to find the product. No matter how popular a recording or artist is, if the record is not adequately distributed or if the artist is not given media exposure, the music industry cannot profit from that popularity and, like any other industry, "profit" is its primary interest.

a) The Procurement of Raw Materials

As even a cursory examination of the history of popular music indicates, the music industry does not generate styles. Nor do individuals generate styles, although the industry often packages performers as if they had invented the style they work in. Ray Charles did not invent "soul" music, nor

did Bill Haley invent rock'n'roll, and the Beatles did not invent "the Liverpool sound". All of these artists did make contributions to the styles, however.

The styles that become popular are generated in regional communities or in sub-cultures as part of the social fabric. The industry borrows these styles and formulizes them and makes them increasingly "palatable" until they become bland. In general we can say that the more the industry controls the three phases of production, the blander the music becomes until a "new" style crosses over into the popular market and the process begins again.

At the end of the Second World War, an oligarchy of large corporations was firmly in control of the popular market. Four companies, Capitol, Columbia, Decca and RCA Victor controlled the record business and between 1948 and 1955 they accounted for over 75 percent of the top ten hits.[86] At least part of the remaining 25 percent was taken up by two new "major" record companies formed after the war: MGM records, set up in 1946 as a subsidiary of the Hollywood film company, and Mercury records, formed in Chicago in 1947. These large record companies, all of which possessed national distribution systems, are referred to as the "majors". Although the majors controlled the popular market they had lost touch during the war with the black market. New styles had developed among the urbanizing black population, but the majors either ignored this growing market or continued to push pre-war styles.[87]

Some people noticed the shifts in black tastes, however, and, in response to this new market, dozens of small independent companies (known as the "independents") sprang up in urban centers with large black populations. Among the most successful of these were Atlantic records in New York (founded in 1948), Savoy in Newark (1942), King and its subsidiaries in Cincinnati (1945), Chess (founded as Aristocrat in 1947 and changed to Chess in 1949) and Vee Jay (1953) both in Chicago, Duke in Houston (1949), and Aladdin (1945), Modern (1945), Specialty (1945), and Imperial (1947) all in Los Angeles. These companies, along with many others, developed a foothold in the regional black markets and, when r&b crossed over into the pop market, they were able to exploit this shift as well.

The independent Sun Records of Memphis deserves special mention. It was founded in 1952 by Sam Phillips who had been recording various Memphis blues performers (for instance B.B. King and Howlin' Wolf) since the late forties and leasing the masters to independent labels such as Chess. Phillips recognized early that the music could be popular with white audiences if they had access to it and he was responsible for discovering many white r&b singers including Elvis Presley. (This is discussed at greater length in the Appendix in the section on rockabilly).

The majors were out of touch with these developments. The artist and repertoire (A&R) people, whose job it is to determine which performers to sign and which songs to use, were

unfamiliar with the black artists and their material and, when, in the early fifties, a new, affluent, youth market embraced this material, the majors were caught off guard. Some chose to ignore it. Others used their existing white artists to do "cover" versions of black material. This meant that they would record the same musical arrangement for a song as the independent company had used for their version, but the majors would remove all sexual innuendo from the lyrics and "clean up" the style of the singer (which meant that the singer had to sound white). This system worked at first, but, partially through the influence of DJ's like Alan Freed, who insisted on playing the original versions of songs, the young white audience started demanding the black sound. The oligopolistic control of the majors collapsed. By 1958 the four majors that had dominated the market from 1948 to 1955 had only 36 percent of the hits[88] and they would not have done even that well if RCA had not purchased Sun Records' top artist: Elvis Presley, who had four top ten hits in '58.

b) The Transformation Into Commercial Products

The process of recording is essential to the transformation of musical performance into commercial product. Because of its cost, each new technological innovation that has improved this process of musical commoditization has tended to concentrate the power to commoditize in fewer and fewer hands. The invention of tape recording and magnetic tape, however, greatly reduced the cost of recording[89] and tape became the technological basis

for the independents' challenge to the majors. With the reduction of recording costs, it became possible for a person in touch with a regional music scene to record artists before the majors discovered them and perhaps before the majors even discovered the regional scene.

But, as mentioned above, the process of recording a musical performance does not transform it into a commercial product necessarily. There must be public demand for the performance before the record becomes saleable. This demand is created through media exposure or through live performance.

During the forties the main means of exposing a song to the public (known as "song plugging") was through live performance on the radio.[90] Radio stations (which were organized into networks) presented a variety of entertainments throughout the day, in an attempt to appeal to all age groups and markets, much as TV does today. The live performance of music was a costly process which was paid for from ad revenues from these network performances. This process heavily favored existing styles of music and existing stars who had proven their popularity with the sponsors of such programs. It was naturally very difficult for performers from small independent labels to have access to network radio.

The development of TV altered this situation by drawing off much of radio's ad revenue[91] which caused the radio networks to collapse. The family entertainment formats of network programming and the expensive studio bands disappeared with

the networks. Radio stations became single market oriented which meant that their programming no longer attempted to please everyone, but, instead, simply attempted to capture a small market such as, for instance, adolescents. (The single market orientation was already found, to a certain extent, on black stations.)

After the collapse of the networks, stations could not afford to broadcast live studio bands so they turned to recorded music. As mentioned above, the BMI-ASCAP dispute also contributed to this shift to recorded music. Radio remained the prime means of song plugging but the process was no longer so centrally controlled. The station employee who played the records (the disc jockey or DJ) became much more influential in determining whether or not a song gained exposure. DJ's, such as Alan Freed (who developed, while at WJW in Cleveland in the early fifties, the enthusiastic, high energy style still found on top twenty radio), discovered that young people seemed to like the raw, rhythmic, black music and this is what they increasingly programmed for their young audience.

During the first wave of rock music, TV, movies, juke boxes and live concerts were also important means of song plugging. Elvis Presley's TV appearances were important for the growth of rock music in general and the use of Bill Haley's "Rock Around The Clock" as the theme music for the movie "Blackboard Jungle" was probably the main reason that the record became an all-time bestseller. (The record has sold over

twenty-two million copies.)[92]

The inclusion of the above media, including radio, in this section is rather arbitrary. They could just as easily have been included in the next section as they are not only a means of advertising for the record industry, but are also ways in which the music itself is consumed. Although we will continue in the following chapters to consider these media primarily in terms of their role as "record pluggers", their function as consumatory activities in their own right should not be forgotten.

c) Distribution and Consumption

The main advantage that the majors have consistently maintained over the independents is that their record distribution systems are national (and often international) whereas the independents are either limited to regional distribution or else they have to lease their records to one of the majors. When independents develop the kind of scale that includes a national distribution system (which assumes that they also develop the necessary promotional system as well, such as Motown and Atlantic eventually did), they have basically become a major.

In terms of the kind of competition they faced from the majors, in such areas as distribution and promotion, the only explanation for the collapse of the majors' oligopoly, even when we consider the shifts in the radio business and the decreased cost of recording, is that the independents were able

to supply a product for which there was great demand and which the majors were unable to supply. Between 1954 and 1959 record sales in America almost tripled[93] and the independents picked up a large proportion of this increase.

2. The Role of Urban Communities

The two kinds of community that influenced rock music during the First Wave were the black ghetto communities and the "greasers" or "hoods". Both of these types of communities had in common the fact that they were made up primarily of members (or future members) of the urban proletariat. The major differences between the two were based on the fact that the black communities were shaped by racism whereas the adolescent communities were shaped by differences in generation. As adolescents grew older they tended to discard their subcultural characteristics and enter the mainstream of mass society, but this route was obviously not open to blacks who were born into their community and could never "grow out of it". Although adolescent communities come and go, black ghetto communities persist and this difference between the two types of communities is reflected in the way they are treated throughout this thesis. Adolescent communities are described in terms of the immediate circumstances that produced them and their specific stylistic and attitudinal responses to those circumstances, whereas the black communities are considered primarily in terms of changes in self-image that occur within the ongoing community.

a) Black Ghetto Communities

During this century, people in the black ghettos have shaped their rural folk roots into ragtime, blues, jazz, swing, rhythm and blues, rock'n'roll and soul, to name only the most general categories. Within each of these there was a further profusion of styles. Over the same period of time the only major music to have emerged from a rural white background has been the collection of styles known as "country and western". Although the latter styles have changed somewhat over the years, they have generally tended to be rather conservative and stable, lending, perhaps, a reassuring continuity to the lives of those people who had this music as their tradition. On the other hand the rapid evolution of black styles has suggested turbulence rather than continuity.

In this section we will suggest two interrelated explanations for this turbulence. Our first consideration is the effect of commercial pressures on black music. The various musical styles that have been developed by the black communities from ragtime to rock have been heavily commercialized by the white music industry and this widespread popularization has inevitably meant that the meanings these styles held for the blacks, before they were commercialized, has been altered. (This has never happened to the same extent to the white country styles although they have gradually undergone a process of commercial homogenization which has certainly destroyed the traditional integrative effect that this music once had.) Each

time the music of the black community is altered by outside forces, its integrative function is impaired. When the music no longer serves this function, it is abandoned. We might say it "goes out of style". In summary: one reason for the relatively rapid turnover of black music styles is that music industry commoditization regularly makes it necessary for blacks to reject their own cultural forms and invent new ones. We might say that the music is rejected because it has been accepted by "honkies" and therefore is no longer a basis for black identity.

The effect of external commercial pressures is only a partial explanation however. Another important consideration has to do with changes in black self-image. Blacks have had to struggle to free themselves not only from oppressive social and economic conditions, but also from a self-image that accepts or is resigned to such conditions. As their image of themselves has changed, so has their taste in music. Musical styles associated with (and often carrying) outmoded responses to the world are rejected.

In the 1920's the blues expressed a realistic response to the situation most blacks found themselves in. During and just after the war, r&b expressed an increased confidence and power. By the early sixties, however, the early r&b was being viewed as an embarrassing reminder of the rural world from which they had escaped.[94] In the mid-sixties a further increase in black confidence and pride was apparent in the rise of "soul" music

which will be discussed later.

These changes in black self-image have been closely connected to shifts in black population from the rural south to urban areas (particularly to the north and to the west coast). In 1910, three quarters of the blacks were southern peasants and one quarter were city dwellers. By 1960 this relationship had been reversed.[95]

As indicated in the Appendix, the traditional country blues were the music of a people who were somewhat resigned to frustrating, rural living conditions. In the twenties, country blues was viewed by the newly emerging black, urban, middle class (and those who had pretensions to such a station) with the same contempt that middle class whites reserved for "hillbilly" music. The country blues was an embarrassment to the aspirations of those who hoped that through politeness, decorum, and a "good" education they might be granted access to the society of the white middle class.[96]

These tastes have never controlled the black market, however, and, when the record companies discovered in the late 1920's that blacks would buy the rough country blues as well as the slick urban styles, the country blues were recorded. By the 1940's the "classic" blues was looked upon as a relic of a disagreeable past.

During the war and after, migration from the South gathered momentum and blacks poured into northern and west coast cities where a higher standard of living awaited them.[97] The migration

to some areas was so rapid that in Chicago, although older and more "sophisticated" residents frowned upon it, some whole blocks became like "Mississippi villages, where country manners and behavior was the norm".[98] The awareness of these new urban immigrants was rapidly transformed, however, by their new living conditions. "The Second World War had seen the involvement of blacks in a national effort on an unprecedented scale, in the army, the air force, the navy, the arms factories, turning out bombs, tanks, planes and ships. The rapid succession of events, the war, the new jobs, experiences abroad, were all energising and invigorating."[99]

The improved standard of living which blacks experienced upon moving to the city (and which was at least partially responsible for this new invigoration) was not, however, followed by further increases. The blacks were drawn to the cities to be given a position at the economic bottom of the work force which led to a great deal of frustration. "There were serious riots in the war years and after, in Harlem, in Detroit, in Chicago and elsewhere."[100]

It was the music of the people living in these ghettos, in the postwar period, which formed the basis of rock'n'roll.

b) The Greasers: South and North

Whereas the black ghetto communities emerged as a response to white racism and class oppression, the "greasers" emerged, in both the Southern United States and in the North, along the lines of class and <u>generation</u>. In the South, the industrial-

ization of agriculture drove white laborers as well as blacks off the land. As mentioned above, the move from country to city caused great social upheaval among the blacks. Whites faced a similar problem.

The enforced migration in pursuit of employment opportunities caused an erosion of traditional communities and extended families, and these institutions were not replaced by any other integrative structures. Young people growing up in the cities developed different values than their parents had learned in the country, which caused a decline in respect by the young for their parents' values and a further decay of the already amputated family structure that had survived the move to the city.

This decline in the authority of the family was often compounded by the demoralization of the parents in the face of unemployment. Modern educational systems which exposed the young to a wide range of views, some of which contradicted those found in the family, also contributed to a loosening of familial ties.

The educational system not only contributed to the decay of the family and its authority, but it also confronted the young rural migrants with further difficulties. They found themselves in a school system for which they were ill prepared, and in which they could not, therefore, expect to do well. However, because of the increased need for "skills" in the urban job market, they had little prospect of receiving

anything but the lowest grades of employment if they left school. It was in response to this generally bleak situation that the greaser subculture was generated.

The greasers developed primarily around leisure activities (as have other working class subcultures, such as England's "teddy boys", "mods", and "skinheads"). Their choices in these areas expressed their frustration and unhappiness with the world as it was presented to them. The identity they developed was drawn from a number of sources, the most important of which was the black community.

They no doubt identified with the oppression of the blacks and saw in the black response to oppression a readymade response for themselves. Blacks had their own radio stations, records, dancehalls, entertainers, and clothing styles, as well as their own musical styles and even their own slang. Young whites adopted much of the black culture. Although it was frowned upon by their elders, they listened to black performers on the jukeboxes and on the black radio stations, they used black slang, they often adopted the bizarre clothing styles of the urban blacks and even the long greasy hair, from which the greasers got their name, was likely influenced by the black "process" (a black imitation of white hairstyles). (Once the greaser subculture was firmly established, they also had their own dances.)

The greasers did not simply reject their parents' world however. Their adoption, perhaps somewhat symbolically, of

denim jackets and blue jeans, for instance, was an aggressive affirmation of their sharecropper or working class backgrounds (where denim work clothes were common). This affirmation of their lower class roots gave no consolation to local authorities, however, who viewed it, like the adoption of elements of the black culture, as threatening.

When they developed their own fusion of black and white country music styles, this too was viewed as threatening. It was the development of this music which distinguished the greasers in the South from their Northern counterparts. The Northerners were content to adopt black r&b as their own, but the Southerners generated their own version of it. Southern adolescents from sharecropper or working class backgrounds, such as Elvis Presley, Carl Perkins, and Gene Vincent, mixed their inheritance of white folk styles with black r&b, creating a new style which came to be known as "rockabilly".

The response of working class youths in the North was otherwise similar. Post-war urban development and shifts in job markets (as well as some migration of whites from the South) meant that those traditional communities that may have existed in urban areas decayed. The extended family eroded and customary relationships within its nuclear heir underwent further decay.

Through the segregation of large peer groups of youths in schools, away from the operation of tradition and in the absence of dependable matrices of social relations, adolescent

communities also developed in the North.

As in the South, the greasers' main cultural expressions can be seen in their leisure activities. Youths adopted black r&b music, black slang and long (for the time) greasy hair. Like their Southern equivalents, they cultivated an aggressive working class image emphasizing blue jeans and white T-shirts. They also often wore leather motorcycle jackets which symbolized speed and danger and perhaps evoked the role Marlon Brando played in the movie "The Wild One".

The more emotional, less "sophisticated", less European, r&b appealed to the rhythm and style of the Northern greasers. As soon as white DJ's discovered the listening habits of white youths, radio stations began specialized programming with the youth market in mind. Record companies began seeking out white performers that might appeal to this market. The various bland cover versions made some impact and Bill Haley for a short time became a star, but, although he was the first white artist to achieve widespread acclaim in rock'n'roll, he was "not the sort of figurehead on which the new generation based their fantasies".[101]

When radio and TV exposed the Northern greasers to Southern, white rock'n'roll (and, in particular, Elvis Presley), they adopted it (and him) as their own. They did not, however, produce any major performers who could sound authentic within this genre, perhaps because, unlike the young Southerners who could draw upon a living tradition of white rural music, the

Northern city-dwellers had only fragments of a musical tradition on which to build.

3. The Effects of Community and Marketplace on the Music

We have defined the marketplace in terms of its corporate structure (including the fact that the large corporations tend to control the behavior of the small businesses) and in terms of the way it shapes its products by means of rational, assembly-line techniques. During the First Wave, there were major dislocations within the pop music marketplace when the development of a new entertainment medium, TV, eroded the ad revenue of the radio networks; the emergence of radio stations that served the black community offered young white people an alternative to the standard corporate product; and the invention of a new inexpensive recording technique decentralized the recording industry. The combination of these factors (and others) allowed a number of small businesses, that had previously only operated in the black communities, to gain a large share of the record market. These small businesses did not use the assembly-line techniques to manufacture their music; they had simply grown up fulfilling regional black music tastes with recordings of the major black performers in that region. The effect the breakthrough of these small businesses had on pop music was to introduce the music of these black communities to a mass audience.

* * *

The definition of community we presented above stressed three main features: a shared awareness of the world, a sense of scale or limit (a sense of who belongs to the community and who does not), and a sense of autonomy (a certain social independence). As we have also indicated, the urban communities are communities, in terms of these features, in only limited areas of their world. At work or in school (or, in the case of the adolescent communities, at home) the sense of community is compromised by the constraints and demands of mass society. But in their leisure activities their sense of community is forcefully expressed. Although leisure-centred communities can not ultimately solve the life problems of their members, they give them a free space in which they can move with confidence and perhaps pride. The music of these communities is characterized by vigor and physical rhythms. It does not tend to be characterized by fantasy or sentimental escapism.

As we have indicated in the Appendix, there were five basic styles of rock music that gained mass popularity during the period between 1955 and 1958. Of these five styles, three were basically black styles played by black performers: "New Orleans dance blues", "Chicago rhythm and blues", and "vocal group rock'n'roll". (The latter style was not generated primarily in any one city. It developed in Los Angeles and in most of the ghettos in the northern states.) The two white styles of rock'n'roll, "Memphis country rock" (better known as "rockabilly") and Bill Haley's "northern band rock'n'roll",

also owed a large debt to black styles, but both also drew on elements of white country music. Bill Haley's style probably has the least claim to being the music of a community, but even it was clearly based on such styles. (It was a personal blend of "western swing" and "Kansas City band blues" to which Haley added a more emphatic beat.) All of these styles carried to a mass audience the rhythmic momentum, confident sensuality and exuberance of the urban communities' leisure life. This was the effect of the urban community on pop music.

The urban community we have called the greasers was more important than this brief description might indicate. The greasers were the first whites to adopt the vigorous black styles and it was through the greasers that American business interests discovered the "youth market". The same general process of commercialization that was used on the greaser community has since been used on all subsequent adolescent communities.

When the record companies saw that this youth market existed, they naturally attempted to exploit it, but the only product that they knew it would buy was rock'n'roll, the music of the greasers. RCA's promotion of this greaser music through Elvis Presley was successful beyond their wildest dreams. Other "majors" tried to duplicate this success. Capitol attempted to make Gene Vincent its "answer to Presley", Columbia acquired the services of Carl Perkins, and Decca signed Buddy Holly.

Through the widespread promotion of this music, the growth of the greasers was accelerated, but control of that growth fell into the hands of commercial interests. The community could not survive this kind of exposure and it first became diluted and then gradually decayed.

The process of commercialization has had a similar effect on all adolescent communities. Commercializing any community style alters its meaning, which impairs the style's socially integrative function. In its development within the community, the style is given a clear delineation, but in the marketplace the form becomes acontextual - it is sold as mere fashion. The members of the community are then confronted by both meanings. Unless the community changes, this ambiguity results in social disintegration.

* * *

In concluding our examination of the First Wave, there are three central points that should be emphasized. These are as follows:

1) that, during the early fifties, the corporate oligopoly controlling the pop music marketplace suffered serious commercial dislocations;

2) that, during this period of dislocation, the music of the greaser and black ghetto communities gained mass popularity; and

3) that the period from 1955 to 1958 was a period of vitality for rock music.

B. The Counter-Reformation (1959-63)

In the previous chapter we examined certain urban communities and a decentralizing tendency in the pop music marketplace, both of which accompanied the emergence of rock'n'roll (which we briefly considered in terms of these factors). In the present chapter we will investigate the retaliation of the music industry against the incursion of these community forms. The chapter is divided into three sections: "The Search for the Magic Formula", an analysis of the resurgent Tin Pan Alley formulas that came to dominate music production during this period; "The Continental Look and the Folkies", a consideration of the adolescent communities that succeeded the commercially eroded greasers; and "The Musical Results", a brief consideration of the effects on the music of these commercial and social developments.

The music of this "Counter-Reformation" has much less to do with folk music or community than did the music of the First Wave, and much more to do with pop music and the strategies of the marketplace.

1. The Search For The Magic Formula

During the first wave, rapid shifts in the pop record market brought a number of r&b performers to prominence using fairly undiluted styles. These artists made few concessions to the tastes and practises of the established music industry. After their initial surprise, however, both the majors and the independents attempted to reduce this unstable, new phenomenon,

rock'n'roll, to a series of formulae that would guarantee them hit records. Now that the industry was aware of the new youth market, they would "create" performers and songs aimed at young people. This meant that, instead of the major figures in music being performers who emerged because of a special talent, the major figures during the counter-reformation were songwriters, producers and song pluggers.

a) Raw Materials

As mentioned in Chapter II, the two main raw materials of the music industry are performers and songs. After rock'n'roll broke through, record companies tried to re-establish their control over the process of producing a hit record and this included regulating the production and use of performers and songs. In terms of performers, most companies looked to RCA's phenomenal success with Elvis Presley and tried to find or develop their own version. The way they went about this was either to put a premium on strong vocal abilities or to ignore the issue of singing and find a sexy, marketable young male.

Most of the majors sought a strong vocalist with an idiosyncratic style. RCA acquired Sam Cooke from Keen Records. Decca's subsidiary, Brunswick, signed the Dominoes' former lead singer, Jackie Wilson. MGM lured another former Domino, Clyde McPhatter away from Atlantic Records (and a year later he moved to Mercury). Former Specialty Records performer, Lloyd Price, signed with ABC-Paramount (a new major), as did

Ray Charles after he left Atlantic. With the exception of Price, who sang in a variant of the New Orleans dance blues style, all these singers were noted for their gospel-influenced vocal styles which the majors may have believed they could mould into an "easy-listening" commercial alternative to rock'n'roll, but although gospel did evolve into a commercial style during the sixties, it did so within the black subculture, not as a result of corporate decisions. In the late fifties, no secular forms existed in which the skills of these singers could be exploited and they invariably were forced to try a variety of song styles (which were often weakened further by unsympathetic arrangements). They also frequently were encouraged to attempt other vocal styles. In most cases (Sam Cooke is the main exception), the abilities of these performers were gradually eroded by this process.

The second formula, mentioned above, was to use a good-looking, white male (whether he could sing or not) in an attempt to duplicate the success of Elvis (or perhaps Pat Boone, a clean-cut singer, who had become popular doing cover versions of r&b songs like Fats Domino's "Ain't It A Shame" and Little Richard's "Tutti-Frutti"). This strategy was based on the idea that the performer's primary appeal was his physical image and the companies that used this formula usually had access to either the American Bandstand program originating on WFIL-TV in Philadelphia or to a Hollywood-produced, TV program as a means of "plugging" their product. Of course some of these TV-

produced "teen idols" could sing, but rarely in a rock'n'roll style. (The main exception to this was Ricky Nelson, a regular on the "Ozzie and Harriet" TV program, who sang in the rockabilly style.) Much more common was the pre-rock crooning style found in such songs as Paul Anka's "Put Your Head On My Shoulder" (1959), Frankie Avalon's "Venus" (1959) or Bobby Rydell's "Volare" (1960). Connie Francis produced a female equivalent of this crooning style which can be heard on such songs as "Everybody's Somebody's Fool" (1960) or "Where The Boys Are" (1961).

* * *

As indicated above, the standard music industry response to any popular new style of music has been to turn it into a formula which would allow the industry to exploit the public's enthusiasm for the new style. Naturally, this was also done to the songs of rock'n'roll. As the record industry's demand for new "teen" oriented songs increased, New York's Tin Pan Alley re-tooled its assembly lines and came out with appropriate products.

The professional writing of rock songs did not begin with the re-emergence of Tin Pan Alley, however. For many years, there had been r&b songwriters like Jesse Stone, who wrote and arranged for Atlantic Records; Dave Bartholomew, who had a similar role at Imperial records; Otis Blackwell, who wrote songs for Elvis and Jerry Lee Lewis among others; and the duo of Jerry Leiber and Mike Stoller who wrote for Elvis,

the Coasters, the Drifters and many others. The work of these composers was usually based on an understanding of and respect for the r&b styles, but the new generation of Tin Pan Alley writers rarely suffered any such constraint. The formula that they worked from was to take the traditional romantic concerns of Tin Pan Alley and translate them into teenage concerns such as dances,[102] parties,[103] parental disapproval[104] or, because many of the songs were recorded by groups of female singers, songs about "boys".[105] The sentimental or melodramatic treatment given most topics was somewhat foreign to rock'n'roll, but radio station managers preferred it to the blacker, r&b sounds that they considered to be "jungle music"[106] and this meant that they would give it exposure which, as we have indicated, was central to success in the record business.

The material written by the new Tin Pan Alley composers is sometimes known as "Brill Building Pop"[107] after the name of the building in which many prominent song publishing companies were located. The most prosperous of these companies was Aldon Music which was formed in 1958 by Don Kirschner (in conjunction with Al Nevins) who gathered together a collection of song writing duos that included Carole King and Gerry Goffin, Barry Mann and Cynthia Weil, and Howard Greenfield and Neil Sedaka. Each of these duos wrote a number of commercially successful songs as did the Doc Pomus-Mort Shuman and Ellie Greenwich-Jeff Barry duos, although neither of the latter two pairs worked for Aldon Music. Between 1959 and 1964 these ten

composers wrote or co-wrote at least thirty-nine top ten hits, twenty-four of which were published by Aldon Music.[108] Most of these had only a tenuous connection to rock'n'roll, but a few, like "The Loco-Motion" and "Up On The Roof" by Goffin and King or "Da Doo Ron Ron" and "Do Wah Diddy Diddy" by Barry and Greenwich, remain quite respectable rock songs.

In Philadelphia, songwriting, like the production of "teen idols", was connected to the availability of a live plug on Dick Clark's "American Bandstand" TV show and this encouraged the writing of songs that emphasized the physical image of the performer. This meant that Philadelphia composers used very different formulae than those developed in the Brill Building. At first they produced songs for their clean-cut, young crooners, but they they discovered (with Chubby Checker's "The Twist" on Parkway in 1960) that dance songs coupled with a TV demonstration of the dance would also sell records. Being based in Philadelphia, the Cameo label (along with its Parkway subsidiary) was most successful at formulizing and exploiting the new dance craze. The basic formula they developed was to take an emphatic, danceable, rock rhythm and layer it with a simple-minded lyric about a "new" dance. Apart from "The Twist" (which was written by Hank Ballard), composer-owner Kal Mann and his staff producer, Dave Appell, were responsible for writing most of the hits for Cameo-Parkway.

b) The Transformation Into Commercial Products

During the counter-reformation, production was also

refined into a series of formulae. The producer's job on early rock'n'roll records was basically to document the performance of the song. Sometimes producers, such as Jesse Stone at Atlantic or Dave Bartholomew at Imperial, were also arrangers, but their arrangements were only a means of enhancing the existing style. Even a studio trick like Sam Phillips' use of echo on Elvis Presley's voice simply gave presence to an already strong vocal. The producer's job was not considered to be the "creation" of the record.

It was Jerry Leiber and Mike Stoller (who were also mentioned above as early rock'n'roll songwriters) who changed this process. Their early production work was with a group called the Coasters. Leiber and Stoller wrote the songs, produced them and actually gave the group its character as city-wise humorists, which can be heard on songs like "Yakety Yak" (1958), "Charlie Brown" (1959), and "Along Came Jones" (1959). The production on these numbers (and on other rock'n' roll classics like "Young Blood" (1957) and "Poison Ivy" (1959)) was used to bring out various features of the group's vocal resources, rather than to embellish or bury these features behind "sweetening". By its nature, rock'n'roll is almost invariably weakened by any sweetening or embellishment.

The Coasters were recorded for Atlantic Records, with whom Leiber and Stoller had an "independent" production arrangement. This meant that they made their production decisions without any record company intervention, which is a common arrangement

today, but was unheard of in the fifties. In 1959, Atlantic gave Leiber and Stoller the opportunity to produce the Drifters, another black vocal group. Their first production with the Drifters was "There Goes My Baby" (1959) which found them sweetening lead singer Ben E. King's gospel-styled voice by adding strings. (This record is considered the first rock recording to incorporate strings.)[109] They also softened the rhythmic impact of the song by adding light, Latin rhythms. These production innovations were probably based on commercial calculations, but whether they were or not, they allowed the Drifters to receive widespread air-play on white radio stations. The innovations soon became a formula for sweetening black styles, and black singers were increasingly reduced to the status of being simply vehicles for producers' commercial calculations. Some of this work, such as Phil Spector's productions for the Crystals, the Ronettes and later the Righteous Brothers, was at times inspired, but most often, orchestral embellishment weakened the impact of the black styles.

Although the producers who worked for the independents, like Leiber and Stoller for Atlantic, Luther Dixon for Scepter, and Phil Spector who worked for Atlantic before founding his own Philles Records, all seemed to prefer working with vocal groups, the producers who worked for the majors produced the vocal stylists mentioned above, such as Sam Cooke, Jackie Wilson, Clyde McPhatter, Lloyd Price and Ray Charles. The

production processes were slightly different. Whereas the producers of the vocal groups started with a song and then used various techniques and instruments, including voices, to build a commercial product, the producers of the vocal stylists, such as Hugo and Luigi, San Cooke's producers at RCA, or Ralph Burns, who arranged some of Ray Charles' material, began with the artist's voice and used various means, including the song, to enhance the singer's strengths. The results were rarely impressive. The vocal styles involved, rooted in folk styles like gospel and blues, were unsuited to Tin Pan Alley tunes or to lavish orchestration. Without their natural context, the vocal styles often sounded excessively formalized and the artist usually deteriorated stylistically. Ray Charles' singing, since about 1960, is a prime example of this deterioration.

* * *

In the same way that Elvis dominated the first wave of rock, Dick Clark dominated the counter-reformation that largely eliminated rock from the airwaves between 1959 and 1963. Whereas Elvis represented the threat of liberated sexuality and rebellion, Dick Clark represented respect for authority and business. And whereas Alan Freed, probably the single most important non-performing proponent of rock in its early years, found his career ruined by the "payola" scandal, Dick Clark simply found himself richer.

Dick Clark was not a performer. He was the emcee of the

most popular teenage dance show in America: "American Bandstand", which originated on WFIL-TV in Philadelphia. If a song or performer managed to get on "American Bandstand", the continent-wide exposure almost guaranteed success. Artists who often received exposure on Clark's program included the Rays and Bobby Rydell, who recorded for Cameo; Frankie Avalon and Fabian, who recorded for Chancellor; and Freddie "Boom Boom" Cannon, who recorded for Swan. Clark had a financial interest in all three companies[110] which meant that he profited from the popularity of these artists.

Clark was the most prominent and the most powerful "song plugger" in America, but there were also many powerful DJ's who could influence the success or failure of a record by determining whether or not it would receive exposure. To increase the popularity of their records, record promoters often paid prominent DJ's to play their records or gave them partial composer's credit which meant that, if the record sold, the DJ would receive royalties. This system was called "payola".

As mentioned above in the section on Tin Pan Alley, bribery has been a standard means of gaining exposure for new material since the days of the travelling minstrel shows. In the early 1900's, the larger song publishing houses in New York were able to build an oligopolistic control over the music industry by pricing song plugging out of the market for smaller publishing firms. When new media industries like

cinema, radio, and phonograph came to dominate the industry, the oligarchical structure remained. The establishment, in 1941, of the BMI song royalty collection agency as a rival to the Tin Pan Alley-based ASCAP agency had threatened the oligarchy in the publishing industry, but ASCAP had remained dominant. With the rise of rock'n'roll, however, while the major record companies lost their control over the record market, the ASCAP-affiliated music publishers lost control over music publishing. This happened because BMI had affiliated with most of the publishers of the increasingly popular r&b songs.

The ASCAP publishers seemed to believe that they had lost their control over the industry because of the use of payola by the independent record companies. They also believed that, if payola were stopped, they would regain their control. In 1959, some ASCAP composers urged the House Legislative Oversight subcommittee, which was investigating rigged TV quiz programs, to examine the practise of payola in the broadcast industry.[111] Hearings began in February, 1960 and brought to light a great deal of corruption and destroyed the careers of a few DJ's such as Alan Freed, but although the ABC-TV network forced Dick Clark to sell his shares in music-related firms,[112] "American Bandstand" remained the prime means of plugging new songs.

Major changes happened, at this time, however, in the area of radio broadcast. Chain ownership of radio stations had

been increasing since the late forties and, with it, format radio. At these stations, influential "star" DJ's no longer chose the records they played. Station owners hired "program managers" who created ranked lists of songs that the DJ's had to give saturation play. The lists were changed every week as new songs were released and older songs were dropped from the list. Because, in many minds, the payola scandal was connected to rock'n'roll, the more undiluted rock styles were kept off the lists. There gradually came to be forty or less songs on the lists, the top ten of which were played most frequently, and this format of radio programming became known as "top 40" radio. The pioneering DJ's of the early years of rock'n'roll, whose style had been to enthusiastically share their favorite records, gradually disappeared.

As for the ASCAP composers, who had revealed the payola scandal, they were to remain disappointed. ASCAP did not regain control of the radio airwaves.

c) Distribution and Consumption

The majors retained their advantage over the independents in this area, although, even with the return of Tin Pan Alley and a new wave of crooners, the independents seemed to have consolidated their inroads into the record market. By the beginning of this period, however, two new majors had been formed. By 1956, ABC-Paramount, a TV and film concern, had set up a record company subsidiary and, in 1958, Warner Brothers did the same. Both had national promotion and

distribution systems and had been formed to market movie soundtracks, although they soon moved into the popular music field.

2. The Continental Look and The Folkies

It is in examining the period from 1959 to 1963 that the influence of commercial forces on the genesis of adolescent communities becomes clearer. During the vital phases of early rock music, the expression of a strong community identity was apparent. This identity was then heavily commercialized which accelerated its growth but took control of that growth away from the members of the community and gave it to commercial interests.

With the emergence of rock'n'roll, the commercial world woke up to the possibilities of a new youth market. At first they simply commercialized the greasers. (RCA's promotion of Elvis was an example of this.) The First Wave was dominated by these working class tendencies, although the appeal of the greasers among young people was far from universal. Many young people, particularly those from middle class backgrounds, were still oriented towards traditional values.

In attempts to exploit the affluence of the whole youth market, commercial powers gradually evolved a sanitary image of youth that would appeal (they hoped) to all segments. (This image of youth as nice, clean-cut sentimentalists also had greater appeal for radio station program managers, many of whom had not liked the wild, "jungle" music of the First Wave.)

The main products that were aimed at this market were teenage ballads constructed according to various formulae that the industry had developed. The sentimental or melodramatic lyrics usually affirmed such traditional institutions as marriage and religion and implied that there was nothing wrong with the present condition of social relations in America. The singers of this material usually dressed in expensive suits and looked like "sophisticated" young businessmen. This music did not affirm greaser values and was not experienced as integrative by that community. It was meant for mass consumption.

Rock music largely disappeared from the radio during this period and the greaser community decayed. The decay was not complete, however. Many young people rejected the industry-produced schmaltz and produced their own contexts for the consumption of music with their own members as musicians. Local "live" music scenes took over from radio stations as sources of rock music for the audiences that wanted it. A certain community style also developed around sophisticated, "continental" or "Italianate" clothing styles -- long, narrow pants, pointed-toed shoes, and short raincoats. The style began as somewhat of a commercial imposition, but it was embraced in such a manner that it expressed a certain group solidarity and an "opposition" to the existing social situation. Although this amounted to a retreat from the aggressive style of the greaser, it nonetheless allowed some youths to retain a communal social fabric.

* * *

The term "counter-culture", as used here, refers to an adolescent community with an overt opposition to various institutions of the mass society (such as the army, the corporation, marriage or the university). The membership of a counter-culture generally comes from a professional class or white collar, working class background. Its social integration is much more diffuse than that of the working class communities which tend to have a strong territorial base and a strong sense of boundary. The beatniks, the civil rights - folk movement, the hippies, the late sixties new left, the feminist movement and the gay rights movement are among the various forms that counter-cultures have taken.

It was during the late fifties that a counter-culture first achieved widespread popularity. (The beatnik movement of the latter half of the fifties marked the postwar origin of the counter-culture, but was numerically small.) The "civil rights - folk movement" was centered among university students. They rejected the schmaltz produced by the music industry and embraced traditional American music styles as their own. The music was consumed at concerts on college campuses and in coffee houses, and most of the performers were members of the subculture.

We have termed this counter-culture the "civil rights - folk movement" because two of its most obvious features were the interest in folk music and the participation of many young people in the civil rights movement. This movement became the

central focus for an awakening political awareness on the part of many college students and other young people, although there were also other concerns such as poverty and nuclear disarmament. (The latter concern declined in importance after the signing in 1963 of the Test Ban Treaty.)

This new political awareness came to be known as the "new left", an American radical movement characterized more by its enthusiasm and its willingness to act than by any specific ideology. The new left took institutional form in 1962 with the founding of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the release of the Port Huron Statement, a statement of beliefs and objectives.

During 1963 and 1964 many young civil rights workers from the North were "going South" to participate in demonstrations for black rights and to help in voter registration campaigns. Many also attempted to organize the poor in Northern slums. The American government attempted to co-opt these idealistic young people with such programs as the Peace Corps.

At this stage of its development, the tactics used by various civil rights organizations, such as the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee (SNCC), included sit-ins, boycotts, demonstrations and other non-violent tactics. In 1964, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party was refused official recognition at the Democratic Convention and this event had a strong influence on both white and black civil rights workers. Many became convinced civil rights could not

be achieved by "peaceful means". In a sense this event spelled the end of the bi-racial civil rights movement and caused the decline of the civil rights - folk movement (although a shift in interest of many folk music enthusiasts to the developing fusion of folk and rock music also had a disintegrative effect on the movement).

3. The Musical Results

The functioning of the pop music marketplace was much more stable and orderly during this period and this meant a return to the use of assembly-line manufacturing methods. As a result, most of the musical innovations of the Counter-Reformation could be better described as commercial developments, than as new musical styles and, as such, we have already examined them in our section on the marketplace's "search for the magic formula". The reduction of variables, such as voice, appearance, song writing, record production, and promotion, to a series of assembly-line techniques led to a multitude of inoffensive crooners singing sentimental affirmations of conventional morality (with an emphasis on the singers' cleancut appearance or their ability to do vocal gymnastics, rather than on the music). Clearly, this process did not give a prominent place to music generated in an urban community and was an important factor in the decline of such musics. The various urban communities bore very little influence on the mainstream of pop music during this period.

This was not simply because of the decline of such

communities. As we have indicated, the commercialization of the greasers led to the decay of that community, but they were replaced by a "continental" or "Italianate" adolescent movement and most cities continued to support a number of rock bands, even if these bands were rarely recorded.

Furthermore, although we have not discussed the black communities in this chapter, they continued to generate dynamic new styles (which would collectively become known in the mid-sixties as "soul" music). Such gospel-based songs as the Isley Brothers' "Shout" (1959), Ike and Tina Turner's "It's Gonna Work Out Fine" (1961), or the Falcons' "I Found A Love" (1962) (none of which were major hits), all came from this source.

Although it was not based on rock music, the "folkies" were another urban community with a strong musical identity. The point we are trying to suggest with these examples is that the music industry did not return to the use of formula tunes because they had "used up" all the available music. They simply chose to ignore the music of the urban communities in favor of the less turbulent, more dependable music of their own creation.

* * *

In concluding this examination of the period we have termed the Counter-Reformation, there are certain points that are central to the argument we are developing in this thesis and that, therefore, deserve particular emphasis. These are as follows:

1) that the pop music of this period was primarily manufactured through the use of assembly-line techniques;

2) that the racial and adolescent urban communities exerted very little influence on the pop music of this period; and

3) that this was not a period of vitality for rock music.

C. The Second Wave: The Return of the Music of the Urban Communities (1964-69)

The First Wave occurred because various dislocations in the pop music marketplace allowed the music of the blacks and the greasers to reach a mass audience. Something similar happened in the early sixties. Whereas the First Wave had grown out of a struggle between the major record corporations and a number of small "independents", the major dislocation that allowed the Second Wave to begin was a struggle between EMI, the largest English record company, and its American counterparts. The invasion of the American airwaves by English rock bands brought the music of the "mods", an English, working class, adolescent community, to American adolescents.

1. Developments in the Pop Music Marketplace

In 1963, before the English Invasion, the major American record companies were not attempting to sign white rock groups. Meanwhile, in clubs, bars and dancehalls and at high school dances and state fairs, a great deal of new music was developing with which most of the industry was out of touch. A rock

hit like the Kingsmen's "Louie, Louie" (1963) was just the tip of the iceberg. On the West Coast, the surf sound had evolved; independent "black" labels, such as Motown and Atlantic, were making inroads into the AM radio charts with new gospel-based styles that would come to be known as "soul"; and, at the same time, many young college students were consciously rejecting the Top Forty schmaltz that dominated the radio and were embracing folk music.

These new sounds were beginning to challenge the popularity of the standard radio fare, but with the appearance of a vigorous, enthusiastic, unsentimental music from England, the AM charts underwent a revolution. Rock music returned to the radio.

a) The Procurement of Raw Materials

The raw materials of the Second Wave were found in the various grassroots music scenes. In England, ambitious young hustlers, such as Brian Epstein and Andrew Loog Oldham, discovered that variants of the American rock'n'roll and r&b styles were popular in the local clubs. Epstein and Oldham each became the manager of a popular local dance band (Epstein with the Liverpool band, the Beatles, and Oldham with the Rolling Stones, a London band). When the bands were recorded, they both achieved almost immediate national popularity, which their managers sought to sustain by carefully shaping the images of their bands. Although these energetic young managers were important to their bands' success, however, the major

reason for the success was that the bands were working in styles that were already popular before they reached the radio. Other major English bands, such as the Animals, Yardbirds, Kinks and Who, came from similar backgrounds.

On the east coast of America, Albert Grossman, through his understanding of the tastes of the young middle class folk audience, had success managing Peter, Paul and Mary and then Bob Dylan. Grossman's method paralleled that of Epstein and Oldham.

The grassroots level seems, in retrospect, a rather obvious place to look for new singers and songwriters, but, in the early sixties, the A&R departments of the major record companies seemed oblivious to this possibility.

Building popular regional acts into national or international stars was not the only way to exploit one's understanding of grassroots tastes, however. At Motown Records in Detroit and in the Los Angeles music scene, modified versions of the success formulas of the Counter-Reformation were used, but whereas these formulas had previously been used to produce schmaltz, they were now used to produce styles of rock.

At Motown, gospel-influenced r&b songs were written, arranged and produced using assembly line techniques. All aspects of the production of records and live acts were carefully choreographed. (There were also other independent labels that marketed the new gospel-influenced music. Stax-Volt and Atlantic both discovered a number of dynamic young black

performers in the various regional music scenes. However, neither of these labels exercised such complete control over their performers as did Motown.)

Los Angeles had attracted a number of talented young musicians and songwriters and, although no single label of the importance of Motown emerged,[114] these people kept their hands on the pulse of Southern California music trends. When a new style like "surf" or "folk rock" evolved, they would quickly master it and produce records for the local market. Musicians such as Hal Blaine, Leon Russell, Glen Campbell and Larry Knechtal and songwriters such as P. F. Sloan, Steve Barri, Roger Christian, Sonny Bono and Brian Wilson appeared in various combinations on dozens of records.

The reason that Motown and the Los Angeles musicians and songwriters were successful using formulaic techniques while the major record companies were not is that, unlike the majors, they had remained in touch with the popular regional music styles and they were therefore able to exploit new developments.

b) Transformation Into Commercial Products

At the beginning of the Second Wave, most white bands were recorded in such a manner as to capture the energy and impact of their live act. This semi-documentary production style, used by English beat groups and r&b bands and also by the early psychedelic bands, avoided such studio embellishments as orchestral strings or choral backings.

Meanwhile, the black recordings made at Motown were based

on the much more sophisticated production techniques pioneered by Phil Spector (although the Motown production emphasized rhythmic impact rather than sentiment). The recordings done by Stax-Volt and Atlantic were also more sophisticated, taking advantage of complex arrangements and the highly skilled musicianship of the house bands at such studios as Rick Hall's Muscle Shoals Studio in Alabama or the Stax Studio in Memphis. (Motown also maintained a very professional house band.)

The black records were highly respected by the white musicians, who began incorporating Spectoresque production techniques into their own work. However, whereas the black producers had used these production techniques to enhance their music, the white groups had a tendency to use the fancy production to de-emphasize the music while giving great importance to oriental instrumentation or symphonic accompaniment. The Beatles' Sergeant Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band, the Rolling Stones' Their Satanic Majesties Request and the Beach Boys' "Good Vibrations" are all examples of this tendency.

* * *

Between 1964 and 1966, Top Forty AM radio remained the chief means of song plugging. However, around 1966, AM stations discovered that ratings increased if they used shorter playlists. Increased ratings meant increased ad revenue, so the Top Forty was replaced by the Top Twenty. This meant that the number of songs being played on the radio was

greatly reduced, which in turn meant that the traditional means of exposure for new acts was thereby eliminated (or at least greatly reduced) as competition for airplay increased.

New avenues for exposing songs and groups were, however, evolving. Small dance and concert halls developed in most American cities and, from 1967 onwards, "progressive" or "underground" FM stations became popular alternatives to AM radio. The FM stations had a more relaxed format, in which there were no rigid playlists and deejays were often able to make their own decisions about what they would play, including songs that were longer than the usual two or three minute AM limit. Individual deejays became influential once again.

The FM format effected the actual process of producing music for radio airplay. Many groups were able to explore complex musical ideas and albums came to have a greater importance than they had previously had.

c) Distribution and Consumption

As mentioned above, the Second Wave began with a power struggle between the largest English record company, EMI, and its American counterparts. This struggle had begun many years earlier. In 1954, EMI had bought a controlling interest in one of the American "majors", Capitol, and in 1960 an attempt was made to break into the American market with an English performer, Cliff Richards. This first attempt failed,[115] but, in 1964, they tried again, this time with the Beatles, and were successful. Other English beat and r&b groups followed in the

wake of the Beatles.

The major American record companies were unable to combat this invasion because they were, once again, out of touch with the various styles of rock being developed in America, which meant that the English companies had a product that the American majors could not supply. Some of the American independents were able to supply it, however. During the First Wave it had been the independent labels that had discovered and developed the new talent and, to a great extent, the same thing happened during the Second Wave. We have already noted the significance of Motown, Stax-Volt and Atlantic in the development of soul music. Other important independents included Vanguard and Electra, both of which got their start during the folk boom and later signed prominent psychedelic groups such as Country Joe and the Fish and the Doors.

Meanwhile, shifts in taste were merely followed by the majors, and they attempted various means of correcting this problem. For instance, unable to determine which performers had potential and which ones lacked it, they went on signing sprees, such as that of Clive Davis (president of Colubmia Records) who went to the Monterey Pop Festival in 1967 and "waved the corporate cheque book".[116] The idea behind these sprees was that if they recorded enough of the contemporary groups, some of them were bound to sell. Those that did not were not allowed to record a second album. This strategy met with only limited success, however, because the independents, who were in touch with the local scenes, were still able to

sign many of the best performers.

Another means of counteracting the success of the independents was to buy them out, which is what ABC-Paramount did to Dunhill in 1966, United Artists did to Liberty in 1967, and Warners did to Atlantic, also in 1967. Buying out independents was to become very popular in the early seventies.

But it was not signing sprees or buying out independents that put the majors back in control during the sixties. As we have already mentioned, the major labels always have the advantage in the distribution end of the record business. After the English invasion, this was the only area where the American majors had the upper hand, but its importance became obvious. Because of leasing arrangements, they controlled the distribution rights on imports, which meant that the popular English groups were sold in America on the labels of the majors. This was an area in which the independent companies could not compete and it gave the majors a larger share of the market than they had had at any time since rock music had taken over the charts in 1957.[117]

2. Urban Communities of the Second Wave

In examining the First Wave and the Counter-Reformation the only urban communities relevant to our topic were the black ghetto communities and the adolescent communities of America. During the Second Wave, however, the rock music that originated in England was rooted in English adolescent communities, such as the mods and rockers, and for the first

time these communities became important to our analysis. Although our primary concern in this section is with those communities which occurred between 1964 and 1970, we also examined the origins of postwar English adolescent communities in the fifties and early sixties.

Our examination of the rise of black power also includes, as background, events that occurred before 1964.

a) The Rise of Black Power

In the latter half of the fifties, a movement for civil rights developed from within the black subculture in the southern United States. The movement was organized and directed by various black religious leaders, the most prominent of which was Dr. Martin Luther King. They advocated the use of non-violent civil disobedience tactics, such as sit-ins, strikes, boycotts, marches and demonstrations, in order to draw attention to their demands for racial equality. They attacked various racist policies and institutions such as the requirement that blacks ride in the back of public buses (which led to the 1956 Montgomery bus strike) or the state laws which required segregated educational systems. (A confrontation over the latter with Governor Faubus of Arkansas led to the use, in 1957, of federal troops to integrate a school in Little Rock.)

This movement drew national and international attention and, particularly after a lunch counter sit-in in Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1960, it received assistance from many

white college students from the North. This phase of the civil rights movement flourished until 1964, when (as mentioned above in the section on the folk movement) an attempt was made to seat an anti-segregation delegation, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, as official delegates at the Democratic Convention. The rejection of this delegation marked a symbolic end to the non-violent, bi-racial civil rights movement.

Many blacks became impatient with King's non-violent civil disobedience and the pacifism of such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Marches and sit-ins were viewed as ineffective and a new phase began which drew inspiration over the next four or five years from more militant spokespeople such as Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown and various Black Panther leaders. These "black power" leaders affirmed black nationalist goals rather than racial integration and encouraged black pride in the styles of music, cuisine, dress and slang found in the black subculture. Some also went beyond "civil rights" and demanded economic power. A popular slogan of the time, "black is beautiful", is indicative of the change that took place in the self-image of many blacks.

During the period between 1964 and 1968 there were a number of black riots in the ghettos of the North and on the West Coast, most of which grew out of an incident in which a black person was killed by a white person (usually a member

of the police). In 1964 there were major riots in Harlem, in 1965 in Watts, and in 1967 in Detroit and Newark. In April, 1968, there was widespread rioting in Washington, Chicago, and many other cities and towns following the assassination of Martin Luther King, but King's death or perhaps the police murder of Fred Hampton the next year could be viewed as the symbolic end of this period of black confidence. By 1969, most of the major black leaders were either in hiding, in jail or dead. Severe police repression and political sectarianism had made the militant black stance no more effective in changing the social and economic condition of the blacks than King's civil disobedience had been.

* * *

The aggressive affirmation of black subcultural styles was most clearly reflected in the style of black music which gradually emerged in the early sixties and flourished between 1964 and 1969. This style, known as "soul" music, openly affirmed traditional black musics such as gospel and blues, without making major concessions to white tastes.

b) English Adolescent Communities

Since the Second World War, the social situation in England has generated a series of working class adolescent communities (most of which have originated in the working class neighborhoods in the East End or in South London). The first of these was the "teddy boys" (or "teds") whose name was derived from the velvet-collared, Edwardian-style jackets

that they wore. The teds developed for many of the same reasons as the northern greasers in the United States. Post-war urban redevelopment schemes broke up many working class neighborhoods and relocated people in apartment blocks that were suited to nuclear families rather than extended families (or the integrated relationships of a neighborhood).

The erosion of the family and neighborhood, combined with an alienating educational system and poor employment prospects, gave English working class adolescents an outlook similar to the one developed by their American counterparts.

The styles that are chosen by communities are chosen because they suit the activities and outlooks of the members. In the early fifties, when the teds adopted them, the Edwardian jackets were popular among middle class adolescents, and the teds were probably expressing their own aspirations of upward mobility.[118] When the jackets became associated with the working class, middle class adolescents quickly lost interest, but the teds retained the style because they had already developed a community identity around it.

When rock music appeared, it was also adopted -- including the black r&b, the white rockabilly and Bill Haley. The music's energy and drive suited the rhythm and lifestyle of the teds.

Like the greasers in America, the teddy boys declined in the late fifties to be replaced by a "Continental" or "Italianate" style. Although rock music was replaced on the

radio by youth oriented schmaltz, rock bands thrived at the grassroots level.

In the early sixties, new working class adolescent communities, the "mods" and "rockers", began to take shape. The rockers wore leather jackets and blue jeans, rode motor-cycles, had long greasy hair, and affirmed the music of Elvis, Gene Vincent, Eddie Cochran and other "rockers" of the fifties. Their image was heavily influenced by the American greasers (and in particular, the role played by Marlon Brando in the movie, "The Wild One"). By 1964, while the mods flourished, the rockers were already dying out.[119]

The style of the mods was built around their aspirations of upward mobility rather than their working class backgrounds (which they did not particularly affirm). They dressed like fashionable young members of the middle class except that their emphasis on style was rather exaggerated. The male members had neat close-cropped hair (or haircuts like those of the early Beatles), favored the latest London fashions, often drove motor-scooters, and occasionally wore make-up.

The female members had a higher profile than did their counterparts in other adolescent communities. The greasers, teddy boys or rockers were all primarily male communities where the only roles for young women ("girl friend" or "sex object") were defined by males. This situation was reinforced by the relative economic dependence of the women. Many of the young, working class women who became mods, however, had jobs

and, as poor paying as these jobs were (department store clerk or office worker), the result was that mod women had a much greater degree of real independence.[120] This led to the development of their own styles, including mini-skirts and bell-bottom pants (made of luxurious fabrics such as velvets and satins), make-up which heavily emphasized the eyes, and short geometric haircuts.

The music of the mods was early Motown and soul until 1963 when they embraced the Beatles' energetic new sound. At about the same time, many mods were frequenting the London clubs where r&b groups such as the Rolling Stones, Kinks, Animals and others were playing. By 1965, groups like the Small Faces and the Who began using this music to speak about the life and concerns of the mods from within the subculture.

During the mid-sixties, the mod styles of the Carnaby Street boutiques were formulized and marketed throughout England and America. This commercial expropriation of the community was followed by its decline.

In the late sixties some mod remnants were attracted to a fashion-conscious version of the American hippie movement, while others reacted against the same middle class tendencies. The latter group developed into the aggressively working class "skinheads", a community that survived into the seventies. Jeff Nuttall described them as

> ...a return to the position of the ted, but in reverse. The ted was striving to surmount his working-class family. The skinheads were and are striving to form a dissident group which enjoys all the security of a

working-class identity. Thus they despise the strong bourgeois element in the underground and throw their lot in with their local football team and Enoch Powell. 121

Skinheads were characterized by formalized working class dress: heavy work boots, blue jeans and suspenders, and very close-cropped "orphanage" haircuts. They were also known for their physical assaults on hippies, gays and East Indians.

They were early fans of the music of England's West Indian immigrants, "reggae", but their interest declined when the blacks adopted the Rastafarian long hair, marihuana and "love and peace" ethic that the skinheads associated with the hippies.

c) American Adolescent Communities

The first American adolescent community of the Second Wave was the surfer community, which emanated from southern California and was spread across America by the musical style associated with it. Then, in 1964 and 1965, Beatlemania swept America and the surfers gradually disappeared. Many of those who had supported the instrumental, twist or surf bands became interested in the English bands. By 1965, bands were emulating the English styles, clothing was influenced by Carnaby Street and many young males were growing their hair longer.

Perhaps because the center of adolescent activity seemed to be in England, this American activity, although widespread, was largely ignored by the media and by such commercial forces as the record industry. Because it was not identified as anything but derivative, it was not named and is only known through records produced by groups whose members belonged to

this movement. The records have since been termed "punk rock".

At the same time that this activity was occurring, the college-based counter-culture that had been associated with the folk revival was also undergoing changes. With the decline of white involvement in the black civil rights movement, two main tendencies developed, which could be viewed as a political and a cultural tendency. These two tendencies were not clearly separated, however, and throughout the latter half of the six-ties, they overlapped a great deal.

The cultural tendency was known as the "hippie" movement, which seems to have developed first (in late 1965) in the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco, although it soon spread to most other major cities in the United States and Canada (and eventually to most major cities in the Western World). It was originally a somewhat conscious coming together of various beatnik remnants, ex-civil rights workers, artists, folk musicians and psychedelic drug experimenters in an attempt to create a community inside a major city. With extensive media coverage, the movement grew rapidly, attracting large numbers of adolescents from middle class backgrounds, most of whom had no previous contact with the civil rights movement or with any other counter-cultural activity.

We have suggested in our consideration of the greasers and the English subcultures that they were generated in response to an experience of social disintegration. Although middle class adolescents in the mid-sixties had more options open to them

than did their working class counterparts, they shared with the working class youth an experience of urbanization, age segregation, the disappearance of the extended family and the impersonality of new housing developments (in this case suburban bedroom communities). These features combined to erode traditional conceptions of happiness and success. Faced with the alternative of becoming a cog in a machine or attempting to build a new life as a hippie, many young people rejected the "straight" world. These middle class drop-outs made up the bulk of the hippie movement.

The movement seemed to develop around two central features: the use of psychedelic stimulants and the belief that the traditional values of America were bankrupt. These features led to a great deal of experimentation with ways of living (communal and co-operative ventures were common) and to various unorthodox ways of viewing the world (oriental mystical traditions were found in combination with radical politics).

Like other adolescent communities, the hippies also developed recognizable styles of grooming, dress, dance and music. In terms of grooming, they questioned traditionally fastidious notions of "neatness" and "cleanliness". Both men and women cultivated long hair and many men also grew beards. Clothing styles tended to be exotic, borrowing elements from native Indians, Hindus, Mexicans, Gypsies and the American Army.

The context for the consumption of music was the local dancehall or ballroom and it generated "light shows", psychedelic posters, a sensuous free form dance style and a musical style

that came to be known as "acid rock". All of the above showed a strong influence of psychedelic drugs and were, in fact, meant to enhance a drug experience.

In late January, 1967, Golden Gate Park in San Francisco became the site of the first of many large hippie gatherings that were termed "be-ins". These gatherings were primarily expressions of counter-cultural identity and were also held in other cities as the size of the hippie movement grew.

* * *

Although it tended to be university based, the political or "new left" tendency of the sixties counter-culture was closely associated with the hippie movement. (Drug use and co-operative living situations were common.)

After the decline of white participation in the civil rights movement, the central issue around which the new left organized was its opposition to the Vietnam war and the military conscription program. The draft resistance movement culminated during the "Stop the Draft Week" in October, 1967, with a massive demonstration at the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. In spite of this and numerous other demonstrations throughout the country, the government continued to escalate its involvement in Vietnam. In 1968, there was unrest on many campuses over war research, campus military recruitment and various university policies. There was also a large demonstration held in Chicago at the time of the Democratic Convention, but, although widespread, student opposition to governmental and institutional policies had very little apparent effect.

By 1969, the student left was experiencing a demoralization similar to that experienced by black advocates of civil disobedience five years earlier. The tactics used by the student movement had been those of civil disobedience -- sit-ins, strikes and demonstrations -- but, in 1969, many political spokespeople were beginning to feel that stronger tactics were needed. The SDS dissolved into various factions over this issue. Most student leftists sought new ways to bring about social change, including a small number who became terrorists. Campus radicalism declined rapidly and although the invasion of Cambodia in April, 1970, brought renewed campus demonstrations, the new left declined in importance during the early seventies.

3. How the Communities and Marketplace Shaped the Music

During the Counter-Reformation the major commercial influence on the music was the reduction of pop music to a series of production and marketing formulae. During the Second Wave the influence of the marketplace was to encourage the popularization of the styles of the urban communities and, further, to encourage (indirectly) the growth of such communities. This unusual behavior on the part of the music industry was a side effect of the struggle between major English and American record companies.

In 1964, it seemed that the English rock groups stormed American record charts simply because they were musically superior to rock bands in America, but this is unsupported

by existing evidence. The repertoire of the English groups included a variety of songs from the First Wave (as well as a few of the newer "soul" songs, recently generated in the black communities in America). Innumerable white American bands had been playing similar material for years, but the major record companies, believing that rock'n'roll was just a fad whose time had come and gone, had ignored this grassroots music.

The English record corporations had had the same attitude towards rock until 1962 when Parlophone, an EMI subsidiary, had signed up a popular Liverpool dance band, the Beatles. The members of the Beatles had originally been "beats" (a sort of English greaser), but their manager had them adopt the comparatively clean-cut clothing and haircuts of the "mods", and this clean-cut image gave them access to the English media that they would not otherwise have had. Their exuberant, dynamic, but ultimately unthreatening style caught on and they were soon the most popular band in England. (The popularity of the Beatles' rather harmless style opened the door for other, more aggressive, English bands such as the Rolling Stones, Animals, and Yardbirds.)

The Beatles, with a boost from Capitol (EMI's American label), then carried their momentum from England into the American market where the rock music, combined with mod haircuts and clothing, had an enormous impact. This series of events, through which EMI and other English record companies broke into the American market, was the beginning of the Second Wave.

Once the English bands had firmly established rock music with a mass audience (once again), the record companies were powerless to stop it (short of commercial suicide). For the remainder of the sixties, one style after another, including soul music, punk rock (the sixties variety), and acid rock, moved from the urban communities that generated them to a mass audience. Of course other factors, such as changes in AM radio programming policies (which we discussed in the section on "developments in the pop music marketplace"), also shaped the music of the Second Wave, but the most important event in terms of establishing the musical form of the period was the corporate-backed breakthrough of the English music.

* * *

At this stage in our examination of rock music, because of similarities between the First and Second Waves, certain recurring patterns can be seen in the way marketplace and community shape pop music. In concluding our examination of the Second Wave, we wish to draw attention to these patterns. They are as follows:

1) that a major dislocation has once again occurred in the corporate oligopoly controlling the record business;

2) that this has been followed once again by the popularization of the musical styles of racial and adolescent urban communities; and

3) that these two factors are once again associated with a period of vitality for rock music.

D. The Seventies

1. The Return Of The Magic Formula

Throughout the seventies, business interests have come to dominate rock music once again. Performers no longer have the initiative. Control is in the hands of producers, managers and the executives of record companies and radio stations. As in the late fifties, the record industry has attempted to reduce rock music to a handful of formulas that will guarantee hit records.

a) Raw Materials

In the early seventies, the record companies sought artists working in formulized versions of the styles of the late sixties. "Heavy metal" grew from a formulization of the Cream, "country rock" from the formulization of the Byrds' experiments on Sweetheart Of The Rodeo, and the "singer/songwriters" explored the territory opened up by Bob Dylan.

By 1973, with the disappearance of the small concert halls and the commercialization of FM radio (which we will discuss below), it became necessary once again for performers to have AM-style hits if they wished to break through to a mass market. Understanding this process, managers shaped their groups (and groups shaped themselves) according to commercial requirements. Esthetic judgments became primarily commercial judgments. A period very much like the Counter-Reformation of the late fifties and early sixties ensued, during which the two main formulas for success were developed for performers.

The first of these was to develop a recognizable, commercial sound centered on an idiosyncratic (or immediately recognizable) vocal style. Rod Stewart and Boz Scaggs, for instance, developed idiosyncratic styles. Paul McCartney, because he was a star in the sixties, was an example of an instantly recognizable voice. The music of a performer using this formula was of less importance than the recognizable persona evoked by the voice.

The second formula used to advance the career of a performer was to develop a strong visual appeal. This formula, with its emphasis upon a recognizable identity, was related to the first, but it had even less to do with music. Visual appeal was built around the bizarre and extravagant (Alice Cooper, Dave Bowie or Kiss) or around the commoditization of women. Linda Ronstadt, Carly Simon, Dolly Parton and Stevie Nicks of Fleetwood Mac all owe much of their success to their willingness to use their own commoditized image as a marketing strategy. (Another aspect of the formulaic commoditization of women has been the regular use of soft core porn on album covers and in ads.)

The development through these two formulas (voice and appearance) of recognizable stars generated a "star system" in the music industry, similar to that developed by Hollywood in the thirties and forties. The object of this system was to generate and then sustain the popularity of the "stars". Although a special musical talent of some sort might be involved

in a person's attainment of stardom, once he or she actually became a star, the features emphasized were their glamor, sophistication and conspicuous consumption. The star system was based primarily on publicity rather than talent.

b) The Transformation Into Commercial Products

The trend towards formulization was also apparent in the production process, which was given greater emphasis than it had had during the sixties (when the emphasis was on sub-cultural music styles). Producers, studios and session musicians all seemed more important than the music itself.

Producers began to play an increasingly central role in the conception and control of the shape of the product, often with an eye towards enhancing its commercial appeal. This trend paralleled developments in the late fifties and early sixties, when producers, such as Leiber and Stoller, Spector, and Bacharach, came to prominence with styles that often featured the use of orchestral strings and choral groups to "sweeten" material. The renewed emphasis on the producer in the seventies brought with it the same tendency.

Prominent producers of the seventies included Gus Dudgeon (who worked with Elton John), Peter Asher (who worked with Linda Ronstadt), Glyn Johns (who worked with the Who, the Rolling Stones and the Eagles, among others), and the inventors of the Philadelphia soul sound, Thom Bell, Kenny Gamble and Leon Huff. The latter three worked in the Motown tradition in which the producer totally shaped the recordings of their artists. Asher

used a similar technique in his work with Ronstadt.

Many groups "controlled their own production", in the sense that the group as a whole or one or two of its members did the production. Among the successful producers in this category were Jimmy Page of Led Zeppelin, Jeff Lynne of the Electric Light Orchestra and Paul McCartney of Wings.

The increased significance of the producer was based on advances that had been made in the technology of recording. A complex and expensive technique called "multi-tracking", a way of breaking the recording process into a number of controllable stages, became the accepted way of recording. Multi-tracking means that each instrument is recorded separately and then each of the resulting "tracks" is given the desired level of bass or treble (or perhaps has echo or reverb added to it) before they are all mixed together (at their various desired volumes) into the final product. Whereas Elvis Presley's early work was recorded on a one track recorder (which meant that the band and vocalist all played at the same time and the recording was a documentary of their performance), and even a recording such as Sergeant Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band was recorded on only a four track machine, by the mid-seventies, sixteen and thirty-two track studios had become the norm. Although this method gave the producer a great deal of technical control, it was so clinical that the resulting music often lacked the exuberance and sincerity of the documentary recording.

This lack of conviction was often further increased by the use of studio or session musicians who were hired to play complex instrumental passages. Although these musicians had technical mastery of their instruments and could play almost any style on cue, their work frequently sounded overly professional and lacked any feeling of freedom or risk taking. Nonetheless the use of session musicians also became commonplace.

Expensive, technologically advanced studios and the general emphasis on production favored oligopolistic control of the music industry rather than small independent record companies or individual groups. It was only the large corporations that could afford to risk the kind of money required to produce records under these circumstances.[122]

When it only cost a few hundred dollars to record and release a song, the risk was small enough to encourage many experiements, and in the early days of rock music it was often possible for independent productions, either by small labels or occasionally by the artists themselves, to become local or regional hits. By the mid-seventies, however, production had become so expensive that a band stood little chance of being heard on the radio unless they had major financial backing. This problem was aggravated by a shift in the record market away from singles. It was now practically a requirement that artists record albums (which usually meant ten or twelve songs). The combination of these factors left new artists largely at the mercy of the industry.

* * *

In terms of song plugging, there have been two major shifts during the seventies. The first occurred around 1973 with the re-shaping of the FM radio format. FM program managers, attempting to increase their audience and thereby their ad revenue, adopted a modified version of the limited playlists and high pressure style usually associated with AM program formats. This shaping of FM by commercial pressures in turn influenced the creation of the music. Musicians were forced to think in terms of AM-style hits.

The second shift in the ways of exposing new music was the gradual disappearance of the small dance halls and the appearance of "discos". Bands that had broken in through the small dance halls during the late sixties became too expensive for the small halls to afford and were booked into larger buildings, such as hockey arenas. To oversimplify somewhat, the audiences were drawn to the hockey arenas and the small halls went out of business. This event, which happened in the early seventies, eliminated one of the main training grounds for new bands.

With the widespread development (beginning around 1974) of the discos, a market for new music opened up. Because discos depended on recorded music, however, they created no new opportunities for live performances and, with a few exceptions, disco music remained rather faceless. In late 1977, when disco seemed to be declining somewhat in popularity, the disco movie Saturday Night Fever was released. The discos became more

popular than ever and the soundtrack for the movie became the best selling album of all time.[123]

c) Distribution and Consumption

Although it is not universally true, it tends to be the case that independent labels have developed out of the discovery and marketing of vital, grassroots music styles, whereas the majors have preferred to use their collection of success formulas such as the star system, the romantic ballad or various embellishments of the production process. Because the majors dislike anything that threatens the large investments they make in their assembly line of stars, songwriters, session musicians and assorted promoters, they generally dislike the unpredictable grassroots styles. New styles are difficult to control and, if they catch on, they can make a whole generation of "stars" obsolete overnight, so it is in the interests of the major corporations to maintain sufficient control over the record market to prevent exposure of "undesirable" styles. During the fifties and sixties, this control broke down, but the seventies have been characterized by the increasing domination of the music buisness by an oligopoly of majors.

* * *

Whereas there were basically six majors operating in America in 1955, there are now, because of the internationalization of the business and the entrance of new companies, at least nine majors. Of the original six, four have been merged with even larger corporate concerns. Decca was "acquired" by

MCA (the Music Corporation of America), a corporation that also produces TV programs and owns Universal Pictures. Capitol Records was bought, in 1956, by the world's then largest record company, the British-based EMI label.[124] (The Beatles recorded on EMI and were released on Capitol in America.) Mercury Records was taken over, in 1962, by Phillips, a Dutch-based company with a major foothold in the British market. MGM Records was bought out, in 1972, by Polydor (who had entered the American market in 1967), a subsidiary of the German-based Deutche Grammophone company.

The two remaining giants from the fifties are each part of a communications empire that includes a TV network. RCA is affiliated with NBC-TV (as well as a number of missile guidance, radar and electronics companies) and Columbia is affiliated with CBS-TV.

Warner and ABC-Paramount, majors formed during the fifties, have both undergone changes of ownership. In 1964, Warner Records bought out Frank Sinatra's Reprise label and three years later acquired Atlantic Records. That same year they were swallowed by the Seven Arts Corporation which was in turn swallowed, in 1969, by the diversifying Kinney conglomerate. The Kinney Corporation then renamed itself Warner Communications and continued growing, buying out Asylum Records in 1972 and Electra Records in 1973. (Warner Communications probably controls a larger slice of the American record business than do any of the other majors.)

ABC-Paramount had been established as an affiliate of Paramount Pictures (itself a division of Gulf and Western). The label was somewhat of a disaster and "the remnants of it were sold to ABC records in 1974".[125] (Paramount Pictures have recently re-entered the record business by buying out half of EMI's world wide music operation.)[126]

The ninth major in the American market is London Records, a subsidiary of British Decca.

2. Urban Communities in the Seventies

If the late sixties were a period of consciousness expansion, the early seventies were characterized by consciousness contraction. This contraction was made necessary by the disintegration of the hippie - new left counter-culture. In terms of youth subculture, the first half of the seventies was defined by this disintegration.

During the summer of 1967, young people from across America had flooded into San Francisco, with somewhat chaotic results. The community that had developed in the Haight-Ashbury district could not assimilate these massive numbers of people. Social relations deteriorated and the use of depressants such as heroin and barbiturates became common. The deterioration of the San Francisco community was followed over the next few years by a similar decay throughout the whole of the counter-culture. This decay was accelerated by commercialization, police repression and a general lack of direction within the community.

Police repression, combined with the various political failures of the new left, encouraged a general demoralization throughout the counter-culture. The marihuana laws and draft laws were used as legal means of imprisoning counter-cultural spokespeople. For example Ken Kesey, Tim Leary and John Sinclair were all imprisoned for marihuana possession. (The latter two were given inordinately long jail terms.) Numerous organizers of the draft resistance, including David Harris, were also imprisoned. As well as imprisonment, police repression included regular, routine harassment of people with counter-cultural clothing or grooming.

The counter-culture was easy prey to these external influences because of its own nebulous internal structure and a lack of any clear sense of direction. Members had enthusiastically abandoned old forms, but this process in itself did not create anything new. In the face of various setbacks, the community became fragmented.

Some people retreated from the city to form rural communes, almost invariably without any understanding of how one might go about such a task. With the help of the Whole Earth Catalogue they were able to deal with their basic technological problems, but without a clear perspective to direct their social lives, these experiments were usually short-lived.[128]

Among those who stayed in the city, "personal" solutions were sought to the general problem of demoralization. Political activism became less common. Some found an ersatz "sense of

direction" in one of the many authoritarian religious cults that were springing up around America, such as the Children of God, the Hare Krishna movement, Scientology or the Divine Light Mission. Former student activist and member of the Chicago Seven, Rennie Davis, abandoned his concern for social change and sought salvation in the latter movement.

Others sought a personal solution by immersing themselves in the "human potential" movement, which consisted primarily of various institutes and cults that brought about "growth" through therapeutic means. Another member of the Chicago Seven, Jerry Rubin, rejected political action in favor of this route.

Still others sought to solve their problems with heroin, barbiturates or alcohol.

* * *

During the latter half of the seventies, the hippie - new left counter-culture has largely disappeared through assimilation and fragmentation, and adolescents (a category that now includes many people in their late twenties and early thirties) have been treated as simply a market made up of "hip young consumers". Although they remain powerless subordinates, they have become the models of contemporary consumption. Everyone is expected to desire to be "hip" or "cool" (a "sophisticated" person) and everyone is therefore expected to consume the appropriate artifacts, such as imported, "peasant" clothing, expensive jogging costumes, roller skates or whatever product

the recording industry comes up with.

There has been some subcultural activity during the seventies among working class elements such as the Puerto Ricans, American Indians and Mexicans, but these movements have been primarily racial or ethnic and have had little influence on popular music.

The black community has continued to exert an influence and is the main source of disco music.

Although the hippie - new left counter-culture has decayed, the seventies have also witnessed the rise of certain tendencies that grew out of it -- notably feminism and the gay rights movement. Certain performers, such as Linda Ronstadt, have grown popular at least partially because of the support of women, and some women, such as Terry Garthwaite and Joan Armatrading, have written and performed explicitly feminist material, but feminism has not yet exerted much influence on popular music.

The same is true of the gay rights movement although the gay community of which this movement is a part, has had an enormous influence on music of the seventies through the popularity of discos. Although disco music was originally generated by black songwriters and performers, the disco lifestyle, which is equally important to the success of the music, has been generated primarily within the gay community.

3. The Influence of Community and Marketplace

Our definition of community was in terms of three basic

features: a shared awareness (including language, habits, and goals), a sense of scale (a sense of who belongs to the community and who does not), and sense of autonomy (the community has its own identity and looks after its own needs). Although limited by the constraints and demands of mass society, the counter-culture of the late sixties exhibited these characteristics, particularly in its leisure activities. A common identity, based on shared standards of grooming, shared clothing styles, a shared music, a common slang, widespread use of certain drugs, and a collection of rather nebulous shared beliefs, was found throughout the community. Much of the counter-cultural identity, and in particular the music, became heavily commercialized.

In the early seventies, the shared awareness had fragmented, the sense of scale had been lost (it had become impossible to tell who was and who was not a member), and the commercializing of the community identity had destroyed the community's sense of autonomy. Because many of the most prominent artists had been involved in the counter-culture, the music of this period reflects its decay. In this way, even after it had disappeared, the counter-culture continued to shape the music. As the seventies progressed, this influence gradually diminished and the marketplace came to be the major factor shaping the music.

We defined marketplace in terms of its domination by large corporations and in terms of the use by these corporations of assembly-line methods to manufacture their products.

During the First and Second Waves these features were not significant influences on the music; during the Counter-Reformation they were. The prominence of these features in the shaping of pop music in the seventies, however, has come to exceed their influence even during the Counter-Reformation. The corporations that make up the oligopoly in the record business have grown to unprecedented size and the techniques of production, recording, and marketing have been constantly refined. Musical innovations have become commercial decisions.

In many ways, the overall situation bears similarity to the condition of the music industry just preceding the emergence of rock music. There are important differences, however. At that time, an oligopoly of majors controlled the record industry, but there was, at the same time, a lot of freedom in radio programming, a low cost recording technique and a number of well established independent labels, and it was the combination of these factors that allowed rock'n'roll to break through.

The seventies has also witnessed the growth of an oligopoly, but there is very little freedom in the tight radio formats, recording costs have skyrocketed and most of the independents have either been bought out or have gone bankrupt. The means that would allow a vital, grassroots music style to break through are apparently no longer available.

(These remarks were written in the fall of 1979. Since that time radio formats have loosened up considerably and it has become apparent that there are some healthy independent

record labels. Although the large record companies are as powerful as ever, the total outlook is not quite so bleak.)

* * *

Before presenting the conclusions of our examination of the four periods of rock, certain features of our analysis of the Seventies deserve particular emphasis. These are as follows:

1) that during the Seventies an oligopoly of large record corporations came once again to control the music industry;

2) that racial and adolescent urban communities (at least partially because of their disintegration) have exerted very little influence on the music of this period; and

3) that, like the Counter-Reformation, this period has not been one of vitality for rock music.

IV. Conclusion - New Wave?

It has been the purpose of this thesis to examine the extent to which the popular music known as "rock" has been shaped by two factors, the urban communities, from which the various styles have emerged, and the music industry (including both the relationships among the companies, large and small, and the methods they employ in recording and marketing the music). These two factors have been traced through each of the four main phases in the history of rock music.

In the First Wave, the loss of the black ghetto record market during World War Two, the collapse of the radio networks

after the introduction of TV, and the development of inexpensive recording techniques all combined to produce a dramatic erosion in the power of the corporate oligopoly in the music business. This change in fortunes allowed small independent record companies (with the help of innovative, new radio programming practises) to take over a large share of the mass record market with only slightly modified versions of the music of the black ghetto communities. This music, which was generally characterized by a physically emphatic rhythm and an emotionally compelling vocal and instrumental delivery, replaced the sentimental, escapist material that had previously dominated popular tastes. For rock music, this was the first period of vitality. A point that needs to be stressed is that the urban communities and the pop music marketplace both, clearly, played important roles in this development.

During the period we have called the Counter-Reformation, while communities played a much smaller role, the marketplace returned to the use of assembly line techniques of music production. Tin Pan Alley was reborn as the manufacturer of sentimental and melodramatic ballads designed to appeal to a mass youth market. Other producers emphasized promotion, and various careers and styles were based on access to the means of promotion. Meanwhile, the music of the black communities or the regional dance scenes was only given radio exposure as an occasional novelty. This was not a period of vitality for rock music.

During the Second Wave, dislocations within the corporate structure of the music industry, caused by a power struggle between the large American record companies and their English competitors, once again allowed a number of styles, including the English beat and r&b styles, soul, folk rock, and acid rock, to emerge from the racial and adolescent urban communities and reach a mass audience. This was a second period of vitality for rock music and it is apparent that the factors of community and marketplace once again played important roles.

Throughout the Seventies, an oligopoly of the major corporations in the pop music marketplace have gradually gained greater control over the music industry than they have had at any time since the original emergence of rock. Musically, the latter half of the Seventies bears a striking similarity to the Counter-Reformation, with the disappearance of rock music and the reappearance of sentimental, escapist ballads generated according to assembly-line formulas. Urban communities (with the exception of the role played by the gay community in the evolution of disco) have not played a central role in the shaping of music during this period.

On the basis of our examination of the factors of community and marketplace in each of these four phases, two interrelated conclusions become apparent: firstly, that community and marketplace (as we have defined and used these terms) have played a central role in shaping rock music and, secondly, that, if rock music is characterized by its rhythmic momentum and its vigorous and sensual vocal and instrumental techniques,

then rock as a pop music is most vital when the influence of its roots in an urban community is strongest and least vital when the influence of commercial formulas is strongest. Given the preceding analysis, the first of these conclusions appears somewhat self-evident. The whole of this thesis has suggested the importance of these two factors. The second conclusion emerges from examining the music in terms of four main phases. The First Wave and the Second Wave have obvious parallels, as do the Counter-Reformation and the Seventies.

In terms of the former, the specific parallels are that an unplanned and unprepared for dislocation within the market-places' corporate oligopoly was capitalized upon by other commercial interests by introducing (in a fairly undiluted form) the music of various urban communities to a mass audience. (Most of this music fell within the limits of our definition of rock music.) The parallels between the Counter-Reformation and the Seventies have been a resurgence of corporate power (which has meant an application of rational commercial techniques to the production of music) and a decline in the influence of the urban communities. (Very little of the resulting music has been rock.) During the two periods when popular music was not primarily based on commercial formulas, rock music flourished, whereas the extensive application of these formulas caused it to wither. This need not always be true, but the four periods examined in this study showed this pattern.

Before concluding, another point should be touched on: the future of rock music. About three years ago, a widespread dissatisfaction with the concoctions that the music industry was selling as "rock music" became the focus of the English "punk rock" movement, a working class adolescent community. The music from this movement broke through to a mass audience in England, although it did not have the same success in America. It has inspired, nonetheless, a great deal of regional activity around America and a major breakthrough may yet occur.

If there is to be a "new wave" of rock music vitality, there are, in terms of the analysis made in this thesis, a couple of features that we could expect to be present. In the first place, we would expect to see the development of one or more urban communities with a strong musical identity. Throughout its history, rock music styles have usually begun as the styles of an urban community, so we would expect to see a new wave of rock to come from the same source. The English punk movement would seem to qualify in this regard as would the Jamaican ghetto communities in various English cities. A major source of music in both previous waves of rock have been unexploited black styles and it is possible that a black style such as the Jamaican "reggae" could be central to a rock music resurgence.

A second feature we would expect to be present is a major dislocation in the music industry. We would expect the

oligopoly of major corporations, with its success formulas and its star system, to be greatly eroded and, at the same time, we would expect to see the rise of small independent labels (or the intervention of major foreign corporations) to capitalize on the styles of the new urban communities. Without a major dislocation in the music industry, new styles will not necessarily be marketed. The present health of the large record corporations and the strength of their grip on all phases of record production and distribution would appear to be the greatest barrier to the success of a new wave of rock music.

Of course it is possible that the music industry will not continue to follow turbulent cycles it has gone through in the past. It may be that it will gradually introduce new styles as it becomes aware of demand for them, but if it follows this rational course we would still expect that the styles would be somewhat diluted before they reached a mass audience.

APPENDIX

An Outline of the History of Rock Music

In this Appendix is presented a history of rock music emphasizing the major phases in its development, the major genres within each phase and the major artists working in each genre. In the first section we examine the two main musical influences on rock music: white country music and the black style known as the blues. These musics were both primarily folk musics (or what Peterson and Berger have termed "communal musics")[129] which were drawn into popular music, and so we have included in their history a consideration of their backgrounds in rural folk communities and their gradual commercialization. The relationship between these two factors is traced through the various styles that emerged.

In each of the succeeding four sections we deal with a phase in the development of rock music, but in these sections, unlike the section on country and blues, the social and economic context of the music is not emphasized. It is the task of the main body of the thesis to examine these factors.

1. The Roots of Rock

a) Country Music

The story of country music is the story of the gradual erosion of regional folk styles (and their replacement by one or two homogeneous styles) through various processes of commercialization, including radio, recordings and the

development of professional musicians.

The roots of country music stretch back to the early white settlers, particularly those from the British Isles.

By the early years of this century it was being performed in tent shows, fiddlers' conventions, and local concerts throughout the southern states. It was primarily a rural music, giving continuity to life in a rural agricultural community. The life of agricultural laborers in the south was hard and it demanded cooperation among families and neighbors. This in turn required adherence to shared values which made country music, as the music that reflected these values, a very conservative music. Whereas black musical styles have changed continuously since the turn of the century, the white country styles have tended to persist. This musical conservatism reflects a social conservatism which encourages an acceptance of the conditions of one's life.

The earliest recordings of country music were made in 1922 and 1923. These were recordings of folk artists and they rarely included accompaniment by a band or piano. In 1924, Vernon Dalhart, a former Texas cowpuncher, recorded "The Wreck Of The Old 97" backed with "The Prisoner's Song" and the record sold somewhere between twenty-five and thirty-five million copies (exact quantities will never be known) making it perhaps the best selling record of all time.[130] Dalhart was the most successful recording artist in America from 1924 to 1928.[131]

In 1925 electrical recording techniques were developed which greatly increased the fidelity of recorded material. The piano became easier to record as were larger ensembles. In the mid and late twenties radio stations, which were at this time in competition with record companies, began to broadcast live country music. The most famous of these shows was the Grand Ole Opry from Nashville. The record companies' response to competition from radio was to attempt to expand their markets in the country field. They began conducting "field trips" throughout the south in search of talented regional performers who might have wider commercial appeal. The Carter Family and Jimmie Rodgers, "The Singing Brakeman", were both discovered this way.

With the coming of the Depression the record industry collapsed. By 1933 record sales amounted to only seven per cent of what they had been in 1929.[132] Recording was sharply curtailed and companies released material recorded earlier.

The popularity of country music increased, however, because of radio broadcasts from Mexico.

The Canadian and American governments had divided the entire long-wave broadcast band between themselves and left no clear channels for the Mexicans. The Mexican government therefore allowed stations to broadcast at two or three times the maximum allowable wattage of American stations.[133] American businessmen bought Mexican stations and broadcast religious programs, advertisements, and country music for an audience throughout the southwestern states, but the stations

were so powerful that they could be heard in Canada and in the northeastern U.S. It is likely that many listeners in these areas were exposed to country music for the first time.

By the mid-thirties the record industry had begun to recover, helped by the introduction of cheap new labels: Decca, the American Record Corporation and RCA's Bluebird. Folk artists were now rarely recorded and regional styles were disappearing. Whereas "in the 1920's, a fiddler from Georgia sounded different from a Texas fiddler, and a Kentucky banjo player would not be mistaken for one from North Carolina",[134] it became increasingly difficult to sustain a regional style in the face of national commercial forces.

In the twenties country music had been known as "hillbilly" music, a derogatory designation meant to emphasize a lack of sophistication. At this time there were two general types of music marketed under the title "hillbilly". These were the music of string bands, which was considered a pure strain of white rural music (thought of by some as "mountain" music), and the ballad singers (of which Jimmie Rodgers is probably the best known today) who crooned their material in a rural (or country) style which often included black and pop influences. With the replacement of the folk musician with the professional, during the thirties, the "mountain" music tended to decline in popularity, although the country crooners remained popular.

The geographical focus of the music also shifted from the southeast to the southwest with the emergence of a fusion of

jazz and country dance styles which came to be known as "western swing" and also with the emergence of the barroom or "honky-tonk" style of singing. During the Texas oil boom of the 1930's large numbers of southerners were drawn to new jobs in the rapidly developing boom towns and they naturally brought their traditional music with them. The focus of their social life off the job often became the dance hall where western swing developed or, after the repeal of prohibition in 1933, the bar from which the mournful honky-tonk style emerged. The traditional musics changed somewhat as the dance bands incorporated black dance styles and instrumentation and the honky tonk singers adopted electric guitars and wrote songs that were attuned lyrically to the needs of lonely, uprooted people.[135] This latter style became popular throughout the south during the Second World War when southerners were drawn to urban areas to fill jobs in war associated industries.

Another shift in country music during the thirties was a change in its image. After Hollywood brought about the popularity of the singing cowboy, country performers, even in the southeast, replaced their "hillbilly" designation with the heroic image and myth of the cowboy. The adoption of this new image gave their music a new legitimacy and from this time on it was known as "country" or "country and western" music.

As mentioned above, the urbanization brought about by the Second World War encouraged the spread of the honky-tonk style across the south. The War also brought many more northeners in contact with country music through the migration of

southerners to the north in search of jobs in industry and through the contact northerners and southerners had with each other in the American armed forces. As northerners became more familiar with country music, "pop" singers began to do "cover" versions of country tunes. (A "cover" version is a version of a black or a country song which usually duplicates the basic musical arrangement, but uses a much "whiter" vocal style which, especially if the white vocalist is well known, makes the song more acceptable to a white market.) During the fifties, Nashville, which had become the center of the country music recording industry, developed a commercial country style which incorporated many "pop" features such as orchestral strings and lush vocal accompaniments while traditional country instruments like the fiddle, the mandolin and the banjo were rarely heard. This tendency, which greatly increased the commercial acceptability of country music, has generally been followed up to present. There have been various attempts to return to earlier styles such as the bluegrass revival and the "outlaw" movement which is centered in Austin and has attempted to revive the honky-tonk style, but the general tendency has been towards the greater homogenization of country styles and the movement of country music into the mainstream of American "pop" music. Even the various "rebellions" and "revivals" only seem to expose styles which have previously resisted extensive commercialization to full commercial exploitation.

The major exception to this process of homogenization was the emergence in the mid-fifties of the rockabilly style of rock'n'roll, which will be dealt with below.

b) From Blues to Rhythm and Blues

The blues was a musical style that emerged from the black folk culture of the southern states. It developed gradually between the 1890's and 1910, by which time it had its standard structure of twelve bars of music with three lines of rhyming verse (the first two of which were usually the same). Whereas ragtime and jazz developed in the bars and brothels, blues evolved out of the work songs of rural black workers and was spread by their migrations. And whereas ragtime and jazz had a light, jaunty air to them, the blues often had an element of sadness and resignation combined with a sense of stamina all of which it inherited from the work songs.

The early performers were folk artists and the instruments they used, the guitar and harmonica, were easily carried from town to town. As the folk or "country" blues spread, three basic regional styles developed. These were the Texas style, the Mississippi delta style and the southern Atlantic seaboard style. The delta style came to predominate.

As the blues became more popular they were taken up by professional musicians in the cities of the south (and in Chicago which during World War One witnessed a black entertainment boom that continued through the twenties) and also by

performers in travelling minstrel shows (also known as "tent shows"). These professional singers, (usually women) made the blues sweeter and more sophisticated vocally and were accompanied by piano or small band rather than guitar or harmonica. This style came to be known as "classic" blues. It has been suggested that the reason why a preponderance of classic blues singers were women has to do with the desires of the patrons, who were mostly male, for an entertainer who could be sexually commoditized.[136] This hypothesis is reinforced somewhat by the discovery that the subject of the songs was usually sexual[137] and by the fact that female country blues singers, who had no exploitable public image, were rarely recorded.[138]

When the record companies came to record the blues it was the marketable sophisticated sound they turned to. The minstrel shows then became the training ground for blues recording artists. The star of the classic blues period was a minstrel show and vaudeville performer named Bessie Smith who was hailed as the "Empress of the Blues". By the latter half of the twenties record companies had begun making field trips throughout the south and many country blues performers were recorded once it was discovered that there was a market for such music.

Between 1927 and 1930 the blues record market experienced a boom,[139] but with the coming of the depression the market collapsed and the classic blues period ended. Minstrel and

tent shows folded[140] and vaudeville theatres, which had already been receiving stiff competition from the movies, closed. Studio recording was reduced, field recording almost disappeared and from this time on folk artists were rarely recorded. (An important exception to this were the Texas field recordings in 1936 and 1937 of Robert Johnson.)

In the late thirties, while the Big Band style was taking over the pop market, a bluesy variant of this style developed in the southwest. Popular in Texas, Oklahoma and Kansas, its focus was in Kansas City. Like Swing bands elsewhere, these bands played music that encouraged dancing, but, unlike the others, they featured a shouted style of blues vocal and often an electric guitar, they gave much greater prominence to the saxophone (which became the lead instrument) and their dance rhythms were very emphatic, often making use of a boogie woogie piano. The Kansas City style band blues evolved during the forties and gradually spread to most urban black communities in America.[141] California in particular spawned a great number of developments of the band blues style, a fact which is best understood in terms of the massive black migration to that area. "In the ten years following 1940 the black population of California increased by nearly a third of a million to 462,000, and the growth continued in the years to follow. The migrants came from Oklahoma, Kansas, Louisiana and especially from Texas, looking for work in the fields of the San Joaquin and Imperial Valleys, or in the defence projects of Oakland and Los Angeles."[142]

In the early forties another style began to emerge, focused in Memphis, but drawing on the musical traditions of the region around the Mississippi delta. Because of the huge black population in this area, advertisers began to sponsor regular performances of live music on the local radio stations. The first of these and probably the most famous was Sonny Boy Williamson's "King Biscuit Time" which began in 1941 on KFFA in Helena, Arkansas.[143] These performances and those on other stations throughout the area were the first chances that blacks had to regularly listen to their own music on the radio, an experience which must have generated a sense of increased racial pride. In 1948 WDIA in Memphis turned its entire air-time over to black music which brought about a general revival of interest in the delta blues which in turn led to the establishment of recording studios in Memphis.[144] Another effect of the establishment of black radio stations was that for the first time whites were given real access to black music, the importance of which will be shown below.

The Memphis style that developed throughout the forties was not a big band style. At first it only involved duets (guitar and harmonica) or even single performers. Soon, however, drummers and pianists were added as was the electric guitar that black performers had been experimenting with in the southwest and, because of the need to integrate a number of musicians, a greater emphasis came to be placed on a steady rhythm than had previously been true of delta blues.

These updated, amplified blues caught on in urban areas in the north, particularly Chicago where many migrants from the delta had settled and were continuing to settle during the period that this new style was developing. Between 1940 and 1960 the number of blacks in Chicago increased by 200 per cent "to become nearly a quarter of the city's population."[145] These migrants to Chicago included most of the best performers. Howlin' Wolf, Elmore James, and Sonny Boy Williamson (Rice Miller) all travelled north after achieving success in the south. Muddy Waters, who had the most successful Chicago blues band, had come north in the early forties. All of the above performers recorded on the independent Chess label.

In Detroit another Mississippi refugee, John Lee Hooker, developed a similar, rhythmically emphatic style although he was usually recorded without a band whereas the standard Chicago lineup included vocals, harmonica, piano, bass guitar and one or two electric guitars. This bar band style of blues, like the big band blues, with their emphasis on dance rhythms, is often termed rhythm and blues (or "r&b").

R&b, the music produced and consumed by these recent urban arrivals, is the most immediate predecessor of rock'n' roll. The rural resignation is absent from the sax-dominated band blues and the Chicago blues, both of which express a new vigor and confidence. Although it was still ghettoized in the late forties, the rise of black radio stations in the urban areas gave northern whites access to the music for the first time. By the early fifties it was beginning to break through

into the white market, usually in the form of white cover versions of black records. This is the point at which the music begins to be called rock'n'roll, but in terms of the black performers, many of whom (such as Fats Domino) had been working in similar styles for at least five years, the point at which the music is renamed is arbitrary. p3.139

2. The First Wave (1955-58)

In an article on the emergence of jazz, Richard Peterson mentions the following factors, among others, as reasons for this emergence: audience rejection of sentimental ballads, general boredom with the cycle of love songs, the aging of the previous decade's stars, and the appearance of a new and exciting alternative.[146] This also sounds very much like a description of the conditions that preceded the emergence of rock'n'roll.

The roots of this situation can be traced back to the Big Band era. During this period, with the constant need to innovate and produce "original" sounds for the record buying market, the band leaders tried a number of strategies including making their music more sophisticated. Classical themes were often used and the bands, which were already much bigger than the jazz bands of the twenties, grew even larger. Around the end of the Second World War the large bands became too costly to support and most of them folded.

But another of the innovations of the band leaders lived on. During the forties, in an attempt to draw attention to

their bands, many leaders had begun featuring "name" vocalists such as Frank Sinatra and Vaughn Monroe. When the bands folded, the singers took over. During the late forties and early fifties the major record companies, which were now firmly in control of the music business, cycled and recycled sentimental and melodramatic ballads and novelty tunes (like Patti Page's "How Much Is That Doggie In The Window") through its "stars".[147]

The stars of the forties remained firmly entrenched and new performers were cast in their mold. For instance, male singers were modelled after the most popular singer of the period, Frank Sinatra, a "crooner" of Italian descent. Al Martino, Vic Damone, Tony Bennett, Frankie Laine, and Perry Como were also of Italian descent and all worked in some variant of the crooning style.

Although this was the dominant trend of the early fifties, some people (particularly young people) turned to country and western and r&b, both of which were increasingly available on the radio at this time, and were viewed as an exciting alternative. When a disc jockey in Cleveland, named Alan Freed, discovered that many young whites were listening to (and, more importantly, buying) r&b records, he began to play them on his program on WJW. When Freed's experiment was successful, white stations in other cities followed suit.

Considered an early popularizer of r&b for the white audience, Freed is also credited with coining the term "rock'n' roll"[148] which he used instead of the term "r&b" because Freed believed the latter term to be racist. Like "r&b", the term

"rock'n'roll" refers to a number of stylistic variants some of which are very dissimilar. In his work on the rise of rock'n' roll, Charlie Gillett has pointed out five distinct styles which he calls "northern band rock'n'roll", "the New Orleans dance blues", "Memphis country rock", "Chicago rhythm and blues" and "vocal group rock'n'roll".[149] We will use Gillett's taxonomy and deal with each style at greater length.

a) Northern Band Rock'n'roll

During the first wave, northern whites, like their English counterparts, produced very few rock'n'roll performers of note. This was probably because of their lack of familiarity with the black musical styles on which rock was based.

Bill Haley, born in a suburb of Detroit, was the major exception to this rule. He had started in the early forties as a country and western performer playing the regional dance circuit. In the late forties, after observing the exciting effect that the sax-dominated band blues of the southwest had on audiences, he began incorporating aspects of their performance into his own. This process of borrowing continued and, in 1952, Bill Haley's Saddlemen became Bill Haley and the Comets, the only band to achieve major success in the northern band style (although not the only practitioner). Although they learned much of their impressive stage routine from the r&b bands, their most important adoption was the dance rhythm of the black bands. Its beat and rhythm became the most easily identifiable characteristic of the northern style.

In 1954, Haley had a major hit on the Decca label with a cover version of Joe Turner's "Shake, Rattle and Roll". Although the lyrics were bowdlerized and Haley's singing was rather bland and inexpressive, the rhythmic drive of the song made it popular with young people and it received widespread radio exposure. A year later, Haley's "Rock Around The Clock" was used as the theme music for the movie "Blackboard Jungle" and it became the first number one rock'n'roll song on Billboard Magazine's charts.[150] It is because of this breakthrough that the northern band style is important. Elvis Presley became popular in 1956 and he was followed by a flood of other rockers, both white and black, who made Bill Haley and the whole northern band style obsolete.[151]

b) The New Orleans Dance Blues

New Orleans has a long tradition as a center of black music and the early rock which came out of that city was instrumentally richer than any of the other major styles. It also showed very little "white" influence. Although a great deal of variation occurred within the style, it was invariably characterized by the use of piano and saxophone. Major figures working in the style included Larry Williams (who had hits with "Short Fat Fannie", "Bony Maronie" and "Dizzy Miss Lizzy"), Lloyd Price ("Lawdy Miss Clawdy" and "Stagger Lee"), Huey "Piano" Smith ("Rockin' Pneumonia and the Boogie Woogie Flu"), but the two most famous practitioners were undoubtedly Antoine "Fats" Domino and "Little Richard" Penniman.

Fats Domino, in conjunction with Dave Bartholomew (the house producer for the Imperial label -- a Los Angeles independent), who arranged and co-wrote most of his material, developed a relaxed and easy going approach that avoided extremes of emotion. He remained popular throughout the fifties and, in 1975, still ranked third in global record sales after Elvis and the Beatles.[152] His golden records included "Ain't It A Shame" (1955), "Blueberry Hill" (1956), "I'm Walkin" (1957), and "Whole Lotta Lovin'" (1958). By 1960 when he did "Walkin' To New Orleans", his last gold record, his material had become somewhat bland.

The crazed singing and playing of Little Richard was the flip side of New Orleans dance blues. Emotional extreme (usually exuberance or exaggerated sexual passion) was the basis of his assault on any song. As Nik Cohn commented, after seeing him in concert, "he didn't look sane"[153] and this was the source of his attraction. He recorded on the independent Specialty label of Los Angeles (as did Lloyd Price and Larry Williams) and his hits included "Tutti Frutti" (1955) (which was "covered" by Pat Boone), "Long Tall Sally", "Slippin' And Slidin'", "The Girl Can't Help It" (1956), "Lucille" and "Good Golly Miss Molly" (1957). His career was cut short by his rejection of rock when he entered the ministry in 1959.

Although Little Richard did not sell as many records as Fats Domino, his influence on the development of rock music and the youth culture was much greater. Fats Domino produced a

happy, exuberant music, but he was never threatening nor did he encourage rebelliousness in his audience. Part of his popularity was probably based on being fat and jolly and ultimately somewhat of a novelty. Little Richard was also "somewhat of a novelty" but in a very different sense. As the Encyclopedia of Rock says, "Richard alone represented the crude fantasy of absolute rebellion that lay at the heart of rock'n'roll"[154]

In the mid-sixties with the rise of the Beatles and other English popularizers of his material, Little Richard attempted a comeback, but, although he found himself in great demand for concerts, he was unable to produce any new material with the impact of his earlier songs.

c) Memphis Country Rock

What Gillett calls "Memphis country rock" (or "rockabilly" as it is more commonly known) grew out of attempts to integrate the black and white musical traditions of the south. Before the development in the forties of black radio stations in the south, country music, the musical tradition of the whites, was somewhat isolated from that of the blacks. The new stations brought about an unprecedented exposure to another living musical tradition, an experience many young whites found stimulating. For instance, Elvis Presley spoke of learning black songs from the radio and emphasized the influence of black styles on his musical development.[155] Carl Perkins, the author of "Blue Suede Shoes", has also spoken of his debt to black music.[156] Throughout the south, young whites worked on a

synthesis of the two traditions.

Although rockabilly can be said to begin in Memphis at the time of Elvis Presley's "mammoth psychological breakthrough with 'That's All Right Mama'"[157] it was found throughout the whole southern musical area from Virginia to East Texas. A list of the major figures and their home states indicates this. Elvis and Conway Twitty were from Mississippi, Jerry Lee Lewis was from Louisiana, Johnny Cash from Arkansas, Carl Perkins from Tennessee, The Everley Brothers from Kentucky, Eddie Cochran from Oklahoma, Buddy Holly from East Texas and Gene Vincent from Virginia.

The style was characterized by acoustic bass and rhythm guitar as a foundation for short sharp electric guitar leads and an enthusiastic, often echoing vocal. Drums were usually used although they did not appear on some early recordings. Occasionally piano was used (as in the case of Jerry Lee Lewis).

This instrumental line up, derived largely from honky-tonk music, makes rockabilly the only one of the five major variants of early rock to be based largely on a white music form, but, because of the widespread popularity of Elvis Presley, it was probably the most influential style of all. For a couple of years after Presley's move to the RCA-Victor label, in 1956, rockabilly became the most popular music among young whites. This is not to say, however, that rockabilly did not have, in most cases, an obvious black influence (Johnny Cash and the Everley Brothers are the best known exceptions).

To use Presley as an example again, his first release was a song written and recorded a few years earlier by Arthur "Big Boy" Crudup, a well known blues singer.

The fusion of white and black styles occurring throughout the south in the early fifties was actively encouraged by Sam Phillips, the owner and producer at Sun Records in Memphis. Although white, Phillips had been recording r&b since the late forties (he was the first to record Howlin' Wolf and B.B. King) and he was well aware of its power and its potential in the white market. Phillips had often told his secretary, "If I could find a white man who had the Negro sound and the Negro feel, I could make a billion dollars".[158] Elvis Presley, Carl Perkins, Jerry Lee Lewis, Johnny Cash, Charlie Rich and Roy Orbison were all discovered by and had their first success with Phillips who apparently coached his singers to sing like blacks.[159] Because the Sun studio was the first to record the rockabilly style, Phillips' influence also extends to other studios that attempted to duplicate the "Sun sound".

The two most prominent practitioners of rockabilly were Elvis Presley and Jerry Lee Lewis. Presley was the archetypal "greaser". He had long greasy hair, sideburns, eccentric clothing (i.e. pink shirts and slacks), and a built-in sneer. Although he had a sexually ominous aura about him off stage, this was greatly enhanced by his manner of movement on stage which involved uninhibited wiggling of his hips.

Presley had his first release in June, 1954 with "That's All Right Mama" and followed it with "Good Rocking Tonight",

"Mystern Train" and others over the next few months. These were all on the Sun label which, at that time, lacked widespread distribution and national promotion and the songs were therefore only regional hits. In November, 1955, the RCA-Victor label bought out Presley's contract and, through widespread TV and radio exposure, he rapidly attained stardom. His major rock hits were "Heartbreak Hotel", "Houng Dog" and "Don't Be Cruel" in 1956 and "All Shook Up" and "Jailhouse Rock" in 1957. In May of 1958 he joined the Army and, as John Lennon (formerly with the Beatles) has said, "Elvis died when he went into the Army".[160] After his release in 1960, he devoted himself to melodramatic ballads and formulaic movie musicals. Such a song as "Marie's The Name Of His Latest Flame", in 1961, was a rare return to form. His musical output after 1958 was irrelevant, however. It was as a symbol of youthful rebellion that Presley was important.

Jerry Lee Lewis was like a white Little Richard. Both were pianists who behaved on stage and on record like hysterically enthusiastic wild men although, whereas it was Richard's style to do a whole song in a sort of parody of a gospel cry, Lewis, with less sheer vocal power, used a country voice and a strong sense of vocal dynamics to build a song to an emotional climax.

Perhaps because they were confined to a piano seat and therefore could not dance around, both developed stage acts in which the performer appeared to go berserk. He would play the

piano with his feet, pound it with his fists, and often leap up on top of it. Lewis undoubtedly owed part of his style to Little Richard who had been recording successfully for two years before Lewis recorded the songs he is best known for: "Whole Lotta Shakin Goin On" and "Great Balls Of Fire" (both released in 1957). In 1958 he married his thirteen year old cousin and was blacklisted. Although he staged a comeback in the mid-sixties and is now a successful country performer, his career as a rocker ended with his blacklisting.

d) Chicago Rhythm and Blues

As mentioned above, in our consideration of rhythm and blues, Chicago was noted for a vigorous r&b style rooted in Mississippi delta blues. This is not the style that Gillett is referring to by his use of the term "Chicago rhythm and blues", however, although the delta-based style was certainly a strong influence. Gillett is referring to the work of Chuck Berry and Bo Diddley whose styles involved, among other things, a much quicker tempo.

Chuck Berry is probably the most talented artist to emerge from the first wave. He was an excellent stage performer, one of the most innovative and influential electric guitar players, and an exceptionally gifted songwriter.

Berry had come north to Chicago, in 1955, from St. Louis where he had fronted a popular r&b band for a few years. It was his hope to record in the style of the Chicago blues performers, but Leonard Chess, the owner of the independent

Chess label, preferred his novelty song, "Ida Red", to Berry's blues material. "Ida Red", based on a traditional country fiddle tune of the same name, had humorous lyrics that Berry had written about a car chase.[161] The name of the song was changed to "Maybelline" and it became Berry's first hit (1955).

As Berry has said, "The dollar dictates what music is written"[162] and, understanding the appeal that rock'n'roll had for young people, he proceeded to write a string of songs aimed at this audience. "Roll Over Beethoven" in 1956, "School Day" and "Rock And Roll Music" in 1957, and "Johnny B. Goode" in 1958, along with many of his others from this period, have become rock'n'roll classics. These songs characteristically had a "rolling" piano figure and a strong, regular drum rhythm behind a ringing, staccato guitar and Berry's clearly enunciated lyrics, which have been described as a "vivid articulation of a spirit of rock'n'roll rebellion",[163] expressed through such concerns as work, school, dancing, sex, and fast cars.

In late 1959, Berry became embroiled in legal difficulties and was imprisoned in February, 1962, for two years.[164] After his release in 1964, he recorded "Nadine" (which was similar in melody and structure to "Maybelline"), "No Particular Place To Go" (which bore a strong musical resemblance to "School Day"), "You Never Can Tell", and "Promised Land", all of which maintain the high standard of songwriting established by his earlier work. Although Berry had a novelty hit in 1972, his period of creative production basically ended with his 1964 output.

Bo Diddley, who recorded for Checker Records, a subsidiary of the Chess label, was somewhat overshadowed by Chuck Berry, but, although he never achieved Berry's commercial appeal, he was highly respected by other musicians as an innovator on the electric guitar and his raw, rhythmic style has been widely imitated. His best known hit was a song he named after himself (released in 1955). Berry and he were major influences on the English r&b revival of the sixties, at which time much of his material was revived by such groups as the Rolling Stones, the Animals and the Yardbirds, although it is more as a stylist than as a songwriter that he is renowned.

e) Vocal Group Rock'n'roll

When blacks, with their rural folk culture, migrated to the urban north and the west coast they were exposed to the predominantly white urban "culture" and with it, the Tin Pan Alley tradition of popular music. Groups like the Inkspots and the Mills Brothers grew out of black attempts to work in this style in the forties. The Inkspots "established a pattern followed by black groups ever since. The second tenor, baritone and bass harmonize an accompaniment to the lead".[165]

Vocal group rock'n'roll (or "doo-wop" as it is sometimes called because of the nonsense syllables often chanted by the singers of the backup harmonies), primarily a black style, grew out of post-war fusions of white pop music with traditional black gospel styles. The lead vocalist in doo-wop usually sand in an extremely "cool", controlled, emotionless voice which

often allowed them to pass as whites (and thereby have hits in the lucrative, white market), although some groups used a much more impassioned lead vocal that showed more obvious gospel roots. Because the style was almost totally vocal, it required no initial investment and many of the groups developed their talents on ghetto street corners. Their background in ghetto poverty also partially explains why many doo-wop records had little or no instrumental accompaniment and why the lead singers frequently wished to sound "white". Groups hoped that, through pop music success, they might escape from the ghetto.

The style was recorded widely by small independent labels (particularly in Los Angeles and New York), most of whom lacked more than regional distribution and promotion, but, in spite of this, some of this material, such as the Orioles' "Crying In The Chapel" (in July, 1953) and the Penguins' "Earth Angel" (November, 1954) had occasionally reached the national pop charts before Bill Haley's hit in May of 1955. After rock'n'roll became well established with the white audience, there were many doo-wop hits, including Frankie Lymon and the Teenagers' "Why Do Fools Fall In Love" (in 1956), the Tune Weavers' "Happy, Happy Birthday Baby", the Rays' "Silhouettes", Danny and the Juniors' "At The Hop" (all in 1957), and the Monotones' "Book Of Love" (in 1958), but few of the doo-wop groups had more than one hit.

The typical song used by the doo-wop groups was a slow, sentimental ballad and today much of this material sounds sluggish and uninspiring, but once black vocal groups became

established in the white market they gradually turned to more traditional black styles for their material. The doo-wop style evolved into the "soul" music of the mid-sixties with its overt, gospel, "call and response" vocals and up-tempo rhythms.

3. The Counter-Reformation (1959-63)

The first wave of rock'n'roll lasted from about the time of Bill Haley's "Rock Around The Clock" until May, 1958, when Elvis Presley was drafted into the army. This date is arbitrarily chosen, however. There are many other dates we could also pick as the end of the first wave, each of which marks the disappearance of one of the major artists of the period. In 1957, Little Richard retired from the music business to enter the ministry. In 1958, Jerry Lee Lewis was blacklisted because he married his thirteen year old cousin. In February, 1959, Buddy Holly was killed in a plane crash. The same year, Chuck Berry began a court battle that ended in 1962 with his imprisonment. In April, 1960, Eddie Cochran was killed in a car accident in London, England. Gene Vincent was injured in the same accident.

The loss of the energy and momentum of all these artists happened at the same time that rock'n'roll was under attack, first for its "smuttiness"[166] and then because of the payola scandal. All this cleared the way for the various commercial concerns to return the music business to its pre-rock'n'roll condition. Between 1959 and 1963, there were New Orleans

novelty songs like Joe Jones' "You Talk Too Much" (1960) and Ernie K-Doe's "Mother-In-Law" (1961); there were songs in various r&b styles, like Wilbert Harrison's "Kansas City" (1959) or Ike and Tina Turner's early-sixties material; and there were various instrumental works, which we will discuss below, but these sorts of material were the exception. Most performers working in a serious rock'n'roll style could only get hits by producing novelty tunes and few could get more than one hit.

The "popular" music was created according to various formulae developed by songwriters, arrangers, and producers. It was plugged by Dick Clark's network TV program and by top 40, format radio. This was basically how the industry had been run before rock'n'roll's breakthrough and this was how the various companies involved preferred to see it run. During this period, the major musical tendencies could be better described as commercial developments, than as "styles".

Most of the commercially contribed products of this period fall into two main types: romantic ballads and, beginning in 1960, dance songs.

a) Schmaltz

Although teen music has all been marketed as "rock and roll" ever since Elvis's breakthrough, we will not follow this convention, because it makes the term meaningless. There is a vast difference between what we have been calling "rock'n'

roll" (or "rock") and the romantic ballads that replaced it (which we will refer to as "schmaltz"). Whereas rock music derives its impact from its rhythmic momentum (and secondarily from the strength of its vocal), schmaltz derives its main impact from exaggerated emotion or melodrama. For instance a rock song like The Everley Brothers' "Bye Bye Love" even though it has sentimental lyrics is carried by its rhythm and their country-styled vocal harmonies rather than exaggerated emotions.

Some romantic ballads are both melodramatic and sentimental, but most are clearly one or the other. The sentimental ballad is characterized by an extravagant display of emotion which is usually focused on the singer's personal response to his or her world. Brooding nostalgically about a past relationship or about present romantic frustrations are the most common themes although ecstatic descriptions of the beloved are also common. At its worst (and most schmaltz is close to this), as in Bobby Vinton's "Mr. Lonely" (1964), the singer gasps and sobs in a mawkish display of affected self-pity, but occasionally a sentimental ballad, like Sam Cooke's "Bring It On Home To Me" (1962), by stressing an honest sadness instead of exaggerated sentimentality, will suggest an integrity that transcends the genre.

The melodramatic ballad, on the other hand, focuses on sensational incidents usually occurring within a romantic plot. The emotional drama rather than the singer's response is centra. Gene Pitney's "Twenty Four Hours From Tulsa" (1963) in which the narrator tells his former lover, who lives in

Tulsa, the events that led up to falling in love with someone else, is a typical example. Throughout this period a style of melodramatic ballads was very popular in which one of the lovers dies tragically. In 1959, for instance, in a vocal style like that of the Everley Brothers, only sweeter, Mark Dinning sang "Teen Angel" to his departed lover, who was crushed in his car, by a train, while trying to rescue the high school pin he had given her. In 1960, Ray Peterson sang "Tell Laura I Love Her" which are the last words of a young racing car driver who dies trying to win enough money to buy Laura a wedding ring. In the Everley Brothers' 1961 hit, "Ebony Eyes", a woman is killed in a plane crash while flying to an army base to marry her lover, who then lives with an ideal image he has constructed around her eyes and the dark night in which he lost her. In these songs and in others such as Johnny Preston's "Running Bear" (1960), Roy Orbison's "Leah" (1962), Frank J. Wilson's "Last Kiss" and the Shangri-Las' "Leader Of The Pack" (both in 1964), romantic love and such institutions as religion, marriage, and even the army are assumed to be valid. Death seems to have been a perfect subject matter for the melodramatic ballad which requires for its impact extraordinary, emotion-laden events.

The performers of the sentimental and melodramatic ballads came from four main sources. The first were those white singers who developed strong, often semi-operatic vocal styles. Initiated by Conway Twitty, in late 1958, with "It's Only Make

Believe", the three most prominent practitioners of this manner of singing were Elvis Presley, Roy Orbison, and Gene Pitney, all of whom worked in a dramatic variant of the crooning style.

Already very well known for his rock singing, Presley's turn to ballad singing occurred after his release from the army in 1960. His ballads rarely use orchestral strings for sweetening, although the Jordenaires, a group of backup vocalists, are used in a very similar manner to accentuate dramatic peaks and to generally sweeten. His best ballads include "Its Now Or Never" (1960) and "Surrender" (1961), both of which have gentle Latin rhythms, and the mellower "Are You Lonesome Tonight" (1960), with its theatrical spoken break.

Roy Orbison took schmaltz very seriously. He sang lead vocals (and, on "Only The Lonely" (1960) sang his own backup vocals), he wrote much of his own material, and he did most of the production on his records, which show a mastery of early sixties production techniques. His singing style is not based on pre-rock crooning, as is the style of Gene Pitney, for instance, but is closer to that of the black vocal groups. This can be heard both in the doo-wop harmonies he uses (on songs like "Only The Lonely", "Blue Angel" (1960), and others) and in his lead vocals which have the studied drama and extravagant passion of many of the doo-wop leads. Orbison also shows an apparent indebtedness to Presley's ballad style, although this may be explained by the fact that they were both influenced by

doo-wop. Memorable examples of his work include "Running Scared" (1961), in which he uses a death march to build tension until the last verse which he resolves lyrically into a happy ending, and "Leah" (1962), Orbison's contribution to the death ballads, which he sets somewhere in the South Pacific.

Gene Pitney also wrote a couple of songs, but he was primarily a singer. His success can be largely attributed to a distinctive, although not remarkable, singing voice, good fortune in finding strong material, and very professional production by Burt Bacharach (on "Twenty Four Hours From Tulsa" (1963) and "The Man Who Shot Liberty Valence" (1962) and Jerry Ragavoy (on "Mecca" (1963)).

The second source of ballad singers was those who became popular primarily because of their looks. Invariably white, this group included those who were plugged on Dick Clark's TV show, such as Bobby Rydell, Frankie Avalon, and Fabian, and also those who capitalized on the fact that they were well known through exposure on a TV series. This included Annette Funicello, a Walt Disney Mousketeer, Shelly Fabares from "The Donna Reed Show", Connie Stevens from "Hawaiian Eye", and Edward "Kookie" Byrnes from "77 Sunset Strip". All of these artists were marketed because of their recognizable "youth" image rather than any particular singing skill. They were usually conventionally good looking, clean cut, and, if male, they performed wearing business suits. As might be expected from singers whose voices were largely irrelevant, the music

they produced set an almost uniformly insipid standard.

The third source of ballad singers were the various black singers, including Sam Cooke, Ray Charles, and Jackie Wilson, who had strong, usually gospel-based, vocal styles. Although much of their material was over-produced and just plain inappropriate to their styles, some of the best ballads of this period came from these vocalists, including Sam Cooke's "Sad Mood" (1960) and "Bring It On Home To Me" (1962), Ray Charles' "Georgia On My Mind" (1960), and Ben E. King's "Spanish Harlem" and "Stand By Me" (both in 1961).

The fourth source of balladeers were the black vocal groups, who produced a large supply of dross, but also produced some of the most memorable songs of the period. These black groups had a relationship to their producer in common, rather than a shared vocal style. The prototypes of this relationship were developed by Leiber and Stoller and amounted to total control by the producers. Leiber and Stoller wrote, arranged and produced songs for the Coasters and the Drifters, including the innovative and extremely influential "There Goes My Baby" (1959),[167] after which the use of strings and Latin rhythms became common. For the next four or five years, the Drifters were given a good supply of strong material, including "Up On The Roof" (1962), "On Broadway" (1963), and "Under The Board-Walk" (1964), all of which were run through a modified version of the orchestral formula developed by Leiber and Stoller. Other producers, such as Luther Dixon, Phil Spector and Burt

Bacharach applied the formula to other voices.

Dixon began working with the Shirelles, a group of black, female singers, and had a string of hits beginning with "Will You Still Love Me Tomorrow" (1960) and including "Baby Its You" (1961) and "Soldier Boy" (1962). The lyrics of these songs were usually concerned with fairly conventional affirmations of the "one true love" myth, but they were sung in a somewhat innocent, bluesy voice which stood out from other pop songs of the early sixties. After Dixon's remarkable success with the Shirelles, female vocal groups became part of the formula for other producers as well. Dixon's work seems to have inspired Phil Spector, for instance. Spector's explorations of the possibilities of full scale orchestral embellishment were begun with a black, female group, the Crystals, who had hits with "He's A Rebel" (1962) and "Da Doo Ron Ron" (1963), and continued with another group, the Ronettes, whose "Be My Baby" (1963) is a classic of this style.

In 1964, Leiber and Stoller formed the Red Bird label which specialized in female vocal groups. Rather than produce this material, which they apparently considered "bubblegum pop",[168] they hired various Brill Building songwriting teams like Jeff Barry and Ellie Greenwich, Gerry Goffin and Carole King, and Barry Mann and Cynthia Weil, who not only wrote songs for them, but, along with "Shadow" Morton and Artie Ripp, they also produced. This "workshop" was responsible for a number of female group hits including "Remember (Walkin' In The Sand)" and "Leader Of The Pack" (both in 1964) by the

Shangri-Las (a white group) and "Chapel Of Love" (1964) and "Iko Iko" (1964) by the Dixie Cups.

b) The Dance Craze

Groups of women vocalists were also used on dance tunes. A Philadelphia group, the Orlons, who recorded for Cameo, the same label as Bobby Rydell, were the best known. They had hits with "The Wah Watusi" (1962), "Don't Hang Up" (1962), and "South Street" (1963). Other female groups, such as the Marvellettes and the Adlibs, did the occasional dance song, but the Orlons concentrated on the genre.

The dance craze began with extensive TV exposure, on Dick Clark's "American Bandstand", of Chubby Checker's cover version of "The Twist" (1960). The Philadelphia based Cameo/Parkway group of labels, with Chubby Checker, the Orlons, the Dovells, famous for "The Bristol Stomp" (1961), and Dee Dee Sharp who sang "Mashed Potato Time" (1962), exploited the dance craze much more successfully than any other company. This was because of their access to TV exposure.

To call these songs "dance songs" is not to say that the "schmaltz" could not be danced to, but, rather, that the primary impact of the dance songs was their emphatic rhythm, whereas, as we mentioned above, the primary impact of schmaltz was extravagant sentimentalism or melodrama. The young audience still wanted strong dance tunes and the proliferation of formula rhythm tracks layered with simple-minded chants about new dances, temporarily satisfied that demand.

Not all the dance songs were simply by-products of Dick Clark's TV program, however, and not all were simply cranked out according to a formula. Sam Cooke's "Twistin' The Night Away" and "Having A Party" (both in 1962) along with the Isley Brothers' "Twist And Shout" (1962), for instance, were original, influential songs. ("Twist And Shout" became one of the Beatles' early hits.) Other songs such as Bobby Lewis's "Tossin' And Turnin'" (1961) and Chris Montez's "Let's Dance" (1962) were more formulaic, but became hits on the strength of their music rather than their TV plugs.

c) Instrumental Dance Bands

While most record companies were turning rock'n'roll into formula schmaltz and unimaginative dance tunes, musicians at the grassroots level were playing very different music. Many black regional sounds continued to flourish in such cities as New Orleans, Chicago, Houston, and Memphis,[169] and white dance bands were playing a rockabilly-based music at high school dances, parties and local clubs, with regional musical variations, throughout the United States (and England).

Rockabilly had spread through the influence of records and through concerts by the main artists. The "instrumental" bands originated as local bands attempting to duplicate the rockabilly sound for local dances. The emphasis in rockabilly was usually on the vocalist and, when the popularity of rockabilly singing declined, the rest of the band was encouraged to develop. A raunchier, more electric sound evolved with an increased

rhythmic impact. The acoustic bass was replaced with an electric instrument and the guitarist, usually inspired by the rockabilly style of Carl Perkins, Scotty Moore or James Burton, became more prominent. Some, like Link Wray, the pre-eminent guitar player of the period, pioneered the use of feedback, fuzztone and other forms of electronic distortion (which was to greatly influence English r&b bands such as the Kinks and the Who, among others). At a time when rock'n'roll was receiving almost no radio play, these bands kept it alive. As Greg Shaw has said "As a general rule, professional musicians in the music capitals - New York, Los Angeles and London - had become insulated from influences outside the music industry, while local bands, playing every night in front of audiences with whom they had a direct rapport, initiated new styles, dances and music developments."[170]

The name "instrumental dance band" is somewhat of a misnomer, however. These groups usually had a vocalist when they performed, but are known as instrumental bands because they were only able to receive radio play with their imaginative instrumental numbers. The wild vocals on "Muleskinner Blues" (1960) by the Fendermen and "Louie, Louie" (1963) by the Kingsmen were rare exceptions. Because their instrumental numbers were often viewed as novelties rather than regional styles, few groups were able to produce more than one hit.

Duane Eddy and the Rebels and the Ventures were exceptions to this general rule, however, partially because they turned

their styles into commercial formulas. Duane Eddy also had the advantage of working for Jamie, a Philadelphia-based label that Dick Clark had a financial interest in,[171] which meant that each of his records was heavily plugged on Clark's TV show. However, as we said, Duane Eddy was the exception. Few of the dance bands became well known outside of their local area, although many that began in this style achieved success, later, by working in a different style. The Beatles, Paul Revere and the Raiders, the Hawks (who later became the Band), and the Blue Velvets (who later became Credence Clearwater Revival) are all examples.

A list of the most impressive instrumental tunes would include "Red River Rock" (1959) by Johnny and the Hurricanes, "Bumble Boogie" (1961) by B. Bumble and the Stingers, "Wheels" (1961) by the String-a-Longs, "Memphis" (1963) by Lonnie Mack, and a trio of "surfer" instrumentals, from 1963, "Pipeline" by the Chantays, "Wipeout" by the Surfaris, and "Surfin' Bird" by the Trashmen.

d) The Folk Revival

Although it was not in any sense a form of rock music, the folk revival also deserves mention as a vital form of music during this period.

The roots of the late fifties - early sixties revival lay in the folk revival of the forties when Woody Guthrie, Pete Seeger, Leadbelly and others connected indigenous rural American musical forms to populist political statements.

This earlier revival had been stamped out during the McCarthyist, anti-communist witch hunt of the early fifties.

When rock'n'roll disappeared from the airwaves in the late fifties, many young people developed an interest in folk music. This interest was partially a reaction against the sterile Tin Pan Alley schmaltz that had once again taken over the radio and partially the product of a resurgence of populist sentiments among many college students.

The idealistic, humanist perspective that emerged at this time was expressed through opposition to the testing of nuclear weapons and through support for the civil rights movement. American folk music forms were once again affirmed, but as Hardy and Laing have said of the folk revival, it "involved considerably more than a change of musical tastes. It was also a political and social movement, a search for an alternative culture, and the start of a 'back-to-the-country' movement that has still not run its course".[172]

The folk revival is usually dated from the Kingston Trio's 1958 version of the traditional gallows ballad "Tom Dooley". Other "pop-folk" singing groups, such as Peter, Paul and Mary, sprang up in the wake of the Kingston Trio's hit and, through their commercial success, broadened the audience, but these groups were primarily popularizers of the folk revival. Figures such as Pete Seeger and Joan Baez were equally popular in the coffee houses and on the university campuses where the revival was centered. Seeger was a major figure in this second

revival as he had been in the first. His friend and former performing partner, Woody Guthrie, although no longer able to perform, was also an important influence.

At first the emphasis of the movement was on re-discovery of traditional music and, whenever possible, traditional artists, but as the revival's relationship to the civil rights movement deepened, young songwriters emerged such as Bob Dylan, Phil Ochs, Tom Paxton and others who wrote topical "protest" songs in semi-traditional styles.

With the appearance in 1962 of "Hootenanny", a network TV show, the folk revival gained widespread popularity although this also led to extensive commercialization of the style. After 1964, with the eclipse of the civil rights movement and the resurgence of rock music, the popularity of folk music declined.

4. The Second Wave (1964-69)

In terms of white musicians, the Second Wave began, both in England (with the beat and r&b groups) and in America (with the surf groups), with slightly modified revivals of the styles of the First Wave. As these styles were elaborated upon and mixed with elements of folk music and jazz, such styles as "folk rock" and "acid rock" developed. A new black style, "soul", based on black gospel music, flourished alongside these various white styles (and influenced them somewhat), but was only negligibly influenced by them.

a) Surf Music

Surf music developed in California out of the instrumental dance bands of the early sixties. Influential in this development was guitarist Dick Dale and his group -- a popular dance band in Southern California in 1961 and 1962. It was Dale that evolved the staccato, Chuck Berry-derived guitar style associated with the "surf sound". This sound was widely imitated by such bands as the Surfaris, Tornados, Chantays and others.

It was the Beach Boys, however, who, by adding lyrics about surfing and associated activities, made surf music commercially popular beyond the Southern California region. Like the local instrumental bands, the music behind the vocals borrowed heavily from Chuck Berry in song structure, guitar style and vigor, but the vocal had none of the blackness and provocativeness of the standard, white rockabilly style. The vocal slurring, growling and general wildness were replaced by tight, controlled harmonies that evoked the bright, wholesome landscape that the lyrics described - the mythical, sunny California as a "universal metaphor for being young and having fun".[173] (This vocal style, which showed a strong Everley Brothers influence, had been pioneered in the L.A. area by Jan and Dean, a singing duo who also had a number of surf hits.)

For all their sweetness, however, the lyrics were not sentimental. They affirmed pleasurable activities like surfing, hot rodding, dancing, and making out. None of the material affirmed such traditional values as marriage, and the songs

rarely dwelled upon past relationships.

Not all "surf music" lyrics were about surfing. In fact, it was only during 1962 and 1963 that surfing was mentioned.

> Late in 1963, the record industry decided that surfing was out, and hot rod music would be in. Cars and beaches were really part of the same culture and the same metaphor, so there was no problem adapting, as the Beach Boys, Jan and Dean, Dick Dale, the Surfaris, the Hondells, and others all contributed fine car tunes in the same basic instrumental and vocal style. This trend lasted a year or so, by which time the Beach Boys had evolved the music a stage further. Now it wasn't surf music or car music, but simply California music, or summer music....Now "fun" was the key word, and the world was given an image of California as a promised land where fun and summer were a year-round lifestyle. The Beach Boys' records of 1965-6 such as "Dance, Dance, Dance", "Help Me, Rhonda", "California Girls" and "Wouldn't It Be Nice" represented California music at its most sublime. The next step took it a little too far, however, as many California musicians began getting mystical and experimenting with drugs.[174]

The Beach Boys moved into the psychedelic style in 1966 with the beautifully produced "Good Vibrations", but the group's popularity faded when group member Brian Wilson, their producer and primary song writer, suffered a nervous breakdown.

b) Soul Music

"Soul" is the name given to the black music that emerged in the early sixties. An important influence on this music was the black r&b of the fifties, but, whereas fifties r&b had grown primarily out of uptempo or "jump" blues numbers, soul was also heavily influenced by another music central to the black sub-culture: gospel music. Whereas blues was originally a more solitary, individual form (often used to communicate sadness and misfortune), gospel has always been a communal music whose

subject matter has been spiritual transcendence. Being a secular music, blues was the first to find its way into the marketplace, but, by the late forties and early fifties, some musicians began borrowing various devices from the gospel tradition to increase the excitement of an audience. These devices had been used for years to inspire and excite black congregations. Compared to white churches, the black gospel churches "believed in a much more extrovert form of worship; a far greater degree of emphasis was placed on rhythmic devices both vocal and, in time, instrumental, to heighten the intensity of the religious devotion. The Sanctified Church used tambourines, organs, pianos and a whole host of other instruments in their worship."[175]

Whereas the blues had been a melancholy, almost conciliatory music, gospel was an exuberant expression of community strength. In the early sixties, when a secular form of gospel music moved, without much modification, into the marketplace, it remained an impassioned affirmation of black life. During a period when blacks were developing a more confident image of themselves and their place in the world (1965 to 1968), soul music was the boice of black pride.

* * *

In the late fifties, before the emergence of soul as a definite style, many of the top r&b performers, such as Ray Charles, Sam Cooke and James Brown, were adding gospel elements to their music. Charles and Cooke both developed styles that,

with only minor modifications, were popular with white audiences. As well as using blues and jazz forms, Charles used a gospel-style female chorus, church-based piano techniques, and a singing style based on gospel. Like many other black performers, such as Clyde McPhatter or Hank Ballard, Charles' attempts to achieve conventional success eventually eroded his talent.

Sam Cooke had been a gospel "star" as the lead singer of a famous vocal quartet, the Soul Stirrers, before he turned to popular music where he used the same vocal style with very little modification. Killed in 1964, his singing was an important influence on several other soul singers such as Otis Redding, Marvin Gaye and Smokey Robinson.

Unlike Cooke and Charles, James Brown's style was too uncompromisingly black to be modified into a product for the white market. Brown had always based his songs on their appeal to black audiences and when soul, a straightforward black style, became popular in the mid-sixties, Brown was one of its most successful practitioners with such hits as "Out of Sight" (1964), "I Got You (I Feel Good)" (1965), "Its A Man's World" (1966), and "Cold Sweat" (1967), after which Brown made his sound even blacker and funkier by placing an increased emphasis on the already emphatic rhythm. Because of his refusal to "sweeten" his style, he gained a great deal of respect in the black community during the sixties.

* * *

In 1960, in Detroit, Berry Gordy Jr., a black man, set up his own record label, Motown. Whereas in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Los Angeles black artists had been exploited by record companies for many years, Detroit had remained relatively untouched. Gordy remedied this situation. He based his records on the various formulas for songwriting and production that were popular at the time and he gathered together an excellent collection of producers, songwriters and performers, mostly from around the Detroit area.

During the first four years of operation (1960-63) Motown had a total of twelve top ten hits,[176] most of which were conventional black material aimed at white audiences, such as "Money" by Barrett Strong (a novelty song) or "Please Mister Postman" by the Marvelettes (a dance song sung by a group of women). In 1963, however, one of Motown's production teams, Holland, Dozier and Holland, having mastered Phil Spector's production methods, began using them to enhance dance songs with call and response vocals[177] and other gospel techniques. These experiements were conducted with substantial success on Martha and the Vandellas, the Miracles, and Marvin Gaye. By 1964, they had refined these techniques by adding a pulse-like bass line, which further emphasized the dance rhythm, and they began working with the Supremes and the Four Tops, who became Motown's most popular acts.

The characteristic "Motown Sound" was based on Holland, Dozier and Holland's work with these two groups. Between 1964

and 1967 Motown had forty-one top ten hits,[178] twenty-two of which were produced by this one production team (who also usually wrote the songs as well).[179] Between July, 1964, and April, 1967, the Supremes, working almost exclusively with Holland, Dozier and Holland, released thirteen singles. Ten of these, including "Come See About Me" (1964), "Back In My Arms Again" (1965) and "You Keep Me Hangin' On" (1966), reached the top spot on the Billboard survey,[180] a record unequalled by any other group, black or white. The Four Tops also had number one songs with "I Can't Help Myself" (1965) and "Reach Out I'll Be There" (1966).

In 1968, Holland, Dozier and Holland left Motown to form their own label, but, without Motown's roster of talented performers, they met with little success.

Gordy had other talented producers working for him including Smokey Robinson, who was also an excellent songwriter and a performer, and Norman Whitfield. When the Holland, Dozier and Holland team departed, it was Whitfield who became the workhorse of Motown production.

* * *

After Motown's breakthrough, in 1964, white audiences developed a taste for gospel styles and, in 1965, a rawer, purer gospel style began to appear on the surveys. This style emerged from the South and is associated primarily with two southern studios, the Stax studio in Memphis and Rick Hall's Muscle Shoals studio in Alabama.

There were a couple of major differences between the Motown and Southern soul styles. For one thing the influence of the producer on the final product was different. The "Motown sound" as we have indicated was the creation of their producers. This was not true of the Southern soul style. Although such producers as Isaac Hayes and Dave Porter at Stax or Rick Hall in Muscle Shoals were important, the Stax and Muscle Shoals studios were primarily renowned because of the collections of exceptional musicians that had been assembled by each studio to serve as their house band. Such artists as Wilson Pickett and Aretha Franklin travelled from the north to record with these bands.

The second difference between the Motown and Southern styles was between the kinds of vocals they favored. Like Motown, the Southern soul sound emphasized a strong dance rhythm, but, unlike Motown, most of the artists were individual singers rather than groups (with which Motown's producers preferred to work). These individual vocalists used gospel music much more overtly than had Motown. Singers like Wilson Pickett, Solomon Burke, Joe Tex and James Brown (mentioned above) took on the persona of the black gospel preacher who has entered a religious trance and become a divine messenger. From within this trance the preacher speaks with extreme emotional fervor and conviction. The soul singers secularized this style and the personal God was usually replaced by a personal beloved, although occasional songs, such as Sam and

Dave's "Soul Man" (1967), spoke directly of black pride.

Apart from James Brown, who was released on the independent King label (and who had his own band with whom he recorded), almost all other Southern-style soul singers were released on the Atlantic label (another independent), which also distributed the Stax/Volt material.

The most prominent artists on Stax/Volt were Sam and Dave, who recorded on Stax, and Otis Redding, who recorded on the subsidiary, Volt. Sam and Dave were a gospel-based duo with an exceptional ability to generate excitement by working off each other in a loose call and response style. They had hits in 1966 with "You Don't Know Like I Know" and "Hold On I'm Coming" and the next year with "Soul Man".

Redding, the son of a Baptist minister, began his career as a Little Richard imitator, but, by 1962, had developed the grainy baritone style he would use throughout the sixties. In 1965 he had hits with the soul ballad "I've Been Loving You Too Long" and "Can't Turn You Loose", a strong dance tune. "Fa-Fa-Fa-Fa-Fa", in 1966, was also a good uptempo tune, but some of his material that year, such as "Shake" or "Try a Little Tenderness", sounded somewhat mannered. In the latter song in particular, although his singing is filled with emotion, his arrangement seems at odds with the subject-matter of the song.

In December, 1967, Redding was killed in a plane crash. His only top ten hit occurred a couple of months later.

Two of the top soul artists on Atlantic were Wilson Pickett and Aretha Franklin. Pickett began his career in the early sixties as lead singer for the Falcons, an innovative pre-soul vocal group. He developed an aggressive, crying style of vocal, exceeded in terms of excitement only by James Brown's. Between 1965 and 1967, Pickett produced a series of excellent dance tunes including "Midnight Hour" (1965), "Mustang Sally" (1966), and "Funky Broadway" (1967). Most of his material during this period was recorded at the Muscle Shoals studio in Alabama, as was Aretha Franklin's first hit, "I Never Loved A Man" (1967).

Like Redding, Franklin's father was a Baptist preacher and it was in his church that she became a master of gospel vocal styles. Recognizing her talent, Columbia Records signed her in 1960, but they did not know how to market her and, after a number of wasted years, she moved to Atlantic. Her sessions were supervised by their house producer, Jerry Wexler, and she was an immediate success. In 1967, she had five top ten hits,[181] including "I Never Loved A Man", "Respect" and "Chain of Fools", and three more in 1968, including "Ain't No Way". Her career then took a nosedive, which may have been caused by the decline in white interest in soul music, but was surely not helped by Franklin's apparent preference for schmaltzy ballads and show tunes. Although she remains one of the strongest of the secular gospel singers, her career since 1968 has been erratic.

* * *

By the time of Martin Luther King's assassination in April, 1968, the white market was losing interest in Southern soul music. At the same time the style was becoming increasingly formulized and standardized production procedures replaced inspiration.

c) The English Invasion

Surf music began in 1962 and Motown, established in 1960, had a few hits around the same time, but neither the "surf sound" nor the "Motown sound" had a strong enough commercial impact to dramatically change the direction of popular music during this period. The second wave did not really begin until 1964 when the Beatles and various other English groups invaded the airwaves.

Before the emergence of the Beatles, the British contribution to rock had been minimal. Whereas rock music had strong roots throughout the southern United States and in the various black ghettos of the north, it had no such roots in England and therefore, during rock's first wave, the English produced second rate copies of American rockers, none of which had any impact on the American charts. During the fifties and up until about 1962 the main "grass roots" music played in English pubs and cabarets seems to have been "traditional" (or "trad") jazz. Prominent among the trad jazz band leaders was Chris Barber who began experimenting as early as 1953 with the blues and during the fifties brought in blues performers such as Big Bill Broonzy and Muddy Waters, to tour with his band.

Barber's interest in the blues also caused him to experiment with a style of jug band blues that he called "skiffle". In 1956, Lonnie Donegan, a member of Barber's band, had a hit record with a skiffle version of "Rock Island Line", which made the American top twenty[183] and touched off an epidemic of skiffle groups in England. It was an easy style to master (only requiring some combination of a washboard, a guitar, a jug, a standup bass (or a large trunk) and a vocalist) and this instrumental simplicity ensured the popularity of the style. When he was only fifteen years old, John Lennon, who later formed the Beatles, belonged to a skiffle group, the Quarrymen.[184] As Hardy and Laing have said of the skiffle style, it "had no lasting impact. By 1958, if not earlier, the would-be skifflers were hunting out electric guitars and forming rock'n'roll groups. Yet it was skiffle more than anything else that laid the foundations of British rock".[185]

Between the decline of skiffle in 1958 and the rise of the Beatles in 1963, British pop music, like its American counterpart, was dominated by mushy ballads and pretty faced pop singers, the most popular of which was Cliff Richard who had some American success with "Livin' Doll" and "Bachelor Boy". However, even though the radio and TV were dominated by record industry creations, at the grassroots level skiffle and American rock'n'roll were a strong influence. As in America, local dance bands developed a repertoire of songs by Chuck Berry, Little Richard, Carl Perkins, and other early rock performers as well

as some early Motown material. These "beat" groups, as they have come to be known, existed in all the major urban areas in England, usually with minor regional variations in style. The Beatles, who were the first of these groups to become well known, were from Liverpool and, because of this, this style was at first known as the "Liverpool" or "Mersey" sound. Groups from other parts of England who became popular working in this style included the Dave Clark Five from London, the Hollies from Manchester, the Zombies from St. Albans in Hertford and the Nashville Teens from Surrey. The Searchers and the Swinging Blue Jeans were a couple of other Liverpool groups that became well known.

The beat groups used a similar instrumental line-up to that used by the early rockabilly groups: drums, lead guitar, rhythm guitar, and electric bass (which replaced the standup bass used by rockabilly groups). The rhythm guitar and drums were usually the prominent instruments. The characteristic beat vocals stressed harmonies and bore little resemblance to the echoing rockabilly style (although the Everley Brothers may have been an influence in this area). Beat groups often performed songs from the Chicago or New Orleans genres, but their versions always lacked the rawness of the Chicago style or the complexity and virtuosity of the New Orleans style. (Piano and sax are rarely heard on beat records.) The instrumental abilities were usually somewhat rudimentary, but this was usually compensated for by the obvious exuberance of the performers

which was best appreciated in live performances. Recordings of the beat groups rarely captured this feeling although exceptions include some of the Beatles early work, material by the Dave Clark Five and the classic beat song, "Hippy, Hippy Shake" (1964), by the Swinging Blue Jeans.

The Beatles had been simply a popular Liverpool group until December, 1961, when Brian Epstein took over their management. In August, 1962, their drummer, Pete Best, was replaced by Ringo Starr from another local group, Rory Storm and the Hurricanes. Epstein convinced the Beatles to wear suits on stage and to tidy up their hair. The "cute" clean-cut image that is associated with the beat groups is the product of his marketing strategy. By the end of the year, the Beatles had their first hit record in England and, in 1963, became very popular there, although releases in the United States were unsuccessful. In January, 1964, Capitol Records pushed "I Want To Hold Your Hand" with fifty thousand dollars worth of publicity[186] and "Beatlemania" swept America. Over the next two years they had eleven number one songs.[187]

In December, 1965, they released Rubber Soul which was hailed as an artistic breakthrough.[188] The album showed an increased emphasis on production and greater musical complexity. (They rarely did straightforward rock songs after this.) The song "Norweigan Wood" was particularly noteworthy because of its ambiguous lyrics, which showed the influence of Dylan, and because of its use of the sitar, one of the earliest importa-

tions of East Indian importations into rock music.

The Beatles retired from touring in August, 1966, and, while George Harrison explored eastern mysticism and John Lennon explored acid, Paul McCartney concentrated on making records. He took control of the creative direction of the group and, with the help of producer George Martin, made records with a density and complexity that rivaled Spector's. McCartney's first major project, Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band (1967), used the idea of a music hall concert by a fictitious group as a unifying concept and received a very positive critical reception. Contributions by Harrison and Lennon tended to add an exotic or mysterious edge that tempered the almost cloying optimism of McCartney's "Getting Better" or "When I'm Sixty-Four". McCartney's next project, Magical Mystery Tour (1967), which included a TV show, was a flop and the remaining Beatles' albums are simply collections of material that each member happened to be working on when the recording was done. Although much of this material was of a high wuality, the Beatles, as a group, no longer existed. The split was made formal in 1970.

* * *

Another style of rock also grew out of the skiffle craze of the fifties. It began in London, in 1962, with Alexis Korner's Blues Incorporated, but could be traced back to Chris Barber's blues experiments of the late fifties. (Both Korner and his harmonica player, Cyril Davies, had played in Barber's

band.) The material they performed was chosen from the Chicago r&b of Muddy Waters, Howlin' Wolf, Sonny Boy Williamson, Bo Diddley and Chuck Berry and they endeavored to play it in the style of these performers. (The English r&b bands never referred to their music as "rock'n'roll" because many people associated this term with the schmaltzy material on the radio and TV.) Whereas the "beat" sound emphasized the rhythm guitar and drums and was often sung in rough harmonies, the r&b groups gave more emphasis to the lead guitar, harmonica and a single big-voiced vocalist who usually sang in a harsh, shouting style. The influence of Korner's group was widespread and, although the style remained centered in London, r&b groups soon sprang up in all the major cities in England. Founded shortly after Blues Incorporated, the Rolling Stones are the most famous group to have worked in this style, but other prominent groups included the Yardbirds, Kinks and Who from London, the Animals from Newcastle, Them from Belfast, and the Spencer Davis Group from Birmingham.

During 1964 and early 1965, the Animals with Alan Price, organist and arranger, and Eric Burdon, a powerful vocalist, were more impressive than the Rolling Stones. Both groups mixed an English working class image with black urban blues, but the Animals had stronger singles such as the brilliantly arranged "House Of The Rising Sun" (1964) followed by "Don't Let Me Be Misunderstood" and "We Gotta Get Outa This Place" (both in 1965). However, in May, 1965, Price left the group

and, in August, the Stones released "Satisfaction", a song they had written themselves. The Animals were unable to find a replacement for Price's exceptional talents and were unable to write material as strong as that written by Mick Jagger and Keith Richards (the Stones' songwriters).

With "Satisfaction", a song that articulated the frustrations of the young in England and America, the English r&b movement, characterized by note for note copying of American r&b classics, went into decline. Some groups began to write songs that developed indigenous themes such as the Who's mod anthem "My Generation" (1966) or the Kinks' "Dedicated Follower of Fashion" (1966), a putdown of Carnaby Street dandyism. Other groups, influenced by the Yardbirds and Manfred Mann, concentrated on improvisational work within a blues framework.

The Stones, under the management of Andrew Loog Oldham, became the Beatles only real challengers for the role of top rock band. By focussing attention on their scrapes with the law and by having them cultivate their arrogance, Oldham developed an image for them of rebels and haters of all authority, which gave them a very different identity than the Beatles. The Stones wrote songs about frustration, arrogance ("Get Off My Cloud") and sexual aggression against women ("Under My Thumb" and "Stupid Girl").

They retired from touring and, in 1967, broke with Oldham. The psychedelic album they produced that year, Their Satanic Majesties Request, heavily influenced by the Beatles, was a

failure, but 1968's Beggar's Banquet, which showed an increased social awareness lyrically and a musical return to their blues and r&b roots, was one of their finest. It spoke to many of the concerns of the counter-culture, as did Let It Bleed (1969), although much less optimistically. "Gimme Shelter", from that album, reflected the changing mood of the counter-culture and "You Can't Always Get What You Want" expressed resignation in the face of this shift.

The early seventies saw the Stones entrenched as the "world's greatest rock'n'roll band", but their music sounded increasingly complacent. Jagger had taken over from Oldham as the group's image-monger and he presented fashionable images of unacceptability such as satanism, drug addition and bi-sexuality, but he had joined the establishment he once attacked. He no longer lived in the same world as his audience and no longer spoke of their concerns. The Stones' social life became more important than their music, as they moved to the French Riviera and Jagger joined the jet set.

In the late seventies, the punk movement in England attacked the Stones as traitors to the youth culture with which they once claimed solidarity and, perhaps in response, they produced Some Girls, their most energetic album in years. Their anger, however, which gave life to their best work, now sounds like self-parody and their attitudes towards women, as objects and inferiors, show them to be reactionaries.

d) The American Response: Folk Rock and Punk Rock

When the new wave of English rock impacted upon the already vital folk movement, the product was "folk rock".

In 1964, Dylan toured England and was very impressed with the loud, electric versions of folk and blues standards he found the English r&b groups doing. One of these groups, the Animals, were doing a rock version of the traditional song "House Of The Rising Sun" which has been credited as the first folk rock song.[189]

Meanwhile, in California, a group of folk musicians, calling themselves the Byrds, were trying to play their folk repertoire the way the Beatles might have played it. They developed electric versions of various songs including Pete Seeger's "Turn! Turn! Turn!" and Dylan's "My Back Pages" and "Mr. Tambourine Man" (which, in 1965, became their first hit).

In New York, the Lovin' Spoonful were developing their own synthesis of rock with folk and jug band music (a blues style from the thirties), at about the same time. By 1965, many other folk musicians were experimenting with electric instruments and a rock format.

It is clear that folk rock, as the fusing of the intelligent lyrics of folk music with the physical rhythms of rock, had emerged before Dylan's conversion to electricity. Without his conversion, the influence of various experiments (particularly those of the Byrds) would have had a lasting influence on rock music, but, because of Dylan's prominent position in

the folk revival, his shift had a more dramatic impact. He had been criticized somewhat when his work had veered away from the folk "protest" style towards more personal, yet surreal songs, but his inclusion on his 1965 album, Bringin' It All Back Home, of rock songs was considered by some folk purists as outright treason. Dylan had become the first person to write folk revival lyrics to songs that were meant to be played by a rock band. On this album and on his next, Highway 61 Revisited (also 1965), Dylan spoke, more clearly than anyone else, from the perspective of the emerging counter-culture. His vision attacked America as a chaotic and corrupted landscape in which alienation was the only rational response. Blonde On Blonde (1966), although fueled with slightly less anger and bitterness, was a continuation of this vision.

Dylan's influence during this period was enormous. Songwriters immediately realized that they could talk about the world beyond the courtship ritual and they wrote such songs as the Rolling Stones' "Satisfaction" (1965), the Kinks' "Dedicated Follower of Fashion" (1966), the Who's "My Generation" (1966) and the Beatles' "Taxman" (1966).

In August, 1966, Dylan was reported to have been almost killed in a motorcycle accident. (Whether or not this accident actually happened is not certain, as Dylan often engaged in self-conscious myth-making, and, faced with the strains of constantly being in public, this may have been simply a myth behind which he could retire.) He remained in retirement for

two years, during which time his Garboesque mystique grew.

In 1968, he released John Wesley Harding, a spare, country-styled album. Its lyrics were as complex as ever, but, although they presented a confusing world, they no longer responded to it with frustration and alienation. They suggested a mellowing and a new-found peace. On his next album, Nashville Skyline (1969), the complex imagery was gone. Dylan tried to sell himself as a happy family man, but he was unconvincing. Even if he was able to convince, who cared? It was not a role most of his audience could empathize with. Since the early seventies, Dylan's influence on the development of rock music has been greatly reduced.

* * *

Within a year of Dylan's move into "folk rock", rock entrepreneurs had formulized the newly evolved musical form. Such groups as the Mamas and Papas and Sonny and Cher, in Los Angeles, and Simon and Garfunkel, in New York, mixed sweet vocals with a rock backing and a "hip" appearance to become commercial successes.

* * *

Folk rock was the product of the meeting of folk music and rock. It was not only folk musicians, however, who were stimulated by the English Invasion. All over America, dance bands that had been playing twist, surf or instrumental rock' n'roll adopted styles that showed strong English influences. On songs such as "Laugh Laugh" (1965), by the Beau Brummels,

from San Francisco, or "Lies" (1965), by the Knickerbockers of New Jersey, an obvious Beatles influence predominates, but the vast majority of the dance bands modelled themselves after the rebellious image of the Rolling Stones (and other English r&b groups, such as the Animals), rather than the comparatively cleancut image of the Beatles. As a result this style came to be known as "punk rock".

The typical punk song had a heavily emphasized dance rhythm, fuzztone guitar, a prominent shouted vocal (modelled after the style of Eric Burdon, Van Morrison or Mick Jagger), and a generally wild atmosphere.

The best known punk groups were the Standells and the Seeds, from Los Angeles, both of whom had a couple of hits; the Shadows of Knight from Chicago, who had a hit with a remake of Them's "Gloria" (1966); Count Five, from San Jose, who hit with "Psychotic Reaction" (1966); Paul Revere and the Raiders, from Portland, who had a number of hits after they became TV regulars on "Where The Action Is"; and Question Mark and the Mysterians, a Texas band working in the Detroit area, who had a hit in 1966 with "Ninety-six Tears". These groups and a few others became nationally known, but most punk groups were at best, only regional successes. Even among those who had hits, few were able to produce a second. Although record companies in New York and Los Angeles capitalized heavily on folk rock (which was easily sweetened into a standard commercial product), the punk bands were ignored. This was in spite of the fact

that they were much more numerous than folk rock bands.

e) Underground Music: California and London

The major figures of the first wave did not view themselves as "artists". Even those (like Chuck Berry or Elvis Presley), who developed new styles viewed themselves as simply producing personal interpretations of traditional forms. Second wave groups such as the Beatles and the Rolling Stones also began by doing interpretations of various r&b forms. When Bob Dylan undertook the writing of rock songs with complex lyrics, however, his words were considered to be "poetry" and it is from these experiments that we can date the idea that rock music is "art". Before this time, rock musicians might become more proficient at the styles in which they worked, but they did not "progress" or develop "new" forms.

After Dylan's experiments, rock musicians everywhere began a period of rapid innovation. For instance, from 1965 to 1967, the Beatles experimented with the structure of their songs on Rubber Soul (1965), added various orchestral instruments to their arrangements on Revolver (1966), and, in 1967, used the idea of a concert by a fictitious group (Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band) to give a greater degree of unity to an album than had previously been the case. Each of these explorations was hailed as an "artistic" breakthrough.

By this time (1967) various musicians were forming groups around the idea that they would conduct extensive experiments with their music. Throughout England and America bands

experimented with their music and lyrics. Some of the bands we referred to in the previous sub-section as "Punk" bands were in this category. In spite of the fact that this experimentation was general, however, two areas came to dominate the "underground" music: California and London. An important reason for this is that Los Angeles and London are two of the capitals of the music industry. (The third capital, New York, produced some experimentation, notably by the Velvet Underground, but was not as important as the other two areas.) Another reason for the importance of London and California (particularly San Francisco), was that they had become the centers of youth cultural activity for their respective countries.

The California music scene was divided between Los Angeles and San Francisco. It was in Los Angeles that the Byrds had, in a sense, invented "psychedelic" music with their electric arrangements of Dylan's songs, although their sound was designed for AM radio, which the practitioners of "underground" music did not do. Underground music received its exposure in dance-halls and on FM radio.

The Mothers of Invention and the Doors, two other Los Angeles bands, were clearly "underground". The former were led by Frank Zappa who wrote hilarious satirical commentaries on suburban lifestyles, such as "Help, I'm A Rock" and "Who Are The Brain Police?" (both from his 1966 Freak Out album) as well as modern avant-garde compositions. Neither style had any

potential for AM radio airplay. Unlike most musicians of the Second Wave, Zappa was not particularly influenced by the Beatles. His major influences were fifties r&b and modern classical composers, such as Edgar Varese and Karl Stockhausen.

The Doors were led by vocalist Jim Morrison, whose apocalyptic lyrics and dramatic stage presence made him one of the most charismatic figures of the Second Wave. Although works such as the lengthy "The End" could not be played on AM radio, the Doors were probably the most successful group at reaching a mass market with an underground style. They produced a number of AM hits including "Light My Fire" (1967) and "Hello I Love You" (1968), both of which reached number one.[190] As with many other underground groups, their first recordings, The Doors (1967) and Strange Days (1967), were their best. Later works were often rather mannered.

* * *

Long an environment hospitable to artistic and political radicalism, San Francisco became the spiritual center of the hippie movement. In 1965, a community of artists, students, beatnik remnants, and psychedelic drug users began to come together around dances held by an organization called the Family Dog (whose role was taken over, by 1966, by a "hip" promoter, Bill Graham). The halls that were rented for these dances became the model for hippie dancehalls all over America. Free outdoor concerts, called Be-Ins, inspired the rock festivals of the late sixties.

The extended improvisational style of the music, the light shows, and even the posters for these dances were all influenced by the use of psychedelic drugs and, in turn, were meant to enhance the experiences of the users. Bands that played at these early dances included the Grateful Dead, the Jefferson Airplane, and Big Brother and the Holding Company (who soon added a powerful woman vocalist, Janis Joplin). These bands and others, including Country Joe and the Fish (from across the Bay in Berkeley), gained local reputations and, after the Monterey Festival in 1967, many of them received recording contracts. For the next couple of years or so, even though the local community collapsed, psychedelic music became the most prominent rock style. Almost all white performers and many black performers, including Jimi Hendrix and Sly Stone, were influenced by it.

The Jefferson Airplane's style was rooted in folk rock, but Jorma Kaukonen's original electric guitar work and the icey vocals of Grace Slick added a harsher edge to their music than was common in the more commercial variants of folk rock. Partaking of the spirit of the community, the band was run as a co-operative which included poster making and light shows as part of its activity.[191] The group openly celebrated the use of psychedelics and, in 1967, had a hit with "White Rabbit", a drug-oriented song.

The Grateful Dead began as the Warlocks, in 1965, and were a straightforward rock band until they began experimenting with

psychedelics.[192] The effect was dramatic. They began turning their songs into long experimental jams and their lead guitarist, Jerry Garcia, developed a bluesy improvisational style. The group lived co-operatively and gathered around themselves a "family", who took care of various aspects of their business.

Until Workingman's Dead (1970) and American Beauty (1971), the Dead were known primarily for their live performances. Other groups, such as the Jefferson Airplane or the Quicksilver Messenger Service, were noted for their extended improvisations, but the Dead perfected this style. Other guitarists such as Kaukonen of Jefferson Airplane or Barry Melton from Country Joe and the Fish developed interesting guitar styles appropriate to the new music, but Garcia was the master. The Dead were the classic San Francisco band.

Big Brother and the Holding Company were not in the same class as the Jefferson Airplane or the Grateful Dead until they added Texas blues-singer Janis Joplin. Their raw, electric sound became a perfect complement to Joplin's style. Like most of the early San Francisco groups, they were best in live performances, one of which was captured on their Cheap Thrills (1968) album. Although a remarkable singer, Joplin's choice of material leaned towards conventional blues and r&b rather than psychedelic lyrics. After leaving Big Brother, she tended to favor standard soul or r&b accompaniments and was consequently unable to recapture the power of the 1968 recording.

Country Joe and the Fish evolved out of a Berkeley jug

band in 1965. Joe McDonald wrote most of their songs, drawing their subject matter from the social life of Berkeley, which included drug experiementation, the political concerns of the New Left, and Eastern-influenced, philosophical inquiries. Their sound was characterized by the soaring, bluesy guitar style of Barry Melton and the eerie organ of David Cohen, as well as McDonald's distinctive tenor, and can be best heard on Electric Music For The Mind And Body and I-Feel-Like-I'm-Fixin'-To-Die (both released in 1967). McDonald's title song from the latter album was one of the finest anti-war songs of the period.

During 1967 and 1968 many bands, such as the Steve Miller Band, Mother Earth, and the Sir Douglas Quintet, all from Texas, and the Youngbloods from New York, moved to San Francisco, which was considered the center of the counter-culture, but the counter-culture was already decaying and as it decayed, so did the bands. For example, in 1969, Janis Joplin left Big Brother and the Holding Company; in 1970, Country Joe and the Fish broke up; and, the same year, three of the original members left Jefferson Airplane. Many other groups also underwent extensive personal changes.

* * *

At the core of the music scene in London, England, were a variety of r&b-based groups such as the Cream and the Jimi Hendrix Experience, who improvised within a basic blues structure, although there was also an assortment of other groups, such as Pink Floyd, the Traffic, and Procul Harum,

who drew influences from electronic, folk, and classical music. Groups such as the Kinks and the Who also incorporated influences from vaudeville and opera.

The Cream (formed in 1966) were one of the first groups to incorporate a high degree of instrumental experimentation into their work. Their improvisations within a blues or r&b framework were influenced by the Yardbirds and by John Mayall's various groups, but the Cream's experiments were carried much further. The group would often jam for ten or twenty minutes on one song, which, at that time, was unheard of. Examples of this sort of jam can be heard on Wheels Of Fire (1968).

Their lead guitarist, Eric Clapton, was considered the top blues guitarist in England until the emergence, in 1967, of another trio, the Jimi Hendrix Experience. Hendrix combined technical virtuosity with an adventurous imagination and his explorations of the potential of the electric guitar remain unsurpassed. Although many albums of his material have been released since his death, in 1970, his best works are his first three albums, Are You Experienced (1967), Axis Bold As Love (1967), and Electric Ladyland (1968).

Other groups improvising within an r&b structure included Ten Years After, the Jeff Beck Group, Fleetwood Mac and an Irish group, Taste.

The r&b based groups often showed the influence of psychedelic drugs in their mystical lyrics and their electronic experiments, but the premier psychedelic group in London was

Pink Floyd (founded in 1966). They are best known for their cosmic mood music which can be heard on such cuts as "Interstellar Overdrive" (1967) or "Set The Controls For The Heart Of The Sun" (1968), both of which evoke space travel. The group experimented with electronic sounds and also explored ways of increasing the intensity of the audience's experience by putting banks of speakers in each of the four corners of their concert halls and by using light shows. The group was very influential in Europe, particularly in Holland and West Germany.

The Traffic were another group that showed a strong psychedelic influence, although this was expressed most clearly in their lyrics rather than their music, which was an electronic blend of r&b, rolk, jazz, and Eastern influences. Their vocalist, Stevie Winwood, formerly with the Spencer Davis group, developed a high, pure tenor style that has been widely imitated by other English vocalists.

Another popular London group during this period were Procul Harum who had a hit, in 1967, with "A Whiter Shade Of Pale" which added mysterious lyrics to music taken from a Bach sonata. They used piano, organ, and guitar to create a stately, classical sound that was very influential in the early seventies. (See the sub-section on Progressive Rock to follow.)

* * *

By the end of the sixties the counter-culture was in decay. Many of the prominent musicians became victims of their own lifestyle. In 1969, Brian Jones, formerly of the Rolling

Stones, died under mysterious circumstances; in 1970, Jimi Hendrix and Janis Joplin died of drug overdoses; and, in 1971, Jim Morrison, lead singer of the Doors, also died. Eric Clapton and Johnny Winter had become heroin addicts. This list only includes well known figures. Many other, lesser-known artists died or became drug casualties. It was a sign of the times.

5. Music of the Seventies (1970-?)

Compared to the music of the late sixties, the music of the seventies has been very conservative. Innovation has not been welcome except in a very formalized context and musicians have stuck to territories that have already been explored. This failure of imagination can best be explained in terms of the decline of the counter-culture and the gradual resurgence of the music industry's oligopoly.

In the latter half of the sixties, as mentioned above, various musicians were forming groups around the idea that they would conduct extensive experiements with their music. Some groups, such as the Grateful Dead in San Francisco and the Cream in London, had begun to use the structure of their songs as simply frameworks on which they played jazz-like improvisations that bore little resemblance to traditional rock'n'roll. These experiements and numerous others were all part of a wave of creativity throughout the youth cultures of America and England.

By the end of the decade, many prominent performers, such

as Eric Clapton, Van Morrison, Peter Townsend (of the Who), Jeff Beck and Ray Davies (of the Kinks), were developing "mature" styles in the form of instrumental virtuosity or personal vision. Other previously unknown musicians, such as the Band, Credence Clearwater Revival, the Allman Brothers, Joe Cocker, and Rod Stewart, also came to prominence with "mature" instrumental or vocal styles and/or Dylanesque lyrics. While the artistry of much of this work was undeniable, there was a tendency for the music to be overly concerned with "serious artistic endeavor". Excitement was replaced by awe as the appropriate audience response and dancing was replaced by sitting and watching. (Some newly emerged groups, such as Santana, the Credence Clearwater Revival, and the J. Geils Band worked against this tendency by emphasizing high energy dance rhythms, but they were in the minority.) Soon much of the virtuosity devolved into sterile formalism (Eric Clapton) or self-indulgence (Alvin Lee) and many of the "mature" visions decayed into self-pity or self-parody (the Band). This brought the period of extensive experimentation to an end.

Although many of these performers continued to perform in the seventies and critics continued to look at rock music in terms of "virtuosity" and "maturity", this period of "fine art" seems to have been transitional. By 1970, because so many had embraced an esthetic that encouraged individualism, the music scene was seriously fragmented. This musical fragmentation paralleled the disintegration of the counter-

culture.

It was to this social disintegration that the popular musical styles of the early seventies spoke. The primary concern of the audience was "The sixties are over. Where do we go from here?" The musical responses to this question fell into two broad categories which might be called "rural" and "urban".

a) The Rural Escape

Including both country rock and the singer/songwriter genre, this musical tendency can be traced from early 1968 when Dylan released his Nashville-recorded John Wesley Harding which, with its musical simplicity and lack of electronic effects during a period of extreme musical and electronic complexity, was seen as an important new direction. Later the same year the Byrds went beyond Dylan's simple arrangements and acoustic sounds to a full blown country style on Sweetheart Of The Rodeo, the first country-rock album. These albums, along with the Band's Music From Big Pink, Van Morrison's Astral Weeks, and Crosby, Stills and Nash's first album, staked out one of the major musical directions of the next five or six years.

As a metaphor, the use of acoustic instruments and traditional music styles was an affirmation of America's rural past. (The style was not as popular in England.) This metaphor emerged at the same time as a number of hippies from collapsing urban scenes were moving to the country to set up rural

communes. The music held a nostalgia for the simpler world that these people hoped to find.

The roots of the rural sound came from the folk rock and folk music genres (in which many of the performers had previously worked), as well as from white country music styles. The image adopted by many of the performers was that of the great symbol of America's pioneer and agrarian past: the cowboy (who also symbolized the "outlaw", as seen on the cover of Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young's Deja Vu album or the Eagles' Desperado album).

The country rock style was centered in southern California. The primary influence seems to have been the Byrds' Sweetheart Of The Rodeo. Groups such as the Flying Burrito Brothers, the New Riders Of The Purple Sage, and later the Eagles, have clearly built upon the musical synthesis of that album, mixing California folk rock vocals with country-styled material.

By 1973, the romantic cowboy-hippie image had evolved into the more sophisticated, but also more sentimental, barfly cowboy - the epitome of which is the Eagles. In their lyrics an urban intelligence bemoans the problems of contemporary social relations. The singer's voice is invariably very controlled and is filled with resignation.

As country rock has continued to develop, it has become increasingly sophisticated and in the work of a singer such as Linda Ronstadt, there is little to distinguish it from traditional Tin Pan Alley schmaltz.

* * *

The singer/songwriters have also used the instruments and musical forms of folk music, but they have not usually adopted the country rockers' modern country-style arrangements. A sparer style that emphasizes the vocal is generally preferred. Influenced by Dylan, most singer/songwriters write about their personal response to the world in simple, conventional forms. The artist's attraction lies not in the strength of their music or their lyrics, but in their "attitude" towards the world. This is, of course, expressed in their music, but the adventurousness of Joni Mitchell or Randy Newman is not required for commercial success.

Mitchell's career is otherwise instructive, however. Like many singer/songwriters such as Jackson Browne or Paul Simon, she began her career as a folk-singer. In the late sixties she moved to Los Angeles (which is now the home of many other singer/songwriters) and recorded a series of albums expressing the hippie, flower-child ethos. With the decline of the counter-culture, the subject matter of her songs became her inability to find lasting satisfaction in her relationships. Her problem usually revolves around her need for security (which she seeks in romantic love) and her desire for freedom. On Blue (1971), For The Roses (1972), and Court and Spark (1974) she explored this topic with increasing perception.

Other prominent singer/songwriters include the poet and novelist, Leonard Cohen, who has offered a vision in which some form of redemption is the product of suffering and decay;

Neil Young (a Canadian, as are Mitchell and Cohen), who has explored the disintegration of sixties' values in his own experience; and James Taylor, whose world-weary voice and resigned stance seemed very artful in the early seventies (and now seem merely self-indulgent).

b) The Urban Machine

At the beginning of the decade, paralleling the "laid back", rural sounds, were a couple of very electric, "urban" styles which we will call "heavy metal" and "progressive rock".

If the concern of country rock and the singer/songwriters with a gentler, rural style expressed a desire to escape from present realities, heavy metal's technological overkill expressed the unpleasantness of those same realities. Whereas the rural styles spoke to the world with a voice filled with weariness and resignation, heavy metal responded to a desolate urban landscape with hysteria. Based on twelve bar blues forms and making use of blues guitar techniques, it was performed at high volumes, with extensive use of electronic feedback and distortion.

The English r&b group, the Yardbirds, who had highlighted electrified, blues guitar styles, are considered the progenitors of the heavy metal sound, although more immediate ancestors included the Cream and the Jeff Beck Group, both of which featured ex-Yardbirds guitarists. The basics of heavy metal were present in the latter group, an hysterical, high-pitched voice and guitar on the surface of a massive attack by drums

and bass. The rather experimental, improvisational format of the Cream was formulized, in 1968, by two California groups, the Blue Cheer from San Francisco and the Iron Butterfly from Los Angeles, who produced the first heavy metal albums. (This formulizing of sixties experiments characterizes much of the rock music of the seventies.)

The heavy metal style was not consolidated on record, however, until 1969, when Jimmy Page of Led Zeppelin, another ex-Yardbirds guitarist, developed a very three-dimensional style of production appropriate to the genre, full of echo and sound apparently moving through great spaces. The production on Beck's albums, Truth (1968) and Ola (1969) sounds flat by comparison.

At the same time as Page was perfecting his production techniques, various other groups, influenced by Cream, were exploring the possibilities of heavily amplified blues. Although Led Zeppelin has been by far the most successful group to work in this genre, a number of these groups and other later imitators have met with success. The United Kingdom has produced Black Sabbath (from Birmingham), Nazareth (from Scotland), and Deep Purple, Uriah Heep, and Bad Company (all from London).

The Stooges and the MC5, although they achieved very little commercial success, are often considered to be the masters of heavy metal in America. Both groups came from the Detroit area, which also produced Grand Funk Railroad, America's

most popular exponents, and the Amboy Dukes. Detroit has been the heavy metal capital of America, but groups from elsewhere, such as ZZ Top (from Texas), Aerosmith (from Boston) and the James Gang (from Cleveland), also deserve mention. Vancouver, Canada, has produced two of the most commercially successful groups in this genre, Bachman-Turner Overdrive, who had a number of hit singles in the mid-seventies, and Heart, the only prominent heavy metal group with a woman vocalist.

Although possessed of a solid, regular beat, heavy metal does not make very good dance music because it is usually oppressively slow. The inexorable, plodding rhythm tends to make movement difficult. Emotional intensities are produced by confronting screaming and moaning guitars and vocals with the extremely loud, often painful, rhythmic assault by bass and drums. Their rhythmic regularity is so unrelenting that they imply a totally deterministic environment in which the "voices" of the guitar and vocalist, even though driven to hysteria, have no effect. The subject matter of the lyric, because it is almost invariably sung with an emotional intensity which is greater than it warrants, is usually rendered irrelevant.

In terms of the question, mentioned above, to which music of the early seventies was addressed - "The sixties are over. Where do we go from here?" - heavy metal's answer was despair. It gave its audience a musical experience of hopelessness in the face of overwhelming, impersonal power.

* * *

Progressive rock was a close spiritual relative of heavy metal, but whereas heavy metal was usually based on blues forms, progressive rock took classical music as its point of departure. The highly amplified electrical sound, making extensive use of organs and keyboard synthesizers, produced an oppressive "ecclesiastical" feeling evocative of medieval church music with its attendant guilt and religious hierarchy. The sound was much more popular in England and continental Europe (particularly Germany) than in America which produced no progressive rock groups of note during the early seventies.

The vocals of the "progressive" groups were less hysterical than those of the heavy metal groups, which meant that more emphasis was placed on their content. Lush, overripe imagery was used to describe apocalyptic carnage or to evoke stately, classical worlds populated with fairy tale kings, wizards, and princesses. Narrative was irrelevant, however. The lyrics' impact was derived totally from the richness of its imagery and the stately, but melodramatic, style favored by the vocalists.

Prominent groups working in this style were King Crimson, Yes, and Emerson, Lake and Palmer.

* * *

Heavy metal and progressive rock gained access to a large audience in America primarily through FM airplay. When, in 1972, FM stations had adopted a variant of the AM format with high pressure advertising, limited playlists and a general lack

of adventurousness, it was no longer possible to break in a new group or style over FM radio. Those acts that were already popular were given precedence over new styles. It was during this period that "glitter", a style that was already popular in England, was attempting to enter the American market. Without radio exposure, it was largely ignored. In England, such performers as T. Rex, Slade and David Bowie became enormously successful, but only Bowie had even minor success in America.

If heavy metal and progressive rock expressed helplessness before the relentless "machine", glitter expressed an amoral outrageousness - a sort of revelling in decadence. This was best exemplified by Bowie, who developed a series of extravagant self-images. After spending time modelling himself after Greta Garbo and Lauren Bacall, in 1972 he developed the image of Ziggy Stardust, a bisexual space alien who becomes a rock'n'roll messiah. His close cropped hair style was borrowed from the mid-sixties mod and his costumes showed an influence of the dandyism of Carnaby Street, but both hair (which he dyed red) and costumes went far beyond these sources.

During this period, Bowie produced a series of concept albums, The Rise and Fall of Ziggy Stardust and the Spiders From Mars (1972), Aladin Sane (1973) and Diamond Dogs (1974), each of which developed a more despairing and nihilistic vision than the previous one. By 1975 glitter was declining in popularity even in England. Bowie sought an image of even greater decadence and flirted briefly with Nazism.

Most of his albums since the mid-seventies have contained an interesting song or two or some interesting mood music, but have benerally lacked any overall sense of purpose.

Although glitter was not particularly popular in America, such acts as Lou Reed and the New York Dolls gained cult followings by working in a variant of the style. Both acts borrowed elements of their stage identities from heroin addicts and transvestites rather than from the dandyism of the English and both acts were popular in New York City. Neither, however, were able to break through to a wider audience.

Some prominent acts of the seventies, such as the Rolling Stones, Rod Stewart and Elton John, also adopted the trappings of glitter, but their musical success was not based on this style.

c) The Rise Of The New Schmaltz

In the early seventies, most rock music that could be heard on the radio was played on FM stations. Meanwhile, AM stations concentrated on heavily orchestrated soul ballads (which we will discuss below in the section on "disco") and a brand of ultra-pop that was apparently aimed at a pre-teen audience. All the popular ultra-pop acts, such as the Osmonds, David Cassidy, the Carpenters and the Jackson Five, stressed that they were musical families. (Cassidy was part of "The Partridge Family" on TV.) The Osmonds also stressed that they were devout Mormons.

The popularity of such "stars" as Cassidy or Donny Osmond seemed to be based primarily on the fact that they were "cute" and clean-cut, although the Jackson Five, a black singing group, were not only cute, but also talented soul singers.

During the late sixties and early seventies it had been possible for rock groups to achieve widespread success without hit singles on AM radio, but by 1973, this was no longer possible because, as mentioned above, most of the small dancehalls had closed down and FM radio had adopted a modified AM format with limited playlists that favored "known" artists. In response to these new circumstances, rock performers at first developed formulized versions of the popular underground styles of the early seventies. Such groups as Bachman-Turner Overdrive (BTO) and the Eagles each had a series of hits with formulized versions of heavy metal and country rock respectively. BTO had such hits as "Takin' Care Of Business" (1973), "You Ain't Seen Nothing Yet" (1974) and "Let It Ride" (1975). The Eagles' hits included "Take It Easy" (1972), "Desperado" (1973), "Lyin' Eyes" (1975) and "Take It To The Limit" (1976).

The first artist to clearly understand and capitalize on this shift in the music industry, however, was songwriter and performer Elton John who mixed the various styles of the fifties and sixties for a string of top ten hits. "Crocodile Rock" (1972) and "Bennie And The Jets" (1974) both showed a rockabilly influence, the influence of the Stones could be heard on "Saturday Night's Alright For Fighting" (1973) and

"The Bitch Is Back" (1974), and "Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds" (1974) and "Pinball Wizard" (1975) had previously been hits for the Beatles and the Who. He also wrote a number of ballads that were hit singles.

Elton John treated rock music not as part of the social fabric of a youth culture (which had been the view of many "underground" musicians), but rather as "mere" (or perhaps "pure" entertainment. By 1975, many other performers, managers and producers were applying a similar attitude to their own creations. They too viewed rock music as entertainment, but whereas John, as unadventurous as he was, had remained fairly true to his inspirations, other performers sweetened and tamed their styles in attempts at commercial success. As we have discussed in our section on the music industry of the seventies, music came to be constructed around a series of formulas: idiosyncratic or immediately recognizable voices, strong visual appeal and heavily contrived production.

It is not clear who posterity will consider the best artists of this period, but three of the best selling acts have been Rod Stewart, Paul McCartney's Wings and Linda Ronstadt. The most successful of the idiosyncratic voices was probably Stewart, who had been a rock singer in the sixties and early seventies, but had switched to schmaltz by 1975. Thereafter he had a string of hits including "Tonight's The Night" (1976), "You're In My Heart" (1977) and "I Was Only Joking" (1978).

The group Wings has been just a front for McCartney, who

has written and produced their songs as well as singing them. His voice is not particularly idiosyncratic, but it is immediately recognizable (because of his former connection with the Beatles). His material has invariably been well produced and his songwriting shows him (like Elton John) to be the master of a wide range of styles. (His songs are often flawed, however, by excessive sentimentality and a pervasive childishness. This lack of consequence is another characteristic McCartney shares with John.) Although McCartney is capable of writing rock songs, such as "Jet" (1974) and "Junior's Farm" (1975), he has tended since 1975 to favor sentimental schmaltz such as "Silly Love Songs" (1976), "Maybe I'm Amazed" (1977) and "With A Little Luck" (1978).

All three of the basic formulas (voice, appearance and production) have been brought together in the marketing of Linda Ronstadt. She possessed a better than average voice and a commoditizable appearance, and has been arranged and produced by an imaginative West Coast producer, Peter Asher. The result has been spectacular success with soft-core porn album covers and a powerful, but unfocused music - unfocused in the sense that her vocals lack conviction about anything in particular. Everything sounds like it was simply done at the bidding of her producer. Her hits have included "You're No Good" (1975), "When Will I Be Loved" (1975) and "Blue Bayou" (1977).

Much, although not all, of the material of Stewart,

McCartney and Ronstadt falls into the category of schmaltz (which we described in a previous section as music which derives its main emotional impact from exaggerated emotion or melodrama, unlike rock which derives its impact from its rhythmic momentum and the conviction of its vocal). Although these artists were more successful with this sort of material than were most performers, their use of schmaltz was in no other sense atypical. Each year from 1974 to 1978 was dominated by formulaic schmaltz, such as Barry Manilow's "Mandy" (1975), Chicago's "If You Leave Me Now" (1976), Eric Carmen's "All By Myself" (1976) and Debby Boone's "You Light Up My Life" (1977). In this sense, this period bore a strong similarity, musically, to the period we called rock's Counter-Reformation (1959-1963).

Each period also spawned a dance craze, the second of which we will deal with in the following subsection.

d) Disco And Its Roots

In the late sixties, a West Coast producer and performer named Sly Stone developed a fusion of rock instrumentation and soul music, which replaced soul's standard riffing horns with wah wah guitar and electric piano.[193] He combined this with compelling dance rhythms and chanted vocals on a series of hits, including "Dance To The Music" (1968), "Everyday People" (1968) and "I Want To Take You Higher" (1969). (His performance of the latter song was one of the highlights of the Woodstock rock festival.) His album <u>There's A Riot Goin' On</u> (1971) introduced

lyrics about ghetto life to soul music and influenced, among others, Norman Whitfield's work with the Temptations and some of Curtis Mayfield's work, such as "Freddie's Dead" (1972).

Stone's work was one of the three main influences on black music of the seventies. The second major influence was the style of arranging and producing developed in Philadelphia, by Thom Bell and the team of Kenny Gamble and Leon Huff.

With the decline of black power, in the late sixties, black music had headed for the "middle of the road". Self-confident gospel styles were replaced by syrupy ballads that required a different sort of instrumental context. Starting with a mastery of the production style developed at Motown, Gamble, Huff and Bell learned how to add a wall of orchestration while still emphasizing the rhythmic bottom. This can be heard on songs such as the O'Jays' "Back Stabbers" (1972) and "Love Train" (1973), which were both produced by Gamble and Huff. (Bell contributed the arrangement on the former song.) In terms of lyrical content, Billy Paul's romantic "Me And Mrs. Jones" (1972) or the Three Degrees' "When Will I See You Again" (1974) were more typical of Philadelphia soul.

The third major influence on black music in the seventies was the extremely rhythmic style of dance music produced by James Brown and his band. Brown had influenced the development of soul music in the early sixties, he influenced the music of Sly Stone and he also influenced countless black dance bands throughout the sixties and seventies. Brown's music emphasized rhythm to the extent that his songs had almost no melody and

when, around 1974, the discotheques started looking for rhythmic music that encouraged dancing, Brown's work stood as an almost scientific exploration of the territory. He was unable to capitalize on disco, however, because of the rawness of his vocal style (and also, perhaps, because his rhythms sounded so physical). The discotheques sought music that evoked a lush, romantic fantasyland, which Brown's work did not do.

The typical disco song mixed a chanted vocal ala Sly Stone, the lush, heavily orchestrated production of Philadelphia soul, and a rhythmic bottom that showed the influence of Brown, but was much more mechanical. The rhythms, although compelling, usually sounded as though they had been played by machines rather than humans, and yet because this mechanical pulse was so unvaryingly regular, it made the environment of the discotheque somehow reassuring.

The orchestral production style added an artificial grandeur to the emotions and events (usually romantic) contained in the lyrics and, thereby, reinforced the fantasyland aspect of the discotheque.

Many of the early disco hits came from the black vocal groups produced by Gamble and Huff and Thom Bell, such as the O'Jays, the Spinners and the Stylistics or from the performers working for the Miami-based TK label (and its subsidiaries), such as Betty Wright, George McRae, Gwen McRae and KC and the Sunshine Band. Another label, Casablanca, gradually became

the number one disco label,[194] however, largely through the importation of European disco records. In Europe, discotheques had been popular for years and many European artists produced records for this market. Casablanca imported the best of these, including work by Donna Summer (the biggest black star to emerge from disco), Santa Esmeralda, and Giorgio Moroder (who also produced for Summer). Casablanca also had success with American acts, such as the Parliaments and the Village People.

Once disco had become firmly established, a number of white performers, who had had hits in other genres, such as the Bee Gees, Fleetwood Mac, Boz Scaggs and Rod Stewart, adopted the disco beat. The most successful of these performers were the Bee Gees, who did the movie soundtrack album Saturday Night Fever (1977) which became, as we mentioned earlier, the "biggest grossing album in the history of the recording industry".[195]

At the time that this thesis is being written (1979), disco remains a very popular style of music.

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2. See, for example, Ritchie Yorke, The History Of Rock'n' Roll, Methuen, New York, 1976.

3. See, for example, Anthony Scaduto, Dylan, New American Library, New York, 1973; or Jerry Hopkins, Elvis: A Biography, Warner Books, New York, 1972.

4. See, for example, Geoffrey Stokes, Star-Making Machinery, Vintage Books, New York, 1977.

5. See, for example, Dave Laing et al, The Electric Muse, Eyre Methuen, London, 1975; or Ian Hoare (ed.), The Soul Book, Eyre Methuen, London, 1975.

6. Carl Belz, The Story Of Rock, Harper & Row, New York, 1972. p. 8-11.

7. Ibid., p. 13-15.

8. John Dewey, The Public And Its Problems, Swallow, Denver, 1927, p. 98.

9. Ferdinand Tönnies, Community And Society (trans. and ed. by Charles P. Loomis), Michigan State University Press, East Lansing, 1957, p. ix. The distinction is so firmly established as a tool of analysis that the International Encyclopedia Of The Social Sciences has devoted an article to it. See Vol. 3, p. 174.

10. International Encyclopedia Of The Social Sciences (David L. Sills, ed.), The Macmillan Company and The Free Press, New York, 1968, Vol. 3, p. 174.

11. Ibid., p. 175.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid., p. 176.

16. Ibid., p. 177.

17. Ibid.

18. Community And Society, p. 16.

19. Ibid., p. 15-16.

20. International Encyclopedia Of The Social Sciences, Vol. 3, p. 177.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. The contributions of Parsons, Becker, and Sorokin (as well as Max Weber) to this method are reviewed in Community And Society, p. 12-29.

24. Ibid., p. 14.

25. Charles H. Cooley, Social Organization, Schocken Books, New York, 1962. p. 27.

26. Leonard Broom and Philip Selznick, Sociology, Harper & Row, New York, 1955, p. 143.

27. Quoted in Neil J. Smelser (ed.), Sociology, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, p. 85.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid.

31. See, for instance, Talcott Parson's definition in Sociology (Neil J. Smelser, ed.), p. 86; Roland L. Warren's on p. 90; or Leo Schnore's on p. 95.

32. Ibid., p. 94-5.

33. Ibid., p. 89.

34. Ibid., p. 91.

35. Robert A. Nisbet, The Quest For Community, Oxford University Press, New York, 1969, p. xvi.

36. Fred J. Brown, "Nostos" (Unpublished paper for the Vanier Institute for the Family; Vancouver, B.C., 1975), p. 12-22.

37. Leo F. Schnore, "Community", in Sociology (Neil J. Smelser, ed.), p. 79-150.

38. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "The Manifesto of the Communist Party", in The Essential Left, Unwin Books, London, 1960, p. 17.

39. Robert A. Nisbet, The Quest For Community, Oxford University Press, New York, 1953, p. xvi.

40. The Essential Left, p. 18.

41. Ibid., p. 18-19.

42. Paul Baran and Paul M. Sweezy, Monopoly Capital, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1966, p. 6.

43. Ibid., p. 252-3.

44. Ibid., p. 93-5.

45. Ray M. Northam, Urban Geography, John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1975, p. 262-3.

46. Monopoly Capital, p. 257.

47. Ibid., p. 258.

48. Ibid., p. 263.

49. Harold M. Rose, The Black Ghetto, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1971, p. 11.

50. Ibid.

51. The history of these developments can be found in Giles Oakley, The Devil's Music, British Broadcasting Corporation, London, 1976 or Charlie Gillett, The Sound Of The City, Dell Publishing Co., New York, 1972.

52. The subject matter we have termed "adolescent community" is often explored under the term "youth subculture". Although we have chosen not to follow this practise, the formulations and fieldwork found in some of this literature (in particular, John Clarke et al, ed., Working Papers in Cultural Studies, Vol. 7&8, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Birmingham, 1975 and Geoff Mungham and Geoff Pearson, ed., Working Class Youth Culture, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1976) have influenced the formulation used here.

53. Hans Sebald, Adolescence: A Sociological Analysis, Meredith Corporation, New York, 1968, p. 11.

54. Ibid., p. 15.

55. Ibid., p. 262.

56. A major difference between blacks and adolescents is that the latter can choose whether or not they wish to be part of a "community". Most adolescents do not become members. The reasons for this will not be explored here.

57. Unpublished paper.

58. Alan P. Merriam, The Anthropology of Music, Northwestern University Press, New York, 1964, p. 226-27.

59. Clement Greenburg, "Avant-Garde and Kitsch", in Mass Culture (ed. Bernard Rosenburg and David Manning White), The Free Press, New York, 1957, p. 103.

60. "Classical music" is, like popular music, related to folk forms and, like folk music, it has been exploited by commercial interests, but it is peripheral to the main argument we are developing in this thesis and so we will deal with it only in passing.

61. A similar conception of popular music is developed by Theodor Adorno in his Introduction To The Sociology Of Music, Seabury Press, New York, 1976, p. 21-38. There is an important difference, however. Although Adorno discusses at length the differences between popular and "serious" (or "fine art") music, he makes no distinction between popular and folk musics.

    As we have indicated, the method used in this thesis is rooted in a tradition of formulations based on bi-polar "types" of social systems. Adorno's work comes from another tradition, which we might term the art history approach. This approach includes a wide range of chronological, biographical, philosophical, critical, psychological, aesthetic, formalistic and iconographic means of investigation (D. D. Egbert, Social Radicalism And The Arts, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1970, p. 4), but has generally been concerned with the fine arts rather than the popular arts. A survey of art history perspectives since the French Revolution is found in the above cited book by Egbert.

62. The Electric Muse, p. 89.

63. Richard A. Peterson and David G. Berger, "Three Eras in the Manufacture of Popular Music Lyrics", in The Sounds Of Social Change (ed. R. Serge Denisoff and Richard A. Peterson), Rand McNally & Co., Chicago, 1972, p. 284.

64. Ibid.

65. In the eighteenth century the broadside ballads (as the song sheets were called) were often topical. They would present information on famous crimes, battles, political campaigns or economic conditions. They could be bought much more cheaply than newspapers and were valued as much for their information as for their entertainment value.

66. The Sounds Of Social Change, p. 285.

67. Ibid.

68. Bill Malone, Country Music, U.S.A., University of Texas Press, Austin, 1968, p. 4. Malone's interest is in areas which have a background of primarily British culture or he would probably have also mentioned rural Quebec, with its French traditions, and the southwestern United States where there are strong Spanish traditions.

69. Ibid., p. 5.

70. Ibid., p. 7.

71. The blacks were treated no better after the Civil War than they had been before. Baran and Sweezy have suggested that "by the turn of the century, the oppression and exploitation of Negroes was probably as bad as it had ever been under slavery, and racist propaganda was at least as virulent...". Paul Baran and Paul M. Sweezy, Monopoly Capital, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1966, p. 253.

72. Tony Palmer, All You Need Is Love, Penguin Books, New York, 1977, p. 18.

73. Ibid.

74. The Sounds Of Social Change, p. 287.

75. Ibid.

76. All You Need Is Love, p. 18.

77. Richard A. Peterson, "A Process Model Of The Folk, Pop And Fine Art Phases Of Jazz", in American Music (ed. Charles Nanry), Transaction Books, New Brunswick (New Jersey), 1972, p. 139.

78. Ibid., p. 137.

79. Ibid., p. 139.

80. Ibid.

81. Ibid., p. 139-140.

82. All You Need Is Love, p. 111.

83. Ibid., p. 155.

84. The Sounds Of Social Change, p. 287-8.

85. The recognition and naming of the main styles or genres is based on an examination, in terms of their main stylistic features, of the songs of the major artists of the last twenty-five years. In considering the style of the First Wave, the typology we have used in the Appendix is borrowed from Charlie Gillett, Sound Of The City, p. 33-46.

86. Ibid., p. 292.

87. The Devil's Music, p. 238.

88. The Sounds Of Social Change, p. 292.

89. Arnold Shaw, The Rock Revolution, Crowell-Collier Press, Toronto, 1969, p. 11.

90. Ibid., p. 10-11.

91. Ibid., p. 11.

92. Norm N. Nite, Rock On, Popular Library, New York, 1977, P. 287.

93. Charlie Gillett, The Sound Of The City, Dell Publishing Co., New York, 1972, p. 52.

94. It was during this period that the white folk boom "discovered" the black bluesmen and they increasingly played on college campuses and at folk festivals.

95. Monopoly Capital, p. 257.

96. The Devil's Music, p. 217.

97. Monopoly Capital, p. 258.

98. The Devil's Music, p. 242.

99. Ibid., p. 228.

100. The Devil's Music, p. 229.

101. Phil Hardy and Dave Laing, ed., The Encyclopedia Of Rock, Vol. 1, Panther Books, Frogmore (St. Albans), 1976, p. 157.

102. For instance "Save The Last Dance For Me" written by Doc Pomus and Mort Shuman and recorded by the Drifters in 1960.

103. For instance "Happy Birthday, Sweet Sixteen" by Howard Greenfield and Neil Sedaka (who, in 1961, also recorded it).

104. For instance "Leader Of The Pack" written by Jeff Barry and Ellie Greenwich and recorded, in 1964, by the Shangri-Las.

105. For instance, "Then He Kissed Me" written by Jeff Barry, Ellie Greenwich and Phil Spector and recorded by the Crystals in 1963, "He's Sure The Boy I Love" written by Barry Mann and Cynthia Weil and recorded by the Crystals in 1962, and "Don't Say Nothin' Bad (About My Baby)" written by Carole King and Gerry Goffin and recorded, in 1963, by the Cookies.

106. The Sound Of The City, p. 202.

107. The Rolling Stone Illustrated History Of Rock & Roll, p. 122.

108. Ibid., p. 127.

109. Rock On, p. 204.

110. The Sound Of The City, p. 220.

111. The Rolling Stone Illustrated History Of Rock & Roll, p. 102.

112. Ibid.

113. Ibid., p. 94.

114. The most successful independent record executive to emerge from the Los Angeles scene was Lou Adler, who founded the Dunhill and Ode labels and was one of the organizers of the Monterey Pop Festival.

115. The Encyclopedia Of Rock, Vol. 1, p. 124-5.

116. The Encyclopedia Of Rock, Vol. 2, p. 99.

117. Compare pages 310 and 329 in The Sound Of The City.

118. John Clarke et al, ed., Working Papers in Cultural Studies, Vol. 7&8, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Birmingham, 1975, p. 81.

119. Stanley Cohen, Folk Devils And Moral Panics, MacGibbon & Kee, London, 1972, p. 190.

120. Ibid., p. 186-7.

121. Ibid., p. 201.

122. It is not uncommon for an album to cost over fifty thousand dollars to record. The latest album by Fleetwood Mac cost a million dollars (which probably makes it the most expensive album to date). The Vancouver Sun, Friday, Nov. 16, 1979, p. 13L.

123. Kitty Hanson, Disco Fever, New American Library, New York, 1978, p. 100.

124. The Encyclopedia Of Rock, Vol. 3, p. 91.

125. Musician: Player & Listener (No. 20), Sept.-Oct., 1979, p. 10.

126. Ibid.

127. A couple of the best examples of the latter were Columbia Records' "Join The Revolution" and "The Man Can't Bust Our Music" ad campaigns. Ibid., p. 99.

128. This need could not be satisfied by the borrowed relics of dogmatic, traditional cosmologies.

129. The Sounds Of Social Change, p. 287-8.

130. Bill Malone and Judith McCulloh, ed., The Stars Of Country Music, Avon Books, New York, 1976, p. 80.

131. Ibid., p. 91.

132. Ibid., p. 10.

133. Country Music, U.S.A., p. 111-12.

134. The Stars Of Country Music, p. 9.

135. Ibid., p. 439.

136. Arnold Shaw, The World Of Soul, Cowles Book Co., New York, 1970, p. 43.

137. Giles Oakley, The Devil's Music, British Broadcasting Corporation, London, 1976, p. 20.

138. Ibid., p. 114.

139. Ibid., p. 133.

140. Ibid., p. 172.

141. Ibid., p. 228.

142. Ibid., p. 234.

143. Ibid., p. 221.

144. Ibid., p. 224.

145. Ibid., p. 242.

146. American Music, p. 135-151.

147. The Sound Of The City, p. 9.

148. The Encyclopedia Of Rock, Vol. 1, p. 137.

149. The Sound Of The City, p. 33.

150. Jim Miller, ed., The Rolling Stone Illustrated History Of Rock & Roll, Random House, New York, 1976, p. 24.

151. It is worth noting that the fact that Bill Haley recorded on Decca made him one of the only "stars" of the First Wave to record for a major label.

152. The Encyclopedia Of Rock, Vol. 1, p. 109.

153, Rock From The Beginning, p. 22.

154. The Encyclopedia Of Rock, Vol. 1, p. 202.

155. The Sound Of The City, p. 39.

156. The Encyclopedia Of Rock, Vol. 1, p. 246.

157. Ibid.

158. The Rolling Stone Illustrated History Of Rock & Roll, p. 34.

159. See The Sound Of The City, p. 39; or The Rolling Stone Illustrated History Of Rock & Roll, p. 128.

160. Circus (Issue No. 172), January 5, 1978, p. 7.

161. The cultural cross-fertilization between white and black musics in the South was not confined to young whites. Berry has stated that he was influenced, when he was young, by country music he heard on the radio. The Encyclopedia Of Rock, Vol. 1, p. 34.

162. Ibid.

163. Ibid., p. 33.

164. Ibid., p. 36.

165. Ibid., p. 171.

166. Carl Belz, The Story Of Rock, Harper & Row, New York, 1972, p. 57-9.

167. They only did the arrangement and production on this song. The Drifter's manager George Treadwell wrote it.

168. The Encyclopedia Of Rock, Vol. 1, p. 195.

169. The Sound Of The City, p. 186.

170. The Rolling Stone Illustrated History Of Rock & Roll, p. 104.

171. Ibid., p. 103.

172. The Encyclopedia Of Rock, Vol. 2, p. 142.

173. The Encyclopedia Of Rock, Vol. 2, p. 235.

174. Ibid., p. 335-6.

175. Ian Hoare, ed., The Soul Book, Eyre Methuen, London, 1975, p. 4.

176. The Sound Of The City, p. 331.

177. Call and response singing involves three main techniques. In the first, the lead singer will sing the opening part of a phrase and it will be completed by a group of vocal accompanists. Another technique is to have the accompanists echo the important part of a phrase and thereby give it greater emphasis. The third technique emphasizes a phrase by having the vocal accompanists moan or cry in response to the phrase. All of these and many other vocal and instrumental techniques have been used for generations in gospel music to increase its emotional impact.

178. The Sound Of The City, p. 331.

179. The Rolling Stone Illustrated History Of Rock & Roll, p. 232-3.

180. Ibid.

181. Ibid., p. 237.

182. The Encyclopedia Of Rock, Vol. 2, p. 62.

183. Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 112.

184. Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 39.

185. Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 291-2.

186. The Rolling Stone Illustrated History Of Rock & Roll, p 172.

187. Ibid., p. 180.

188. Ibid., p. 172.

189. The Encyclopedia Of Rock, Vol. 2 p. 19.

190. Ibid., p. 116-7.

191. Ibid., p. 197.

192. Ibid., p. 163.

193. The Encyclopedia Of Rock, Vol. 3, p. 262.

194. Disco Fever, p. 131.

195. Ibid., p. 100.

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